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# CHINA'S PREMIER REAPPEARS; ARMY SEEMS TO TIGHTEN GRIP; BUSH BARS NORMAL TIES NOW; BEIJING IS WARNED

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President Bush said tonight that the United States could not have normal relations with China until the authorities in Beijing "recognize the validity" of the pro-democracy student movement.

Appearing in the East Room of the White House at his first prime-time news conference, Mr. Bush made it clear that he wanted to try to preserve relations with China as far as possible, both because of the strategic importance of Chinese-American relations and because moderate elements in China might yet emerge triumphant.

"I understand the importance of the relationship with the Chinese people and the Government," added the President. "It is in the interest of the United States to have good relations." [ Transcript, page A22. ] Other Issues Draw Less Attention While China dominated the news conference, Mr. Bush also answered questions on the Soviet Union, Iran, Poland and Panama.

On domestic topics, Mr. Bush renewed his support for Lee Atwater, the embattled chairman of the Republican National Committee. Democrats have been calling for Mr. Atwater's resignation because of a committee memorandum that attacked the new Speaker of the House, Representative Thomas S. Foley. [ Page

A23. ] Administration specialists on China said today that they believed the immediate threat of civil war in China was receding.

They said that while a serious rift exists within the People's Liberation Army between those who supported the savage crackdown on student pro-democracy demonstrators in Tienanmen Square last weekend and those who sympathized with the students' demands, Chinese civilian and military leaders do not want to see the split widen. The specialists said the leaders in Beijing appeared to be trying to reduce the chances of confrontation. No Answer to Bush Calls

At his news conference, the President conceded that even he did not know who was in charge in Beijing and had said he had even tried to telephone some Chinese leaders today but failed to get anyone to answer his calls.

Defending his response to events in China, the President said: "Some have suggested to show our forcefulness that I bring the American ambassador back. I disagree with that 180 degrees. Some have suggested - well, you gotta go full sanctions on the economic side. I don't want to cut off grain. I think that would be counterproductive and would hurt the people." A Confident President

The President, who had no opening statement and went immediately to questions, appeared relaxed, confident and assertive. He appeared to be trying to use his news conference to build on the perceptions created during his NATO trip of two weeks ago that he is ready and willing to respond to the initiatives of the Soviet President, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and that he has established himself as the pre-eminent leader of the Western alliance.

When asked whether the United States could resume normal diplomatic relations with China in light of the bloody repression of the democracy movement, the President answered firmly: "We can't have totally normal relations unless there is a recognition of the validity of the students' aspirations."

China's 27th Army, which attacked the demonstrators, is still in the center of Beijing despite its periodic dashes to the outskirts to confront supposed rivals and its involvement in bizarre episodes of shooting Wednesday. It is sandwiched between two units that are reportedly opposed to violent actions and consequently more popular with most people in Beijing. Deng Said to Be in Charge

An Administration official said the Chinese Central Military Commission, headed by the country's senior leader, Mr. Deng, and President Yang Shangkun, appears to be exercising command over all factions of the Army.

Earlier this week it was reported that senior Chinese leaders had left Beijing.

This was confirmed by an Administration official who said they temporarily shifted the center of Government to their secret wartime emergency headquarters dug into the foothills of the Eternal Hills about 10 miles west of Beijing. A special spur off Beijing's subway system allows Chinese leaders to move directly from the center of Beijing to the site.

Specialists on the Chinese Army say the Military Commission wants to remove the 27th Army from Beijing as a first step in reducing military presence and lowering the level of tension. The 27th has been discredited in the eyes of most people in Beijing and many military colleagues. The leadership's goal, they said, is to lower the overall military presence in the capital bit by bit and to turn over security to the police as soon as order is fully restored and there is no threat of new demonstrations.

The 27th is commanded by the nephew of Yang Shangkun, who some specialists believe gave the actual order to shoot at the students. Some paratroopers belonging to the 15th Air Army, which also participated in the shooting, are also said to be still in the city. Other Units in Capital

On either side of them are two sister units assigned to the Beijing Military Region, one of seven such regions into which China is divided. Directly to the east beyond Jianguomenwai, the outer gate of ancient Beijing, between the city's inner and outer ring roads, are units of the 28th Army. Leaders of the 28th are believed to have been sympathetic to the goals of the students and opposed to martial law.

To the west, about six blocks on the opposite side of Tienanmen Square, near the Chinese Communist Party Headquarters, are soldiers of the 38th Army, Beijing's home unit, which refused to use force against the students when martial law was first proclaimed three weeks ago.

Clashes that the State Department confirmed Wednesday as having taken place between military units occurred on the outskirts of the city and are said to have involved elements of the 16th Army. However no 16th Army units are known to be actually within Beijing.

Outside the city, on the main highway to Beijing's civilian airport, units of another army, the 39th, brought in from Shenyang Military Region northeast of the capital, established blocking positions controlling traffic in and out of the city along that route. These are the soldiers that foreigners fleeing the capital pass through on the way to the Beijing airport. The sympathies of this unit are unknown.

Differences Over Numbers

The remainder of the troops that moved into the Beijing area during the crisis are encamped in the countryside around the city and there are no reports of incidents among any of these units. Reports out of Beijing estimating that as many as 400,000 troops are in and around Beijing are exaggerated, according to military analysts here, who continue to place the figure at around 200,000.

There are a number of suburban airfields around Beijing in addition to the main airport northeast of the city, which is limited to commercial traffic. The airfield at Nanyuan south of the city is the principal military airfield in the vicinity of Beijing.

An unspecified number of Chinese Air Force combat aircraft were said to have reinforced MIG fighter units already stationed there during the last week. Formations of Air Force helicopters that frequently flew over Tiananman Square after martial law was declared reportedly flew out of Nanyuan. The airfield is also used routinely by China's military and political leadership to fly in and out of Beijing.

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