

June 20, 1989

China Division, Asian Affairs Bureau [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan], 'The Chinese Student Movement (After Armed Suppression by the Military)'

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Summary:

Report from the China Division, Asian Affairs Bureau of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the subsequent actions of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada.

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中国の学生運動（軍による武力鎮圧以後）

平成元.6.20

中国課

1. 事実関係

- (1) 3日深夜より4日未明にかけて軍は催涙弾、自動小銃等による武力行使を開始。同日午前5時頃までに天安門前はほぼ制圧。その際、市民、学生に多数の死傷者。（死者の正確な数は未確認。邦字紙の報道では中国紅十字会が2600人、外電では1400人、学生指導者によると3000人。当局側は後に300人（内、学生は23人）、或いは200人（軍-100人、市民-100人）の数を挙げている。更に当局側は、4日未明天安門では軍による死者は1人もいない旨言明。）
- (2) 鄧小平、9日、5.16以来14日ぶりに出現し、軍幹部と会見し、重要講話。一連の動きを党、社会主義制度を覆し、中華人民共和国を転覆させ、ブルジョア共和国を樹立させようとするものと厳しく批判。他方、改革、開放の堅持にも言及。（趙紫陽、胡啓立を除く指導者同席）以後、同重要講話は全党の思想を統一する綱領的文献とされ、各単位での学習開始。
- (3) 8日頃より学生運動指導者の摘発（13日、王丹、ウ-ア-ルカイシ、柴玲等21名及び、労働者リーダー3名に逮捕令）が進められると共に、略奪、放火等を行ったとして上海で3名、北京で8名に対し、死刑判決。
- (4) 13日李鵬、党中央・国務院の各部門責任者会議（喬石、姚依林同席）において、現在各部門に要求する任務として、①物価安定、②農業重視、③投資抑制、④世論指導の是正、⑤独立自主の平和外交、⑥11期3中全会路線（1つの中心、2つの基本点）の6項目を指示。
- (5) 今次事態を総決算すべき党第13期4中全会がいつ開催され、20日現在その活動が報じられていない趙紫陽、胡啓立、芮杏文（中央書記処書記）の処遇如何が注目されている。

（注）武力行使直前の経緯

5月20日戒厳令発出。6月3日未明、数千の兵が（火器不所持）東長安街を中心部へ向かう際（市内の重要目標保護）、学生と市民、阻止。同日午後市内各地で軍と学生の衝突。

北京市と戒厳指揮部は同日夜（19:00）緊急通告発出、「最近、極く一部のものは戒厳部隊の行動を妨害、動乱を拡大」、「もし身命を顧みず法律を犯すなら、一切の措置を講じ強硬手段採る」と警告。

2. わが国の対応

(1) 外務報道官談話の発表 (6.4早朝)

「1. …流血の惨事に発展する事態に至ったことは憂慮に堪えない。

2. 日本国政府としては、事態がこれ以上悪化しないことを強く希望する」

(2) 官房長官発言 (6.5)

「1. …我が国としても大きな関心をもってその推移を見守ると共に、かかる事態が円満に解決されることを期待してきた。

2. しかるに、軍の実力行使による衝突の結果、多くの人命が失われる痛ましい事態に至ったことは、まことに遺憾。

3. 我が国政府としては、事態がこれ以上悪化しないことを強く希望するとともに、中国情勢の早急な正常復帰を期待。」

(3) 官房長官発言 (6.7)

「諸般の情勢を総合的に判断し、邦人保護の観点から、職務に必要不可欠な方を除き、北京在留邦人に退避勧告を決定。」

(4) 外務省内に、「中国情勢に関する特別検討本部」(本部長・事務次官)、その下に「邦人保護特別対策委員会」(委員長・領事移住部長)設置。(6.7)

(5) 村田外務事務次官、楊在京中国大使を招致し、中国政府の行為は「人道の見地から容認し得ない」旨述べて、中国政府の自制を求めた。(6.7)

(6) 渡航自粛勧告 (6.4) (略)

(7) 北京よりの退避勧告 (6.7) (略)

3. 主要各国の反応

(1) 米国

(イ) ブッシュ大統領、遺憾の意表明の声明発出 (6.3午後)

(ロ) ベーカー国務長官、状況は醜悪かつ混沌と発言 (6.3午後)

(ハ) ブッシュ大統領、5項目の措置 (下記) を発表 (6.5)

○ 政府間での武器売却、武器の商業的輸出の中止。

○ 米中間の軍事的指導者の相互往来を中止。

○ 在米中国人学生滞在延長要請を同情を以って検討。

○ 負傷者に対する赤十字を通じた人道的、医療援助の提供。

○ 事態の進展を見て、その他の2国間の諸側面をレビュー。

(ニ) 国務省：3日、中国大使に深い懸念表明。

(ホ) ダマト上院議員、ソラーズ下院議員、11日、追加的な対中経済制裁 (最惠国待遇供与の停止、技術移転の制限) 必要。

(2) 英国

(イ) サッチャー首相：4日、強い衝撃、英国は香港の将来の安定確保に関与。

- (ロ) 英外務省：3日夜、談話「非常に懸念。これ以上の暴力行使ないと希望」
- (ハ) ハウ外相：中国臨代大使に、司法部長の訪英(7日)、英農業大臣の訪中(今週末)取り止め、チャールズ皇太子訪中も取り進められずと伝達。(6.5)
- (ニ) 同外相：6日議会でハイレベルの軍事上接触中止、武器売却禁止を表明。
- (ホ) ギルモア副次官：12日、中国臨代大使に対し、同大使館がロンドン在住の中国人学生を困らせているとの報道を取り上げ、英国法に従うよう期待と注意喚起。また、姚勇戦(11日上海空港で留置の香港籍復旦大学生)を取り上げ、深い憂慮を表明。

(3) フランス

- (イ) ミッテラン大統領：4日、(そのような政府に)未来はない。
- (ロ) デュマ外相：4日、中国当局の武力行使非難。対話の道見出すこと希望。
- (ハ) ロカル首相：6日、対中関係の凍結(軍事協力の停止、閣僚レベル以上の訪問取り止め。李鵬への年内訪仏招待キャンセル)。

(4) 西独

- (イ) 「ワ」大統領：4日、学生を「勇気ある自由の戦士」と讃え、支持表明。
- (ロ) 西独外務省：4日、声明発表。死者が出たことに遺憾の意表明。
- (ハ) ズートホフ外務次官：5日中国大使を招致、武力行使の放棄を要望。
- (ニ) ゲンシャー外相：ハイ・レベルでの接触行わない。中国への武器輸出、許可しない。しかし、国民に打撃を与える経済制裁は行わない。(6日)
- (ホ) コール首相：野蛮な軍事力の投入。学生に心からの同情、共鳴を感じる。
- (ヘ) 西独経協報道官：13日、今週早々予定の対中経済協力協定の署名中止。

(5) カナダ

- (イ) クラーク外相：4日声明発表。多数の人命損失に「怒りを覚える」。
- (ロ) ドレーク大使、協議のため一時帰国、政府と協議の上、北京に戻る。

The Chinese Student Movement (After Armed Suppression by the Military)

June 20, 1989

China Division

1. The Facts

(1) The military began using force, including tear gas and automatic rifles, from the late night of June 3 until the early dawn of June 4. By around five o'clock that morning, the area in front of Tiananmen was suppressed for the most part. At that time, many civilians and students were killed or wounded. (The exact number of dead is unconfirmed. According to Japanese press reporting, the figure from the Chinese Red Cross is 2,600 persons; from the foreign press, 1,400 persons; and according to student leaders, 3,000 persons. The authorities have subsequently been citing figures of 300 persons (among which, 23 students) or 200 persons (100 soldiers, 100 civilians). Furthermore, the authorities have stated that not a single person was killed by the military at Tiananmen in the early dawn of June 4.

(2) Deng Xiaoping appeared on 9 June for the first time in 14 days [TN: sic – should be 24 days] following May 16, meeting military leaders and giving an important speech. He harshly criticized the series of moves as an attempt to subvert the Party and the socialist system, overthrow the People's Republic of China, and establish a bourgeois republic. Meanwhile, he also touched on adhering to reform and opening. (The leaders were present, except for Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili.)

Since then, the important speech has been regarded as a programmatic document to unify all the party's thinking, and its study has started at every unit.

(3) Together with the exposing from June 8 of student movement leaders (on June 13, arrest warrants were issued for 21 of them, including Wang Dan, Wu'erkaixi, and Chai Ling, as well as three worker leaders), three persons in Shanghai and eight persons in Beijing were sentenced to death for such actions as looting and arson.

(4) At a meeting on June 13 of the heads of various departments of the Party Central Committee and State Council, Li Peng charged each department with the following six tasks: (1) price stability, (2) emphasis on agriculture, (3) investment curbs, (4) correction of public opinion guidance, (5) independent and peaceful diplomacy, and (6) Third Plenary Session of the 11th Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee Line (One Center, Two Basic Points).

(5) Attention is being given to when the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Party Committee will be held and how Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili, and Rui Xingen (member of the Central Secretariat), whose activities have not been reported as of June 20, will be treated.

(Note) Circumstances Right Before the Use of Force

Martial law was declared on May 20. In the early dawn of June 3, when several thousand troops (without firearms) were heading for the center of Beijing along East Chang'an Avenue, they were blocked by students and civilians. In the afternoon of the same day, there were clashes in various places between the military and students.

Beijing and the Martial Law Forces Command issued that evening (19:00) an emergency notification. They warned, "Recently, a small number of people have been obstructing martial law units and spreading turmoil" and "If they break the law without regard to their lives, then we will take any and all measures and adopt resolute means."

2. Japan's Response

(1) Presentation of the MFA Press Secretary's Speech (early morning, June 4)

"1. ...It is a matter of great concern that it led to a situation of horrible bloodshed.

2. The Government of Japan strongly hopes that the situation does not worsen further."

(2) Statement of Chief Cabinet Secretary (June 5)

"1. ... Japan, together with watching developments with great interest, has been hoping for a peaceful settlement of the situation.

2. However, it is truly regrettable that clashes due to the military's use of force led to a lamentable situation in which many lives were lost.

3. The Government of Japan, together with strongly hoping that the situation does not worsen further, hopes for a prompt return to normal of the situation in China."

(3) Statement of Chief Cabinet Secretary (June 7)

"Having made a comprehensive assessment of the situation, and from the viewpoint of protecting Japanese nationals, we have decided on an evacuation advisory for Japanese nationals in Beijing, with the exception of those who are indispensable for work."

(4) We have established within the Foreign Ministry a "Special Review Headquarters on the Situation in China" (headed by the Administrative Vice Minister) and under it a "Special Committee for the Protection of Japanese Nationals" (with the Director-General, Consular and Emigration Affairs Department, as committee chairman). (June 7)

(5) Administrative Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Murata summoned Chinese Ambassador to Japan Yang, said that the behavior of the Chinese government was "unacceptable from a humanitarian point of view," and called on the Chinese government to exercise self-restraint." (June 7)

(6) Travel Advisory (June 4)

(7) Advisory for Evacuation from Beijing (June 7) (omitted)

3. Responses of Major Countries

(1) United States

(a) President Bush issued a statement expressing regret (afternoon of June 3)

(b) Secretary of State Baker stated that the situation was horrible and chaotic (afternoon of June 3)

(c) President Bush announced five measures (below) (June 5)

- cease intergovernmental arms sales, commercial arms exports;
- cease mutual exchanges between US and Chinese military leaders;
- consider sympathetically requests for Chinese students in the United States to extend their stays;
- provide humanitarian and medical assistance to the wounded through the Red Cross;
- review other bilateral aspects in light of developments in the situation.

(d) The Department of State on June 3 expressed its deep concern to the Chinese Ambassador.

(e) Senator D'Amato and Congressman Solarz on June 11 spoke of the need for further economic sanctions against China (ending most favorable nation treatment, restricting technology transfers)

(2) Britain

(a) Prime Minister Thatcher spoke on June 4 of a strong shock and said that Britain was involved in guaranteeing the future security of Hong Kong.

(b) British Foreign Office in a talk on the evening of June 3 said, "We are very concerned. We hope that there will be no further use of force."

(c) Foreign Secretary Howe informed the Chinese charge d'affaires ad interim of the canceling of the visit (on June 7) to Britain of the Justice Minister and the visit to China (for this weekend) of Britain's Agriculture Minister, and said that they would not be able to proceed with the visit to China of Prince Charles (June 5).

(d) Foreign Secretary Howe announced on June 6 in Parliament the suspension of high-level military contacts and a ban on arms sales.

(e) Foreign Office Under-Secretary Gillmore on June 12 raised with the Chinese charge d'affaires ad interim press reporting that the Chinese Embassy had been harassing resident Chinese students in London and brought to his attention that the Chinese Embassy was expected to follow British laws.

He also brought up Yao Yongzhan (a student of Fudan University from Hong Kong, detained on June 11 at the airport in Shanghai) and expressed his deep concern.

(3) France

(a) President Mitterrand said on June 4 that there was no future (for such a

government).

(b) Foreign Minister Dumas criticized on June 4 the Chinese government for using force. He hoped that the Chinese government would find a way for dialogue.

(c) Prime Minister Rocard announced on June 6 a freeze in relations with China (ending military cooperation, suspending visits at ministerial level and above, and canceling Li Peng's visit this year to France.)

(4) West Germany

(a) President Weizsacker on June 4 praised the students as "brave freedom fighters" and expressed support for them.

(b) West German Foreign Minister on June 4 issued a statement. He expressed regret over the deaths.

(c) Under-State Secretary of Federal Foreign Ministry Sudhoff on June 5 summoned the Chinese Ambassador and asked that China abandon the use of force.

(d) Foreign Minister Genscher on June 6 said that Germany would not conduct high-level exchanges and would not authorize arms exports to China. However, he said that Germany would not carry out economic sanctions that would hurt the Chinese people.

(e) Chancellor Kohl spoke of a barbaric introduction of military force. He said that he sincerely felt sympathy and empathy for the students.

(f) A West German spokesman for economic cooperation announced on June 13 the cancellation of the signing for early this week of an economic cooperation agreement with China.

(5) Canada

(a) Foreign Secretary Clark in a statement of June 4 spoke of feeling "angry" over the many lives lost.

(b) Ambassador Drake announced that he would return to Canada and, following consultations with the government, return to Beijing.