

June 12, 1989

**China Division [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan],
'Our Country's Future China Policy (Taking the
Situation into Account)'**

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Summary:

Outline of Japan's basic understanding of the situation in China in regards to the Tiananmen Square incident. The document discusses the ongoing approach to China, issues requiring specific examination, Japan-China bilateral economic relations, international diplomatic aspects, and points of consideration for future policy discussions.

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我が国の今後の対中政策（今回の事態を踏まえて）

89. 6. 12

中国課

1. 今次事態への基本認識

- (1) わが国とは政治体制を異にし、価値観においても異なる隣国中国の国内問題。
- (2) 戒厳軍が市民・学生に銃を向け、多くの人命が失われるという痛ましい事態に至ったことは遺憾。人道の見地から容認できない。
- (3) 鄧の下に党・軍の強行派が指導権を掌握し、当面このラインで収束の方向へ。
(但し、中国内外政は難問が山積。)

2. 当面の対処方針

- (1) 上記基本認識に基づき、日中関係への影響、わが方の対応を検討。
- (2) 実態面では、今次事態のインパクトがなるべく小さくなるよう対処。（考慮すべき要素別添「参考」）

3. 具体的検討を要する問題

(1) 二国間政治関係

- (イ) 政府間接触のあり方→閣僚会議、ハイレベル交流等
- (ロ) 基本的枠組→日中共同声明の見直し等。
- (ハ) 歴史認識→靖国参拝、教科書等（中国が今般非人道的行為をしたからといって、我が国が過去の行為を曖昧にすべきでない。）
- (ニ) 台湾との関係→台湾側の行動が予測し得ないところ、当面静観。

(2) 日中二国間経済関係

- (イ) 政府ベース経済協力→停止も続行もインパクト大。関係省庁とも慎重に協議。
- (ロ) 貿易・投資→実務関係は当面先細り。我が国としての政策意図は特に表明しない。
- (3) 二国間社会問題→我が国に滞在中の中国人には当面査証延長の特典。（我が国への亡命事件の発生を未然に防ぐためにも、早期に声明等を出す要あり。）

(4) 国際的側面

- (イ) サミット対策→声明・議長総括等（サミット参加国によるGANG UP との印象は避ける。何等かの認識を表明する場合は、慎重に対処。）
- (ロ) 対米関係→方励之の件もあり、短期的に中米関係は冷え込む恐れ。米側と協議の要
- (ハ) ココム→当面对中規制緩和は困難に。

(参考) 今後の政策決定に当たっての考慮すべき諸点

(1) 我が国にとって望ましい中国像→あくまで、安定し、穏健な政策により近代化を進める中国。

(2) 我が国の対中政策が持つ重みとその跳ね返り→わが国の対中政策は、(イ)他の諸国の対中政策に大きな影響を及ぼすのみならず、(ロ)中国の内外政策そのものにも大きな影響を与えうる。従って、我が国の政策決定においては、その影響を予め慎重に評価する必要あり。

(3) 中国の対外関係への影響→

(イ) 中国内政の不满が反日に向かうことは避ける。

(ロ) 今後米中関係悪化の兆し。西側全体との関係

(ハ) 当面、中国が外交上活発に動くことは困難(「カ」問題、朝鮮半島情勢への影響)。

(4) 我が国国民感情と国際世論→今回の事態は、何人たりとも中国現政権の側に立つことを困難にした。

(5) 中国人民の将来→中国青年・市民の我が国を含めた民主主義陣営への期待に対する考慮。

Secret

Indefinite Duration

Our Country's Future China Policy (Taking the Situation into Account)

June 12, 1989

China Division

1. Basic Understanding of the Current Situation

(1) This is a domestic problem of China, a neighboring country whose political system and values differ from those of our country.

(2) It is a tragic situation that the martial law forces turned their guns on residents and students, resulting in the loss of many lives. From a humanitarian point of view, it is unacceptable.

(3) Hard-liners under Deng in the Party and military have taken control of the leadership and at present are moving along this line toward a return to normal. (However, China faces a host of problems in its domestic and foreign affairs.)

2. Present Approach

(1) On the basis of the basic understanding above, we will examine the situation's impact on Japan-China relations and our response to it.

(2) In substance, our approach will be such that the impact of the current situation will be as small as possible. (For factors to consider, see attached "References.")

3. Issues Requiring Specific Examination

(1) Bilateral political relations

(a) How intergovernmental contacts should be → ministerial meetings, high-level exchanges, etc.

(b) Basic framework → review of the Japan-China Joint Communique, etc.

(c) Recognition of history → visits to Yasukuni Shrine, textbooks, etc. (Our country should not play down its past actions just because China has recently committed inhumane acts.)

(d) Relations with Taiwan → As Taiwan's actions are unpredictable, we will wait and see for now.

(2) Japan-China Bilateral Economic Relations

(a) Economic aid on a governmental basis → Both halting it and continuing it would have a great impact. We will engage in careful consultation with the relevant ministries and agencies.

(b) Trade and investment Practical relations at present are tapering off. We will not express in particular any policy intentions for our country.

(3) Bilateral social issues → We will grant the special favor of visa extension for the time being to Chinese residing in our country. (We need to issue as soon as possible a statement or some such to nip in the bud any asylum cases in our country before they happen.)

(4) International aspects

(a) Summit Policy → Communique/Chairman's Summary (We will avoid the impression of the participating countries in the Summit ganging up on China. We will take care in expressing any recognition of the situation.)

(b) Relations with the United States → Due to the case of Fang Lizhi and such, there is a danger of a cooling in relations between China and the United States. Discussions with the US side will be required.

(c) Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) → An easing of restrictions on China will be difficult for the time being.

(References) Several Points to Consider in Future Policy Decisions

(1) A desirable image of China for our country → a China advancing its modernization by consistent, stable, and moderate policies.

(2) The weight of our country's China policy and its repercussions → Our country's China policy (a) not only has a great impact on the China policies of other countries, but also exerts major influence on China's domestic and foreign policies themselves.

Consequently, in deciding our country's policy, it is necessary to evaluate carefully in advance its impact.

(3) Impact on China's foreign relations →

(a) Avoiding dissatisfaction with China's domestic policy turning into anti-Japanese sentiment.

(b) Signs of future worsening in relations between the United States and China. Relations with the West as a whole.

(c) For the time being, it will be difficult for China to move actively in diplomacy (influence on the issues of Cambodia and the Korean Peninsula).

(4) Popular opinion in our country and international public opinion → The current situation has made it difficult for anyone to stand on the side of China's present government.

(5) The Chinese people's future → Considering the expectations of Chinese youths and citizens toward the democratic camp, including our country.