

China makes first arrests of protesters; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

[Ronald E. Yates, Chicago Tribune.. Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [May 31, 1989](#). pg. 2

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While a hardcore group of students struggled Tuesday to keep the world's attention focused on their 3-week occupation of Beijing's Tiananmen Square, China's conservative leaders stepped up attempts to drive a wedge between the demonstrators and this nation's workers by announcing the first arrests in connection with the pro-democracy movement.

In addition to offering bonuses of 100 yuan (\$27) to railway workers and other government employees for staying away from the huge pro-democracy demonstrations, which have proliferated in China for the past three weeks the government began fining those who left their jobs to attend the student rallies. Early Tuesday they arrested 14 activists as part of an official crackdown on public support for the democracy movement.

Three of those arrested belonged to a new illegal union that has voiced support for the students.

The 11 others belonged to the hundreds of teams of motorcyclists who had roared nightly through the streets of Beijing carrying messages and relaying information about the movements of the 200,000 troops that surround China's capital.

Members of the independent trade union, which was formed May 19, six days after the students first occupied Tiananmen Square, said the union's leader and two other Railway Ministry employees were taken away without explanation early Tuesday.

As word of the arrests spread throughout the square, it seemed to ignite hope in the student leadership that the public might rally behind them again as it did a few weeks ago, when more than a million people jammed the vast area in front of the Forbidden City.

While some students unveiled a 30-foot-high "Goddess of Democracy" modeled after America's Statue of Liberty, several hundred others gathered outside the Beijing Public Security headquarters a half-mile away to protest the arrest of the three workers.

"Get away, get away," shouted a plainclothes police officer. He, along with several dozen uniformed police, pushed away from the building's entrance those who had gathered there in defiance of the martial law ban on public gatherings. "It is illegal to gather here."

Most of the crowd dispersed after several protesters were told the police would officially announce the arrests. Later the official New China news agency did just that, saying those arrested had been under investigation for several days for "starting rumors," inciting workers to strike and for beating traffic police officers.

The students in Tiananmen Square, meanwhile, appeared emboldened by the enthusiastic public reaction to their statue and the government's inability to purge moderates, including Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang, from this nation's political hierarchy.

As Beijing entered its 12th day of martial law, it was also obvious that the government was still unable to enforce that decree.

But the embarrassed government did admonish members of the foreign media to "observe regulations on news coverage" as they relate to martial law. Those rules forbid, among other things, interviews with the students in Tiananmen Square.

"The government seems desperate to me," said Liang Hong, a 21-year-old student. "I think they will soon begin arresting students."

CAPTION:

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. A plainclothes police officer tells students protesting at Beijing Public Security headquarters Tuesday that their activities violate martial law.

For Chinese TV, it's business as usual; [NORTH SPORTS

FINAL, C Edition]

[Ronald E. Yates](#), *Chicago Tribune*. [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 5, 1989](#). pg. 16

Full Text (595 words)

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At the end of a bloody weekend that no Chinese will soon forget, the people of Beijing were searching for facts and answers. There were few to be found.

The Chinese media, tightly controlled by the government, depicted the last few days-in which hundreds of people were shot and clubbed to death in the streets of Beijing-like any other weekend.

For much of Sunday afternoon, state-run television broadcast an 18th Century costume comedy with Chinese actors dressed in the powdered wigs and foppish clothing of Louis XVI's court.

It seemed appropriate: It was his wife, Marie Antoinette, who, when told the people of Paris were hungry, allegedly remarked, "Let them eat cake."

In the aftermath of the worst violence in recent Chinese history, the government's initial refusal to mention the carnage in Tiananmen Square and other parts of city was a message in itself-a message that could be interpreted as "Let them eat bullets."

China's government finally acknowledged the running battles between angry citizens and the People's Liberation Army by referring to the protests as an attempt to overthrow the socialist state, but it still continued to ignore the mounting deaths. At the same time, it called the massacre in Tiananmen Square a "glorious victory of the people" over "rebellious elements."

State television spent the day broadcasting crop reports, a lecture on the use of microcomputers and an incongruous documentary on [Walt Disney](#) and his famous animated cartoon characters, including Mickey Mouse, Goofy and Donald Duck.

"Please, we want to know what happened . . . can you tell us?" a Chinese man named Chen Liu pleaded with a reporter near Beijing's Friendship department store. Not far away the evidence of the night's violence still littered the streets-several disabled army trucks, an overturned and burned bus, black scorch marks on the pavement where Molotov cocktails had hit the ground.

"Yes," said a woman. "How many are dead? Has the government given any reason for their action?"

"They don't need to give a reason," said Chen, a supervisor in a bank. "They can simply kill us at any time and never feel the need to tell us why."

Sunday evening China's state-run television network finally acknowledged that the army had engaged demonstrators. "It was necessary to undertake that action to save lives and property," an announcer said, reading listlessly from a transcript.

A state radio report also said 1,000 soldiers were injured, but it made no mention of the dead pro-democracy demonstrators who had captured the hearts and minds of this nation with their occupation of Tiananmen Square.

It was in that square, among the world's largest, that Mao Zedong declared the birth of communist China in 1949.

"The face of Chairman Mao must have tears on it," said a woman named Zhang, referring to the huge portrait of modern China's founder that hangs at the entrance of the Forbidden City overlooking Tiananmen Square. "He saw it all."

So did much of the world's media-including foreign television, newspaper and radio reporters. And even though satellite broadcasts from China have been cut off by China's government, video cassettes of the bloody confrontation between the square's rag-tag army of unarmed student demonstrators and heavily armed soldiers were beginning to make their way out of Beijing and into television studios all over the world.

As news reports of the events in Beijing begin to make their way back to China's reclusive political hierarchy, diplomats here say it is likely the government will begin to expel the scores of visiting foreign reporters who have followed the events of the past several weeks with relative impunity.

Chinese troops hunt students Moves point to victory by hard-liners; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

Ronald E. Yates, Chicago Tribune.. Chicago Tribune (pre-1997 Fulltext). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 9, 1989](#).
pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

Chinese troops fanned out in the capital Friday in a search for pro-democracy leaders after hard-line Premier Li Peng praised the army for its role in the Tiananmen Square massacre and commanded the arrest of student activists.

In a chilling scene that seemed straight from George Orwell's "1984," the citizens of Beijing woke Friday morning to announcements on the state-run radio giving telephone numbers for them to call should they see or know the whereabouts of "counterrevolutionary hooligans" and other "ringleaders of the rebellion against the state."

The announcement, prepared by Beijing's martial law command, warned that those who did not turn themselves in would be "brought to justice and punished severely." It reiterated an earlier edict that gave squads of soldiers wearing special red armbands the authority to "forcefully dispose of, on the spot, anyone who resists arrest."

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Full Text (1077 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 9, 1989

This story is a composite of versions published in various editions.

Chinese troops fanned out in the capital Friday in a search for pro-democracy leaders after hardline Premier Li Peng praised the army for its role in the Tiananmen Square massacre and commanded the arrest of student activists.

Li's appearance on state-run television Thursday was the first time a Chinese leader has talked to the nation since the brutal attack last Sunday morning.

It indicated that the hard-liners, headed by Li, have emerged victorious in a power struggle that brought chaos and threats of civil war to China after the nation's ruling Politburo split weeks ago over the declaration of martial law aimed at student protesters in the square.

In a chilling scene that seemed straight from George Orwell's "1984," the citizens of Beijing woke Friday morning to announcements on the state-run radio giving telephone numbers for them to call should they see or know the whereabouts of "counterrevolutionary hooligans" and other "ringleaders of the rebellion against the state."

The announcement, prepared by Beijing's martial law command, warned that those who did not turn themselves in would be "brought to justice and punished severely." It reiterated an earlier edict that gave squads of soldiers wearing special red armbands the authority to "forcefully dispose of, on the spot, anyone who resists arrest."

Li, who wore an austere blue Mao suit, spoke at the Great Hall of the People to several hundred soldiers who took part in Sunday's attack on the students: "You've done well, comrades. Continue working hard to protect the capital's safety and order."

Not long after Li spoke, convoys led by plainclothes police moved into the suburbs toward Haidian, where the capital's main universities are located, to "take control of the source" of the democracy movement.

They found mostly empty buildings on the campuses of Beijing University and the People's University. Most students had gone underground, seeking shelter with families or friends, or moved to their home provinces.

The police did, however, arrest 12 students at Beijing University.

The witnesses said the police roared onto campus in the early hours Friday, shortly after most of the students had hurriedly vacated the grounds and its dormitories after listening to the premier's fire-and-brimstone speech.

The students have sought refuge with their families or with relatives to escape the police dragnet.

"The police ripped up democracy posters on the walls and defaced billboards informing students what was happening," said one witness. "They also ransacked some of the dorms."

In their wake, the students had left gory reminders of last Sunday's clash: bloodstained clothing and photographs of dead students were hung on sticks and posts around the campuses.

On their way out of the city Friday morning, several soldiers jumped from their trucks and fired shots almost at point blank range at foreign journalists and business executives standing in front of the Jianguo Hotel on Jianguomenwei Avenue.

Bullets peppered the front of the hotel as guests jumped for cover. No one was hit as bullets ricocheted off the hotel's stone walls.

For many foreigners who chose to stay behind, the sporadic shooting in the capital was reason enough to reconsider; they left for the airport in motorcades, the flags of their nations painted on the doors and hoods of their cars.

"We have taken an awful lot of moves (to protect people), and the biggest one was getting those people on those planes and pulling them out of town," U.S. Ambassador James Lilley told reporters at the airport.

Meanwhile, dozens of pro-democracy student demonstrators have gone underground in Beijing, moving from house to house in a desperate attempt to avoid capture.

"I am very frightened," said a female student named Yan. "We have heard that the government plans to kill us if it finds us. They want to totally crush the democracy movement. The only way for it to survive is for us to keep hiding and to keep telling the people how evil the Chinese government is."

Late Thursday and early Friday the Chinese government unleashed a heavy propaganda campaign designed to present its version of Sunday's Tiananmen tragedy. In obviously edited footage of the night's events, state-run television showed crowds of civilians attacking and burning army trucks and armored personnel carriers.

It also showed the charred bodies of three soldiers, one of whom had been disemboweled.

The broadcasts were in character for the government, which has announced that there were no student deaths in the clearing of the square and that the democracy movement was a counterrevolution run by hooligans. Western intelligence officials and diplomats in Beijing have estimated up to 3,000 people were killed.

Although great parts of the capital returned to a semblance of normalcy, troops set up checkpoints to control pedestrians and cyclists and to search vans in an apparent effort to find pro-democracy suspects.

Witnesses saw troops arresting people in the narrow alleys from which crowds had bombarded passing convoys with rocks and bottles.

The soldiers marched their captives to army trucks, the hands of the prisoners folded behind their necks.

Overnight, troops and city workers cleared the main avenues of burned-out wrecks of buses and army trucks. Soldiers with AK-47s slung over their backs wielded shovels and rakes to remove the debris of battle from the roadways.

On Friday morning, the city's buses were moving for the first time since the Tiananmen clash, many shops reopened and a steady stream of workers pedaled their bicycles to work.

Rumors that the 27th Army-which was responsible for the attack on the students-had left Beijing were reinforced when small knots of citizens stood talking and joking with soldiers throughout the city.

"These are the good soldiers," said one woman.

The relative calm in the capital diminished earlier fears that civil war was imminent.

But one military analyst said that President Yang Shangkun, who is considered the warlord of the crack 27th Army, was in the Inner Mongolian capital of Hohhot in an attempt to win the support of the huge concentration of troops on the Sino-Soviet border.

The same source said the president was trying to persuade the troops to form a third circle around Beijing in case rebellious elements of the army tried to overthrow the government. CAPTION:

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. Troops guard an intersection Thursday in central Beijing. Units of the 38th and 27th Armies spent the day locked in a tense standoff as large numbers of other soldiers moved toward the capital.

[Illustration]
PHOTO

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 **Beijing tour: This bus brakes for bullets; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]**
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[Jun 10, 1989](#). pg. 1

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 10, 1989

As soon as you climb aboard Bus No.1 of the Beijing Municipal Transportation Authority, you know you're in for an unusual ride.

"If there is shooting, please don't panic because we are entering the military zone," says a female conductor as the bus pulls away from the stop in front of the Friendship Department Store. There is a ripple of facetious sniggering from the 75 people crammed into the red and white bus.

It is the first day the buses in Beijing have operated since the carnage last Sunday morning in Tiananmen Square and since the streets of Beijing were littered with the burned-out carcasses of buses, trucks and armored personnel carriers.

For most of the week about 350 buses like bus No.1 have been little more than rolling potential roadblocks used by the people of Beijing to block the entrance of troops into the city. Most of those are now headed for the scrap heap.

As bus No. 1 one picks up speed, it crosses the overpass that carries Jianguomenwai Avenue over South Chao Yang Men Avenue where, for a good part of the week, about 20 T-59 tanks had blocked the roadway. They are gone now, somewhere on the outskirts of the capital.

But stony-faced troops stand every 10 yards along the railings on both sides of the overpass, their AK-47 rifles and submachine guns at the ready. They stare blankly at the long double coach bus as it rumbles by.

There is a wave of discreetly muted disapproval from many passengers-just as there is when the bus passes several patrols of soldiers with red armbands.

These are the troops that Beijing's martial law command announced had been given authority to "dispose of on the spot" anybody they decided was resisting arrest.

Bus No. 1 continues down Jianguomenwai past Chongwenmennei Street, where the wide boulevard suddenly becomes East Changan-the Street of Heavenly Peace.

On the right is the hulking Beijing Hotel, one of the places where the press watched the bloody clashes in Tiananmen. The hotel has been closed under martial law and sits empty as thousands of bicyclists glide past.

Their path is quickly blocked two streets farther on. The only traffic allowed from there into the world's largest public square is military vehicles, tanks and Bus No. 1. It is the same story two blocks west of Tiananmen.

As the bus enters the square, passengers strain for a view out the dirty windows. The chatter stops. Riders look out in silence on the vast common where as many as 3,000 pro-democracy students and their supporters were slaughtered. For many it is their first look at Tiananmen since Sunday's bloodbath, and there is a collective gasp.

On the north side of the square, just under a huge picture showing the benign countenance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and in front of the vermilion walls of the Forbidden City, 38 T-59 tanks stand side-by-side.

Their guns point, rather disrespectfully, in the general direction of Mao's huge tomb on the south end of the square.

In between are about 250 armored personnel carriers, trucks, generators, trailers and radio vans. Several hundred soldiers are still sweeping up debris.

"Just wait," says one man. "It gets much better on down the road."

Sure enough, as the bus rumbles past patrol after patrol of army troops, past street cleanup crews, past the Minzu Hotel and the Five Star brewery, it suddenly stops to pick up more passengers in front of a sea of burned-out military vehicles.

The bus erupts into an excited rattle of exclamations as passengers try to count the vehicles. There are easily 50 to 60 of them.

"The people did that?" asked one incredulous rider. "It doesn't seem possible."

Two blocks on down, in another plaza just before the Yanjino Hotel, are about 30 more charred buses. In front of them vendors are selling garlic, cabbages and leeks.

"Such a waste," said the conductor, nodding her head toward the buses.

The bus slows, caught in a traffic jam of military trucks jammed with soldiers who stare blankly at the terrified faces of the riders.

Many on the bus push down into their seats and away from the guns barely 4 feet away. Several of the soldiers grin at the discomfort they have caused. Others wave and smile in an attempt to alleviate fears.

"Where are you from?" asks one passenger.

"Not from here," answers a soldier with hard black eyes.

The bus lurches ahead, and there is a shared sigh of relief.

"The last time I saw so many armed soldiers in the heart of Beijing was in 1949 after Chiang Kai-shek was driven out," said an elderly passenger.

"I am sorry to see that the soldiers have returned, but I am happy the buses are running again."

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 [Abstract](#)

Deng praises China crackdown Hard-liners consolidate their power; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

[Ronald E. Yates, Chicago Tribune.](#) [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 10, 1989](#). pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

Senior leader Deng Xiaoping, backed by a new lineup of old-guard hard-liners, set China on a new conservative course as troops and police Saturday scoured the capital for the activists behind the democracy movement.

Looking frail and choosing his words carefully, Deng praised the army as a "Great Wall of steel" for its role in putting down what he called "the aim of a very few people to overthrow the Communist Party and the socialist system and to build a bourgeois republic."

While army trucks loaded with troops and dozens of tanks appeared to withdraw from the center of Beijing, at least 1,000 troops occupied a gymnasium in the city's Haidian suburb where the capital's main university campuses are located. Martial law authorities imposed an 8 p.m. curfew in the Haidian district.

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Full Text (1140 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 10, 1989

Senior leader Deng Xiaoping, backed by a new lineup of old-guard hard-liners, set China on a new conservative course as troops and police Saturday scoured the capital for the activists behind the democracy movement.

Deng's first public appearance in 3 1/2 weeks produced the image of political unity and stability that has been absent during weeks of student and worker unrest and the bloody military crackdown last Sunday.

Looking frail and choosing his words carefully, Deng praised the army as a "Great Wall of steel" for its role in putting down what he called "the aim of a very few people to overthrow the Communist Party and the socialist system and to build a bourgeois republic."

In an apparent effort to pacify China's liberals and nervous foreign investors, the 84-year-old Deng said the government's "basic political line and the basic policies and principles will remain unchanged."

The Chinese leader and his eight-man entourage appeared on national television inside the Zhongnanhai leadership compound behind the high crimson walls of the Forbidden City. Outside, troops continued to tighten their martial law grip on this capital of 10 million.

At the same time, thousands of students marched in other parts of the country to protest the brutal assault on Tiananmen Square last Sunday.

In eastern Shanghai protesters converging on the city's central square gave the government a 48-hour deadline to reply to demands for punishment of army commanders who ordered their troops to open fire on unarmed civilians.

While army trucks loaded with troops and dozens of tanks appeared to withdraw from the center of Beijing, at least 1,000 troops occupied a gymnasium in the city's Haidian suburb where the capital's main university campuses are located. Martial law authorities imposed an 8 p.m. curfew in the Haidian district.

Observers said the troops appeared to be preparing to occupy the campuses, considered the heart of China's pro-democracy movement.

Most of the students, however, have already fled, and many of the wanted leaders have gone into an "underground railroad" set up to keep them out of the hands of the authorities.

"We are not finished yet," one student leader said Saturday. "Violence by the government will never destroy the democracy movement in China."

In another attempt to curb the activity of foreigners in the capital, the premier's office advised embassies to tell their nationals they could be shot if they ventured into the streets at night.

Meanwhile, in an orchestrated scenario, Deng and his new lineup were repeatedly shown on television, first seated at a round table, then posing for an official photograph in the gardens of the Forbidden City.

They sat in a row in front of the officers in charge of the troops who imposed martial law in the capital. The officers, with the rank of commander on up, were seen shaking Deng's hand and applauding him as he shuffled along the ranks.

Deng, flanked by President Yang Shangkun and Premier Li Peng, called Sunday's massacre an "incident that makes us think about the past and future with sober minds. . . . Our errors will be corrected faster and our strong points will be displayed better."

He stood in a silent tribute to "the dead martyrs of the army" who died in a crackdown against the "rioters."

Conspicuously absent from the group was moderate Communist Party Chairman Zhao Ziyang, 71, and his closest ally Hu Qili, 73, both members of the powerful five-man standing committee of the Politburo.

Also absent was Defense Minister Qin Jiwei, 73, supreme commander of the Beijing Military Command that refused to impose martial law when it was declared May 20.

The Beijing command's reluctance to shed blood opened a rift in the armed forces that could still lead to armed confrontations among opposing factions.

The group of men who will now lead China includes five octogenarians: Deng, 84; Shangkun, 82; former President Li Xiannian, 83; Politburo member Bo Yibo, 82; and Politburo member Wang Zhen, 81.

But it also brought into the ruling clique one of the party's fast-rising stars, Qiao Shi, 65, who is known as "the policeman of the party" for his purges of corrupt officials. His nomination appeared an obvious attempt to start an ideological purification campaign among senior party cadres whose corruptive practices became one of the main rallying cries during the recent demonstrations.

Also included in the ruling clique is 72-year-old Yao Yilin. He and Bo Yibo are two conservative economists who feel China's emerging free market economy should be shackled once more to central party control, replete with rigid planning to curb the exploding capitalist fervor.

While China's new faces at the top dominated news broadcasts, both television and radio devoted increasing space to the row with the United States over Chinese dissident Fang Lizhi, 52, a world-renowned astrophysicist. He and his wife took refuge in the U.S. Embassy on Monday.

"Fang is a traitor to his country. He has stirred up the students and stirred up the riots and this has caused the death of many people. But he himself has fled and we must not let him run away. He must be punished severely," the state radio said.

China's foreign ministry has already protested to the U.S. over its decision to grant the couple sanctuary.

Western diplomats said the case might not only sour Sino-American relations but could provide Beijing with an excuse to justify the eventual expulsion of American diplomats for "interfering in the internal affairs of the People's Republic."
CAPTION:

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. China's Deng Xiaoping on Friday congratulates members of a "Great Wall of steel" who he said put down a bourgeois rebellion.

CAPTION:

PHOTO: Deng (Xiaoping).

CAPTION:

PHOTO: Li (Peng).

CAPTION:

PHOTO: Yang (Shangkun).

CAPTION:

PHOTO: Qiao (Shi).

CAPTION:

GRAPHIC: The lineup of power in China. - Deng Xiaoping, 84, considered the most powerful man in China, he is officially the chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party. - Li Peng, 63, premier and a member of the five-man standing committee of the Politburo, he is the youngest of the new leaders and was the leader who declared martial law in China. - Yang Shangkun, 82, president and vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, he is considered Deng's closest ally. - Qiao Shi, 65, member of the standing committee of the Politburo; he is chairman of the Central Discipline Commission. - Yao Yilin, 72, vice premier, he is also a member of the standing committee of the Politburo. - Li Xiannian, 83, former president of China (1982-86), was a tireless campaigner for martial law in Beijing over the last two weeks. - Wang Zhen, 81, a Politburo member; he is vice president of China. - Bo Yibo, 82, is chairman of the Communist Party Advisory Commission; he played a prominent role during the Cultural Revolution. Chicago Tribune Graphic; Source: Tribune news reports.

[Illustration]
PHOTOS 5

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 [Abstract](#)

600 seized in China sweep Activists flee, fearing wave of detentions; [FINAL EDITION, C]

[Ronald E. Yates](#), *Chicago Tribune*. [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 11, 1989](#). pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

The arrests, considered just the start of a wave of detentions in the capital and elsewhere in the country, heightened tensions in the city even as more than 100 tanks and armored personnel carriers rumbled out of Beijing Sunday morning in an obvious attempt to trim the military occupation.

The exodus of the military vehicles seemed to nudge Beijing back to a semblance of normalcy. But beneath this city's still tense surface, residents were resentful because of newly ordered raids by secret police searching not only for dissidents but for students and workers who had captured weapons and ammunition when mobs battled army convoys last week.

Reports from the rest of the country indicated that the crackdown had been extended to cities where protesters had burned government vehicles to protest the use of deadly force against the democracy demonstrations in Beijing last weekend. Scores of people were reported arrested in the provincial capitals of Jinan, Lanzhou, Chengdu, Xian, Harbin, Shenyang, Changsha and Nanjing. Disturbances broke out in all those cities last week.

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Full Text (949 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 11, 1989

Crisis in China.

Armed troops raided residential areas in the Chinese capital over the weekend, arresting at least 600 people in a sweeping roundup of pro-democracy sympathizers who had gone into hiding after brutal massacres last Sunday.

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in the city even as more than 100 tanks and armored personnel carriers rumbled out of Beijing Sunday morning in an obvious attempt to trim the military occupation.

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Saturday night, Chinese television said 600 people had been arrested, but by early Sunday it was apparent that the massive search had only just begun and that hot lines for informers to reveal the whereabouts and identities of those wanted were bearing fruit.

The government announcement said those arrested had been involved in attacks on troops and burning military vehicles.

Reports from the rest of the country indicated that the crackdown had been extended to cities where protesters had burned government vehicles to protest the use of deadly force against the democracy demonstrations in Beijing last weekend. Scores of people were reported arrested in the provincial capitals of Jinan, Lanzhou, Chengdu, Xian, Harbin, Shenyang, Changsha and Nanjing. Disturbances broke out in all those cities last week.

In Beijing, truckloads of civilians under heavy guard were seen rolling out of the city Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Those in custody included men and women. They crouched in the backs of trucks, some in shirt sleeves, others in suits, while troops with rifles stood over them.

"We have plenty of reports of people detained by troops and police in the streets. The arrests have made people more sullen and resentful," a Western diplomat said.

The crackdown in some residential areas came after anonymous informers had used the hot lines to denounce strangers seen in neighboring apartments and to inform on those who had displayed pro-democracy banners or shouted antigovernment slogans during the weeks that student demonstrators occupied Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

As the arrests increased, so did the attempts by democracy supporters to hide and protect those wanted. Students still in hiding said they were being moved from house to house in a Chinese version of an underground railroad.

Many of those wanted were said to be heading toward villages on the eastern coast of China, in an attempt to flee the country to Taiwan or South Korea, and even to try to reach Hong Kong by boat.

"We are desperate to get out of China," said one student in hiding. "If we don't, we will all be killed."

The scramble to escape could create a wave of Chinese boat people desperate to find refuge from a government determined to smash what it calls "counterrevolutionary hooligans and bourgeois liberals," the usual euphemisms for describing those with Western-style democratic sentiments.

Saturday's evening television news, meanwhile, reported the arrest of Gao Haifeng, 26, a student from Beijing and a leader of the United Association of Beijing Universities. The group led the seven weeks of pro-democracy protests that preceded last weekend's massacre of an estimated 3,000 students by the People's Liberation Army. Authorities said Gao was arrested as he attempted to set fire to an armored personnel carrier.

The same news program broadcast footage from an American television report in which a middle-aged Chinese man told of soldiers gunning down scores of civilians in central Beijing. An announcer accused the man of "rumor-mongering," a crime under martial law regulations in force in Beijing, and urged the audience to help in his arrest.

(In an audio recording broadcast in the U.S. Saturday on the "CBS Evening News," a student leader said that during the crackdown in Tiananmen Square last week, tanks rolled over students and killed them while they slept in their tents.

("They thought, at most, that they would be carried away," the woman, Cai Ling, said through an interpreter at an undisclosed location in Beijing. "Then the tanks made pancakes out of them.")

With the nation's democracy advocates on the run, and with the capital firmly in the military's grip, martial law authorities began to scale down the massive presence of troops, keeping only small squads outside public buildings and at vital highway interchanges and bridges.

Many of the vehicles seen pouring out of the city over the weekend came from Tiananmen Square, which has been the nerve center of the military occupation. The world's largest public common had been jammed with tanks, armored personnel carriers, trucks and radio vans for the past week.

At the same time, China's Foreign Ministry warned embassies to inform their staffs and nationals to stay off the streets at night. It ordered diplomats to use their diplomatic vehicles only for official business.

Thousands of foreigners have been evacuated on special flights.

Scores of Americans boarded U.S. Embassy buses and vans in Tianjin, despite the relative calm there over the past week.

The convoy of three buses and two vans carried 89 foreigners, mostly Americans, from the Sheraton Tianjin Hotel 75 miles northwest to the Beijing airport, where many sought flights to Hong Kong and Tokyo.

Most of the evacuees were students, teachers, tourists and oil field workers. Many said they were nervous about being so close to Beijing. But they said it had been quiet in Tianjin, the nation's third-largest city, with about 8 million people.

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Other available formats:

 [Abstract](#)

China extends reign of terror Reports of executions, dissident arrests grow; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

[Ronald E. Yates](#), *Chicago Tribune*. [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 12, 1989](#). pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

The Chinese government Sunday pressed a nationwide terror campaign aimed at rounding up "troublemakers" amid reports of executions of military officers who refused to send their troops against demonstrators last week.

Underlining their determination to crush the remnants of the democracy movement, the government Sunday ordered the arrests of Fang Lizhi and his wife, Li Shuxian, the two academics granted refuge in the U.S. Embassy last Monday. Police also continued rounding up pro-democracy students and workers in a campaign that already has netted an estimated 600 to 1,000 arrests.

Fang was expelled from the Communist Party in 1987 after he took an active role in pro-democracy student demonstrations. Although he carefully stayed away from Tiananmen Square and took a back seat during the recent student unrest, he has become known as "China's spirit of democracy."

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Full Text (1572 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 12, 1989

The Chinese government Sunday pressed a nationwide terror campaign aimed at rounding up "troublemakers" amid reports of executions of military officers who refused to send their troops against demonstrators last week.

At least 50 officers in Inner Mongolia were shot and two generals were arrested after they ignored demands to move their units against antigovernment demonstrations prompted by the June 4 massacre of student protesters in Tiananmen Square, according to Western diplomatic sources.

Underlining their determination to crush the remnants of the democracy movement, the government Sunday ordered the arrests of Fang Lizhi and his wife, Li Shuxian, the two academics granted refuge in the U.S. Embassy last Monday. Police also continued rounding up pro-democracy students

and workers in a campaign that already has netted an estimated 600 to 1,000 arrests.

Fang, 53, a world-renowned astrophysicist and China's leading dissident, was targeted for special attention along with his wife by the Beijing prosecutor's office, indicating that their presence inside the U.S. Embassy will become a major bone of contention in Sino-American diplomatic relations.

Fang was expelled from the Communist Party in 1987 after he took an active role in pro-democracy student demonstrations. Although he carefully stayed away from Tiananmen Square and took a back seat during the recent student unrest, he has become known as "China's spirit of democracy."

The official New China news agency said the Beijing prosecutor's office accused Fang and Li of "committing crimes of counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigating counterrevolutionary activities before and during the recent turmoil and before the counterrevolutionary rebellion."

The note said Li, 52, had her immunity from prosecution suspended by the standing committee of the National People's Congress.

Li, a physicist, was elected this year by an overwhelming majority as a delegate to the congress by her district in the capital despite her fame as a human rights activist. The congress, China's parliament, meets once a year to rubber-stamp Politburo decisions.

"If we take a lesson from Chinese history, we can soon expect anti-American protests outside the U.S. Embassy," one Western diplomat said.

There was concern in Washington that the Fang issue could sour any chance of improving relations between the White House and Beijing.

Though State Department officials were not commenting officially on the matter, one noted the government's decision to provide sanctuary was in line with strong "support for human rights, freedom of speech and freedom of expression."

The Chinese Foreign Ministry already has protested to the U.S. for sheltering the couple. In a note delivered to Ambassador James Lilley, the Chinese accused the U.S. of violating international law and interfering in China's internal affairs by harboring a well-known criminal.

There were no new reports of violence or demonstrations across China Sunday as the nation settled down and began to return to the workplaces that were closed during last week's chaos.

But it was apparent the security forces won't be stopping their crackdown with the students. The purges underway are expected to involve government ministries and institutions whose employees either supported the democracy movement or joined it.

"The leadership is in place. Phase One of the operation is over. So is the role of the military. The rest will be done by security forces," said one senior Western diplomat.

Although the leadership might be in place on paper, one of the main issues remaining in the Chinese puzzle of the last two months is the role of Deng Xiaoping, the 84-year-old leader who is widely reported to be suffering from prostate cancer that has restricted his public appearances to rare official occasions.

Reliable sources said he had been under medical treatment in Shanghai and was flown to Beijing after being "pepped up" for the leadership presentation last Friday.

His choice of nine hard-liners for senior posts, among them four octogenarians, was only partly prompted by their loyalties in mustering support. According to one diplomatic source: "He feels comfortable with his old buddies. They are the ones he can really trust."

Some Western diplomats believe Deng was badly advised about the student movement by different factions in his team.

"If there had been a clear policy decision from the start, it would not have gone that far. It was his indecision over a long period, the indecision of an old man, which caused the turmoil and the rifts," said one Western observer.

The general atmosphere in Beijing and elsewhere over the weekend seemed to revert to the bitter days of government persecution in the 1950s. State radio and television issued the names and photos of people accused of "rumor-mongering" and "counter-revolutionary activities" and urged the public to disclose their whereabouts.

The government's goal for the past several days has been to create its own, controlled version of what happened on Tiananmen Square a week ago, arguing all the time that the students were counterrevolutionaries, that no one was killed in the square, that the army did a fine job and that the public must cooperate in rounding up the troublemakers.

The old hard-line Communists who now control the country have made a point of appearing with soldiers on television whenever possible and praising the army at every opportunity.

One of the Chinese state television shows presented a man seated on a chair in a room. His face was badly swollen. He confessed to counterrevolutionary activities and "rumor-

mongering" when he told an American TV network that people had been crushed to death by tanks in Tiananmen Square.

A spokeswoman for [ABC](#) said the man apparently had been identified after Chinese authorities somehow pirated unedited film sent to the United States on which he appeared.

The official propaganda reports are running up against the informal communications network the students created long before the event.

The Voice of America and [British Broadcasting Corp.](#) have also been broadcasting reports on the Tiananmen incident and the Chinese government's reaction to it, although the Chinese have tried to jam those broadcasts.

The government has acknowledged about 300 deaths, most of them soldiers. Western intelligence and diplomatic sources have said the death toll may exceed 3,000, although they concede it is difficult to estimate because of the lack of information.

With hundreds of opponents arrested already and security forces fanning out all over the nation to capture others, China's 1.1 billion people have been bombarded with constant reminders urging them to cooperate in finding the culprits, or face accusations of collaboration and prosecution themselves.

"We must turn our deep hatred for counterrevolutionary hooligans into strength to protect the capital and the state," one government media announcement said. Beijing Mayor Chen Yitong told citizens: "I encourage you to expose and root out all counterrevolutionaries wherever they may hide."

While the government took a harsh line with dissenters and "meddling foreigners," it also launched a massive campaign to repair the tainted image of the government and the army.

Tiananmen Square was still closed to bicycle and pedestrian traffic Monday, although taxis and buses were allowed to drive past, and only a relative handful of tanks and armored personnel carriers remained visible.

The only troops still in the square were either washing their clothing or sleeping on their vehicles. Others were sweeping and cleaning the debris that still littered parts of the square.

In the warrens of houses and winding streets that surround Tiananmen Square, the city's once-ubiquitous military presence has been further tempered by an obvious pacification program designed to win back the hearts and minds of the people.

T-59 tanks still blocked small roadways and alleys, but soldiers and tank crews were laughing and joking with residents. At one tiny intersection the tank crew was even allowing children to

climb onto their vehicle and spend several minutes learning how the tank worked.

The Chinese have been warned not to talk to foreigners- especially foreign reporters. Before the attack on the square, Chinese were continually stopping foreigners to chat.

"The government is now going to try to shift the blame for everything that happened in Tiananmen Square onto foreigners and foreign government meddling," said a Western diplomat. "The Chinese are going to say it was corrupt foreign ideas that led the pro-democracy demonstrators astray. The Chinese are very good at this tactic."

That assessment was reinforced Sunday by a state television announcer that accused foreigners in Beijing of "spreading lies and rumors" and warning Chinese to "take no heed of slander."

The television program insisted once again that the Chinese army never fired at unarmed students and that it killed no one in the square.

"Only soldiers were killed," said the announcer.

That view was reinforced by edited video footage that showed troops moving in orderly lines through the square against mobs of rock- and bottle-throwing demonstrators.

Whether Beijing's people will be fooled by the government propaganda campaign remains to be seen. But if the thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators who have gone underground in an attempt to avoid a massive government dragnet have their way, the ploy will fail.

"We will continue to keep spreading the word of what really happened in Beijing, and we know the people only pretend to believe the government," said a student leader who was in hiding. "The Chinese people have already tasted a small piece of democracy, and I am sure they'll want more."

CAPTION:

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. A captive of the People's Liberation Army who was arrested following recent student demonstrations in Beijing is shown handcuffed to a tree in this photo from Chinese television Sunday.

[Illustration]
PHOTO

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 [Abstract](#)

China unleashes dragnet against 21 student leaders; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

[Ronald E. Yates](#), *Chicago Tribune*. *Tribune wires contributed to this report.* [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 14, 1989](#). pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

Chinese authorities started a nationwide hunt Wednesday for 21 student leaders blacklisted as the culprits who inspired the huge pro-democracy demonstrations that the Chinese army crushed 10 days ago.

President Bush, announcing minimal sanctions after the bloody massacre of demonstrators in Tiananmen Square by Chinese troops on June 4, already had extended the visas of Chinese now in the U.S. until June, 1990.

The dissidents, Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian, have become the focus of a diplomatic standoff between Washington and Beijing. Administration officials said the asylum suggestion had been broached with the Chinese ambassador to Washington, but there had been no response and they had no illusions that the Chinese would readily accept the idea.

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Full Text (1142 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 14, 1989

Chinese authorities started a nationwide hunt Wednesday for 21 student leaders blacklisted as the culprits who inspired the huge pro-democracy demonstrations that the Chinese army crushed 10 days ago.

The names, mugshots and vital statistics of the 19 men and two women were flashed on national television as troops and police throughout China set up checkpoints in a search mission unprecedented in four decades of communist rule.

Premier Li Peng told senior officials to show no mercy.

Shortly after midnight, soldiers in the capital began searching cars and bicycle riders at gunpoint. The steel-helmeted troops opened briefcases, peered under car seats, removed upholstery and carefully checked the identity of Chinese and foreigners, including diplomats.

In Washington, Secretary of State James A. Baker III was reported to have suggested that two Chinese dissidents hiding in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing be allowed to go to a third country for asylum.

Also, the State Department said it would be compassionate and flexible in granting visas to Chinese trying to come to the U.S. Long lines were reported at the embassy and at U.S. consulates around China.

President Bush, announcing minimal sanctions after the bloody massacre of demonstrators in Tiananmen Square by Chinese troops on June 4, already had extended the visas of Chinese now in the U.S. until June, 1990.

The dissidents, Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian, have become the focus of a diplomatic standoff between Washington and Beijing. Administration officials said the asylum suggestion had been broached with the Chinese ambassador to Washington, but there had been no response and they had no illusions that the Chinese would readily accept the idea.

Many countries, including the U.S., have condemned China for its brutal crackdown. A number have temporarily withdrawn their ambassadors. The foreign minister of Mexico Tuesday canceled a visit to Beijing in protest.

There were reports early Wednesday that some of the dissidents had sought shelter in noncommunist embassies.

A spokesman for the Australian Embassy would neither confirm nor deny a report that at least one Chinese citizen had sought refuge in that embassy's compound. "We are not prepared to make any comment on your question," said Gregson Edwards.

At the top of the wanted list is Wu'er Kaixi, 21, the charismatic chairman of the pro-democracy student organization. Also high on the list is history student Wang Dan, 27, the movement's ideologist. They and the others are wanted for what amounts to treason, a crime punishable by death.

After the massacre in Tiananmen Square, students tried to cover the tracks of their leaders by leaking news that Wu'er Kaixi had died of a heart attack in the hospital and that Wang Dan and others had been shot to death in the attack. But many of the leaders now are believed to be on the run, moving from house to house. Some may have found refuge in provincial areas.

In an attempt to discredit the student leaders, Chinese television showed a videotape Tuesday of some of them eating at a luxury hotel, allegedly while fellow students were on a hunger strike.

"Every province, region, city, police department, railway station, airline and transportation organ is asked to prevent these people from escaping," said the shrill broadcasts on radio and television.

In their fervor to find the rebels, troops are even searching the cars of diplomats. A Chilean diplomat returning from dinner Tuesday was stopped and ordered to open his trunk despite his protestations and the diplomatic number plates on his car.

"Open! Open the trunk!" an officer shouted as two other soldiers moved in, pointing their rifles. The diplomat complied.

Apparently, Chinese authorities are worried that sympathetic diplomats might smuggle wanted students into their embassy compounds or use their cars to transfer Fang and his wife from the U.S. Embassy to another location.

The small, portly professor of astrophysics and his wife, a physicist and human rights activist, entered the red brick embassy in downtown Beijing nine days ago and immediately became the focus of the escalating row between Washington and a Chinese leadership groping for scapegoats.

Until recently, few of China's 1.1 billion people had heard of Fang or Li, who were non-persons in the official press. Now those mentors of the clandestine battle for human rights and political change are China's most wanted villains.

An arrest warrant cited them for conspiracy to overthrow the Communist Party, a charge that carries the death penalty. Their mugshots are flashed on television "so people can recognize them if they try to escape," as an announcer explains.

In an unusually vitriolic editorial Tuesday, the People's Daily, mouthpiece of the Communist Party, described Fang as "the yellow adopted son of foreigners." The paper said:

"Professor Fang has two overcoats: patriotism and democracy. His talks about human rights, democracy and freedom have influenced naive young students. He and his wife were praised to the skies after they cursed the Communist Party, socialism and their motherland. The more they cursed the more they were praised by anticommunist and anti-China forces overseas, the more they were supported by those who hate the socialist system and the leadership of the Communist Party at home.

"Not long ago, Fang proposed that foreigners withdraw their money from China to put pressure on the Chinese government. Now that he has run into the U.S. Embassy he has sunk as low as a beggar. His next proposal will be for foreigners to invade China.

In Detroit, the 26-year-old son of Fang and Li said he expects the Chinese government to punish his parents as criminals. But Fang Ke, a [Wayne State University](#) researcher, said his parents are "simply intelligent people with a consciousness for China. They said they are patriotic and they are honest. They say they are not going to give up their beliefs, and I think they're right."

Known as China's "spirit of democracy," Fang was worshiped by his students, who saw him as the soul of their battle for a more humane and open society.

Just 24 hours before army bullets shattered that dream, Fang predicted in an interview that if the government used force and illegal methods to suppress the pro-democracy demonstrations, the climate would turn anti-American and violently repressive.

"Then it will become dangerous; then I will become afraid," he said at his small flat. Hours later he and his wife snatched their bags and sought refuge in the embassy.

"Whatever happens," he said that night, "the movement has made people aware they have a right to criticize. Maybe we will not see a surge toward democracy in the next five years, but it will come, no matter what the government does."

CAPTION:

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. Nine days after a bloody clash with students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, soldiers Tuesday keep watch over the now-empty square.

[Illustration]
PHOTO

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Chinese `can't turn back economic clock'; [NORTH SPORTS FINAL, C Edition]

Ronald E. Yates, *Chicago Tribune*. [Chicago Tribune \(pre-1997 Fulltext\)](#). Chicago, Ill.: [Jun 19, 1989](#). pg. 1

Abstract (Summary)

When several Western nations imposed sanctions against China after the attack on students in Tiananmen Square, Vice Premier Yao Yilin said his country could "always turn to the Soviet Union."

But diplomats, political scholars and economists in Beijing generally agree there is no way the Soviet Union could fill the economic and technological void that would be left should Western nations and Japan pull the plug on capital investment in China.

Nevertheless, the government kept up its anti-American campaign Sunday, demanding that Washington give up dissident Fang Lizhi, who is holed up in the U.S. Embassy. It was also announced that Chinese citizens granted travel visas by foreign countries will be required to obtain two exit permits from the Chinese government instead of one. In recent days, long lines of Chinese seeking visas have formed outside the U.S. Embassy and consulates.

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Full Text (970 words)

Copyright Chicago Tribune Co. Jun 19, 1989

When several Western nations imposed sanctions against China after the attack on students in Tiananmen Square, Vice Premier Yao Yilin said his country could "always turn to the Soviet Union."

Yao dismissed the economic, military and political moves as mere "annoyance."

But diplomats, political scholars and economists in Beijing generally agree there is no way the Soviet Union could fill the economic and technological void that would be left should Western nations and Japan pull the plug on capital investment in China.

Yao, an economist and Politburo member, was "bluffing," a European diplomat said.

"You cannot turn back the economic clock," added David Zweig, a professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at [Tufts University](https://www.tufts.edu/) in Massachusetts.

Nevertheless, the government kept up its anti-American campaign Sunday, demanding that Washington give up dissident Fang Lizhi, who is holed up in the U.S. Embassy. It was also announced that Chinese citizens granted travel visas by foreign countries will be required to obtain two exit permits from the Chinese government instead of one. In recent days, long lines of Chinese seeking visas have formed outside the U.S. Embassy and consulates.

Since China embarked on a policy of economic liberalization in 1979, approximately \$30 billion in foreign investment, mostly from Hong Kong, the U.S. and Japan, has flowed into China. The money has created badly needed jobs and employment opportunities that not even the most ardently anti-Western Chinese economists want to see disappear.

Two-thirds of the \$30 billion has come since 1985 in a wave of investment that helped create a thriving market-oriented production system for the first time in this communist nation's history.

Now China's economic reform program is in danger of unraveling.

"Turning their backs on the West will not be a simple matter for the Chinese," a Japanese diplomat said. "The Soviet Union simply does not have the same level of technology or economic acumen to fill the gap."

Added a U.S. Embassy official: "Not only do the Soviets not have the technological goodies the Chinese want, the Chinese cannot earn badly needed dollar reserves by trading with the Russians."

Nor does it seem likely that China would turn to the Soviet Union as an alternative source for some military equipment. The Chinese already produce most of their own weapons and "certainly don't want to be dependent upon the Soviets for military hardware," an American diplomat said.

During President Mikhail Gorbachev's historic visit to China last month—the first by a Soviet leader in more than 30 years—Beijing and Moscow signed a trade agreement that would allow the Soviet Union to resupply and refit some 1,500 factories in northeast Manchuria, experts in Beijing said.

In the 1950s, before the diplomatic break with China, Soviet investment and economic assistance in Manchuria was widespread. Sino-Soviet trade now amounts to some \$2.5 billion per year.

Many of the hard-liners in Deng Xiaoping's government were trained in the Soviet Union in the 1950s, said Zweig, the [Tufts](#) professor who is conducting research in China. "Today they are in their late 50s and are in position to exert a lot of influence," he said.

Last week, another vice premier, Tian Jiyun, met with the Soviet ambassador to discuss the possibility of accelerating bilateral economic exchanges in the wake of the threatened Western sanctions.

The meeting was all the more significant because Tian was rumored to have been disgraced along with Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, a moderate sympathetic with the demands of pro-democracy students. Zhao has not made any public appearances for three weeks and is reported to be under house arrest, although a Japanese newspaper said he had been seen playing golf in Beijing in recent days.

With moderates such as Zhao out of favor, the scores of economic think tanks and research institutes set up in China's provinces to help liberalize local economies and encourage free markets have been shut or curtailed.

"Deng is risking 10 years of economic reform and success in order to suppress political liberalization," said Zweig. "Just when everyone was talking about China's economic and political take-off . . . when they were saying China was on the brink of exploding onto the global economic scene . . . it begins to self-destruct."

Also shut are more than 200 American-Chinese joint ventures because the Americans running them fled the country after the Tiananmen Square massacre two weeks ago. Some 3,000 Japanese business leaders involved in joint ventures in China bolted, too.

In all, some 10,000 joint ventures with business leaders from 40 nations have been set up since 1979. Between January and May of this year, the Chinese government approved an additional 2,000 business operations with pledged government investment totaling \$2.5 billion.

"I expect all the foreigners to return," said Zheng Tuobin, minister of foreign economic relations and trade, as he kicked off a new campaign of tax incentives and low-interest loans to lure Americans and other foreign business executives back to China. "There is no security problem for them in China now."

Yet even as he was making that statement on state television last week, soldiers were stopping foreign business executives and diplomats in their cars at gunpoint.

At the huge World Trade Center in the heart of Beijing—an unfinished glass-and-steel complex that is to contain a convention center, two hotels totaling 1,100 rooms, 40

restaurants and hundreds of offices and meeting rooms-more than 400 of the imported smoked-glass windows were shot out by Chinese soldiers during violent forays through nearby streets.

"Because of the situation in China, many American firms who bailed out have decided to wait a long time before returning," said an American diplomat. He said the embassy tells American business officials seeking advice on returning or investing that there is still the danger of "being caught in the wrong place when soldiers begin firing weapons in the wrong direction."

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