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Turmoil in China; China Tightens Grip With a Ban On Groups Calling for Democracy

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF and SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES JUNE 13, 1989

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The Government banned unofficial pro-democracy organizations today and gave the police the right to shoot rioters. At the same time, official news organizations intensified their attacks on a leading dissident taking refuge at the United States Embassy.

The television news continued to report waves of new arrests around the country of "thugs" who supported the democracy movement and opposed the military crackdown a week ago. It is not known how many people have been arrested, but two days ago the official figure for Beijing alone stood at 400; now it is believed to be much higher.

National television also showed close-up scenes of demonstrators trying to resist the army during the crackdown and suggested that people report anyone they recognized. The news reported that in just one district in Beijing, 25 "ruffians" had been arrested, based on reports from the "masses." U.S.-China Strains

The attacks on China's most prominent dissident, Fang Lizhi, and his wife, Li Shuxian, added to the strains on Chinese-American relations and seemed certain to complicate any effort to achieve a negotiated solution. Mr. Fang and Miss Li are both physicists who are outspoken critics of the Communist Party leadership. They

were given refuge a week ago in the United States Embassy, and on Sunday Beijing accused them of counterrevolutionary activities.

Under international law, Chinese officials cannot force their way into the embassy compound and arrest the couple, but Mr. Fang and Miss Li would be at risk if they left. There is a growing feeling here that a negotiated outcome will be difficult to achieve and that the two dissidents may have to live for some time in the American Embassy.

The Government announced today that it would distribute wanted posters of the couple for distribution throughout the nation in train stations, airports and harbors. The poster, which features a distinctly unflattering photo of Professor Fang, was shown on television with a short commentary. 'They Are Guilty'

"Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian together engaged in counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation," the announcer said. "They are guilty, and they escaped from justice. All points of exit from China should be on their guard for them."

The television news showed several people attacking Mr. Fang as a traitor and criticizing the United States for giving him refuge. The Chinese Government has seemed highly indignant at the decision to give Mr. Fang diplomatic refuge, perhaps because to Chinese officials the action rubs against a historic sensitivity to the foreign enclaves earlier this century that were beyond Chinese law.

"Fang's action proves that he was guilty," a middle-aged woman said on television. "If he was innocent, why would he escape to the embassy?" VOA Told to 'Take a Break'

Chinese press organizations have carried criticisms of Mr. Fang for several days, but today's reports seemed to be the most intense yet. The wanted posters seem intended less to catch him if he leaves the embassy than to hurt his reputation and put pressure on the United States to stop harboring a serious criminal.

China also made some of its strongest criticisms so far against the Voice of America for what was described as false reporting. Today's Beijing Daily News published a long commentary attacking the Voice of America for "fabrications" and called on it to "take a break."

Television also quoted a man as saying, "People used to believe Voice of America, but now they know it is wrong."

The Government announced today that roads around Tiananmen Square

would be opened beginning Tuesday to bicycles and motor vehicles, but not to pedestrians. But no one will be allowed to stop near the square, and there are still 10 tanks and 45 armored personnel carriers on the north side of the square to discourage dawdlers.

Classes at most schools were reported to have resumed today, and most workers appeared to have returned to their jobs. Even the Palace Museum in the Forbidden City will reopen Tuesday, although there are no tourists left in Beijing.

New Regulations

The new regulations announced today by the Public Security Ministry seemed intended to insure that the newly established calm will not be disrupted by further pro-democracy demonstrations.

"All organizations engaged in counterrevolution and social turmoil are abolished," the rules declare, referring to pro-democracy groups. "Independent student and worker associations must immediately cease their activities and leaders must turn themselves in."

The new rules also prohibited offering assistance to the leaders of these unofficial groups and called on anyone with weapons or counterrevolutionary leaflets to turn them in or face strict punishment. Anyone who clogs traffic or attacks offices of the Communist Party or the mass media will be arrested, the ministry said, and troops can use force to disperse people "gathering together to cause chaos."

The police are authorized to use their weapons against rioters and those who resist arrest, as well as to protect themselves. The ministry also urged: "Every citizen should search for criminals and report them."

The television showed a series of senior officials making public appearances to praise the crackdown and visit wounded soldiers. Among those shown was Qiao Shi, a member of the standing committee of the Politburo who is mentioned as candidate to be the next party leader. Appearance by Zhao Associate

The most surprising appearance was by Tian Jiyun, a Politburo member who is closely associated with the Communist Party General Secretary, Zhao Ziyang. Mr. Zhao has been stripped of his powers, and perhaps of his formal position, and at least one associate on the Politburo, Hu Qili, has also disappeared and has presumably been purged. A picture of Mr. Tian had previously been published in a newspaper, indicating that his career might be saved, but his television appearance was the clearest sign so far that members of Mr. Zhao's faction will not

automatically lose their posts.

In his televised remarks, Mr. Tian did not mention the "counterrevolutionary rebellion," but simply visited wounded soldiers and thanked them for doing their duty while carrying out martial law.

Two other senior Communist Party officials who have been associated with the moderate point of view also made brief appearances on television. They were Yan Mingfu, an official in the party headquarters who argued for conciliation with the students, and Wen Jiabao, director of the General Office of the Central Committee. Both were shown visiting wounded soldiers, and neither said anything in front of the cameras.

While newly arrested people are constantly shown on television, it is difficult to determine how many people have been arrested so far and who some of the more prominent people are who have been arrested. Many well-known intellectuals seem to have disappeared, for they do not answer the phone at home or at work, but it is not clear if this means they have been arrested. Prominent Lawyer Disappears

One of these is Cao Siyuan, a prominent lawyer who helped write China's bankruptcy law and who recently has pushed for constitutional changes to make China more democratic. Tonight's television news program indirectly criticized Mr. Cao and the Stone Corporation Institute of Social Development, of which he is director. The news program quoted several members of the National People's Congress standing committee as saying that Mr. Cao had contacted them and asked them to call for an emergency meeting of the standing committee.

The purpose of the call for an emergency meeting was to revoke martial law, but the effort was subsequently blocked.

For the last couple of days, no one has answered Mr. Cao's home telephone, and someone who answered his phone at work today said he had not come to work for several days and his whereabouts were unknown.

A Shanghai student leader who the Government reported Sunday had been arrested at the Shanghai airport, while trying to board a flight to Hong Kong, today was identified as a Hong Kong resident, and the British Embassy said it had raised the matter with the Chinese Government. A British diplomat who asked not to be identified said he had discussed the matter informally Sunday night with the consular department of the Foreign Ministry and followed it up today.

He said there had been no response so far on the case of the student, whose

name is Yao Yongzhan. The diplomat said it was not clear what passport Mr. Yao carried, but that he was a resident of Hong Kong.

A version of this article appears in print on June 13, 1989, on Page A00001 of the National edition with the headline: Turmoil in China; China Tightens Grip With a Ban On Groups Calling for Democracy.
