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The Situation in China - Main Points of Minister's Remarks at Japan-United States Foreign Ministers' Meeting

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Summary:

Main points of Japanese Minister's remarks that took place at Japan-United States Foreign Ministers' Meeting on the situation in China following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. It answers key questions on Japan's policy towards China on diplomacy and economic cooperation along with implications of a deterioration in U.S.-China relations following Tiananmen Square.

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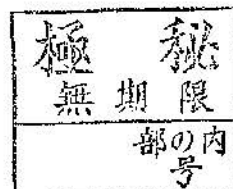
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中国情勢 - 日米外相会談大臣発言要領 -

(中国の現状)

1. 現時点においては、鄧小平・楊尚昆・李鵬の強硬派ラインで事態が収束に向かいつつあると認められるが、未だ不透明な部分あり。当面いかなる結着をみるにせよ中国情勢は当分の間不安定のうちに推移するとみられるが、脆弱な政権故に対外的には強硬な姿勢に出てこよう。
2. いずれは、より穏健な政策を追及する中国に戻ることを望ましいが、中国における民主化要求の力を過大評価することは誤り。農民を中心に中国人の大多数は政治的自由に無関心。
3. 今般の事態は、一党独裁の社会主義体制下で、改革を進めることが如何に困難なものであるかを露呈。しかしながら、中国は今後も経済面では改革と開放の政策を継続する以外の選択なし。

(基本認識)

1. 今回の事態は、基本的には西側諸国とは政治・社会体制、価値観を異にする中国の国内問題であるが、中国政府が、民主化を要求する学生・一般市民を武力鎮圧し、多数の死者を出したことは容認できるものではない。このことは既に中国側にも伝達し、また、対外的にも明らかにしている。
2. 死刑を含めた弾圧の強化は、基本的に中国の司法の枠組みのなかで行われたものであるが、取締の強化等先般来の中国政府の一連の措置により、国際社会のなかにおける中国のイメージが大きく傷つけられたことは否定出来ない。近年、改革・開放政策のもと、近代化を推進してきた中国の努力を支援してきた我が国として深刻に憂慮。
3. 他方、大局的見地から中国を再び国際社会において孤立化させてはならないという考慮が必要。

(対応)

1. 西側諸国にとって中国との関係は制約されたものとならざるをえないが、個々の対応においては、西側各国がおかれた情況（国内事情、中国とのこれまでの関係等）により、若干の濃淡が出てくることは止むを得ないところ。しかし、認識と対応の方向性は同じであるべきであるし、実際そうなっていると考える。
2. 我が国の対中政策上重要な経済協力については、次の通り。
 - (1) 現在実施中の案件については、中国情勢によって中断されているものもあるが、実施環境の整うのを待って継続する。
 - (2) 新規の案件については、中国情勢等を勘案しつつ、今後対応振りを慎重に検討していきたい。

(米中関係)

1. 米中関係が悪化すれば、日中関係のみが良好に推移するということはあり得ず、米中関係の行方を、深刻に心配。
2. 方励之問題については、米中間において真剣な折衝が継続中と承知するところ、米中双方が大局を見失わず、早急にこれが何らかの解決に至ることを強く期待。今回の事態発生以後の米国政府の対応振りについては、米議会筋からは声高な声も聞かれるが、全般的に抑制とバランスのとれたものとして、日本政府は評価。
3. 日米間において、具体的政策措置等の面で違いはあるもののそれぞれの対中政策の方向に大きな乖離が生じることは避けなければならない。中国情勢が流動的な折から今後とも両国政府の間であらゆるレベルにおいてこの面で緊密な協議を重ねて行きたい。

(サミット他)

1. 7月のサミット等の場で、中国情勢を巡る活発な意見交換が予想されるが、中国に対して西側としての共同制裁措置をとるといったことよりも、むしろ中国政府の措置に対する西側としての認識を示すことが適當。

(共同制裁に対する考え方を問われる場合)

日本としては、前述のような基本的考え方から共同制裁は好ましくないと考えている。

2. 中国はその近代化への過程において今後とも今回の如き折々の挫折を経験することとなろう。要はそのような事態に対して、我々は、過度に反応したり、いたずらに感情的になったりすることを避け、息長く中国側の状況を見守っていくということであると思う。

(応答要領)

(日本商社員等の中国への帰還について、)

本件については私としても留意。記者会見、国会等の場で関係企業の自制を求めて来たところである。日中経済関係のこれまでの実績もあり、国際的に目立ち易いとの側面もあることは確かであるが、政府としては、今後ともいろいろな形で、このような考え方を経済界に伝えて参りたい。

(応答要領)

(米国が既に行っている①ハイ・レベルの人的交流の停止及び②国際金融機関の対中融資の停止の働きかけとの対中追加措置に関連し、わが国の政策を問われる場合)

1. 日中間のハイ・レベルの交流については、当面予定されていない。
2. 国際援助機関の対中援助については、諸般の事情を勘案し、慎重に検討して

参りたいが、新規案件については、現下の状況に鑑み、抑制的な方向で働きかけることが適切であろうと考えている。具体的な対応については、各援助機関ごとに、別途相談したい。

Secret

Indefinite Duration

The Situation in China - Main Points of Minister's Remarks at Japan-United States Foreign Ministers' Meeting

(China's Current Situation)

1. At this time, there is a recognition that the situation is returning to normal through the hardline faction of Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, and Li Peng, but much is still uncertain. For now, regardless of how things settle, the situation in China is likely to remain unstable for the time being. Due to its fragility, the regime will probably take a hardline foreign stance.

2. In any event, the return to a China that pursues moderate policies would be desirable, but overestimating the forces calling for democratization in China would be an error. The Chinese, mostly peasants, are for the most part indifferent to political freedom.

3. This situation reveals just how difficult it is to advance reform under a one-party socialist system. Nevertheless, China will have no choice but to continue its policy of economic reform and opening.

(Basic Understanding)

1. The current situation is basically an internal affair of China, a country whose political system, social system, and values differ from those of the West, but it is unacceptable that the Chinese government used force to suppress students and civilians calling for democracy, which resulted in many deaths. We have already communicated this to the Chinese side and made it clear externally.

2. The heightened oppression, including executions, has basically taken place within China's judicial framework, but one cannot deny that China's image in international society has been greatly damaged by the Chinese government's recent series of measures, including the strengthening of controls. Japan - which has aided China's efforts in recent years to advance modernization on the basis of its policy of reform and opening - is deeply concerned.

3. On the other hand, from an overall perspective, it is necessary to consider that China should not be isolated again in the international community.

(Responses)

1. For Western countries, relations with China have to be constrained, but it is inevitable that there will emerge some differences in individual responses, depending on the situation of each Western country (domestic situation, relations to date with China, and such).

2. An explanation regarding Japan's important economic cooperation with China is as follows:

(1) In regard to projects that we are currently carrying out, there are some that are now interrupted, but we will continue with them while waiting for improvement in the implementation environment.

(2) In regard to new projects, we would like to give careful consideration to how we will respond while taking into account the situation in China.

(United States-China Relations)

1. If relations between the United States and China worsened, a favorable progression in Japan-China relations would be impossible. We are deeply worried over where relations between the United States and Japan are going.

2. In regard to the Fang Lizhi issue, I understand that serious negotiations are taking place between the United States and China. We strongly hope that the US and Chinese sides do not lose sight of the overall situation and that they come to some sort of resolution as soon as possible. Although there have been some loud voices coming from the US Congress, the Government of Japan appreciates the overall restraint and balance of the US Government's reaction to this situation.

3. Between Japan and the United States, although there are differences in specific policy measures, it would be unacceptable for there to emerge a major divergence in the direction of our respective policies on China. As the situation in China remains fluid, I would like our two governments to continue holding close consultations on this

issue at all levels.

(Summit, Other Issue)

1. A lively exchange of views on the situation in China is expected at the July Summit and elsewhere. Rather than the imposition of joint sanctions on the part of the West against China, it would be appropriate to express recognition to the West of the Chinese government's measures. (If asked for Japan's thoughts on joint sanctions) Japan, given its basic thinking, mentioned earlier, considers joint sanctions undesirable.

2. China will probably experience future setbacks like this one in the process of its modernization. I think that the key here is for us to avoid overreacting or becoming pointlessly emotional and to patiently keep a close watch on the Chinese side's situation.

(Question and Answer: Main Points)

(Concerning the return to China of Japanese trading company employees and others)

I have also taken note of this matter. In press conferences and in the Diet, I have called on the companies involved to show restraint. Given the accomplishments to date in Japan-China economic relations, there is certainly an internationally conspicuous aspect to them. The government will continue to convey this thinking to the business community in various ways.

(Question and Answer: Main Points)

(In the event that Japan's policy is questioned in relation to additional measures against China, which the United States has already taken: (1) the suspension of high-level person-to-person exchanges and (2) calling on international financial institutions to suspend their lending to China)

1. Regarding high-level exchanges between Japan and China, none are planned for the time being.

2. Regarding aid to China from international aid organizations, I would like to carefully consider the matter in taking various circumstances into account. Regarding new projects, in light of the current situation, I think that calling for restraint would be appropriate. In regard to specific measures, we would like to consult with each aid organization separately.