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Cable No. 2720, Ambassador Nakajima to the Foreign Minister, 'Japan-China Relations (Opinion Statement)'

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Summary:

An opinion statement on Japan-China relations sent by Ambassador Nakajima to the Foreign Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan details Japan's concerns over the Chinese government's actions during the Tiananmen Square incident. Ambassador Nakajima provides an assessment of China's response to foreign government's sanctions, expresses uncertainty on future political developments in China, and provides policy prescriptions on Japan's policy towards China going forward.

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Contents:

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注意

1. 本電の取扱いは慎重を期せられたい。
2. 本電の内容に関する照会は検閲班（内線2171、2174）。
3. その他本電の取扱い等に関する照会は調整班（内線3169）に連絡ありたい。

極秘

電信写

04-029

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第2720号 極秘 大至急

中国、就中、北京における社会情勢が、在留邦人に対し「退避勧告」をとらざるを得ない事態にまで発展したことは、日中友好関係の維持発展の観点より極めて残念なことではあるが、本使としては、かかる状況下においてこそ、日中関係の長期的観点に立つてわが国の対中行動は種々の側面を、慎重に配慮しつつ行う必要がと考えるところ、取りあえずのひ見次の通り申し上げる。

1. 現在、中国政府はかい蔽令、武力行使、流げつと進んだ事態に対する諸外国よりの対中制裁、非難の集中に強い反発を示すとともに、自らの武力によるちん庄行動を正当化すべく、国民に対する説得をえい意行い、国民による支持を得ようと努めており、また北京市内における反乱分子の摘発等、かい蔽体制を強化しつつある。

2. 今後の中国情勢の展開には依然不とう明なるを免れないが、国民の側において、あれだけの高まりを見せた政府批判の声が武力で抑えられた形となり、一たんはいきをひそめる形となつていきつつあるやに見受けられるが、そのきずあとは深く、再発のは乱含みであり、他方、動乱の地方への、は及、武力しよう突等の拡散が懸念され、また、中国指導部内における各種グループ内の対立抗争、軍内部の分裂抗争も、若干収れん傾向を見せつつあるとは言え、混乱、こんめいの状態を脱するにはなお時間を要するものと考えられ、総じて現在の不安定状態は相当長期化すると覚ごすべきものとする。

3. かかる中にあつて、米国始め西欧諸国が対中非難を高める中で、わが国の今後のとるべき態度が注目される。

(1) わが国としては、中国の今日の置かれた問題に対しては、内政問題との基本的態度はつらぬくとして、無この市民に対する流げつそれ自体に対しては、明確な批判的立場を明らかにすべきものと考えられ、

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この点で宇野総理、貴大臣、官房長官、ムラタ次官等政府関係者のるい次の御発言は、当を得たものと信ずる。

(2) 目下、米国を始めとする西欧諸国は、国内圧力もあり、単なる立場宣明にとどまらず、対中経済制裁、その他の行動による対中圧力行使の度合を強め（軍事援助については実施済み）、日本に対しても同調を求めてくる公算が強いと考えられる。他方、中国側はホウ・レイシの米大使館退避に対する強い反発、北京におけるかい厳体制強化のための西側報道機関の締め付け等、反発的態度を強化しつつある。かかる状況において、かつ、現下の中国指導層の実情より見て、諸外国の対中圧力により、中国指導部が既定の方針、態度を変更する可能性は考えられないのみならず、却つて逆効果となり益々その対外態度を益々直化する危険がある。また、このような事態になれば、中国政府のせん勤により、国民の間に排外思想が広がる可能性すら考えられる。また、事態のかかる発展は、中ソ正常化後の中国の対ソし勢を益々ソ連よりの方向へ押しやり、右正常化後のグローバルな戦略体制に微みような変化をもたらす公算も考えておかなければならない。

(3) よつてわが国政府としては、前記(1)の基本的態度をけん持し、無この市民に対する流けつは批判しつつも、国内世論の圧力はあるが、対中経済制裁等の面においては、これに同調するようなことほせず、当面基本的には事態を注視するとのしん重な態度にとどめられることがかん要と存せられる。

上海、広州、シンヨウ、ホンコンに転電した。(了)

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To: Foreign Minister

From: Ambassador Nakajima

Japan-China Relations (Opinion Statement)

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It is very regrettable, from the viewpoint of maintaining and developing friendly relations between Japan and China, that the social situation in China, particularly in Beijing, developed to the point of having to issue an "Evacuation Advisory" to Japanese nationals residing there. As an ambassador, I believe it is necessary, particularly under these circumstances, to take care in considering various aspects in our country's actions toward China from a long-term viewpoint of Japan-China relations. I thus offer here my humble opinion as follows.

1. At present, the Chinese government is showing strong opposition to the sanctions levied against it by other countries for the imposition of martial law, use of military force, and bloodshed, as well as to the torrent of criticism from those countries. At the same time, in order to justify its own act of suppression by military force, the government is working earnestly to persuade the people and gain their support. The government is also strengthening its system of martial law, exposing reactionary elements and such.

2. The development of the situation in China remains uncertain. On the Chinese people's side, voices of criticism of the government, which rose so high, were suppressed by military force. It seems that people are keeping quiet for now, but the scars are deep and a recurrence would bring tumult. On the other hand, the spread of unrest to the countryside and the proliferation of armed clashes are matters of concern. Although the conflict and struggle in the various groups within the Chinese leadership, as well as the divisions and disputes within the military, are showing some signs of convergence, it is expected that escaping the state of confusion and chaos will take more time. In general, I think that we should be prepared for a state of instability lasting for a considerably long time.

3. In such circumstances, amid increasing criticism of China from the United States and other Western countries, the attitude that our country takes hereafter will be noted.

(1) Regarding China's current problems, even though our country should keep to its basic attitude that they are internal affairs, we should make clear a definitely critical attitude in regard to the bloodshed of innocent civilians. On this point, I believe that the repeated statements of Prime Minister Uno, yours, the chief cabinet secretary, Vice Foreign Minister Murata, and other government officials are right.

(2) At present, the United States and other Western countries, under domestic pressure, are not only declaring their position but also increasing the degree of pressure exerted on China using economic sanctions and other actions (this has already been done concerning military assistance), and there is a strong possibility that they will ask Japan to align with them. On the other hand, the Chinese side is strengthening its attitude of opposition, strongly opposing Fang Lizhi's taking refuge inside the US Embassy, clamping down on Western media organizations to strengthen its system of martial law in Beijing, and such. Under such circumstances, and in view of the Chinese leadership's current situation, it is unthinkable that the Chinese leadership would change its existing policies and attitude due to pressure from other countries. Rather, there is a risk of its having the opposite effect and making China's attitude toward foreign countries increasingly inflexible. In addition, if such a situation

were to occur, one could even imagine the possibility of anti-foreign sentiment spreading among the people at the instigation of the Chinese government. We must also consider the probability of such a development pushing China's position toward the Soviet Union in the wake of Sino-Soviet normalization and bringing about subtle changes in the global strategic system following that normalization.

(3) Therefore, it is essential that our country's government, while upholding the basic attitude in paragraph (1) above and criticizing the bloodshed of innocent civilians, do not align with economic sanctions against China, although there may be domestic pressure to do so, and, for the time being, maintain a cautious attitude of closely observing the situation.

Passed to [Japanese diplomatic missions in] Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenyang, and Hong Kong. (End)