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GORBACHEV VISITS BEIJING FOR START OF SUMMIT TALKS

By **BILL KELLER** and **SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES** MAY 15, 1989

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Mikhail S. Gorbachev arrived in Beijing today to seal the reconciliation of the two largest Communist nations when both are struggling through profound economic and political changes.

The Soviet leader's visit was almost immediately disrupted by China's internal unrest. Officials hastily relocated a welcoming ceremony that had been planned for Tiananmen Square because thousands of student demonstrators and several thousand hunger strikers camped out in the square refused to end their vigil for greater democracy. [Page A8.] Mr. Gorbachev was instead met at the airport by President Yang Shangkun and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. *A 30-Year Chill*

The four-day visit by the Soviet chief, the first Soviet-Chinese summit meeting since Nikita S. Khrushchev came here in 1959, confirms the return to normality of a relationship marked for the last 30 years by ideological rifts, military confrontation and intense rivalry for influence across Asia.

Between state banquets and the requisite pose atop the Great Wall, Mr. Gorbachev and Chinese leaders are to discuss the remaining irritants in their relationship, especially the political future of Cambodia, where the Soviet-backed Government of Hun Sen is opposed by a China-supported rebel alliance that includes the Khmer Rouge.

The Soviet leader is expected to use this platform - including an interview with Chinese television, a speech to a select audience at the Great Hall of the People, and a trip to a trade center in Shanghai - to promote Moscow's participation in the demilitarization and economic revival of Asia. Domestic Upheaval
Mr. Gorbachev's visit coincides with a domestic political upheaval that his presence cannot help influencing, however inadvertently.

For the last month, students have taken to the streets of Chinese cities demanding greater democracy, and the Chinese leadership has been divided over how to cope with a movement that seems to have wide public support.

Many of the students see in Mr. Gorbachev a vigorous symbol of political liberalization and regard his visit as an implicit rebuke to the aging leadership of China. Formal Welcome by President

On Sunday night, tens of thousands students were pressing their calls for change with a vigil in Tiananmen Square, where the Soviet leader was to be formally welcomed by President Yang Shangkun this afternoon.

A high-level Communist Party delegation met repeatedly with student leaders on Sunday hoping to coax them from the square, promising to meet their demands for a dialogue and warning that their presence during the summit meeting would embarrass China before an international press corps of some 1,200 journalists.

But the students, displaying a portrait of Mr. Gorbachev, were determined to remain, and about 10,000 spent the night in the square, their presence forcing the last-minute shift in Chinese protocol.

On Tuesday, Mr. Gorbachev is scheduled to meet the senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, whose initial hard line against the student uprising damaged the popularity he had gained as a daring economic reformer.

The contrast between the two leaders was dramatically illustrated by Mr. Deng's comments, recently circulated in a Communist Party document after the student protests began.

According to party members familiar with his comments, Mr. Deng held up as an example of good public discipline the Soviet troops who charged nationalist demonstrators in Soviet Georgia last month, killing 20 and wounding several hundred with tear gas, shovels and clubs.

Mr. Gorbachev has taken great pains to disavow Kremlin responsibility for that clash, saying it "shed the blood of innocent people" and inflicted damage on his program of democratization.

The Soviet leader is also scheduled to meet separately on Tuesday with the two men considered rivals for pre-eminence in the post-Deng era - the Communist Party leader, Zhao Ziyang, who many foreign diplomats and Chinese say seems to be seizing the student unrest and Mr. Gorbachev's visit to establish himself as the leading Chinese progressive, and the more conservative Prime Minister, Li Peng, whose stature is said to be waning. **Avoiding the Internal Debate**

Judging by his behavior on previous foreign visits and by the discretion of his advance team here, Mr. Gorbachev will carefully avoid injecting himself into the sensitive internal politics of China. Aides said he would decline an invitation by thousands of the restive students to address them at Beijing University.

On Sunday, Soviet officials curtly refused to comment when a group of outspoken Chinese writers tried to use a press conference by Soviet cultural figures to elicit Soviet views on the student movement here, on the differences between Soviet and Chinese political change, and on Mr. Gorbachev's willingness to meet with unofficial Chinese intellectuals.

Chinese officials have given mixed signals about how enthusiastically they welcome Mr. Gorbachev. Press reports have been decidedly low key, and there are signs Mr. Gorbachev's hosts have tried to keep his public exposure largely ceremonial.

The schedule currently includes only one meeting with Chinese intellectuals, and the audience has reportedly been restricted to about 500 hand-picked government scholars.

On the other hand, the Chinese have postponed the visit of three American warships that were originally scheduled to sail into Shanghai harbor just as Mr. Gorbachev was leaving that city. To avoid making this gesture of Chinese-American friendship seem a deliberate insult to the Soviets, the ships will arrive a day later.

The Most Divisive Issue

Cambodia is thought to be the most divisive issue on the agenda.

At Moscow's encouragement, Vietnam, which invaded Cambodia in 1978 and installed a new Government, has pledged to withdraw its remaining 70,000 troops by September and clear the way for elections.

China, which supports a three-faction rebel coalition headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has balked over the plans for internal supervision of the elections and the composition of a transition government, apparently fearing that Vietnam will contrive to maintain its influence in Cambodia. Hanoi has cited fears

of the Khmer Rouge grabbing power as a reason for staying as long as it has. The Khmer Rouge is blamed for the murder of at least a million of its own countrymen during its rule in the mid-70's.

During negotiations on a joint communique to be signed during Mr. Gorbachev's visit to Beijing, the Soviets reportedly indicated their willingness to gloss over the dispute by simply restating the different Soviet and Chinese views. But according to one Soviet official, China declined, evidently hoping to persuade Mr. Gorbachev to press his Vietnamese allies harder. Expanding Number of Exchanges

Other differences that reportedly arose in the preliminary talks were more symbolic, but reflect the Chinese desire not to seem overly eager for Moscow's friendship. For example, the Soviets have pressed for the communique to declare "full normalization" of relations between the two Governments, while the Chinese have offered only an unadorned "normalization."

But both sides agree that the normalization between the two countries is already inexorably underway, with a steady expansion of trade and official exchanges, negotiations of old border disputes, and a more regular dialogue on regional conflicts.

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