

May 29, 1989

**Cable No. 1314, Foreign Minister Ad Interim to the
Ambassador, Delegation of Japan to the OECD,
'Chinese Student Demonstrations (Main Points of
the Minister's Statement)'**

Citation:

"Cable No. 1314, Foreign Minister Ad Interim to the Ambassador, Delegation of Japan to the OECD, 'Chinese Student Demonstrations (Main Points of the Minister's Statement)'", May 29, 1989, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 2020-0545, Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs, published online by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Translated by Stephen Mercado. <https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/300593>

Summary:

A summary of Foreign Minister Uno's comments about China made at the Japan-France Summit Meeting.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Original Language:

Japanese

Contents:

Original Scan
Translation - English

※総第049492号002公館宛 GM3899-03

平成※昭和 19 年 5 月 29 日 19 時 27 分 11 秒 受付

大至急

秘 無期限

電 信 案



大臣 秘書官 政務次官 事務次官 外務審議官 外務審議官 官房長	主管 アジア局長 審議官 審議官 中国課長 首席事務官 総務班長	※発電係 1 <i>[Signature]</i> 2 <i>[Signature]</i> 起案 昭和 5 年 5 月 29 日 起案者 <i>[Signature]</i> 電話番号 <i>[Number]</i>
	協議先	

(注意) 1枚目は、機械で処理しますので、折り曲げない様願います。

(八〇字)

在	OECD代表部	大使 総領事	あて	外務大臣 発
件名	中国の学生不足 (大臣 発言要領)			
主管・文書記号	※電番	大至急 普通 (優先処理)	至急	パターン・コード
ア甲	第1314号			
転電 転送 転報	在中國	※転電番号 第1467号	大使・総領事あて	大至急 普通 (優先処理)
VVVVVV				
日仏首脳会議等における宇野大臣の中国情勢に係る発言要領(以下の通り)。				
↓				
※				
04949216 大至急 OECD		等002 F電		

GB-1

外務省

回覧番号

(添付欄内は電信書記入)

(昭和六三・六・三十改正)

GM3899

中国の学生デモについて（発言要領）

1. 経緯と現状

胡耀邦^{コウヤウポウ}(Hu Yaobang)前総書記の死去をキッカケに起こった中国の学生デモは、戒厳令の公布と解放軍の北京近郊への進出にまで発展し、天安門前広場では学生が座り込みを続ける中で、党・政府指導者間の勢力争い^{リキョウ}が行われたが、現時点では鄧小平^{テイシャウハイ}(Deng Xiaoping)の支持の下、李鵬^{リポン}(Li Peng)に代表されるグループが主導権を握った可能性が強い。

2. デモの背景

デモの背景には、民主の遅れに対する学生の不満と昨年来のインフレによる生活苦及び幹部の腐敗・不正に対する民衆の憤りがあり、その底流には鄧小平の長期「独裁」に対する民衆の根強い不満あり。他方、当局側は、中ソ首脳会談を目前に控えた中でこれら学生・民衆の不満の高まりに対する認識不足もあり、その対応が極めてまずかったという点も指摘し得る。

3. 注目すべき点

(1) 趙紫陽^{チョウシヤウ}(Zhao Ziyang)らの処遇

今次事態の特徴は、鄧小平の指導の下に改革を推進してきた趙紫陽が、鄧の不興を買って失脚させられつつあるという点にあり（胡耀邦失脚と類似）、かかる観点に立てば、趙を「反革命分子」等として“処分”することは、当然鄧の責任問題に発展する可能性があり、仮に趙を指導部から排除する場合には如何なる“処分”に落ち着くか依然として流動的。

(2) 党の威信の低下

今次デモが現指導部の予想を越えて発展したとみられる背景には、民主化運動等に対する当局の認識不足と節目節目での対応のまずさがあるが、このことは、共産党の既存の枠組みの中で今後とも民意を吸い上げていくことが果たして可能なのかという問題を提起する。その意味でも学生デモの背景にあった問題（民主の遅れ、幹部の腐敗・不

正等)に真剣に取り組み効果を挙げなければ、現指導部の基盤は不安定なものとならざるを得ないのではないか。

(3) 改革と開放の方針

今次デモの事態が如何なる展開を見せようと「改革と開放」という基本的方向は変わらないと思われるが、党・政府の指導力低下は否定できず。短期的にはスローダウン乃至は停滞する惧れはある。我が国としても、今後の推移を見守っていきたい。

中国に転電した。

(3)

Confidential
Indefinite Duration
Top Urgent

Number: 049492-002 to Diplomatic Establishments GM3899-03
Received: May 29, 1989, 19:27:11
Draft Telegram
Primary: China Division, Principal Deputy Director
Telegram Office: 1. [signed] 2. [signed]
Drafter: Kohara [] Telephone: 2426

From: Minister for Foreign Affairs ad interim
To: Ambassador, Delegation of Japan to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

Subject: Chinese Student Demonstrations (Main Points of the Minister's Statement)

Primary: Asian Affairs, China
No. 1314 Top Urgent
Pattern Code: [blacked out]
Relay to Ambassador in China
Relayed cable number: No. 1467 Urgent Priority Handling

VVVV

The main points of Minister Uno's remarks on the situation in China that he made at the Japan-France Summit Meeting are as follows:

[arrowing pointing to next page]

GM3899

The Chinese Student Demonstrations (Main Points of Remarks)

1. Background and Current Situation

The Chinese student demonstrations that broke out on the occasion of the death of former secretary general Hu Yaobang have developed to the point of the imposition of martial law and the advance of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to the outskirts of Beijing. While the students were continuing their sit-in in the square in front of Tiananmen Square, a power struggle took place among party and government leaders. At the present point in time, there is a strong possibility that, with the support of Deng Xiaoping, the group represented by Li Peng has taken the leadership.

2. Background to the Demonstrations

In the background to the demonstrations are the dissatisfaction of the students in regard to lagging democratization and the resentment of the people in regard to hardships due to inflation since last year and to cadre corruption and injustice. There is an undercurrent of popular and deep-rooted dissatisfaction regarding Deng Xiaoping's longstanding "dictatorship." On the other hand, the authorities, preparing for the upcoming Chinese-Soviet summit meeting, were lacking in their understanding in regard to the student and popular dissatisfaction. One can also point out that their response was terribly inept.

3. Noteworthy Points

(1) Treatment of Zhao Ziyang and Others

A feature of this situation is that Zhao Ziyang, who has promoted reform under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, having incurred Deng's displeasure, is being brought down by him (this resembles the downfall of Hu Yaobang). From this point of view, naturally, there is the possibility that "disposing" of Zhao as a "counterrevolutionary

element” and such will turn into an issue of responsibility for Deng. Should Zhao be removed from the leadership, how they “dispose” of him remains unsettled.

(2) Decline in Party’s Prestige

Behind these demonstrations developing beyond the anticipation of the present leadership is the lack of recognition on the part of the authorities regarding the democratization movement and such, as well as the ineptness of their response at each critical juncture. This raises the question of whether it will really be possible for the Communist Party within its existing framework to absorb the will of the people. In that sense, too, if they do not seriously tackle the problems in the background to the student demonstrations and achieve some results, then will not the party’s foundation necessarily grow increasingly unstable?

(3) Reform and Opening Policy

No matter how these demonstrations develop, the basic direction of “reform and opening” is unlikely to change, but the deterioration of party and government leadership is undeniable. The worry is that in the short term it [reform and opening] will slow down or stagnate. Japan intends to keep a close eye on future developments.

Relayed to [Japanese diplomatic missions in] China.

(End)