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DENG APPEARS ON CHINESE TV, SURROUNDED BY HARD-LINERS; SHANGHAI PROTESTERS RALLY

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Deng Xiaoping, China's senior leader, appeared on television this evening with nine other top officials, apparently resolving the question of who is running the country.

Mr. Deng, who is 84 years old and had been rumored to be dead or gravely ill, seemed relatively fit and very much in command as he spoke to a group of army commanders. There seems now to be little doubt that he remains the paramount leader of China and probably the man who ordered the violent crackdown on the democracy movement beginning last Saturday night. **No Remorse for Killings**

With Beijing subdued and fearful, defiance continued today in Shanghai, China's largest city, as tens of thousands of students and others held a protest rally and marched through the streets. [Page 7.]

[With the ascendancy of the hard-liners in Beijing, Bush Administration officials foresee difficult times for the near term in United States-Chinese relations. Some in Washington fear the chill will be reminiscent of the darker periods before President Nixon's 1972 visit. Page 5.]

Just as striking as the display of a realigned leadership was the harshness of Mr. Deng's comments, which seemed to set the tone for the new leadership's

handling of political discontent. The 10 leaders met with military commanders and commended the army for crushing the democracy movement over the last week. Mr. Deng expressed no remorse for the killing of hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of civilians, but he led the group in standing for a minute of silence to honor the soldiers who died in the fighting. Out of View for 3 Weeks

"This disturbance was something beyond anyone's control," Mr. Deng said. "A very small number of people created turmoil, and this eventually developed into a counterrevolutionary rebellion. They are trying to overthrow the Communist Party, topple the socialist system and subvert the People's Republic of China so as to establish a capitalist republic.

"In putting down the counterrevolutionary rebellion, the People's Liberation Army, the armed police and the public security officers have been conscious of their duties and have overcome the challenge," added Mr. Deng, who had not been seen in public for more than three weeks. While in general he seemed relatively healthy, he slurred his speech and sometimes had trouble finding words. His left hand trembled as it rested on the table.

Unlike some other leaders in recent speeches, Mr. Deng made no conciliatory gestures to the millions of people around the nation who had supported the democracy movement. Economic Policies to Continue

He did say that the open-door and economic reform policies of the last decade had been correct and would be continued. But he gave no sign that he intended to take measures to reassure foreign investors or foreign tourists that China welcomes them.

In fact the tone of his remarks seemed likely to make them hesitate further about coming to China. Such hesitation in turn would probably strengthen the hand of those who warn that China must not rely too much on market economics or on foreign investment and tourism.

In addition, while Mr. Deng may hope to pursue economic liberalization, he seems to have allied himself with elderly leaders who are more wary than he has been of economic or political restructuring.

Arrayed around Mr. Deng today were mostly hard-line party revolutionaries who apparently now represent a second tier of collective leadership beneath him. At his right was Prime Minister Li Peng, who invoked martial law and seems to be for now the most powerful of the next generation of party officials. Revival of 'Old Revolutionaries'

If the television image correctly portrayed the nation's leadership, decision making has largely reverted to the "old revolutionaries" who had retired from formal positions in recent years. The average age of the 10 leaders was 76, and only two - Mr. Deng and Wan Li, the head of the National People's Congress - are believed to be enthusiastic about rapid economic restructuring.

"None of them was wearing a Western suit," said an Asian diplomat, who noted that until recently most of the nation's leaders preferred jacket and tie to show their enthusiasm for change, instead of the old-fashioned Mao jacket that symbolized the past. "That alone shows how much the atmosphere has changed."

There was no sign in today's meeting of the Communist Party leader, Zhao Ziyang, who is believed to have been stripped of his powers three weeks ago after he urged conciliation with the democracy movement, or of Hu Qili, a Politburo member who supported Mr. Zhao.

Instead, the group consisted largely of people whom Mr. Deng previously had tried to nudge out of the way to make room for younger leaders. Other Leaders Present

On Mr. Deng's immediate left was former President Li Xiannian, 80. After him, in order, were President Yang Shangkun, 82; Peng Zhen, the 87-year-old former head of the National People's Congress; Mr. Wan, 73; and Bo Yibo, the 81-year-old deputy chairman of the Central Advisory Commission.

The order in which people are seated in China often reflects their political power, and that is why Prime Minister Li's spot to the right of Mr. Deng was so significant. Beyond Prime Minister Li were Wang Zhen, the 81-year-old Vice President; Yao Yilin, the 72-year-old Deputy Prime Minister, and Qiao Shi, the 65-year-old Politburo member in charge of security.

Chen Yun, the 84-year-old head of the Central Advisory Commission who is now believed to be in poor health, apparently also retains influence, for he sent a message even though he was absent.

While all of these officials have been associated with the economic liberalization policies of the last decade, as well as the warming of relations with the United States in that period, most also are believed to feel that the liberalization has proceeded too quickly. Some also favor significantly greater cooperation with the Soviet Union. A Danger for Deng's Policies

Some of them, like Mr. Peng, have at times had their disagreements with Mr. Deng, and it is unclear if the new line and new leadership entirely reflect his own

choices or if he was pushed into it.

One risk for Mr. Deng is that while his elderly colleagues may support him in crushing the democracy movement, they may try to undermine his policies of economic experimentation. And if Mr. Deng were to die soon, the other elderly leaders might try to curb the open-door policy and restore a measure of central planning to the economy.

Most of those in attendance are not now on the Politburo or even on the Central Committee, and it is unlikely that the new leadership will ever be formally installed on the Politburo or any other body. But it is clear that from retirement they still dictate to those on whom they bestow the formal titles. Whether or not it was intentional, the television underscored this by showing Prime Minister Li carefully taking notes as Mr. Deng spoke to the meeting.

The effect of the television appearance was to reinforce the gulf between the leadership and the rest of the nation. While the leadership endorses hard-line policies against political change, and the 10 leaders shown on television include several who are wary of much economic change, record numbers of Chinese people, including many Communist Party members, have in the last few months expressed their yearning for a more democratic system, as well as further economic liberalization. The Situation in the Cities

It is too soon to tell how the contradictions between the leadership and the masses will find expression, but residents of Shanghai indicated today that they at least do not regard the democracy movement as finished. In the demonstration there, the large crowd commemorated the pro-democracy protesters who were killed in Beijing, as well as six who were struck down by a train this week while protesting in Shanghai.

In Beijing, there were growing signs today that the Government was expanding its control over the capital and restoring order, while at the same time seeking to uproot any remnants of the democracy movement.

Widespread arrests of students and intellectuals were rumored today, although the reports may have been exaggerated because some obvious candidates for arrest - like the dissident and essayist Ren Wanding, who has been denounced on the front page of People's Daily - said they had not been contacted by the police so far.

"Do you think I will be arrested?" Mr. Ren asked a reporter this evening. He sounded tired as he mused, "I am not afraid, for I have done nothing wrong."

Diplomats said they believed that some arrests had taken place, although they could not furnish names of particular people who had been detained.

The Beijing authorities and the martial-law headquarters also banned political posters, which had already been illegal but still could be seen all over the city, and called on citizens to report those who put up posters or distribute leaflets. Scenes of Arrests

The television news repeatedly showed scenes of people it described as "thugs" being arrested in cities all around China for creating unrest during pro-democracy demonstrations. The scenes seemed calculated to convey the impression not only that the demonstrators were vandals, but that the Government had recovered the initiative.

Troops also moved into the university district in northwest Beijing. Almost no students remain on campus, as the overwhelming majority have abandoned university a month early to return to their hometowns.

Many were planning to spread word of the democracy movement in their own communities, and to visit factories to get the support of more workers. But the severity of the crackdown may discourage them from political work.

With resistance to the troops having crumbled almost entirely, the soldiers also began moving through more areas of the capital, even small alleys where they would have been afraid to venture a couple of days earlier. While more than 1,000 guns are still unaccounted for, said a Chinese with access to central military information, there have been no recent shootings of soldiers, and attacks with stones or firebombs also seem to have ended.

Only a few gunshots could be heard all day, and life in the capital continued to return slowly to something approaching normal. There was also no sign of any further clashes or conflicts among different army units, as occurred earlier in the week.

The authorities allowed buses to pass through Tiananmen Square today, giving passengers a glimpse of scores of tanks and army trucks parked in the square, which had been the center of the democracy movement.

This evening, two large military convoys including more than 40 tanks moved eastward from Tiananmen Square. It was not clear if they were leaving the center of the city for good.

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