

Crackdown in Beijing; Administration Ponders Steps on China

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN and SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES JUNE 5, 1989

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In the face of widespread Congressional outrage over the shooting down of protesters in Beijing, the Bush Administration is considering several steps to demonstrate criticism of the Chinese Government's use of force to end the protests, Administration officials said today.

The Administration will have to act quickly, though, if it is to stay ahead of a galloping Congressional movement for immediate action. Democratic and Republican leaders in Congress joined forces today to demand that President Bush take steps to punish Beijing.

Unless the White House acts, "Congress will do it for him," said Representative Stephen J. Solarz, the New York Democrat who is chairman of the House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. Options Are Reviewed

An interagency review of the Administration's options, ordered on Saturday, is being coordinated by the State Department and its recommendations should be ready for President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d early this week, the officials said.

Several times in the last two weeks the Administration indicated to the Chinese Government, through a variety of diplomatic messages, that the "use of force could not but affect the ability of the Sino-American relationship to continue

expanding the way it has in recent years," an official said.

The options now being considered by the Administration include extending the visas of some of the 40,000 Chinese students currently studying in the United States who might be afraid to return to their homeland, halting further military sales to China, recalling the United States Ambassador for "consultations" and limiting high-technology transfers.

Other options include voting against China in international institutions, like the United Nations and World Bank, cutting back on official visits to China, restricting cultural and scientific exchanges and holding up a contingent of Peace Corps experts scheduled to begin work in China this year, the first involvement by the Peace Corps in a Communist country. Proceeding With Caution

Whatever they decide to do, Administration officials emphasized that they intend to proceed cautiously .

They are keenly aware that with several leading members of Congress demanding an immediate halt to all American military sales to China, and with the American public's having watched live on television the dramatic rise of the pro-democracy movement and its tragic ending, the Administration will probably have to do more than "deplore" the violence, as President Bush has done. But the Administration wants to express its displeasure in ways that will not permanently undermine its strategic relationship with China, provoke the Beijing Government into further repressions or undermine the legitimacy of the democracy movement by making it appear to be a tool of foreign elements.

Since the improvement in Chinese-American relations in the early 1970's, China has served as an important American strategic counterweight to the Soviet Union. It has also played host to a network of secret American listening posts that monitor military developments in the Soviet Union from close to the border. Travel Warning Issued

Meanwhile, the State Department reiterated its travel advisory to Americans considering visiting China. According to Daria Novak, the spokeswoman for the special State Department task force that has been set up to monitor events in China round the clock, the latest advisory says: "We strongly urge American citizens to avoid travel to Beijing at this time. The situation there is extremely dangerous and personal safety cannot be assured. Until the situation is clarified, Americans should stay close to their place of residence."

Between 150,000 to 200,000 Americans visit China each year, and about 500

American students are currently studying at Chinese universities.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee announced today that it had decided to convene a special session Wednesday to discuss United States-China relations in the wake of Saturday's crackdown. Senator Alan Cranston, chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, issued a statement saying he wants to see an immediate halt "to all military assistance and cooperation" with China.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the ranking Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee, endorsed the idea of a halt in arms sales to Beijing and also demanded a full review of United States-China relations. Mr. Helms, who vowed to ask the Senate on Monday to approve these measures, said on the CBS News program "Face The Nation" that he believed there was "strong bipartisan support" for such moves.

"What we have in Beijing today is an uprising of the people, trying to throw off the shackles of a Communist government," Mr. Helms said. "We need to stand with these young people who are trying to achieve freedom." Response Is Called Timid

Representative Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma, the chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, dismissed the Administration's response thus far to the events in Beijing as "timid" and appealed for a moratorium on United States support for China. Mr. Edwards, who is the fourth-ranking Republican in the House, said: "Diplomatic messages of disapproval are a pretty puny reaction to the murdering of innocent civilians whose only crime is to want the same freedoms we in the West take for granted. We need to do something besides talk."

The President, who was returning to Washington late Sunday after a weekend at his Kennebunkport, Me., home had no comment for reporters when he went out for a jog Sunday morning. So far, the only visible action by the Administration has been to summon the Chinese Ambassador, Han Xu, to the State Department on Saturday to hear an expression of "deep concern" about the killings in Beijing.

The President is scheduled to meet with Congressional leaders on Monday at the White House. Although the meeting was originally supposed to focus on the NATO summit meeting last week, possible measures against the Chinese Government are expected to be discussed.

"We have to be careful," said a senior Administration official. "Given the embattled mindset of the Chinese leadership, we don't have the foggiest idea what

kind of counter-reaction they might have to anything we do. We don't want to play into the hands of those leading the crackdown." Others Advise Caution

That tendency toward caution was reinforced by some prominent China experts.

John K. Fairbank, the noted historian of China, said in a telephone interview: "There is no gain for the American Government or people to break off existing relationships before we know the direction of events. For instance, before we stop sending technology to the Chinese Army we should see where the army actually stands on these internal matters. We should speak out strongly, but wait and see before we act."

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger also warned that the President and Secretary of State "cannot afford emotional outbursts" in the present situation.

"We are dealing with a huge country that has been extremely antiforeign," Mr. Kissinger said on the ABC News program "This Week." The United States must be very careful about entering into a diplomatic "antagonism" with China that could give the Soviet Union "a free ride" in influence in Asia, he said.

The Chinese-American relationship has steadily expanded economically, diplomatically and militarily since formal relations were established in 1979. In the intervening years, private companies in the United States, with Congress's green light, have sold more than \$748 million in weapons to China.

According to Congressional sources, no arms sales to China are currently pending so any ban would have no immediate impact.

But the United States also provides roughly 30 percent of the "dual-use" technology that China gets from the outside world. These are computers and other high-technology equipment that may ostensibly be for civilian use, but also have military applications. They are critical to China's economic modernization program.

Since 1983, the United States and its Western partners in the 16-nation Coordinating Committee for Strategic Exports have been loosening restrictions on the dual-use high-technology items that can be exported to China. A reversal of that policy could be another source of leverage for Washington on Beijing.

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