

## Upheaval in China; Tide Turns Toward Chinese Hard-Liner

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Prime Minister Li Peng appeared on television today, declaring that his Government was in control, and there were more signs that at least for now he is gaining in the power struggle that is racking China.

In an indication that a military solution to the political crisis remains a possibility, Mr. Li also sent a letter to troops encircling Beijing, expressing the hope that "the troops will overcome the difficulties confronting them" and "successfully impose martial law."

Mr. Li's public appearance was the first by any of China's top leaders since the Prime Minister made a speech Saturday morning calling for a military crackdown on the nation's democracy movement. Demonstrators in Beijing and other cities have been holding large rallies calling for Mr. Li's ouster, and there were hints in official news reports earlier in the week that he might be in political trouble. [More Attacks on Li's Rival](#)

Prime Minister Li's appearance today came amid further reports of attacks against the Communist Party leader, Zhao Ziyang, who favors conciliation with pro-democracy demonstrators.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman, Li Jinhua, said at a news conference this afternoon that Mr. Zhao was still General Secretary of the party and that there had

been no changes in the nation's top leadership. But there seemed to be a growing feeling that changes were likely soon, and that Mr. Zhao might be a casualty. At stake are not only the careers of two men, but also alternative visions of China. Mr. Li is a cautious technocrat who seems wary of moving too hastily toward economic and political liberalization. Mr. Zhao is more enthusiastic about experimenting with capitalist-style incentives and with a more open political system. Memories of Past Intrigues

While Beijing is full of rumors, all peddled as reliable, the Government has kept quiet. The extraordinary edginess of the nation, as it waits for its future to be decided, recalls the power struggles of Mao's later years, and the intrigues within the highest circles of the Government evoke comparison to imperial times, when ministers and eunuchs competed for the ear of the emperor in the Forbidden City.

There has been some modernization: party officials now have telephones. But officials say they dare not use the phones for fear they are tapped.

A working group of the Communist Party Central Committee met today to try to resolve the political crisis, a senior party official said, but it was not known what the outcome of the meeting was. The group included the governors and party secretaries of China's provinces and large cities, and it was expected to be asked to go along with criticisms of Mr. Zhao, the official said.

The official said that at another meeting a party group in the National People's Congress Standing Committee had decided that it was "premature" to call a meeting of the full Standing Committee. While such a decision is not legally binding, it was seen as an attempt to block a committee meeting that some members are trying to convene to revoke martial law.

The head of the National People's Congress, Wan Li, arrived in Shanghai this morning after cutting short a trip to the United States. Mr. Wan has been regarded by many students as a heroic figure destined to return and convene a meeting of the congress to end martial law and oust Mr. Li.

But instead he remained in Shanghai, ostensibly for medical treatment, while the rest of his delegation continued to Beijing. It was not clear why Mr. Wan, who almost certainly is not ill, stopped in Shanghai or when he would proceed to the capital.

In his television appearance tonight, Li Peng (pronounced lee pung) seemed relaxed and confident as he met three newly arrived ambassadors to Beijing. The opening segment of the evening news program showed Mr. Li saying the troops

called to Beijing had not yet reached the downtown area because they had been blocked by people who do not understand their purpose.

"Anyone with common sense can see that this is not because the troops are unable to enter the downtown area," Mr. Li said, "but because the Government is the people's government and the People's Liberation Army is the people's army. 'Stable and Capable'

"The Chinese Government is stable and capable of fulfilling its responsibilities and of properly dealing with the current problems," he said.

Mr. Li said most of the demonstrators were young people who had good motives but did not understand "the truth of the matter." Mr. Li did not explain, but this could be read as an indication that he was encouraging the view that the "truth" was that Zhao Ziyang - pronounced jow (rhymes with now) zee-YUNG - was using the disturbances to try to seize power.

An ambassador who was present said in a telephone interview that Mr. Li did not mention Mr. Zhao by name or directly mention the power struggle. But in a clear jab at Mr. Zhao, the Prime Minister said, "The chief architect of China's reform and opening to the outside world is Comrade Deng Xiaoping and no one else."

In what appeared to be a stern warning to the United States and other countries, Mr. Li cautioned that foreign nations did not understand what was happening and should not rush to judgment.

"Foreign countries, especially those that maintain good relations with China, must not interfere in current events," Mr. Li said. Reports of More Troops

In a letter sent today to the troops, Mr. Li thanked them for restoring order in the capital. In fact, President Yang Shangkun ordered the troops into the capital on Saturday morning, apparently to suppress the pro-democracy demonstrations, but they were immediately blocked by ordinary citizens and so they still remain in the outskirts of Beijing.

There have been reports of more troops flooding into the area, as many as 300,000 of them, and it is not clear if the Government plans to send them into Beijing to suppress demonstrators. While unarmed citizens stopped the troops the last time, it seems clear that peaceful resistance would be less successful if the troops used tear gas or weapons to force their way into the city.

Major newspapers and television programs today carried a letter from the army headquarters asserting that the democracy movement had been manipulated

by a small number of people and calling for a "grave national struggle" against them. The letter clearly endorsed a military crackdown.

There have been some unconfirmed reports of tension between different military units, some supporting Mr. Li and others supporting Mr. Zhao. In addition, the Beijing Garrison Command, which is believed to be sympathetic to Mr. Zhao, appears to be withholding food and other assistance to troops from other areas.

The Defense Minister, Qin Jiwei (pronounced chin jee-WAY), who has close ties to the Beijing forces, is also reported by diplomats to have been frozen out of military decision-making, perhaps because he was regarded as too close to Mr. Zhao and too reluctant to bring troops into the capital. #100,000 Join Demonstrations About 100,000 workers and students held new demonstrations in Beijing again today to demand Mr. Li's resignation, and the atmosphere in central Tiananmen Square seemed to be electric this evening. While the number of protesters was lower today than in some past days, this seemed to reflect weariness and lack of a particular event to respond to, rather than intimidation.

Many of the students occupying Tiananmen Square are from outside Beijing, and the Government issued an urgent circular tonight to stop more from coming. It ordered local officials to dissuade students from making the trip and especially to keep students from climbing on trains without tickets, as they have been doing in the last few weeks.

In a new challenge to the Government, an independent labor union announced its formation in the capital today. The group, calling itself the Workers Autonomous Association, set up a loudspeaker system in one corner of Tiananmen Square that it said was its headquarters, and its broadcasts promptly drew a large audience.

"Our old unions were welfare organizations," said Li Jinjin, a lawyer who is counsel to the new union. "But now we will create a union that is not a welfare organization but one concerned with workers' rights."

Mr. Li insisted that the new union was entirely legal, but it seemed likely that the authorities would take a dim view of its creation. Support for Zhao Evaporating

While the fate of Mr. Zhao remained unclear, a senior party official said today that Mr. Deng, China's senior leader, and other officials had turned against the party leader and that Mr. Zhao would probably soon be suspended or expelled from his post.

"There is no hope," the party official said. "It's all over."

The official described the Communist Party offices in the Zhongnanhai compound in the center of the city in virtually a state of civil war, with officials loyal to Mr. Zhao now being frozen out of all the news and decisions.

"Some of the Central Committee offices are treated like garbage now," he said.

This official and others said Mr. Deng had turned on Mr. Zhao, his longtime protege, for two reasons.

First, they said, Mr. Deng has a deep apprehension of disorder, which he believes threatens to send China into chaos and frustrate its hopes of becoming an advanced nation in the next century.

Second, they said, Mr. Deng perceived correctly that Mr. Zhao was making his own bid for power. According to this account, Mr. Zhao upset Mr. Deng first on May 4 by making a conciliatory speech about student demonstrators without clearing the speech with Mr. Deng. One Power Play Too Many

That speech conflicted with Mr. Deng's own hard-line position, but the last straw apparently came when Mr. Zhao disclosed in his meeting with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, that the Central Committee had formally voted to consult Mr. Deng on major issues.

For Mr. Zhao, the comment was his final power play - an attempt to go directly to the people by showing that the obstacle to negotiations was Mr. Deng, the man who always held the final say - and Mr. Deng promptly relieved him of his powers, though not of his title.

A small working committee on propaganda set up by Mr. Li, consisting of five close aides - Yuan Mu, He Dongchang, Zeng Jianhui, Wang Renzhi and Li Zhijian - has already accused Mr. Zhao of corruption and of being behind the student protests, in a meeting with editors in chief of major newspapers. The committee has also written an editorial, apparently critical of Mr. Zhao, that it has sent to People's Daily for publication sometime in the next few days.

In an effort to show widespread support for Mr. Li and his declaration of a crackdown, today's news programs reported that 27 of China's 30 provinces and seven of its eight military districts have sent letters or cables of support, along with other military organizations like the navy and air force.

Most of these letters have not been signed, however, and senior military officials from one unit whose letter has been published have denied writing the letter, Western diplomats in Beijing said. The military officials were quoted as

**saying the letter was simply fabricated to show military support.**

A version of this article appears in print on May 26, 1989, on Page A00001 of the National edition with the headline: Upheaval in China; Tide Turns Toward Chinese Hard-Liner.

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