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UPHEAVAL IN CHINA; Since Martial Law, Protest Crackles With Fury at Deng

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As daylight wanes, a defiant exuberance seems to swell among the throngs clogging the intersections along roadways leading to Beijing's central square. But in the small homes of the capital, in the moments shared by friends away from the comfort of the masses, the darker side of what it means to live under martial law emerges.

"Don't you dare go out tonight," an official in a Communist Party organization said, his voice shaking, as he scolded his younger brother, who until Saturday had fasted for democracy with his university classmates.

"Mom spent her whole life raising us. The Government, those troops, if they come out, they will have no mercy," the official said as his brother, sinking into his chair, nodded. But the elder brother was planning to go to the square and spend several hours to support the students there.

Streets all over the capital were jammed with hundreds of thousands of citizens, many of whom were awakened politically by the call for greater democracy in China by hunger-striking students. A Change in Attitudes

Now, since martial law was declared on Saturday morning, the enthusiasm for democracy is increasingly laced with fury at the Government, at its cool attitude

toward the fasting students and at its gall in sending the People's Liberation Army to quell the people.

In the early demonstrations, workers seemed to join in because they appeared disgusted with pocketbook issues of inflation and with the corruption and abuse of privilege that they believe is rampant among high-level party and Government officials.

But now, since the Government's order for martial law, the protesters' rage seems increasingly directed at the nation's leaders, especially the senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, and Prime Minister Li Peng.

A popular slogan during the protests last week went: "Xiaoping, Step Down! Li Peng, Resign!" The slogan has now become: "Down with Xiaoping! Down with Li Peng!"

At the same time, the idea that tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of army troops, possibly carrying tear gas or guns, might close in on the unarmed students in and around Tiananmen Square is deeply troubling to many citizens. Some have forsaken sleep to spend the night on the streets waiting for the troops to arrive. Others have tried to persuade the students to be more careful.

"Please, those of you students who have no brothers or sisters, go home," a teacher implored his students on the square. "You must be prepared for the worse." **Workers Assume Greater Role**

Yet as many people warn the students to take cover, thousands of the students are pouring out onto the streets to push the democracy movement into the next phase, where workers would take the lead.

Workers have joined the student demonstrations and some have even marched under the flag of their own organizations. But the movement has yet to come to the point where workers are stepping into the front lines. **Human Cordons of Students**

For virtually all of last week, students invaded the area around Tiananmen Square, directing traffic, giving speeches over loudspeakers and setting up human cordons to safeguard ambulance lanes and the Communist Party headquarters.

Still, as students disperse from Tiananmen Square to lead human blockades against the troops at the outskirts of the capital and to wage their political campaign in neighborhoods throughout the city, the workers seem to have moved into the square, assuming a greater role in the protest effort.

Near Tiananmen Square, many workers have replaced students in directing

traffic and cordoning off a special lane for cars or ambulances. On the north side of the square stands a broad white banner marking the headquarters of a recently formed workers' association that has gained at least 700 members. Just opposite, at the entrance to the Forbidden City, is a team of about 20 workers, wearing red or white bandannas and holding their home-made tear gas masks of wet towels. 'We Will Perhaps Be Killed'

"I do not want to see these students killed by guns," said Li Xiaodong, a 22-year-old Government official. Like many other citizens, he accepted an assignment from the student organization to keep a lookout for troops at a particular location. "I was stationed at the Golden Water Bridge yesterday and I will be there again tonight," he said. "If and when the troops begin their action, they probably will come out over the bridge. We will perhaps be killed there, so we at least will die before the students."

Many workers seem galvanized by the thought of a bloody battle between army troops and students, and for now, the main thrust of the mass action still seems to be directed against Prime Minister Li and Mr. Deng. It is not clear whether their concepts and demands for greater democracy coincide with those of the students, but a handful also have begun to discuss their political attitudes, often preaching to anyone who will listen.

"The Communist Party is generally good, but the problem is that it is manipulated by a handful of people like Li Peng and his puppet Government," said Wang Gang, a 30-year-old designer at a sweater factory. "And with this puppet Government there is no equality. The leaders claim they represent the interests of the whole nation. They claim they are practicing Communism and they use the Chinese flag as their flag, but the people of the country feel these leaders are not real Communists." Democracy Under Communism

Many Chinese demonstrators, like Mr. Wang, believe that democracy is possible under Communism. They say the problem with China is not Communism as such but the way it is practiced here. They say that China could respect freedom of expression and allow democratic elections even under one-party Communist rule.

Tonight, as the darkness fell, small discussion groups seemed to form in pockets around the central square, along the roads and at intersections where citizens made roadblocks.

"We must resort to a strike to rouse the Government," shouted a 36-year-old

electronics worker to a crowd that cheered him on. "The power really lies in the people. China must no longer be controlled and manipulated by one man."

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