

Turmoil in China; Shanghai Issues an Appeal for Calm, and a Warning to Go With It

By **RICHARD BERNSTEIN** and **SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES** JUNE 9, 1989

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The Mayor of this city appealed in a televised address for an end to the "chaos" that he said has prevailed here for several days, warning that anyone causing disturbances or interfering with efforts to restore Shanghai's transportation system would be "dealt with by the police in accordance with law."

Mayor Zhu Rongji's speech on late-night television was one of several indications today that the authorities here are preparing to toughen their response to a student-led protest movement in Shanghai.

Earlier today, local newspapers carried an editorial warning that those causing disturbances would be severely punished. Nonetheless, in several small rallies and marches around the city, students called today for a mass demonstration Friday to protest the bloody repression of the democracy movement that took place in Beijing last weekend.

The warnings and the continuing efforts of an apparently dwindling number of students to maintain the protest were the latest development in a war of nerves between the Government and protesters that has been constant and intense in China's largest city since the crackdown in Beijing on Saturday and Sunday.

Since then, students and their supporters have succeeded in virtually blocking

public transportation by commandeering buses and using them to barricade streets. Absenteeism at factories has been high and there has been a mood of near insurrection among many here outraged by the central Government's handling of protests in Beijing.

With foreign companies and some consulates evacuating their personnel, flights out of Shanghai have all been full. Foreign students at the universities, fearing violence there, have been leaving their dormitories and living in hotels in the city while they make their plans to leave. An emergency charter flight organized by the Australian Consulate took 400 people to Hong Kong this afternoon. A Partial Return to Normalcy

Still, while anti-Government feelings clearly run high among local people, there have been many signs that, even without tough government measures, many elements of life in Shanghai began returning to normal today.

For the first time in almost a week, bus service on several main streets was restored. Visits to factories indicated that absenteeism, estimated at times to be as much as 50 percent of the work force, has diminished. There were indications that rail service, all but completely disrupted for two days, would resume soon.

All along, commercial life has been little affected by the protest movement. Stores have remained open; the shopping streets have continued to be crowded; students have allowed food to pass through barricades and there have been no reported shortages.

There were reports that many students, including many of the most politically active, have left their campuses in recent days and returned home, apparently in the belief that they have lost the struggle for now and would do better to work behind the scenes for a renewed pro-democracy movement in the future.

The Government's strategy seems to have been to avoid direct confrontations with local protesters, a policy that, by removing the police from the streets, often gave the impression in the last few days that large parts of Shanghai were entirely in the hands of the students and their supporters. Rally at Party Headquarters

Even today, for example, students held a rally in front of Communist Party headquarters here during which they read a statement demanding that the United Nations expel China because of what they called its human rights abuses. There were about a dozen unarmed soldiers guarding the entrance to the building, but, even though the demonstration filled up the broad avenue that runs along the harbor here, there was no effort to stop it.

Similarly, students have circulated freely around the city, giving speeches, putting up posters, marching down city streets and commandeering buses. The police have made virtually no effort to interfere with them.

But the government has, particularly in the last couple of days, used that absolute control of the news media to mount a propaganda campaign, both in the newspapers and on television, appealing to the desire for order and accusing a "very small number" of people of trying to foment disorder.

Television stations, for example, have repeatedly shown footage of a train set afire two nights ago by Shanghai residents. Students and many others say the train driver, ordered by the police here to ignore a human blockade, plowed into a group of people, killing six of them. The television news has portrayed the train burning as an act of sabotage by "bad elements," and its repeated reference to the incident seems aimed at persuading people of the costs of continued protests. 'Do You Want Chaos?'

Mr. Zhu's unscheduled appearance on television at about 11 P.M. tonight seemed aimed at encouraging the move toward the restoration of normal life here by combining warnings against the students with an appeal to trust the local government and the Communist Party to solve Shanghai's problems.

"Do you want chaos in Shanghai?" Mr. Zhu, wearing a Western-style jacket and tie, said. Then, addressing what he called "a very small number" of "unlawful elements," he said, "the broad masses of Shanghai citizens can no longer tolerate your illegal activities." He said the city had organized major efforts to clear blockades across streets and to resume normal transportation. He said any efforts to interfere with the restoration of normal service would be "punished by law."

He blamed the disorder on unspecified "foreign rumors," by which he presumably meant reports by foreign news organizations, particularly the Voice of America and the BBC, both of which are widely listened to in China, on the crackdown in Beijing.

While the foreign news reports have generally put the numbers of dead in the Beijing crackdown in the thousands, the Chinese news media have lately been reiterating a statement by Yuan Mu, the spokesman for the State Council, that about 300 people died in the army's action, most of them soldiers.

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