

CLASSIFIED

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Vol 61

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**Pages 301 to / à 303  
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**of the Access to Information Act  
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ISS JIS  
REF PEKIN TEL WJGR5336 10JUN  
---UNREST IN PRC-04JUN MASSACRE

FOLLOWING PEKIN REFTEL ON CURRENT SITUATION, WE WOULD LIKE TO  
PASS ON TO YOU INFO THAT WE HAVE COLLECTED DURING PAST WEEK  
FROM VARIOUS SOURCES AND COMMENTS OF CHINA WATCHERS IN HKONG.  
FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT, SITUATION IN PRC AT THIS TIME IS SEEN  
AS EXTREMELY SERIOUS, COUNTRY NOW BEING CONTROLLED BY GROUP  
OF VICIOUS ELDERLY GENERALS AND GOVT RUN BY PEOPLE WHO WILL  
BLINDLY FOLLOW THEIR ORDERS. SWTUATION LOOKS GRIM AT BEST AND  
POTENTIALLY DISASTROUS.

2. PICTURE THAT IS EMERGING FROM MASSACRE OF 04JUN AT TIANANMEN  
SQUARE IS ONE THAT INSPIRES REVULSION. BASED ON VARIOUS SOURCES,  
IT APPEARS THAT MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAREFULLY PLANNED CARNAGE.  
NIGHT OF 02JUN, UNARMED TROOPS WERE ORDERED TO BREAK THROUGH

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE TWO XBGR0487 CONF D

GROUPS OF DEMONSTRATORS AND REACH TIANANMEN SQUARE. SOLDIERS WERE UNARMED AND ON FOOT. THEY CAME FROM EAST WALKING AND RUNNING TEN MILE DISTANCE FROM THEIR TEMPORARY CAMP TO INNER PART OF CITY. ON ROUTE, THEY WERE HARRASSED, ASSAULTED, SCORNED, BEATEN BY CITIZENRY, SOME WERE LYNCHED. TROOPS FINALLY REACHED AREA IN FRONT OF PEIJING HOTEL AND WERE UNABLE TO GO FURTHER. THEY EVENTUALLY RETREATED, EXHAUSTED AND HUMILIATED. IT APPEARS THAT THOSE SOLDIERS ARE SAME TROOPS THAT WERE PUT ABOARD TANKS NEXT DAY AND INSTRUCTED TO REACH AND CLEAR TIANANMEN SQUARE. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THEY RECEIVED SHOTS OF AMPHETAMINES, TO COMPENSATE FOR EXHAUSTION. REACH TIANANMEN THEY DID. HUMILIATION OF PREVIOUS DAY, DRUGS, RAGE AND REVENGE ENSURED THEIR VICTORY AND SAVAGE BEHAVIOUR.

4. IT APPEARS THAT MILITARY AUTHORITIES CAREFULLY PLANNED HUMILIATION OF 02 JUN TO GUARANTEE THAT TROOPS WOULD RESPOND IMMEDIATELY TO ORDERS REQUIRING THEM TO SHOOT AN UNARMED CIVILIANS, IF NECESSARY. THEY DID.

5. LIKE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES IS DESIGNED TO DETER REAL AND POTENTIAL OFFENDERS, IT WAS PROBABLY THOUGHT THAT MASSACRE OF FEW HUNDRED/THOUSANDS WOULD CONVINCCE POPULATION NOT/NOT TO PURSUE IN THEIR PROTEST. IT SEEMS TO BE WORKING, AND WILL BE FOR AWHILE.

6. PERIOD OF BRUTAL SUPPRESSION OF PRO-DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATIONS

...3

PAGE THREE XBGR0487 CONFD

IN PEKIN HAS ENDED.THEY ARE NOW ENTERING PERIOD OF VICIOUS  
REPRESSION DURING WHICH DENUNCIATIONS AND FEAR OF PROSECUTION  
AND PERSECUTION WILL TERRORIZE POPULATION.IT WILL ALSO  
PROBABLY MAKE WORK OF GOVT AND BUSINESS GRIND TO HALT.

7.WE REPEAT.ABOVE IS SUMMARY OF PERCEPTIONS OF CHINA WATCHERS  
HERE OF EVENTS IN BEIJING.

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

CHINA: PROVINCES: THE CRACKDOWN - CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

FROM FILE 202/1

START OF SUMMARY

AS THE NATIONWIDE CRACKDOWN CONTINUES MOST CITIES ARE SLOWLY RETURNING TO A SEMBLANCE OF NORMALCY. DESPITE AN OUTWARD RETURN TO CALM, THERE ARE STILL STRONG UNDERCURRENTS OF TENSION, AS ARRESTS CONTINUE.

END OF SUMMARY

HONG KONG ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS (13 JUNE) PROVIDES DETAILS OF THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NATIONWIDE PURGE TAKING PLACE.

IN SHENYANG, STUDENT LEADERS ARE REPORTED AS 'DEFIANTLY WAITING FOR THE AXE TO FALL'

- POLICE ARE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE ON CAMPUS

- TWO STUDENTS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ARRESTED YESTERDAY (12 JUNE) FROM THE POST-GRADUATE DORMITORY.

LAST WEDNESDAY (7 JUNE), THE MAYOR OF SHENYANG, WU DISHENG, FRIGHTENED STUDENT LEADERS INTO DISSOLVING THEIR STUDENT AUTONOMOUS COMMITTEES, WITH THREATS OF ARMY INTERVENTION

- DONG GONG AND LIAONING UNIVERSITIES HAD BEEN ORCHESTRATING THE CITY'S DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT.

2. PARTY AUTHORITIES IN CHANGSHA HAVE WARNED THAT ANY MEMBER WHO WAS INVOLVED IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT PROTESTS WILL BE PUNISHED.

IN A REPORTED TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, ONE TEACHER SPOKE OF THE

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ARREST OF TWO STUDENT LEADERS FROM HUNAN SOUTH-CENTRAL COLLEGE.

3. CHENGDU IS REPORTED TO HAVE ALMOST RETURNED TO NORMAL AFTER A WEEK OF RIOTING.

. AN 'UNNAMED CORRESPONDENT IN CHENGDU' IN THE SCMP REPORTED THAT

- AFTER NEWS OF THE 4 JUNE KILLINGS IN BEIJING REACHED CHENGDU, A MOB COMPOSED MOSTLY OF BADLY-PAID WORKERS, UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS AND STUDENTS 'ENGAGED IN AN ORGY OF DESTRUCTION WHICH WAS PROBABLY THE MOST SERIOUS ANYWHERE IN CHINA'.

. THE PEOPLE'S MARKET IS NOW A SMOULDERING RUIN, AS IS A NEARBY CINEMA

- WRECKAGE OF A DOZEN BUSES AND TWO FIRE TRUCKS DOT THE STREETS.

. SOME PEOPLE WERE SHOT BY THE PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE (PAP) DURING THE NIGHT OF RIOTING.

. THE PROBABLE NUMBER OF DEATHS IS ESTIMATED BETWEEN 10 AND 30.

. THERE ARE STILL STRONG UNDERCURRENTS OF TENSION

- TRUCKLOADS OF ARMED POLICE REGULARLY CRUISE THE STREETS, AND ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE FIRMLY SUPPRESSED ARE GIVEN BY LOUDSPEAKER.

. TELEVISION ANNOUNCEMENTS IN CHENGDU URGE PEOPLE TO COME FORWARD WITH KNOWLEDGE OF THE IDENTITIES OF THE 'VERY SMALL MINORITY OF CRIMINALS WHO BURNED PUBLIC PROPERTY'

- LOCAL TELEVISION ALSO SHOWS FOOTAGE OF PEOPLE BEING FORCED, AT GUNPOINT, TO SIGN CONFESSIONS.

. THERE HAS BEEN NO MOVE TO ENTER THE CAMPUSES, BUT THEY ARE ALREADY DESERTED.

4. SHANGHAI IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN FIRMLY BROUGHT BACK UNDER PARTY CONTROL

- RED BANNERS PROCLAIM MESSAGES SUCH AS 'UPHOLD THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES', 'PROTECT THE PATH OF SOCIALISM', AND 'OPPOSE BOURGEOIS LIBERALISATION'.

. ON CAMPUSES, MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS HAVE GONE HOME, DESPITE OFFICIAL NOTICES URGING STUDENTS TO RETURN TO

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CLASS AND REPORT TROUBLEMAKERS TO AUTHORITIES.

. STUDENTS SAY THE PAP HAS ALREADY ARRESTED SEVERAL STUDENTS AND SENT TEAMS TO TRACK STUDENT LEADERS WHO HAVE FLED THE CITY.

5. IN NANJING AND HARBIN, PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THERE WILL BE NO CRACKDOWN ON STUDENT DISSIDENTS.

. IN NANJING ARMED PLA TROOPS MARCHED THROUGH THE CITY BUT DID NOT ENTER CAMPUSES., HOWEVER, ''BAD ELEMENTS'' AND ''TROUBLEMAKERS'' HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN BOTH CITIES.

. GUANGZHOU RESIDENTS BELIEVE THE CRACKDOWN WILL NOT REACH THE PROPORTIONS IT HAD DONE IN BEIJING.

. HANGZHOU, WUHAN, XIAN AND GUIYANG ARE REPORTED BACK TO NORMAL.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN + TRADE  
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MIN DEFENCE  
DEP ATTORNEY GENERAL  
D.I.L.G.E.A.(C)  
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JIS

---TIANANMEN MASSACRE 03JUN:EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

WE AND AUSTRALIAN COLLEAGUES HAVE DEBRIEFED A 20 YR OLD STUDENT WHO WITNESSED MANY OF THE ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY THE CHINESE ARMY AT TIANANMEN.FOR OBVIOUS REASONS WE RESPECTED HIS REQUEST FOR ANONYMITY.WE BELIEVE HIS ACCOUNT TRUSTWORTHY ON THE WHOLE (ALTHOUGH EMOTION MAY HAVE RESULTED IN SOME DISTORTIONS)AND CONSISTENT WITH OTHERS WE HAVE HEARD.WE ARE TRANSCRIBING THE ACCOUNT AS RECORDED,WITHOUT ATTEMPT TO CORRECT SOME CHRONOLOGICAL INCONSISTENCES.

--0200 HRS:I WAS ON EAST SIDE OF QUOTE GODDESS OF LIBERTY UNQUOTE (30FT STATUE ERECTED BY STUDENTS).THERE WAS SHOOTING COMING FROM XIDAN(WEST OF TIANANMEN).PEOPLE SAID QUOTE THESE ARE RUBBER BULLETS,NOT/NOT SERIOUS UNQUOTE.PUT THEN REALIZED PEOPLE WERE BEING KILLED.PEOPLE STARTED TO RUN SOUTH TOWARDS QIANMEN.PEOPLE SHOUTED,SOME LIED DOWN.

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PAGE TWO WJGR5372 UNCLAS

--TANKS AND ARMoured PERSONNEL CARRIERS(APCS)CAME TOWARDS THE STATUE.TWO RINGS OF 100 STUDENTS EACH CLASPED ARMS AROUND THE STATUE,YELLING QUOTE WE ARE NOT/NOT AFRAID TO DIE,WE ARE NOT/NOT AFRAID OF GIVING OUR YOUNG BLOOD FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY , IMMORTALITY WILL GIVE US DEMOCRACY UNQUOTE.STUDENTS MACHINE GUNNED BY SOLDIERS ON TANKS.TANKS RAN INTO STATUE AND THEM MOVED TOWARDS SOUTH.MORE TANKS/APCS MOVE IN FROM EAST.TANKS RAN OVER BODIES ON SQUARE AND TURNED ON THE SPOT TO MASH UP BODIES.

--SQUARE FILLED WITH THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS AND CITIZENS.THOSE STANDING KILLED BY MACHINE GUNS.THOSE CLEVER ENOUGH TO LIE DOWN ABLE TO FLEE IN CONFUSION.

--SOLDIERS SITTING ON TANKS AND APCS SHOOTING AT EVERYBODY THEY CAN,SINGING QUOTE THE THREE PRINCIPLES AND EIGHT DISCIPLINES UNQUOTE.

--20 TANKS POSITIONED IN FRONT OF PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU(PSB) (ACROSS FROM BEIJING HOTEL).THEY ARE SURROUNDED BY PEOPLE WHO ARE SHOT.CONFUSION AS PEOPLE RUN EVERYWHERE,SOME RIGHT INTO MORE TANKS.LOTS OF SCREAMING AND CRYING.TANKS AND SOLDIERS SHOOT TOWARDS STREET/ARCH IN FRONT OF PSB WHERE LARGE CROWD IS CONGREGATED. HUNDREDS KILLED(OTHER REPORTS SAY BULLETS RICOCHETED INSIDE NEARY HOUSES,KILLING MANY RESIDENTS).

--TANKS REGROUP CLOSE TO MAO TOMB.PEOPLE RUN TOWARDS THEM.SOME HEARD SCREAMING QUOTE WE ARE ALL FROM SAME FAMILY,HOW CAN YOU DO THIS TO US UNQUOTE.FOUR SUCH PROTESTERS KILLED AT POINT BLANK.

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PAGE THREE WJGR5372 UNCLAS

--TWO STUDENTS TRYING TO ESCAPE NEAR TOMB.GIRL SHOT IN FOREHEAD,  
SKULL SMASHED.BOY SEEN TRYING TO ESCAPE HOLDING HER.WOMAN WITH 2/3  
YEAR OLD CHILD IN STROLLER RAN OVER BY TANK.TANK TURNS AROUND  
TO MASH THEM UP.

--QUOTE TIANANMEN FULL OF BULLETS,FULL OF RED,PEOPLE LYING ALL  
OVER,CRYING UNQUOTE.NO/NO WAY TO TAKE WOUNDED AWAY.THOSE WHO TRY  
GET KILLED.

--BETWEEN 0300 HRS AND 0400 HRS,SOLDIERS TURN OFF LAMPS ON SQUARE.  
MOST PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT/NOT ESCAPED ALREADY DEAD.

--OLD WOMAN KNELT IN FRONT OF SOLDIERS PLEADING FOR STUDENTS.  
SOLDIERS KILL HER.PEOPLE SURROUND SOLDIERS WHO FIRE MACHINE GUNS  
AT THEM UNTIL AMMO RUNS OUT.PEOPLE THEN RUN AFTER SOLDIERS AND KILL  
ONE,HANG HIM TO A TREE.

--INTERLOCUTOR SAYS TOOK HIM FOUR HOURS TO GO FROM MAO TOMB TO  
CHONGWENMEN.SAW DEAD BODIES ALL THE WAY INCLUDING OLD PEOPLE AND  
BABIES.

--ARMY WOULD NOT/NOT LET AMBULANCES IN.LOTS OF INJURED LEFT WITHOUT  
HELP.CRIES OF AGONY EVERYWHERE.

--ASKED WHAT HE WILL DO NEXT,STUDENT SAID HE KNOWS OF SAFE HOUSE.  
PREDICTS BODIES ON SQUARE AND CHANGAN AVENUE WILL BE BURNED WITH  
GASOLINE QUOTE BECAUSE NO/NO WAY THEY CAN BE BROUGHT OUT UNQUOTE.

--STUDENT COMMENTED NOBODY HAD EXPECTED SOLDIERS TO KILL STUDENTS  
AND CITIZENS.AUTHS HAD PROMISED THIS WOULD NOT/NOT HAPPEN.HE WAS  
COMPLETELY STUNNED.QUOTE HATRED IS ONLY RESPONSE,NOTHING WE CAN DO  
NOW UNQUOTE.

UUU/078 120500Z WJGR5372

# CHINA BACKGROUNDER

June 12, 1989  
NOT FOR RELEASE

## GENERAL SITUATION IN CHINA

- The civil crackdown continues. Participants in the student demonstrations are being hunted down by the authorities, demonstrations are being broken up quickly (with the partial, but important exception of Shanghai), and organizers detained. Military check-points are operating in Beijing, a number of other cities and on major intercity highways.
- Major military units are still evidently at some state of alert on the outskirts of Beijing, around the airport, and on major access routes between other cities and the capital.
- The state propaganda apparatus has moved into full gear. The massacre in Tiananmen Square is being officially "rewritten" in extent (the authorities assert only one hundred students died), in balance (a substantial number of the dead are now claimed to have been young soldiers defending their units), and in terms of its political causes (ruffians, anti-state and counter-revolutionary elements are blamed for "inciting the rebellion").
- The level and intensity of the propaganda campaign is clearly intended to drive home the "revised" version of events, and the high-level of attention given the arrests and round-ups is probably at least partly aimed at intimidating the general population into quiescence. The arrest of one student, accused of spreading lies during an interview given on U.S. television, is being publicized widely to incite fear in dealing with foreigners, especially journalists.
- The Sino-American stand-off over the protection the U.S. Embassy has given to dissident Fang Lizhi is making relations increasingly tense between the two countries.
- New regulations have been issued controlling the activities of foreign journalists and restricting their freedom of movement. An effective curfew on all foreigners remains in place.
- Troops have been moved into place to "protect" foreign embassies and residents, making access to them by civilian Chinese more difficult.

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- Deng Xiaoping is now appearing regularly in press and television reports, reconfirming speculation that he personally authorized the crackdown against the students and the consolidation of power behind the hard-line position. Premier Li Peng and Politburo member Qiao Shi have emerged as strongmen of the hard-line group in power. Wan Li, along with other aged members of the Politburo, are now being seen in film clips of more prominent leaders aimed at presenting the appearance of a unified leadership.

## EVACUATION OF CANADIANS

- The evacuation plan suffered a setback Saturday with the Chinese military refusing to permit access to Chinese cities for the Canadian Government 707. On the basis of earlier assurances of access given by the civilian authorities to Ambassador Drake and his U.S., Australian and British counterparts, the aircraft had been repositioned from Japan to Hong Kong for a series of three planned flights.
- Commercial charters have been used to replace the lost flights by the Government aircraft. In the South, one Boeing 737 flight was made yesterday from Wuhan with another tentatively planned for tomorrow appearing increasingly unnecessary. Another dedicated flight, a Canada/Alberta charter, arrives in Hong Kong today from Dalian in the North with roughly 50 Canadians on board along with a number of Americans, Australians and others. An Canadian-arranged internal charter from Harbin to Dalian had been arranged to meet that flight.
- Some western airlines are suspending normal commercial operations to the PRC. Qantas flew its last flight on Friday, and Canadian Airlines International intends to suspend its operation after a final flight today serving only Beijing, rather than Beijing and Shanghai.
- Canadians are continuing to obtain seats on Chinese and other commercial flights leaving from a number of cities.
- We estimate that at least 550 Canadians have left China by commercial or special flights over the past eight days. Some Canadians, perhaps as many 100, have decided to remain in China, in addition to our 23 government personnel still in Beijing and Shanghai.
- The Soviet Union has privately advised the United States that any Americans fleeing across the Sino-Soviet border without proper entry

documents would not be turned away.

## **THE RESPONSE OF THE CANADIAN AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS**

### **Canadian Response**

- The SSEA outlined the measures initially taken by the Government during the Emergency Debate in the House on Tuesday, June 6. These include:
  - postponing the signing of 5 development assistance agreements;
  - the suspension of nuclear cooperation consultation and the cancellation of a number of other planned meetings;
  - a freeze on high-level visits;
  - a willingness to extend the stay of Chinese students here in Canada, and assurances that those who lose their means of support will be permitted to work;
  - an at least temporary suspension of all removals to China under the Immigration Act;
  - the suspension of our modest program of defence cooperation and confirmation of our unwillingness to consider any military exports to China in the current situation;
  - a willingness to provide humanitarian assistance or medical supplies if requested.
  
- The Federal Government has taken the initiative to coordinate with the provinces and sponsoring organizations efforts to assist Chinese students in Canada. The SSEA has suggested to representatives of the Chinese Canadian community that part of their fund-raising efforts be focussed on this need.
  
- The Prime Minister wrote on June 8 to the Secretary General of the United Nations urging him to pursue whatever means are possible to bring constructive pressure to bear on the Chinese Government.

### The Government's response to calls for more sanctions

- The bilateral relationship, for all practical purposes, is effectively in a state of suspension.
  
- Further sanctions at this time, such as the cancellation of cultural or academic exchanges or steps to reduce or eliminate our bilateral

programs of trade or development assistance, would be premature.

- The SSEA stated in Edmonton that he did not wish to recall Ambassador Drake from Beijing until the evacuation program was completed and the situation calmer, and that if the Ambassador was brought out subsequently it would only be for a short time for consultations.
- The Government reviewing all elements of the bilateral relationship. Mr. Clark has made it clear during a number of discussions with the press that it is not now the time to be taking permanent measures.

### **The Response of Other Countries**

- All Western countries have condemned the use of force by the Chinese authorities in Tiananmen Square last weekend and subsequently.
- The U.S.A., the U.K., France, Germany, Australia and Japan have all announced measures similar to those announced by Canada last week. One of the most recent such announcement was the Japanese cancellation of 14 planned development assistance missions, and a delay in the extension of USA\$6.7 billion in loans.
- The EC has cancelled the annual EC-China Mixed Commission, and the EC President Delors refused to meet with the Chinese Minister for Economic Relations and Foreign Trade in Brussels.
- With the exception of Cuba, which received the Chinese Foreign Minister last week (and which alone with Vietnam publicly supported the Chinese actions in Tiananmen Square), no country appears to be proceeding with the visits of high-level Chinese.

### **REFERENCE NUMBERS**

China Task Force (External Affairs/PNR) - 1-613-995-1186  
Operations Centre Consular/Evacuation Enquiries - 1-800-267-6675

Enquiries from Canadians within China:

Canadian Embassy in Beijing (011-86-1-532-3536)

Consulate General/Shanghai (011-86-21-202-822)

(Direct calls from Canada to our posts should be discouraged)

Press (External Affairs Press Office) 1-613-995-1874

JUNE 1-1989

June 12/89

UPDATE ON STUDENT GROUPS IN CHINA:

DAVID PANESCRAN OF SIMON FRASER STAYED IN  
~~THE~~ JILIN UNIVERSITY, CHANGCHUN ~~#~~ (13 OTHER STUDENTS  
 EXITED VIA DALIAN). THIRTEEN OF THE FOURTEEN  
 UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL STUDENTS ARE NOW IN HONG KONG,  
 ONE HAS REMAINED & PLANS TO STAY UNTIL JUNE 23<sup>RD</sup>.  
 THREE TEACHERS REMAIN IN CHONGQING - LENA JONES &  
 LINDA STEVENS AT SICHUAN FOREIGN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE  
 (811-661732), GRAHAM CARSWELL, WHO HAS GONE BACK  
 TO THE MIDDLE SCHOOL (811-812930) - ALL WISH TO LEAVE,  
 AS SITUATION SEEMS UNSAFE. ~~ONE~~ ENGLISH TEACHER,  
 DEANNA LYNNE KEY, IS AT TIBET UNIVERSITY, LHASA,  
 VERY WORRIED BECAUSE AMERICAN TEACHERS HAVE  
 BEEN GIVEN CONTINGENCY PLANS TO LEAVE ~~BY~~ VIA NEPAL  
 BY THEIR EMBASSY, BUT CANADIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT  
 CONTACTED HER.

RUTH HAYHOE

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June 12/89

PNL: From Wargosaki (JPN)  
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The Assessment and Influence of Recent Situations

DP (GTR)  
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DSS

1. Decrease of prestige of the Party.

The students' demand for democratization has developed into a wide peoples' movement with the support and participation of the citizens. The current leadership took the position of hostile relations with the people by using military suppression. Now we could say that the Party became the object of the peoples' anger and disappointment as a dictatorship organization. The prestige of the Party, therefore, has decreased to the level that, for the time being, it is difficult to recover. For a short period, they may succeed to control the situation and maintain the power of leadership but from the middle- or long-term view it is inevitable that the foundation of the Party will be extremely unstable.

2. The decrease of international image

i) There is the possibility of a decrease of international trust in China and to promote bilateral relations with China because of the instability and the dark aspect of Chinese dictatorial policies. It can not be avoided that for the economic exchanges, particularly in the field of investment, it will be greatly influenced.

ii) Undoubtedly, this event will create a big psychological impact on Hong Kong. Furthermore, it will be expected that the movement for exchanges with Taiwan will be negatively influenced. As for Chinese relations with the U.S., there is a possibility that in the future, there will be many frictions, for example, in Chinese handling of anti-regime intelligentsia and other aspects of the Chinese regime which may increase conservative tendencies.

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**ACTION  
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DISTR PGB PSD PST PGP IND INP CPP PNR PND

REF OURTEL XJGR1642 09JUN

---EVENTS IN CHINA:MLSIA REACTION

607750 890706  
30-CHINA-1-3-MLSIA  
30-CHINA-1-4

DEPUTY HOME MIN MEGAT JUNID ISSUED STATEMENT 12JUN STATING MLSIANS

SHOULD NOT/NOT GET INVOLVED IN EVENTS IN CHINA,AND HOME MIN WILL

QUOTE KEEP TABS UNQUOTE ON ORGS OR INDIVIDUALS IN MLSIA WHO QUOTE

GIVE THEIR MORAL SUPPORT TO THE PRO-DEMOCRACY GROUP IN CHINA

UNQUOTE.HE ADDED THAT SINCE MLSIAN CHINESE ARE MLSIAN

CITIZENS,THEY SHOULD STAY OUT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER

COUNTRIES,AND SHOULD NOT/NOT ENGAGE IN QUOTE ACTS OF SUPPORT

SUCH AS THOSE CARRIED OUT IN HKONG AND JAPAN UNQUOTE.

2.ONE TARGET OF WARNING WAS HUMAN RIGHTS ORG ALIRAN,WHICH ISSUED

CIRCULAR 06JUN CALLING ON UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND OTHER HR

GROUPS TO CONDEMN VIOLENCE IN CHINA,AND URGING CONDEMNATORY

TELEGRAMS BE SENT TO PRC EMB KLMPR.

CCC/047 130610Z XJGR1649

Division Phoned.....

Person .....

Local Time .....

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR5336 10JUN89

TC EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 100800

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

*Yib 2*

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

ENATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO WSHDC PCCOTT/IAC CITAHULL BSC

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

EAG PRGUE WSAW BUCST ISPAD BFEST DE OTT SHNGI DE PFK

DISTR USS PGB FNL PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPD CPE PKE ISF

ISS JIS

---POLICE REPRESSION IN FULL SWING AS HARDLINERS HAIL QUOTE VICTORY  
UNQUOTE

SUMMARY:DENG APPEARED WITH WHOLE PANOPLY OF HARDLINERS AT ZHONGNANHAI  
QJUN TO CONGRATULATE ARMY FOR PUTTING DOWN WHAT HE DESCRIBED  
AS COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY REBELLION.SECRET POLICE IS MOVING IN  
PEKIN AND OTHER CITIES TO ARREST THOSE WHO PLAYED PART IN DRAMATIC  
EVENTS OF PAST FEW WEEKS.DENG SAID PARTY LINE OF REFORM AND OPEN  
DOOR IS CORRECT BUT PARTY MUST QUOTE CORRECT ITS MISTAKES UNQUOTE.  
WHAT THIS MEANS WILL BECOME CLEARER IN MONTH AHEAD,ESPECIALLY WHEN  
PARTY ORGANS AND NATIONAL PEOPLES CONGRESS MEETS.SOLDIERS POSITIONED  
AT STRATEGIC EMPLACEMENTS AND INTERSECTIONS CITY IS CALM,MOCT  
IS GLUM BUT TENSE.THE BIG CHILL HAS SETTLED IN.

*[Handwritten mark]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

2.REPORT:DENG PRAISED WORK OF ARMY IN PUTTING DOWN QUOTE COUNTER  
REVOLUTIONARY REBELLION UNQUOTE.HE SAID VERY SMALL NUMBER OF  
PEOPLE FIRST STAGED TURMOIL WHICH VIRTUALLY DEVELOPED INTO A

...2

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC 617403	REF	DATE
FILE 20-CHINA-1-4	DOSSIER	

PAGE TWO WJGR5336 CONF

COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY REBELLION. THESE PEOPLE ARE SAID TO QUOTE  
ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW COMMUNIST PARTY, TOPPLE SOCIALIST SYSTEM, SUBVERT  
PRC AND ESTABLISH A BOURGEOIS REPUBLIC UNQUOTE. DENG, LOOKING FIT  
ALTHOUGH SPEECH WAS SLURRY AND HAND WAS SHAKING, WAS ACCOMPANIED  
BY YANG SHANGKUN, LI PENG, QIAO SHI, YAO YILIN, LI XIANNIAN, PENG  
ZHEN, WAN LI, WANG ZHEN, BO YIBO. CHEN YUN ABSENT (REASON NOT/NOT  
DISCLOSED BUT SENT MESSAGE OF TRIBUTE). PRESENCE OF WAN LI (THOUGHT  
LIKELY TO BACK QUOTE ~~MODERATE~~ FACTION UNQUOTE UPON RETURN FROM  
USA) AND ABSENCE OF ZHAO ZIYANG, HU QILI OF COURSE SIGNIFICANT.  
3. ARMY HAS HELD BIG PARADE ON TIANANMEN, PROMINENTLY SHOWN ON  
TV. GRIM CONTRAST BETWEEN SOLDIERS WALKING GOOSESTEP IN ORDERLY  
RANKS IN TIANANMEN AND LAST WEEKS SCENES OF LIVELY STUDENT CAMP-IN  
BEST SUMMARIZES WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO CHINA. PROPAGANDA REMAINS  
AIMED AT CLEARING REPUTATION OF ARMY. INTERVIEWS OF CITIZENS EXTOLING  
THEIR VIRTUES ARE RUN ALL DAY, AS WELL AS THOSE OF QUOTE EYE WITNESS-  
ES UNQUOTE TESTIFYING THERE WAS NO/NO MASSACRE IN TIANANMEN. ~~GOEBBELS~~  
HAS GOOD CHINESE COUNTERPARTS.

4. MOST GRIM DEVIENT OF CURRENT SITU IS MASSIVE SECURITY SWEEP.  
ARMY/POLICE ARE PORTRAYED ON STATE TV MAKING ARRESTS THROUGHOUT  
CHINESE CITIES. ALL DEMOS IN PEKIN HAVE BEEN COVERED BY CHINESE  
CAMERAS AT INTERSECTIONS AND SQUARES (MANY PROVIDED BY WESTERN  
COUNTRIES AS TRAFFIC CONTROL SYSTEMS). SWEEP WILL LIKELY BE MASSIVE  
AND, WF, EXPECT, RUTHLESS. TV SHOWS PHONE NUMBERS WHERE CITIZENS

...2

PAGE THREE WJGR5336 CONF

CAN INFORM PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS ABOUT PEOPLE WHO HAVE, OR ARE VIOLATING SWEEPING ORDERS ISSUED BY MARTIAL LAW AUTHS. CITIZENS ARE ALSO ENCOURAGED TO REPORT ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. MANY HAVE HAD THEIR EQPT SMASHED, SOME (NO/NO CDN) HELD AT GUNPOINT FOR HOURS WHILE THEY WERE WRITING QUOTE CONFESSIONS UNQUOTE. PRESS MEMBERS WHO EXPERIENCED BEIRUT OR ZIMBABWE SAID ATTITUDE OF CHINESE SOLDIERS (TREMBLING FINGERS ON TRIGGER AND PANICKY LOOK ON FACES) SAID THEY NEVER HAVE BEEN SO AFRAID. ANY FOREIGNER WITH PHOTO/VIDEO EQPT IS AT RISK AND CDNS ARE BEING INFORMED BY EMP.

5. PROMINENT DISSIDENT FANG LIZHI HAS BEEN GIVEN REFUGE AT USA EMB. CHINESE HAVE PROTESTED THIS VEHEMENTLY, CALLING HIM AN ANTI PARTY ELEMENT AND TRAITOR TO HIS NATION.

6. SITU IN PEKIN AND OTHER CITIES HAS RETURNED TO A GRIM QUOTE NORMALITY UNQUOTE WITH SERVICES RESTORED. MOOD IS GRIM AND TENSE.

X | CHINESE WE TALK TO DISPAIR ABOUT FUTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY. MANY CHINESE HAD BEEN LULLED BY APPARENT RELAXATION OF POLICE STATE APPARATUS AND SUCCESSES OF DEMOS PERSUADED THOUSANDS THAT THEY WERE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT IMMEDIATE CHANGE. THE QUOTE DAY AFTER UNQUOTE IS ALL THE MORE SAD. THERE IS TALK OF SOME FURTHER SABOTAGE (ESPECIALLY RAILWAYS) AND ARM CACHES (STOLEN FROM ARMY). BUT IRON GRIP OF ARMY AND PUBLIC SECURITY WILL MAKE ITSELF FELT WITH ITS FRIGHTENING EFFECTIVENESS. UNLIKE POLAND AFTER MARTIAL LAW, CHINA HAS NO/NO ORGANIZED DISSIDENT LABOUR MOVEMENT. STUDENT LEADERS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR HAVE DISAPPEARED AND SULLEN POPULACE WILL HAVE IN SHORT/MEDIUM TERM NO/NO ONE TO TURN TO.

4 |

7. FURTHER TELS WILL ANALYZE AFFECTS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN PRC. AS SSEA SAID, THE FORCES OF DARKNESS HAVE NOW PREVAILED.

CCC/078 100915Z WJGR5336

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RETURN TO RENOYER AU	D100	POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER	
20 China-14		June 9, 1989
NOT FOR RELEASE		

## CHINA BACKGROUNDER

### GENERAL SITUATION IN CHINA

- The situation is somewhat calmer than it has been over the last few days, both in Beijing and elsewhere. We understand that fairly large demonstrations took place today in Shanghai, apparently without significant violence or clashes with the authorities.
- The military have moved many of their units away from the centre of Beijing and are trying to take a lower profile, although very large numbers remain massed and on alert in the capital area.
- Most of the unrest outside of Beijing is in the form of demonstrations and strikes. The clashes with the military in Chengdu (Southwestern China) seem to have subsided.
- The civilian government has re-emerged into the public eye, after several days of being completely invisible. Premier Li Peng and Politburo member Qiao Shi ("Chee-ow Sher") appear to have emerged as strongmen of the hard-line group in power. Deng Xiaoping has also re-emerged, suggesting the consolidation of power behind the hard-line position; even Wan Li appears to be backing the Li Peng group. Zhao Ziyang has clearly been eclipsed, although we have no evidence of his whereabouts.
- The Government moved on June 8 to tighten restrictions on movement and on freedom of the press, and is engaged in massive "old-style" propaganda to justify the crackdown. Participants in last week's demonstrations are being rounded-up; the population is being encouraged to give information to the state security apparatus on who was involved in the demonstrations and where they can be found; check-points have been established to reduce the ability of students and others to move freely from place to place in Beijing; a curfew has been established for all foreigners; foreign journalists are finding it increasingly difficult to operate without harrassment.

### EVACUATION OF CANADIANS

- The evacuation is going well. More than 400 of the some 600 Canadians in China at the time of the outbreak have been taken out.

- We are still succeeding in obtaining seats on commercial aircraft from some cities. Special CAIL flights on June 7 to Beijing and on June 9 to Shanghai allowed most Canadians in those cities to evacuate to Japan. A third special CAIL flight to Beijing is being planned for Monday.
- We are cooperating with other countries, especially Australia, which has offered spare seats on its flights to Canadians in return for spare seats on our flights for them.
- We have received agreement from the Chinese authorities to permit our government aircraft, which has been standing by in Japan, to fly to areas from which we are having difficulty extricating Canadians. We are currently planning flights to Wuhan in Southern China on Sunday and Dalian in Northern China on Monday. We are offering seats not needed for Canadians to other nationalities (Australian, New Zealanders, British and Americans). Canadians in the areas affected are being encouraged by whatever safe and sensible means possible to reach the airports to be served.

## THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT

### Issue

Some members of the public, some parliamentarians, and parts of the Chinese community have been calling for Canadian sanctions to include the cancellation of aid, export finance and trade programs, cultural exchanges and twinning arrangements.

### Points to register

- The SSEA outlined the measures initially taken by the Government during the Emergency Debate in the House on Tuesday. These include:
  - postponing the signing of number of development assistance agreements (5 MOUs affected);
  - the suspension of nuclear cooperation consultation and the cancellation of a number of other planned meetings;

- a freeze on high-level visits;
  - a willingness to extend the stay of Chinese students here in Canada, and assurances that those who lose their means of support will be permitted to work;
  - an at least temporary suspension of all removals to China under the Immigration Act;
  - the suspension of our modest program of defence cooperation and confirmation of our unwillingness to consider any military exports to China in the current situation;
  - a willingness to provide humanitarian assistance or medical supplies if requested.
- The Federal Government has taken the initiative to coordinate with the provinces and sponsoring organizations efforts to assist Chinese students in Canada. The SSEA has suggested to representatives of the Chinese Canadian community that part of their fund-raising efforts be focussed on this need.
  - The Prime Minister has also written to the Secretary General of the United Nations urging him to pursue whatever means are possible to bring constructive pressure to bear on the Chinese Government.

General line in response to push for more sanctions

- The bilateral relationship, for all practical purposes, is effectively in a state of suspension.
- Further sanctions at this time, such as the cancellation of cultural or academic exchanges or steps to reduce or eliminate our bilateral programs of trade or development assistance, would be premature.
- The SSEA has decided that it would not be sensible to recall Ambassador Drake from Beijing at this time, given that he is needed on the ground to manage the evacuation effort and to deal with the crisis at an appropriate level; Ambassadors of the other Summit countries, and of our other allies such as Australia and New Zealand, are also remaining for at least the time being.

- We are at present reviewing all elements of the bilateral relationship. However, we are not interested in making premature moves when the situation is far from clear. It is not now the time to be taking permanent measures.

## REFERENCE NUMBERS

Press enquiries: External Affairs Press Office - 995-1874

General Public Enquiries/ Consular/ Evacuation - 1-800-267-6675  
1-800-267-6788  
1-613-996-8886

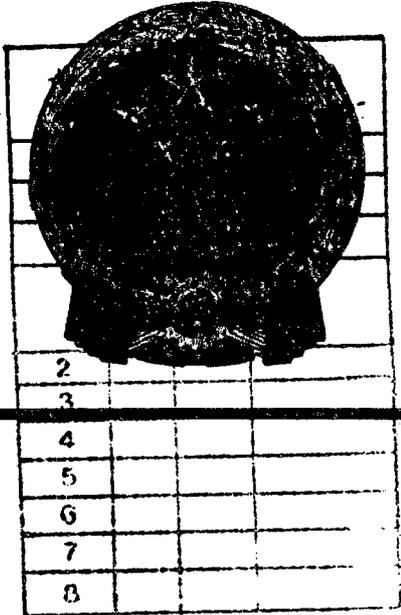
Enquiries from Canadians within China:

Canadian Embassy in Beijing (011-86-1-532-3536)  
Consulate General/Shanghai (011-86-21-202-822)  
(Direct calls from Canada to our posts should be discouraged)

ADW RC LR

9 June 89

# BULLETIN



The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Canada, Ottawa  
 515 St. Patrick Street, Ottawa, K1N 5H3  
 Telephone: (613) 234-0963

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER	
20-CHINA-1-4		

## Chairman Deng Xiaoping Met Army Commanders

Beijing, June 9 (Xinhua)--Chairman Deng Xiaoping of the Central Military Commission met with officers at and above the army level of the troops enforcing martial law in Beijing in Huarentang Hall of Zhongnanhai this afternoon. He extended deep condolences to the martyrs who had sacrificed their lives in the course of putting down the counter-revolutionary rebellion in the capital, sincere sympathy and solicitude to the wounded officers and men from the PLA, the armed police and the public security force, as well as cordial greetings to all the comrades involved in enforcing martial law.

Also present on the occasion were Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Yao Yilin, Wan Li, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Wang Zhen, Bo Yibo and other leading members of the Central Military Commission. Comrade Chen Yun, though not present, paid high tribute to the martial law enforcement troops and expressed deep condolences to the martyrs who had died in putting down the rebellion.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping, glowing with health and vigour, made an important speech after having a photo taken with all those present. He began by proposing a silent tribute to the martyrs who had laid down their lives in quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion. All rose and stood in silent tribute.

Deng Xiaoping said that the disturbances had arisen as something independent of man's will. A handful of people first started the turmoil which then developed into counter-revolutionary rebellion. Their purpose was to overthrow the Communist Party and the socialist system, subvert the People's Republic of China and set up a capitalist republic. The People's Liberation Army, the armed

police and the public security force, displaying very keen political awareness, stood the test in the process of putting down the counter-revolutionary rebellion. At the risk of their lives, our officers and men always had in mind the people, the teachings of the Party and the interests of the state. Worthy of the title of the people's own army and the great wall of steel guarding the country, our military forces have proved themselves to be competent through the present trial of strength. It has shown to the full that our military forces will always be defenders of the state, the socialist system and the interests of the people.

Deng Xiaoping said that the incident prompted us to have a sober review of the past and give some thought to the future so that we would take steadier, better and even faster steps in our cause, also correct our mistakes more speedily and give better play to our advantages. The line, guidelines and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee are correct, so are the policy of "one focus and two basic points", namely, adhering to the four cardinal principles and pursuing reform and the open policy with modernization construction as the central task for the Party, all of which should be persistently carried out. The basic line, guidelines and policies will remain unchanged.

However, we should conscientiously summarize experiences, stick to that has proven correct, correct the failings and step up our efforts in making up for deficiencies. In short, we should review the present and look forward to the future.

Statement by  
Spokesman of Chinese Embassy

With regard to the allegations and news reports that some Chinese officials in Canada under the guise of diplomats may be spying on Chinese students in Canada, the spokesman of the Chinese Embassy is authorized hereby to issue the following statement:

A considerable number of Chinese students here are sponsored by the Chinese government or have come under official student exchange programs. It is absolutely normal and beyond reproach for officials of the embassy or the consulates general here to contact and keep in touch with the students. The embassy and the consulates have never applied pressure in any manner on any of our students. The allegation of so-called harassment and spying activities is pure fabrication. As we see it, the purpose to spread such rumors is nothing other than sowing dissension between the Chinese students and the embassy and consulates officials, and inciting the Chinese students to oppose their government.

## BEIJING'S COUNTER-REVOLUTION BACKGROUND

A shocking counter-revolutionary rebellion erupted in the Chinese capital on June 3 and 4, following nearly two months of disturbances in the city. The background to the event as provided by the Propaganda Department of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is as follows:

Why did the People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops have to enter the city to impose martial law?

It should be made clear that the troops had to enter the city to carry out an order from the State Council to enforce martial law in parts of the capital.

In fact, troops were mobilized to march toward the city centre in accordance with a deployment plan and by different ways to take up appointed positions every day after the martial law was issued on May 20.

Due to the cautious movement of the troops and arduous efforts by various responsible bodies, the disturbances began to calm down. However, it should be pointed out clearly that a certain small group of people didn't stop their efforts to create unrest even for a single day; nor did they swerve in the slightest degree from their aim of overturning the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

They claimed that they had decided on the appointment of "members of a new government" and prepared a list of names of officials to be purged. They continued their sit-in in Tian'anmen Square and kept on trying to stir up trouble so as to "overthrow the existing government and set up a new one."

They ensnared hooligans, local ruffians and people with a deep-seated hatred of the Communist Party and the socialist system to cobble together gangs known as the "tiger contingent", "army of volunteers" and "dare-to-die corps." They plotted to arrest Party and State leaders, and seize political power in a "Bastille" style attack.

With funds and materials provided by overseas reactionary political forces they planned a long-term occupation of Tian'anmen Square and opened a "University of Democracy" and named it "the Huangpu Military Academy in the New Historic Period."

They erected an idol in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes in the square, naming it first the "statue of liberty" and later the "goddess of democracy", in an attempt to stir up worship of American-style "freedom and democracy."

They said, "the struggle in the square should support a nationwide struggle." They browbeat young students to prevent them withdrawing from the square and even threatened to "kill anyone who dares to retreat."

Fearing that the young students would not stick to the sit-in protest, they tried to initiate a hunger strike by 5,000 intellectuals. But only four participated in a 48-to-72-hour strike.

They distributed pamphlets to incite counter-revolutionary armed rebellion, preaching that "a single spark can start a prairie fire." They declared their aim was to organize an "armed forces," and "unite with various forces including the Kuomintang in Taiwan." They did not hesitate to risk their lives to strenuously oppose the Communist Party and the government.

All these facts show that the turmoil stirred up by a small number of people was a conspiracy conducted in a planned way that was by no means in the direction of moderation as naive people had imagined.

They were aware that their conspiracy would come to nothing if the troops to enforce martial law took up positions in the centre of Beijing and if the broad masses were mobilized and organized by the authorities. Therefore, they tried to create trouble in an attempt to intensify the turmoil.

The Public Security Bureau arrested a few of the ringleaders of the illegal organization known as the "Independent Association of Workers" on June 1.

Thereupon, the conspirators took advantage of the opportunity to incite some people to surround and attack the offices of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party and the Ministry of Public Security.

On the evening of June 2 a police jeep on loan to the Chinese Central TV Station was involved in a traffic accident in which three people died and one was injured. None of the victims was a student.

This was deliberately distorted as a provocation by martial law troops. The conspirators attempted to seize the bodies and parade them in coffins, stirring up the people and making the atmosphere extremely tense.

After two days of incitement and uproar, they lit the fire of rebellion.

Was the June 3 incident serious enough to be called a riot?

Just after midnight on June 3, while the martial law enforcement

troops were heading for their out-post positions according to schedule, agitators urged crowds to halt military and other motor vehicles at road crossings and to set up roadblocks, beat soldiers and loot trucks of materiel.

About 1:00 am, 12 military vehicles were halted by crowds near Lugezhuang. Soldiers marching past the Yanjing Hotel were detained and searched by rioters, and military vehicles parked in front of the Beijing Telegraph Office had their tires slashed and were barricaded with road dividers.

About dawn, military vehicles on the Yongdingmen bridge were overturned. Others at Muxudi had their tires slashed and a troop of 400 soldiers in Chaoyangmen was stoned. In the Liubukou and Heng'ertiao areas, military vehicles and soldiers were surrounded by unruly crowds.

About 7:00 am, some rioters swarmed over military vehicles which had been halted at Liubukou and snatched machine guns and ammunition.

From Jianguomen to Dongdan and in the Tianqiao area, martial law troops were surrounded and beaten. On the Jianguomen flyover some soldiers were stripped and others severely beaten.

Later in the morning, troops in the Hufangqiao area were beaten by rioters and some were blinded. The mob prevented injured soldiers reaching hospitals by deflating ambulance tires and the victims were dragged from the vehicles. From Hufanglu road to Taoranting Park, 21 military vehicles were surrounded and halted. Policemen escorting the soldiers were beaten by the rioters.

From noon onward, many of the soldiers trapped by mobs and barricades at the Fuyoujie, Zhengyilu, Xuanwumen, Hufangqiao, Muxudi and Dongsu crossroads were injured and their equipment was stolen. At Liubukou policemen tried several times to recover a military truck loaded with arms and ammunition from an enraged mob but failed. They were then forced to use tear gas to disperse the rioters and recapture the dangerous cargo.

About the same time, mobs began to surround and assault buildings housing state organizations and establishments of vital importance, including the Great Hall of the People, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, as well as the west and south gates of Zhongnanhai, the seat of the government. Dozens of policemen

and guards there were injured.

As the situation rapidly deteriorated, the instigators of the upheaval became more vicious. At about 5:00 pm, the ringleaders of the illegal organizations known as the "Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities" and "Autonomous Workers' Union" distributed knives, iron bars, chains and sharpened bamboo sticks, inciting the mobs to kill members of the security forces. In a broadcast over loudspeakers in Tian'anmen Square, the "Autonomous Workers' Union" urged the people "to take up arms and overthrow the government."

A mob of more than 1,000 people pushed down the wall of a construction site near Xidan and stole tools, reinforcing bars and bricks, ready for street fighting.

Wasn't this a riot?

At this point the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission decided to order troops poised on the outskirts of the capital to enforce martial law and quell the rioters in central Beijing.

Why did the troops fire on the people as they entered the city to quell the rebellion?

Following the imposition of martial law, the troops on duty adopted a posture of maximum restraint to avoid possible clashes with civilians. This has been universally acknowledged.

The Beijing municipal government and the martial law headquarters issued at 6:30 pm on June 3 an emergency statement, calling on all residents of the city "to heighten their vigilance", and not go out onto the streets or to Tian'anmen Square. It urged workers to stay at their posts or in their homes so as to guarantee their safety. The statement was repeatedly broadcast on radio and TV stations.

The martial law troops entered the city proper at around 10:00 pm that day. However, they were still obstructed at major crossroads of the city. Even so, they restrained themselves from taking any retaliatory measures despite savage provocations which included beatings, looting and arson.

Within an hour from 22:00 pm, 12 military vehicles were burned on the capital's main thoroughfare from Cuiwei Road to Xidan. Soldiers were pelted with stones trucked in by the ringleaders of the rioters. Mobs blocked crossroads with trams and set fire to them. Fire engines which rushed to put out the blazes were also burned or otherwise damaged.

At around 23:00 pm, three military vehicles were burned and one jeep destroyed at Hufangqiao. Many military vehicles at Anding overpass were obstructed and besieged as were one contingent of officers and men at Chongwenmen, more than 30 military vehicles at Jianguomen overpass and more than 300 military vehicles west of the Beijing College of Mining.

To avoid conflict, the obstructed military vehicles at Nanyuan advanced in a round-about route eastward. They were again obstructed at the south gate of the Temple of Heaven and many vehicles were destroyed and burned.

At Zhushikou a security official was badly beaten when he tried to dissuade a mob from ransacking a military vehicle.

Soon after dawn on June 4, some hundreds of military vehicles at dozens of crossroads were burning. Some soldiers were burned alive and others were beaten to death. In some places, more than 20 vehicles were burning simultaneously.

At Shuangjing crossroads, some 70 armored cars were mobbed and machineguns on about 20 of the cars were dismantled. Nearby, more than 30 military vehicles were burning.

At this point soldiers fired into the air to disperse a crowd armed with iron bars and throwing molotov cocktails, but to no avail.

Near Fuxingmen overpass, some rebels opened fire from an armored car they had commandeered. Ringleaders of the illegal organization known as the "Autonomous Workers' Union" proclaimed through loudspeakers that they had captured a military radio station and military codes.

In addition, many vehicles carrying grain, bedding and clothes for the soldiers were hijacked and looted.

Shop windows in the western district were wantonly smashed; pine trees to the west of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall in Tiananmen Square were set alight; buses, trams, ambulances, taxis and fire engines were burned. Some hooligans even tried to push a bus underneath the Tiananmen gate in an attempt to burn the gate down.

While military vehicles were being attacked and soldiers beaten and even killed, looting, robbery and arson were rampant.

At dawn on June 4, some rebels beat soldiers with bottles and bricks at Dongdan crossroads.

Twelve officers and men on one intercepted military vehicle at Fuxingmen were searched and beaten. Four soldiers were beaten at Liubukou. Near Guangqumen one soldier was rescued by the masses and two others are missing. More than 20 armed police were badly beaten at Xingsheng Lane in the western district, some are still missing. After one military vehicle was intercepted near Huguosi, soldiers were taken as hostages and their machine-guns were seized. Some people standing on a lorry loaded with bricks yelled "attack the soldiers if you consider yourself Chinese"

Soon after dawn, a police ambulance carrying eight wounded soldiers to a hospital was stopped and one of the wounded soldiers died. Still, some people shouted to the mob to kill the other seven. Three soldiers were seriously injured in front of a bicycle shop near Qianmen and ruffians threatened anyone who went to help them with death.

On Chang'an Avenue, around 200 people broke into a stalled military vehicle and beat the driver to death. About 30 metres east of Xidan crossroads, a soldier was killed and his body burned. At Fuchengmen, the corpse of a soldier was hung over the balustrade of the overpass. At Chongwenmen, a soldier was thrown from an overpass and his body burned. After an officer was killed near the Capital Cinema on West Chang'an Avenue, his belly was slit open and his eyes were gouged out. Another soldier was thrown into a river after being blinded and castrated.

Initial statistics show that some 180 military vehicles, more than 40 armored cars, more than 90 police cars, 80 buses and 40 other kinds of vehicles were destroyed or burned. Ammunition was stolen, nearly 100 soldiers and policemen died and thousands of soldiers and policemen were wounded.

The Chinese people will always cherish the memory of their contribution to defending the republic, the constitution and the people.

The great losses the martial law soldiers suffered are eloquent testimony to their restraint and tolerance. Does this not reflect that the army is an army of the people and defends the people at the cost of its own life?

Nevertheless, in order to carry out their duty of quelling the insurrection and restoring law and order in the capital, the martial law

troops finally were forced to fire on the rioters. The result was that some 100 civilians were killed and nearly 1,000 others were injured. The government and the martial law troops share the grief of the families of those killed and injured in this unavoidable tragedy.

There is no truth to the so-called "Tian'anmen bloodbath."

The facts are these: at 1:30 am on June 4, the Beijing municipal government and the martial law headquarters issued an emergency notice after troops entered Tian'anmen Square, which stated: "A serious counter-revolutionary rebellion occurred in the capital this evening. Rioters furiously attacked soldiers and robbed them of their weapons and ammunition, burned military vehicles, set up roadblocks and kidnapped officers and men in an attempt to subvert the People's Republic of China and overthrow the socialist system.

"The People's Liberation Army has kept an attitude of restraint for some days. However, the counter-revolutionary rebellion must now be resolutely counter-attacked.

"Residents of the capital should strictly abide by the specific regulations as provided by the martial law and co-operate with the soldiers to safeguard the constitution and defend the security of the socialist motherland and its capital.

"The personal safety of anyone cannot be guaranteed if he disregards this warning and he will be responsible for all the consequences."

The notice was broadcast repeatedly for three hours and most of the people in the central area left after hearing it. By 4:30 am only a few thousand students were left in Tian'anmen Square, gathered around the Monument to the People's Heroes in the southern part of the square. At around 3:00 am, the sit-in demonstrators sent representatives to the troops to express their desire to withdraw from the square and this was welcomed by the troops.

At 4:30 am, the martial law headquarters broadcast the following notice:

"It is time to clear the square and the martial law headquarters accepts the request of the students to be allowed to withdraw."

At the same time, another notice spelling out conditions for restoring order to the square was issued by the municipal government and the headquarters, and broadcast. The notice said:

"1. All the people in the square should leave at once after hearing this broadcast;

"2. If anyone refuses to abide by the decree and stays in the square, troops will enforce it by any possible means.

"3. The square will be under the control of the martial law troops after the square is cleared;

"4. It is hoped that all students and other people who are patriotic and unwilling to see disorder in the country will actively co-operate with the troops in the clearing operation."

After hearing this, the students joined hands and started to leave the square in an orderly manner. At about 5:00 am troops vacated a wide corridor in the southeast part of the square to allow the students to withdraw unhindered. A few students who refused to leave were forced to leave by policemen.

By 5:30 am, the clearing operation of the square, which had lasted only half an hour, was complete. During the whole process of this clearing operation no one died. This shows that rumours of "rivers of blood" running in Tian'anmen Square were completely unfounded. (Xinhua)

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

607547 890704  
FILE DOSSIER  
20-CHINA-1-4

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM KLMPR XJGR1642 09JUN89

TO EXTOTT PSR

INFO HKONG SPORE SPORE/PILLAR PILLAROTT/FEL/RAP WSHDC

CIDAHULL BSA

TT NDHQOTT/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

DISTR PGB PSD PST PGP IND INP CPP PNR PND

---EVENTS IN CHINA:MLSIA REACTION

RACIAL SENSITIVITIES FORCE 5-MILLION STRONG CHINESE COMMUNITY IN  
MLSIA TO ASSUME LOW POLITICAL PROFILE. NONETHELESS, IT IS STRIKING  
THAT WITH ONE OF THE LARGEST ETHNIC CHINESE POPULATIONS IN THE  
WORLD OUTSIDE PRC AND TAIWAN, MLSIA HAS HAD SO LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT  
EVENTS IN CHINA SINCE BEIJING CARNAGE 04JUN. SO FAR, ONLY TWO  
OFFICIAL STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE. FIRST WAS 06JUN STATEMENT BY  
MCA, THE MAJOR CHINESE POLITICAL PARTY IN RULING BARISAN NASIONAL  
COALITION. STATEMENT QUOTE REGRETTED THAT VIOLENCE SHOULD BE USED  
AGAINST THE UNARMED DEMONSTRATORS UNQUOTE AND WENT ON TO EXPRESS  
CONCERN FOR REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHINESE INSTABILITY. PM MAHATHIR  
ISSUED STATEMENT 08JUN IN WHICH HE SAID QUOTE WE ARE SAD THAT THE  
CONFLICT HAS CAUSED THE DEATH OF MANY OF ITS CITIZENS UNQUOTE BUT  
THAT THE PROBLEM WAS ONE INTERNAL TO CHINA.

*Handwritten initials/signature*

2. MLSIA MEDIA IS COVERING EVENTS IN CHINA EXTENSIVELY BUT WITH  
MINIMAL COMMENT. MOST REPORTS ARE BASED ON LOCALLY-EDITED VERSIONS  
OF USUAL WIRE SOURCES (UPI, AFP, AP ET AL) PLUS UNCREDITED RADIO AND  
TV CLIPS WHICH APPEAR TO ORIGINATE WITH BBC AND ONE OF THE USA

...2

PAGE TWO XJGR1642 CONFD

NETWORKS.OCCASIONAL FRETFUL EDITORIALS DO LITTLE OTHER  
THAN BEMOAN LOSS OF LIFE.

3.PRC EMBASSY KLMR HAS BEEN SCENE OF A COUPLE OF SMALL,LOW-KEY  
DEMONSTRATIONS:ANYTHING MORE WOULD ATTRACT UNWELCOME POLICE  
ATTENTION(ESPECIALLY WITH POLICE STATION THREE BLOCKS AWAY).  
WREATHS AND FLOWERS APPEAR ON SIDEWALK OUTSIDE PRC EMBASSY GROUNDS  
PERIODICALLY.

CCC/047 120150Z XJGR1642

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

*File*

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM CNBRA YAGR2385 08JUN89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 080800

INFO TOKYO HKONG TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/DGMPO/ DE CAP

DISTR MINA MINP MINT USS DMC DMT PGB PND PNC PGP TPS BMM JIS INP

ISE PSR ISEW

REF YRTEL 1570 07JUN

---CLEARANCES REQUEST FOR SPECIAL EVACUATION FLIGHTS

PASSED TEXT OF NOTE TO HUNT, HEAD CHINA SECTION DFAT. OFFICIALS  
GRATEFUL FOR CDN OFFER TO HELP EVACUATE AUSTLNS AND ARE PLEASED  
TO BRING REQUEST FOR LANDING CLEARANCE FOR CDN FORCES AIRCRAFT  
TO ATTENTION OF CHINESE AUTHORITIES. THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO DO SO  
IN PEKIN AND CNBRA.

2. SITU IN CNBRA IS COMPLICATED BY RUMOUR, WHICH DFAT HAS NOT/NOT  
BEEN ABLE TO SUBSTANTIATE, THAT PRC AMB IS BEING HELD IN EMB  
AGAINST HIS WILL. THEY WILL INVITE AMB TO RECEIVE NOTE BUT EXPECT  
EMB WILL SEND LOWER RANKING DIPLOMAT. AUSTLN PRESS HAS REPORTED  
THAT AMBS SON WAS PROTESTER IN TIANANMEN SQUARE AND IS  
MISSING. AMB MADE PUBLIC STATEMENT JUN07 THAT PRESS REPORTS HE HAD  
SOUGHT ASYLUM IN AUSTLA WERE ERRONEOUS AND HAD MADE HIS WORK HERE  
DIFFICULT. IT NOW APPEARS THERE MAY BE MORE TO STORY.

3. ON DIFFERENT MATTER, WHEN WE MET WITH DFAT OFFICIALS, THEY ENQUIRED  
WHETHER CDN EMB IN PEKIN HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY CHINESE STUDENTS  
SEEKING ASYLUM. THEY MENTIONED, AS REPORTED IN PRESS HERE, THAT USA

...2

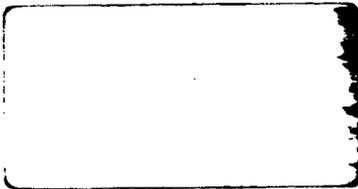
FILE	DOSSIER
LOC	CHINA-14

MOITOR  
REMOVED A STUB

PAGE TWO YAGR2385 CONF D

EMB HAD TAKEN IN SEVERAL STUDENT LEADERS AND DISSIDENTS. AUSTLN  
EMB HAS RECEIVED APPROACHES FROM STUDENTS. OFFICIALS ARE IN QUANTRY  
HOW TO RESPOND AS THEY FEAR THAT IF EMB TAKES THEM IN SOLDIERS  
COULD INVADE PREMISES TO REMOVE THEM. THEY ASKED IF CDA HAD  
RECEIVED SIMILAR REQUESTS FROM STUDENTS AND HOW YOU AND EMB HAD  
DECIDED TO RESPOND.

CCC/113 080514Z YAGR2385



**ACTION**  
**SUITE A DONNER**

RETURN TO  
RENVOYER AU

**BICO**

FOR FILING  
POUR - ETRE  
PORTE AU DOSSIER

ACC	REF	DATE
04861		890609
FILE	DOSSIER	
20-NORWAY-13		
20-CHINA-14		

P R O T E C T E D

FM OSLO WGR0883 08JUN89

TO EXTOTT (PNR) IMMED

INFO COPEN STKHM HSNKI HKONG MOSCO LDN WSHDC PRMNY

DISTR RWR RWT PND PNC RBD RBP RBT CPP IMH IMU INP JLCD

REF OURTEL WGR0880 07JUN

---NORWAY-PRC - UPDATE

THERE HAVE BEEN NO/NO FURTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ISSUED BY NORWEGIAN GOVT WITH REGARD TO ANY ACTIONS GOVT MAY CONSIDER TAKING VIS A VIS PRC.

2. BY EVENING OF 08JUN ALL NORWEGIANS WHO SO DESIRE ARE EXPECTED TO BE OUT OF PEKIN. SOME NORWEGIAN CITIZENS IN SHANGHAI WILL BE FLOWN OUT TO HKONG ON FLT ORGANIZED BY BRITISH CONSULATE.

3. NORWEGIAN EMBS EIGHT MEMBER STAFF REMAIN AT THEIR POSTS BUT THEIR FAMILITES HAVE RETURNED TO NORWAY. THREE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTS REMAIN IN PEKIN AT THEIR OWN WISH.

4. OSLO STOCK EXCHANGE HAS SLIPPED SLIGHTLY, NOT/NOT BECAUSE NORWEGIAN COMPANIES ARE AFFECTED, BUT BECAUSE OF WORLD TRADE IN GENERAL. NOT/NOT SURPRISINGLY FOR NORWAY, SHIPPING SHARES WERE MOST AFFECTED.

4. PRESS HERE IS SPECULATING THAT NORWEGIAN COMPANY ELKEM, A MAJOR PRODUCER OF FERROSILICON MAY PROFIT FROM CHINESE DISASTER AS ELKEM MIGHT TAKE OVER CHINESE EXPORT SHARE.

CCC/076 081216Z WGR0883

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

UNCLASSIFIED

FM MDRID XQGR0646 07JUN89

TO EXTOTT/JIC/PNR

INFO PEKIN HKONG TOKYO BRU BREEC BNATO PARIS LDN ROME ATHNS BONN  
DISTR RWD PGB PND PNC INP RWR JID ISE

---MFA:CHINA TRAVEL ADVISORY

MFA ISSUED FOLLOWING 06JUN:QUOTE WITH REF TO CURRENT DEVELOPMNTS  
IN PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA,AND ESPECIALLY IN ITS CAPITAL BEIJING,  
AS A CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN DECLARED,SPANISH  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ADVISES SPANISH CITIZENS AGAINST  
TRAVELLING TO THAT COUNTRY WHILE PRESENT SITUATION OF INSECURITY  
CONTINUES UNQUOTE.

UUU/117 080835Z XQGR0646

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORIE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
604845		890609
FILE	20-CHINA-1-4	

ALAT AT AT

UNCLASSIFIED

FM SHNGI ZRGR0850 07JUN89

TO EXTOTT/ PNR

INFO PEKIN

AB  
85  
A

RETURN TO RENYOER 703		FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
<b>ACTION</b> <b>SUITE A DONNER</b>		REF DATE 605050890613
FILE	DOSSIER	
20-CHINA-1-4		

---NOTICE FROM FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE OF SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVT.  
LATE ON 05JUN, FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE OF SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVT  
CALLED FOREIGN CONSULATES BY TELEPHONE TO DELIVER FOLLOWING VERBAL  
NOTICE:

QUOTE SMALL NUMBER OF STUDENTS FROM SHANGHAI UNIV AND COLLEGES,  
SPURRED AND ORGANIZED BY FEW PEOPLE, BLOCKED MAJOR STREETS OF  
SHANGHAI AND DISRUPTED TRAFFIC AND AS A RESULT AFFECTED THE  
LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE. FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE  
WISHES TO TRANSMIT FOLLOWING FIVE POINTS:

1. SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVT PAYS GREAT ATTENTION TO SITUATION AND  
GOVT HAS ADOPTED ACTIVE MEASURES TO RETURN TRAFFIC TO NORMAL IN  
SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME SO THAT PRODUCTIVE ORDER AND NORMAL SOCIAL  
LIFE MAY RETURN TO SHANGHAI.
2. THE PRESENT SECURITY SITUATION IN SHANGHAI IS OK(SIC).
3. SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVT WILL TRY ITS BEST TO ENSURE REGULAR  
WORKING CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS IN SHANGHAI AND THE  
SAFETY OF FOREIGN PERSONNEL.
4. IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL SITUATION IN SHANGHAI FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OFFICE HOPES ALL CONSULATE PERSONNEL WILL NOT/NOT GO TO  
PEOPLE SQUARE, WATERFRONT, UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES WHERE PEOPLE  
ARE CROWDED IN ORDER TO AVOID ACCIDENTS(SIC)--

.../2

PAGE TWO ZRGR0850

5. FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE WILL INFORM FOREIGN CONSULATES IN  
TIMELY MANNER OF NEW INFORMATION ON SITUATION.

UUU/777 070900Z ZRGR0850

NNNN

7 Jun 89

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(CPAS: PLS PASS TO PDB STAFF FOR CHUCK PETERS;  
C/DEA FOR TOM ELMORE;  
ASSISTANT NIO/EAP FOR ROBERT SUETTINGER)

(WHSR: PLS PASS TO NSC FOR DOUG PAAL)

(STATE: PLS PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY SOLOMON;  
EAP/CM FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS AND CHINA TASK  
FORCE;  
INR/EAP FOR TOM FINGAR AND CHRIS CLARKE)

(DDO: PLS PASS TO ISA FOR CARL FORD)

TAKE 3 OF 3 -- 115 (TRENDS/CHINA-REFORM)

///TO MAKE MISTAKES."

WA2906234489

RETURN TO REVENVOYER AU		<b>BICO</b>		FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE		
FILE	20- <i>China</i> -1-4			DOSSIER

DESPITE THIS LIBERAL VIEW, JIANG WENT ON TO QUALIFY HIS ENDORSEMENT, MAKING CLEAR THAT SENSITIVE ISSUES WERE STILL NOT TO BE DISCUSSED OPENLY, BUT "ONLY IN JOURNALS FOR INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION" AND NOTING THAT THEORISTS SHOULD ALSO "PAY GREAT ATTENTION TO SOCIAL EFFECT"--A DENGIST CODEWORD FOR STAYING WITHIN CONVENTIONAL IDEOLOGICAL GUIDELINES. COMRADES WHO HAD "DEVIATED FROM THE LINE OF THE 13TH PARTY CONGRESS," HE SAID, SHOULD BE "AWAKENED AND REMINDED." "TO IMPROVE QUALITY, WE MUST IMPROVE OUR ORGANIZATIONAL WORK AND CONTROL OVER THEORETICAL WORK."

JIANG'S INSISTENCE ON KEEPING THE DISCUSSION OF SENSITIVE ISSUES OUT OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN APPARENTLY LED TO HIS SACKING OF QIN BENLI, THE CONTROVERSIAL EDITOR OF THE LIBERAL SHANGHAI NEWSPAPER SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO ON 26 APRIL. ACCORDING TO BEIJING RADIO ON 27 APRIL, QIN WAS ACCUSED OF "SERIOUS INDISCIPLINE" BY THE SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE FOR REFUSING TO DELETE REPORTS ON PRO-HU YAOBANG DEMONSTRATIONS THAT "CAUSED IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION" AND WERE "HIGHLY UNFAVORABLE TO THE STABILIZATION OF THE CURRENT SITUATION." THE REPORTS WERE CARRIED IN THE PAPER'S 24 APRIL EDITION. THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPER YOMIURI SHIMBUN ON 28 APRIL REPORTED THAT THE ISSUE CONTAINED BITING CRITICISM OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP BY PROMINENT INTELLECTUALS WHO DENOUNCED THE DISMISSAL OF HU AS PARTY CHIEF IN 1987.

(ENDALL)

29 JUN 2351Z ADG

NNNN

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

AS

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM HKONG XBGR0465 07JUN89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 070800

INFO PEKIN TOKYO SEOUL BNGKK PARIS LDN BONN MOSCO ROME KIMPR

MANIL JKRTA SPORE PCOOTT/HEBERT CIDAULL MINE FINOTT IDF

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ DE CAF

BH EDCOTT DE OTT

DISTR MINA MINT MINP USS DMC DMT PEB PND PNC PGP PSD PSR BMM FOR FILING

IFB EFB EFD CPD CPP IND INP INE LGX URR EED RETURN TO **DICO** POUR - ETRE

CIDAULL BSD BSC

FINOTT IER

REF OURTEL XBGR0453 05JUN PGP TEL PGP1708 06JUN **20-CHINA-1-4** DOSSIER

---HKONG JITTERS:REAL OR APPRENENDED?

ACC	REF	DATE
<b>604685890008</b>		
FILE	<b>20-CHINA-1-4</b>	
<b>20-13-3-BRIT-6-1</b>		

UP UNTIL NOW, PEOPLE OF HKONG HAVE SHOWN REMARKABLE MATURITY AND CONTROL INVENTING THEIR ANGER AND SORROW AND FEAR. THERE ARE SIGNS, HOWEVER, THAT NERVES ARE STARTING TO FRAY A LITTLE. AT THIS STAGE, WE ARE NOT/NOT REALLY PREDICTING SERIOUS PROBLEM IN TERRITORY, BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT RECENT EMOTIONS ARE OVERLAY TO LONGSTANDING ANXIETY ABOUT FUTURE OF COLONY AND DEEP FRUSTRATIONS ABOUT VARIETY OF ISSUES, MOST NOTAELY RAPIDLY GROWING AND VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES/ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS.

2.REPORT:AS WE HAVE REPORTED EARLIER, HKONG PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED AND PARTICIPATED IN TWO GENL RALLIES OF MILLION OR MORE IN

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PAGE TWO XBGR0465 CONF

SUPPORT OF PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN BEIJING. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN DOZENS OF SMALLER QUOTE THEME RALLIES UNQUOTE (EG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, FINANCIAL INDUSTRY). UP UNTIL LAST NIGHT, ALL OF THESE HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY WELL ORGANIZED AND ORDERLY AND DESPITE SOMETIMES OVERWHELMING NUMBERS, THERE HAVE NOT/NOT EVEN BEEN ANY ACCIDENTS. 3. LAST NIGHT FOR FIRST TIME, POLICE HAD TO USE TEAR GAS TO BREAK UP GROUP OF DEMONSTRATORS IN KOWLOON. ACCORDING TO LOCAL POLICE (PUBLICLY AND IN PRIVATE), INCIDENT WAS CAUSED BY AND INVOLVED MAINLY HOOLIGANS USING LEGITIMATE DEMONSTRATION AS VEHICLE FOR THEIR SHENANIGANS. A MATTER OF INTEREST, THERE ARE SOME IN COLONY WHO DO NOT/NOT BELIEVE THIS AND WHO SUSPECT THAT ELEMENTS SUPPORTIVE OF LI PENG ET AL WERE BEHIND IT.

4. ASIDE FROM LAST NIGHTS INCIDENT, THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS THAT NERVES ARE FRAYING A LITTLE. TWO DAYS AGO, STOCK MRKT PLUNGED TO LOWEST LEVEL SINCE OCT87. IT SEEMS TO HAVE STABILIZED SINCE THEN AND LOCAL GOVT IS CONFIDENT THAT, BARRING MAJOR UNFORESEEN CATASTROPHY (IM NOT/NOT SURE WHAT THEY CALL LAST WEEKEND), IT WILL REMAIN REASONABLY STABLE. ALL RECOGNIZE THAT LOCAL STOCK MARKET IS, OF COURSE, VERY VOLATILE AT BEST OF TIMES, BUT FINANCIAL COMMUNITY IS NEVERTHELESS WARY. EARLIER THIS WEEK, THERE WAS ALSO RUN ON CHINESE BANKS IN TERRITORY WHICH HAS NO/NO APPRECIABLE IMPACT ON CHINA AT THIS STAGE, BUT IT DOES HAVE AN IMPACT HERE. ON OTHER HAND, DESPITE STORIES ABOUT BANK OF CHINA SUBSTANTIAL PURCHASE

...3

PAGE THREE XBGR0465 CONF

OF HKONG DLRS(AND INFERENCE DRAWN BY PRESS THAT DLR MUST, THEREFORE, BE UNDER PRESSURE), HKONG GOVT MAINTAINS THAT DLR IS STRONG. THEY SAY THAT LOCAL BANK OF CHINA OFFICE IS TRYING TO GET ITSELF INTO BEST POSSIBLE LIQUIDITY POSN.

5. ANOTHER SIGN OF JITTERS IS QUOTE PANIC BUYING UNQUOTE WHICH HAS OCCURRED THIS WEEK. TWO DAYS AGO, RICE AND SOME OTHER COMMODITIES DISAPPEARED FROM SHOPS BUT SHELVES WERE STOCKED AGAIN YESTERDAY. SHORTAGES ARE NOT/NOT REALLY CONSIDERED "A SERIOUS PROBLEM BECAUSE IF SUPPLIES FROM CHINA ARE CUT OFF TEMPORARILY, HKONG WILL SIMPLY GET REQUIRED FOODSTUFFS FROM OTHER SOURCES.

6. ON WHOLE AND CERTAINLY RELATIVE TO CRISES IN BYGONE TIMES, HKONG IS THUS FAR PROVING TO ITSELF AND TO WORLD THAT IT HAS MATURED. MANY OBSERVERS AND LONG-TIME VETERANS HAVE BEEN PLEASANTLY SURPRISED BY CALM AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAY IN WHICH POPULATION HAS REACTED AND ALL ARE WATCHING, IN FASCINATION, WHAT MAY BE DAWN OF POLITICIZATION OF HKONG. THERE ARE MANY THEORIES ABOUT WHY AND WHY NOW BUT IMPORTANT QUESTION MUST REMAIN WHETHER CURRENT CLIMATE IS SUSTAINABLE. RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA AND DEPTH OF FEELING OVER THEM COMES ON TOP OF ANXIETY LEVELS WHICH ARE ALREADY VERY HIGH. THIS SOCIETY IS NEVER FOR A MOMENT ALLOWED TO FORGET THAT 1997 IS COMING AND THAT THOSE WHO CAN, ARE BAILING OUT. MOREOVER, THERE ARE NUMBER OF ISSUES WHICH ARE SOURCE OF

...4

PAGE FOUR XBGR0465 CONF

SERIOUS FRUSTRATION AND ANGER. CHIEF AMONG THESE IS VIETNAMESE REFUGEE/ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS PROBLEM. AVERAGE HONGKONGER IS TOTALLY OPPOSED TO POLICY OF PROVIDING ASYLUM TO VIETNAMESE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WHEN THEIR OWN FRIENDS AND RELATIVES FROM NEIGHBOURING GUANGDONG PROVINCE ARE REFUSED ENTRY OR, WORSE STILL, JAILED FOR MONTHS AND THEN RETURNED TO CHINA, IF THEY ARE CAUGHT HERE. FEELING ON THIS ISSUE RUNS SO HIGH THAT EVEN IN ABSENCE OF TURMOIL ON MAINLAND, IT COULD SPARK CIVIL UNREST, ESPECIALLY IF, AS CURRENTLY ANTICIPATED, TOTAL NUMBERS OF VIETNAMESE IN CAMPS HERE REACH 50,000 BY YEAR END. ADD TO ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS CROWDED LIVING CONDITIONS AND PENCHANT FOR WHOLE SOCIETY TO LIVE ON ITS NERVES AND ONE CANNOT/NOT ENTIRELY RULE OUT PROBLEMS HERE (ESPECIALLY IF EVENTS ON MAINLAND DETERIORATE FURTHER). I WOULD ALMOST GUARANTEE TROUBLE HERE IF FIGHTING/VIOLENCE SPREAD TO GUANGDONG AND IF LOCAL GOVT IS UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PROVIDE REFUGE TO ANY WHO MAY USE OPPORTUNITY TO COME TO HONGKONG.

7. CONCLUSION: I AM HOPEFUL THAT RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOUR OF HONGKONG POPULATION THUS FAR COUPLED WITH SOPHISTICATION AND STATE OF PREPAREDNESS OF HONGKONG CONSTABULARY WILL KEEP THINGS ON EVEN KEEL HERE. BUT NOTHING IS GUARANTEED. MOREOVER, EVEN IF PEOPLE DO REMAIN CALM IN STREETS, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT PRESSURE ON COUNTRIES LIKE CDA FROM WLD-BE IMMIGRANTS WILL INCREASE. IN

...5

PAGE FIVE XBGR0465 CONF

PAST FEW DAYS, NBR OF TELEPHONE ENQUIRIES ABOUT VISITING OR MOVING TO CDA HAS SKYROCKETED AND IT HAS TURNED INTO DLR 1.49 DAY AT COUNTERS WHERE PAQS ARE HANDED OUT. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON WHAT ALL THIS WILL TRANSLATE INTO PRECISELY IN TERMS OF INCREASED DEMAND. BUT IF I MAY BE PERMITTED COMMERCIAL, I THINK TIME BE APPROACHING WHEN WE HAVE TO FACE UP TO FACT THAT DEMAND WILL INCREASE AND WE ARE NOT/NOT IN POSN TO HANDLE IT. INDEED, AS YOU ARE TIRED OF HEARING US SAY, WE CANNOT/NOT COPE NOW

DOYLE

CCC/104 070751Z XBGR0465

6 Jan 1989

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(CPAS: PLS PASS TO PDB STAFF FOR CHUCK PETERS;  
C/OEA FOR TOM ELMORE;  
ASSISTANT NIO/EAP FOR ROBERT SUETTINGER)

(WHSR: PLS PASS TO NSC FOR DOUG PAAL)

(STATE: PLS PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY SOLOMON;  
EAP/CM FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS AND CHINA TASK  
FORCE;  
INR/EAP FOR TOM FINGAR AND CHRIS CLARKE)

(DDD: PLS PASS TO ISA FOR CARL FORD)

TAKE 2 OF 3 -- 115 (TRENDS/CHINA-REFORM)

///"WORTHY OF STUDY."

WA2906234389

RETURN TO RENOYER AU		<b>BICO</b>		FOR FILING POUR -- ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE		
FILE	20- <i>China</i> -1-4			DOSSIER

IDEOLOGICAL CAUTION

WHILE SUPPORTING DENG'S CALL FOR BOLD REFORM IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, JIANG HAS NEVERTHELESS BEEN RELUCTANT TO ENDORSE MANY OF THE MORE RADICAL MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS ASSOCIATED WITH HIS PURGED PREDECESSOR ZHAO ZIYANG AND HAS CONSISTENTLY WARNED AGAINST THE IDEOLOGICAL DANGERS INHERENT IN ECONOMIC CHANGE AND OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE MARCH 1988 THEORETICAL FORUM, FOR EXAMPLE, HE CALLED FOR DEVELOPING A "PLANNED, SOCIALIST, COMMODITY ECONOMY"--THE REFORMERS' CODEWORDS FOR A MORE MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY--BUT WENT ON TO STATE THAT THE DIRECTION OF CHANGE SHOULD BE FROM "MANAGING THE ECONOMY BY ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS ALONE" TO THAT OF "COMBINING METICULOUS POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK WITH ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT."

SIMILARLY, SPEAKING TO A PLENUM OF THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE IN JULY 1988, JIANG APPEARED TO ENDORSE ZHAO'S MARKET-ORIENTED NOTION OF A "NEW ORDER OF SOCIALIST COMMODITY ECONOMY" AND CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A "NEW STRUCTURE, CONTENT, AND METHOD" FOR IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK. BUT HE WENT ON TO CRITICIZE IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS GENERALLY ASSOCIATED WITH RADICAL REFORM. THUS, HE COMPLAINED THAT THE PARTY'S REPUDIATION OF EXCESSIVE RELIANCE ON IDEOLOGY TO MOBILIZE THE POPULATION HAD "GIVEN RISE TO THE OTHER EXTREME"--THE THEORY THAT "MATERIAL INCENTIVES ALONE" WOULD "ENSURE SUCCESS IN EVERYTHING." MISUNDERSTANDING THE THEORY OF THE INITIAL STAGE OF SOCIALISM, HE SAID, HAD RESULTED IN THE FAILURE TO TAKE A CLEAR-CUT STAND IN REPUDIATING "MONEY WORSHIP, INDIVIDUALISM, AND ULTRADEMOCRATIZATION." JIANG ALSO APPEARED TO EMPHASIZE HIS QUALIFICATIONS TO SPEAK ON IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES, NOTING THAT HE HAD "CONCENTRATED ON PARTY AFFAIRS AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK" AFTER MOVING FROM MAYOR TO PARTY SECRETARY AND THAT THE PLENUM WAS "THE FIRST EVER HELD" BY THE SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE SPECIFICALLY TO DISCUSS IDEOLOGICAL WORK (SHANGHAI RADIO, 26 JULY 1988).

IN JANUARY 1989, JIANG APPEARED TO SIDE WITH PENG ZHEN, WANG ZHEN, AND OTHER PARTY ELDERS WHO WERE CALLING FOR A RETURN TO "COMMUNIST IDEALS" AT A TIME WHEN ZHAO WAS STUMPING THE PROVINCES IN AN EFFORT TO MUTE THE EFFECT OF THE HARDLINERS' ECONOMIC RETRENCHMENT POLICIES AND REVIVE THE MOMENTUM OF HIS MARKET-ORIENTED

REFORMS. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A SHANGHAI PARTY JOURNAL, JIANG WARNED AGAINST THE "MANY CORROSIVE IDEAS" THAT HAD SURFACED AS A RESULT OF DEVELOPING THE COMMODITY ECONOMY AND OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, AND TOLD THE JOURNAL IT WAS OBLIGATED TO "COMBAT EVIL TRENDS AND HEIGHTEN MORALE" (JIEFANG RIBAO, 6 JANUARY).

CRITICISMS OF ZHAO

ALTHOUGH JIANG HAS AVOIDED PUBLIC COMMITMENTS ON A NUMBER OF SENSITIVE ISSUES, HE HAS NOT SHIED AWAY FROM OBLIQUE CRITICISM OF REFORM PROPOSALS THAT APPEAR TO STRETCH CONVENTIONAL IDEOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES TOO FAR, INCLUDING IDEAS IDENTIFIED WITH ZHAO.

-- WHILE JIANG HAS REPEATEDLY ENDORSED DENG'S EMPHASIS ON "DEVELOPING THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES" AS THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF REFORM, HE APPEARS TO HAVE INDIRECTLY CHALLENGED ZHAO'S ATTEMPT TO MAKE "THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES CRITERION" THE EXCLUSIVE STANDARD OF JUDGING CADRE PERFORMANCE AND THE SUCCESS OF REFORM. ALTHOUGH JIANG HAD AGREED IN MARCH 1988 THAT PRODUCTIVE FORCES WERE "THE YARDSTICK FOR APPRAISING OUR ACHIEVEMENTS," IN HIS SPEECH TO THE THEORY SYMPOSIUM IN OCTOBER HE APPEARED TO CHALLENGE ZHAO. REFERRING TO "DIFFICULT ISSUES" IN THEORY, JIANG ASKED "WHAT ARE ITS SPECIAL FEATURES? DOES THE CRITERION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES MEAN PUTTING MONEY FIRST IN EVERYTHING? OR DO WE UPHOLD THE CRITERION ALSO IN PARTY WORK, IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK, AND THEORETICAL WORK?"

-- JIANG ALSO APPEARED TO INDIRECTLY CRITICIZE VIEWS OF RADICAL REFORM ECONOMIST CHEN SHENSHEN, WHO HAD SEVERELY CRITICIZED CONSERVATIVE VIEWS AND ADVOCATED SWEEPING CHANGES IN THE CONCEPT OF "PROPERTY RIGHTS" IN A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN THE LIBERAL NEWSPAPER SHIJIE JINGJI DAobao IN THE SUMMER AND FALL OF 1988. NOTING THAT THE "HOT ISSUE" OF PROPERTY RIGHTS HAD NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED, JIANG STATED THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM WAS SELECTING A FORM OF PROPERTY RIGHT THAT WOULD "BRING INTO PLAY THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM" AND PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES "UNDER A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP." SUCH PROBLEMS, JIANG SAID, SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY TAKING A "MARXIST STAND" AND USING "MARXIST METHODS" TO "FIND REAL ANSWERS TO GUIDE OUR PRACTICE."

APPROACH TO INTELLECTUALS

JIANG HAS STRONGLY ENDORSED THE USE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AS A RESOURCE FOR POLICYMAKERS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL MEANS OF LINKING INTELLECTUALS TO PARTY LEADERS AS POLICY ADVISERS-- AN APPROACH IDENTIFIED WITH THE REFORM WING OF THE PARTY, PRIMARILY ZHAO AND WAN LI. PERHAPS AS A NATURAL COROLLARY TO THIS POSITION, JIANG IS ALSO ON RECORD AS ADOPTING A RATHER LIBERAL STANCE ON THE ISSUE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

THUS, IN HIS SPEECH TO THEORISTS IN MARCH 1988, JIANG CALLED FOR "PROVIDING SUPERQUALITY GUIDANCE" TO REFORM BY "ENHANCING THE DYNAMIC ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES," AND HE TOLD THE THEORISTS THAT HE HAD COME "TO SEEK YOUR ADVICE." AT THE FORUM IN OCTOBER OF THAT YEAR, JIANG COMPLIMENTED SHANGHAI THEORISTS FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS, STATING THAT THEY CONSTITUTED A "BRAIN TRUST OR THINK TANK" THAT COULD BE "TRUSTED IN CARRYING OUT REFORM." HE WENT ON TO TAKE CREDIT FOR CONVENING BIMONTHLY FORUMS BY THE MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE TO SOLICIT ADVICE FROM THEORISTS AND CLAIMED HE HAD BEEN "GREATLY ENLIGHTENED" BY THESE DISCUSSIONS.

SIMILARLY, JIANG ENDORSED THE REFORMIST PRINCIPLE THAT "ALL PEOPLE ARE EQUAL BEFORE THE TRUTH" IN ACADEMIC DISCOURSE AND THAT "THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY FORBIDDEN ZONES." THEORETICAL WORKERS "SHOULD BE ABLE TO SAY ANYTHING THEY WANT WITHOUT ANY INHIBITIONS," HE SAID, SO THEY COULD "LIBERATE THEIR THINKING AND HAVE THE COURAGE TO PROBE AND CREATE NEW THINGS." "WE MUST NOT SET IMPRACTICAL AND HARSH DEMANDS ON THEM," HE CONCLUDED. "WE SHOULD ALLOW THEM TO MAKE MISTAKES."

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

HONOURABLE J. GARY LANE

RETURN TO REMOVED TO	0100	POSTAL POSTAGE AND FEE
ACC	607937	OFF DATE
FILE	30-10-CHINA	CLASSIF
C 20-CHINA-1-4		

CHINESE ARMY ACTION AGAINST STUDENTS

The Government of Saskatchewan deplores the violent suppression of peaceful demonstrators calling for increased democracy within the People's Republic of China.

The Government of Saskatchewan extends its deepest sympathy to the families of those killed and injured and asks that the Chinese military refrain from further violence against the citizens and urges the Government to demonstrate tolerance and openness.

The Government of Saskatchewan has been in contact with the Federal Government. We support the response of the Federal Government, on behalf of all Canadians, to this tragic situation, and we will continue to be in close contact with the Federal Government to ensure an effective and coordinated response to the situation.

We are trying with the Federal Government to find ways to maintain lines of communication between people here in Canada and their families in China.

We have been assured by the Government of Canada that Canadians in the People's Republic of China are safe.

Monday, (June 6, 1989 )



Saskatchewan  
Executive  
Council

Intergovernmental  
Affairs

Room 33  
Legislative Building  
Regina, Canada  
S4S 0B3

Telex 071-2586

DATE: June 5, 1989

TELECOPIER TRANSMISSION SHEET

TO: Larry Brown  
Department of External Affairs  
CFX Brown

FROM: Don Carroll, Director  
International and Constitutional Division  
Intergovernmental Affairs, Executive Council  
Telecopier: (306) 787-7317

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover page) 2

SHOULD PROBLEMS ARISE, CALL Susan 306/787-6355

NOTES: Attached is a statement made today by the Honourable Gary Lane.  
What, if anything, is the federal government doing to facilitate  
contact between Chinese in Canada with their families back home?

AS

WXL-VI-89

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BIGO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE
	<i>Deen off</i>	DATE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
	<b>604558</b>	<b>890607</b>
FILE	DOSSIER	
	<b>20-CHINA-1-4</b>	

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3486 06JUN89

TO EXTOTT **C** PNR DELIVER BY 060700

INFO EKONG MANIL TOKYO SEOUL BNGKK KLMPR ~~SPORE~~ ~~DELHI~~ JKRTA PNATO  
MOSCO PCOOTT/IAC CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF  
BAG SENGI DE PEK

DISTR MINA USS FGB PND PNC PGP INP CPP CPD ISS ISEW BMM JIS

---PEKIN SITU REPORT 1700 HRS(LOCAL TIME)

POLITICAL/MILITARY SITU:ALL IS CALM IN AREA AROUND EMP,GREAT  
WALL HOTEL WHERE STAFF EVACUATED LAST NIGHT FROM JIANGUOMENWAI/  
QIJIAYUAN COMPOUNDS ARE STAYING.ROAD TO AIRPORT IS SAFE BUT AIRPORT  
ITSELF IS MOB SCENE WITH QUEUES STRETCHING OUTSIDE TERMINAL BLDG.

2.THERE ARE REPORTS OF TROOP MOVEMENTS TO EAST,SCUTH AND WEST  
OF PEKIN AND LAST NIGHT BATTLES BETWEEN TROOPS WERE THOUGHT TO  
HAVE OCCUREL TO THE NORTH AND TO SOUTH.27TH ARMY IS BELIEVED  
TO BE HOLDING PEKIN ON PERIMETER COINCIDING WITH 2ND RING ROAD  
THAT PASSES JIANGUOMENWAI DIPLO COMPOUND.

3.RUMOURS CONTINUE TO FLY.REPORT FROM USUALLY RELIABLE SOURCE  
CLAIMS THAT THERE WAS AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTFMPT ON LIFE OF LI PENG.  
RADIO JPN HAS REPORTED THAT LI PENG HAS BEEN ASSASSINATED AND  
THAT ZHAO IS IN TIANJIN PREPARING TO LEAD TROOPS TO LIBEPATE  
PEKIN.ANOTHER RUMOUR SAYS THAT LI PENG,YANG SHANGKUN AND DENG  
XIAOPING HAVE FLED PEKIN.IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY MOST RFPORTS  
AS MIL SITU LIMITS TRAVEL FOR JOURNALISTS AND DIPLOMATS AND CONSUIAR

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CONFIDENTIAL  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

PAGE TWO WJGR3486 CONF

CALLS AND JOURNALISTS ENQUIRIES ARE TYING UP EMB AND NEWS AGENCY SWITCHBOARDS.

HOWEVER, MIL CONFRONTATION IN PEKIN BETWEEN TROOPS OF 27TH ARMY LOYAL TO YANG SHANGKUN AND COALITION OF OTHER PLA ARMIES STILL APPEARS LIKELY IN NEXT FEW DAYS. MEANWHILE THERE ARE REPORTS OF VIOLENCE IN CANTON, SHANGHAI, NANJING AND CHENGDU, WHERE AFP REPORTS 300 DEAD AND 1000 WOUNDED AS WELL AS EXTENSIVE LOOTING AND BURNING.

4. MEASURES TAKEN BY EMB: EMB HAS BEEN CONTACTING ALL KNOWN REMAINING CITIZENS IN PEKIN. MORE THAN 20 STUDENTS WERE PICKED UP YESTERDAY AND BILLETED WITH CDN STAFF. A CONVOY OF BUSES AND CARS IS OUT IN CITY NOW ATTEMPTING TO COLLECT OTHERS. BECAUSE OF ARMY BLOCKADES AND LIMITED TIME IT WILL NOT/NOT BE POSSIBLE TO COLLECT ALL CDNS. WE ARE ENCOURAGING THOSE WE CANNOT/NOT COLLECT TO MAKE THEIR WAY BY BICYCLE SINCE THESE BLOCKADES DO NOT/NOT SEEM TO AFFECT TWO-WHEELED TRAFFIC.

5. A BUS OF 19 CDNS HAS JUST LEFT FOR AIRPORT WHERE THEY WILL BE ASSURED OF PLACES ON CX FLT TO HKONG. WE ESTIMATE ANOTHER 210 PLUS (NEW CALLS RECEIVED REGULARLY) WILL BE EVACUATED TOMORROW VIA SPECIAL CAIL FLT TO NARITA. PERMISSION FOR THIS FLT WAS FINALLY OBTAINED FROM CHINESE AUTHS THIS AFTERNOON. BETWEEN 210-240 CDNS INCLUDING NON-ESSENTIAL EMB STAFF PLAN TO TAKE THIS FLT (MORE CDNS ARE REGISTERING FOR EVACUATION EVERY HOUR). FLT WILL DEPART HKONG, APPROX 1000 HRS ARRIVING PEKIN 1330 HRS AND DEPART ONE HOUR LATER FOR NARITA.

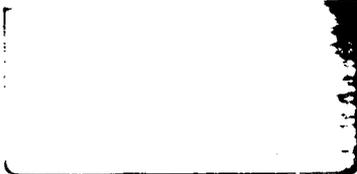
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PAGE THREE WJGR3486 COND

6. EMB ITSELF IS FILLED TO OVERFLOWING WITH CDNS WHOM WE HAVE ADVISED TO COME AND REGISTER WITH US. MOST ARE BEING SENT TO NEARBY HOTELS, TENTS HAVE BEEN PITCHED IN GARDEN AND SOME MAY HAVE TO SLEEP IN REMAINING STAFF QUARTERS OR ON EMB FLOOR. STAFF, SPOUSES AND CDN VOLUNTEERS HAVE BEEN MANNING PHONES THAT HAVE BEEN RINGING OFF THE HOOK, MAKING COMPLICATED TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS AND PREPARING TO BURN CLASS DOCUS.

CCC/078 060945Z WJGR3486



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6-28-89

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

UNCLASSIFIED

FM SHNGI ZRGR0234 06JUN89

TO PEKIN EXTOTT/PNR DELIVER BY 060900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

ENATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO WSAW ~~GIDAHULL/PSC NTHOOTT/LIPOL/~~

CIS/ADM PCOOTT/IAC

DISTR USS PGP PND PNC PGP INP INE CPE

APT CIDADHULL/SEL

REF AMB DRAKE-MAILHOT TELECON

---SHANGHAI PRODEMOCRACY PROTESTS

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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20-CHINA-1-4		

SHANGHAI STUDENT PRO DEMOCRACY PROTESTS TOOK DRAMATIC TURN SUNDAY NIGHT 04JUN IN WAKE OF TRAGIC EVENTS IN PEKING PREVIOUS DAY. UP TO THEN SHANGHAI STUDENTS DEMO HAD BEEN REASONABLY GOOD NATURED AND HAD CONSISTED OF NOISY AND COLOURFUL PROCESSIONS DOWN BUND AND MAJOR SHANGHAI DOWNTOWN STREETS WITH NUMEROUS BANNERS DEMANDING END TO CORRUPTION, NEPOTISM AND REMOVAL OF LI PENG, ESPECIALLY AFTER IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN PEKING. EFFECT OF THE DEMOS HAD BEEN TEMPORARY WITH TRAFFIC DISRUPTIONS LIMITED TO DURATION OF MARCH PAST AND ECON LIFE OF THIS METROPOLIS WAS LARGELY UNTOUCHED.

2. THIS CHANGED DRASTICALLY EARLY HOURS MONDAY AM WHEN STUDENTS COMMANDERED HUNDREDS OF CITY BUSES AND IMMOBILIZED THEM BY BLOWING THEIR TIRES AT 47 OR MORE KEY INTERSECTIONS IN SHANGHAI.

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MOITON  
REMOVAL A 2110

PAGE TWO ZRGR0834

BUSES WERE THEN FESTOONED WITH POSTERS DESCRIBING PEKING MASSACRE AND DESCRIBING IN GREAT DETAIL EVENTS OF SATURDAY EVENING IN CAPITAL. SYSTEMATIC BLOCKING OF MAJOR SHANGHAI TRAFFIC ARTERIES (NOT/NOT ONLY DOWNTOWN BUT EXTENDING AS FAR AS SHEERATON HOTEL) ON WAY TO AIRPORT WAS EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE. CONSULATE STAFF HAD TO NEGOTIATE ITS WAY PAST NUMBER OF THESE BARRICADES ANT HAD TO WALK LAST TWO KILOMETRES TO OFFICE. NO PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FUNCTIONED IN SHANGHAI ON 05JUN AND CITY WAS IN EFFECT TIED UP. IN ADDITION TO BUSES, TAXI FLEETS DISAPPEARED FROM VIEW AND NONE COULD BE OBTAINED AT NUMBER OF MAJOR HOTELS. POLICE AUTHORITIES WERE NOTICEABLE BBY THEIR ABSENCE AND STUDENTS USED STRANDED BUSES AS BARRICADES TO BROADCAST THEIR CONDEMNATION OF MILITARY INTERVENTION AGAINST PROTESTERS IN PEKING. COPIES OF HKONG WENHUI BAO NEWS PAPER ACCOUNTS OF PEKING MASSACRE WERE REPRODUCED AS WERE TRANSCRIPTS OF BBC SHORTWAVE BROADCASTS OF THESE EVENTS. STUDENTS TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAL TO FOREIGNERS TO SUPPORT THEIR CAUSE BY STOPPING CONCESSIONAL LOANS, TECHNICAL TRANSFERS AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO CHINA. TRAFFIC DISRUPTION WAS VERY WFL ORGANIZED AND COORDINATED WITH SIMILAR ACTION IN NANJING AND HEFEI. IN CONTRAST, ATTEMPTED PRO GOVT DEMONSTRATED FAILED BADLY TO ATTRACT ANY SUBSTANTIAL CROWDS DESPITE BEING ADVERTISED ON TV.

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PAGE THREE ZRG R0834

2. SITUATION IS CONTINUALLY EVOLVING AND EARLIER EXPECTATIONS OF DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW DID NOT/NOT COME TO PASS. DESPITE TRAFFIC PROBLEMS IT WOULD APPEAR SHANGHAI CAN LIVE WITH CURRENT LEVEL OF DISRUPTION FOR SOME TIME AND THERE IS NO/NO REAL JUSTIFICATION FOR DECLARING MARTIAL LAW. LOCAL LEADERSHIP WILL NOT/NOT WANT TO JUMP AHEAD OF PEKIN AND WILL WANT TO SEE WHICH WAY CURRENT POWER STRUGGLE IN CAPITAL DEVELOPS BEFORE TAKING ACTION HERE. DEFIANT STUDENT POSTER CLAIMED CITY DID NOT/NOT POSSESS ENOUGH RESOURCES TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW IN ANY EVENT AND RUMOURS OF ITS IMPOSITION WERE ATTEMPTS TO INSTILL FEAR IN POPULACE. SITUATION IS FURTHER CONFUSED BY RUMOURS OF ALL SORTS WHICH ARE CURRIED ABOUT IN SHANGHAI INCLUDING ADMISSION TO LOCAL HOSPITAL OF PARAMOUNT LEADER WITH FATAL ILLNESS. CONSENSUS AMONG OBSERVERS IS THAT KEY OBJECTIVE OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP IS TO PREVENT CURRENT UPHEAVAL FROM AFFECTING SHANGHAI PRODUCTION OUTPUT. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL ALTHOUGH SIT SHOULD EMERGE CLEARER BY END OF THIS WEEK. PUT ALREADY SEVERAL JOINT VENTURES ARE SCALING DOWN OPERATIONS. FOLLOWING COMPANIES HAVE OR ARE IN PROCESS OF EVACUATING THEIR EXPAT STAFF: XEROX, JOHNSON AND JOHNSON, BAKER AND MACKENZIE (LAW FIRM), COOPERS-LYBRAND, VOLKSWAGEN, MCDONELL-DOUGLAS, CABOT, PAUL WEISS RIFKING (LAW FIRM).

3. THERE ARE REPORTS OF INCREASING HOARDING OF RICE AND COOKING OIL AND OTHER COMMODITIES AS WELL MAY BECOME SCARCE.

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PAGE FOUR ZRGR0834

4. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT CDNS IN CONSULAR TERRITORY ARE IN NO/NO IMMEDIATE DANGER AND SHOULD REMAIN CLOSE TO THEIR HOMES AND AVOID AREAS WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE. NEVERTHELESS WE ARE ADVISING ALL CDNS OF AVAILABILITY OF SEATS ON CDN AIRLINES SPECIAL FLIGHT ON 07JUN FOR THOSE WHO FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE OR INSECURE WITH PRESENT SOCIAL SITUATION IN CHINA.

UUU/777 060900Z ZRGR0834



RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FIL POUR PORTE	AD E E E
ACC	REF	DATE	
604679		830608	
FILE			DOSSIER
20-CHINA-1-4			
20-NORWAY-1-3			

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

P R O T E C T E D

FM OSLO WGGR0873 06JUN89

TO EXTOTT (PNR) DELIVER BY 061100

INFO PEKIN COPEN STKHM HSNKI HKONG MOSCO LDN WSHDC PRMNY

DISTR RWR RWT PND PNC RED RBP RBT CPP IMH IMU INP JLOB

REF OURTEL WGGR0869 05JUN

---NORWAY-PRC RELATIONS

THIS SUBJECT CONTINUES TO DOMINATE NEWS HERE. NORWEGIAN GOVT HAS ADVISED ITS CITIZENS NOT/NOT TO VISIT PRC UNTIL SITUATION IS BACK TO NORMAL AND NORWEGIAN EMB IN PEKIN HAS CALLED FOR TOURISTS TO LEAVE. GOVT HAS CONTINGENCY PLANS TO EVACUATE NORWEGIAN CITIZENS BUT ARE NOT MAKING THEM OPERATIONAL AT THIS TIME. THERE ARE ABOUT 56 NORWEGIAN RESIDENTS (4 STUDENTS HAVE MOVED INTO THE EMB) AND PROBABLY LESS THAN 100 TOURISTS IN THE COUNTRY. GOVT HAS ALSO CANCELLED A VISIT TO CHINA BY CROWN PRINCE AND ALSO THAT OF MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES.

2. NORWAY HAS NOT/NOT WITHDRAWN ANY EMB PERSONNEL. FOREIGN MINISTER STATED TO PRESS THAT QUOTE IT IS IMPORTANT THE EMB HAS ITS FULL STAFF SO THAT NORWEGIAN VIEWPOINTS CAN BE SUBMITTED TO CHINESE AUTHORITIES; AND ALSO THAT WE CAN GET INFO, NOT LEAST ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING TO NORWEGIAN CITIZENS UNQUOTE. ALL POLITICAL PARTIES FULLY SUPPORT THE GOVTS HANDLING OF THE SITUATION TO DATE.

3. PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND MARCHES CONTINUE HERE. YESTERDAY

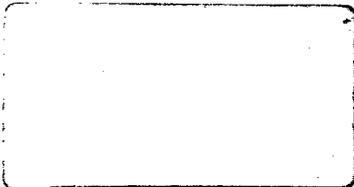
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NOTICE  
RECEIVED A 31102

PAGE TWO WGGR0873 CONF

DEAN OF OSLO UNIVERSITY LED GROUP OF STUDENTS TO CHINESE EMB  
WHERE HE READ ALOUD FROM LETTER TO COUNSELLOR OF CHINESE EMB WHO  
HAD COME OUT TO LISTEN AND RECEIVE LETTER. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY  
TO PETITION FROM BEHIND GRILLED-IRON FENCE, ACCEPTED IT WHEN  
READING WAS FINISHED AND REPLIED POLITELY IN NORWEGIAN. PETITION  
DENOUNCED USE OF MILITARY POWER AGAINST STUDENTS WHO PEACEFULLY  
DEMONSTRATE FOR THEIR ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS. CHINESE EMB REPS  
DEMEANOUR WAS SO SYMPATHETIC AND ATTENTIVE TO DEMONSTRATORS AND  
PETITION THAT ONE COULD GAIN IMPRESSION THAT HE AGREED WITH THEM.

CCC/076 061241Z WGGR0873



*Consuls General*  
*1-7-89*

UNCLASSIFIED

FM SHNGI ZRGR0835 06JUN89

TO PEKIN EXTOTT/PNR DELIVERBY 060900

REF OURTEL ZRGF0834 06JUN89

---SHANGHAI PRO DEMOCRACY PROTEST

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	0100	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
604584		890607
FILE	DOSSIER	
20-CHINA-1-4		

IN WAKE OF DETERIORATING PUBLIC ORDER SITUATION IN SHNGI, DEAN OF CONSULAR CORPS, DR HANELORE THEODOR OF FEDERAL REP OF GERMANY CALLED MEETING OF CONSULS GENERAL. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF MEASURES UNDERTAKEN OR CONTEMPLATED BY CONSULATES IN SHANGHAI.

2. EVACUATION: AS PRECAUTION, ITALIAN CONSULATE HAS BOOKED ALITALIA FLIGHT ON 10 JUN WITH 220 SEATS TO COME TO SHANGHAI FROM TOKYO. UNDERSTAND THAT CANADIAN AIRLINES WOULD PROVIDE 75 SEATS ON FLIGHT FROM TOKYO FOR CDN CITIZENS IN SHANGHAI IF WE REQUEST THEM.

3. FOREIGN STUDENTS: GERMAN STUDENTS WILL REMAIN IN SHANGHAI. HOWEVER IF AS RUMOURED EXAMS ARE POSTPONED BECAUSE OF CHINESE STUDENT BOYCOTT THEN FRG CONSULATE WILL ADVISE GERMAN STUDENTS TO LEAVE. FRENCH CONSULATE WILL FACILITATE REPATRIATION OF FRENCH STUDENTS WHO WISH TO RETURN HOME.

4. VISITORS: FRG CONSULATE IS ADVISING ALL TOURISTS TO RETURN HOME. AUSTRALIA IS ADVISING ITS NATIONALS AGAINST VISITS TO CHINA. FRENCH CONSULATE WILL ADVISE ITS CITIZENS AGAINST ATTENDANCE AT UPCOMING CHINATEX EXHIBITION.

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PAGE TWO ZRGR0835

5. USA AND JPNSE SCHOOLS IN SHANGHAI ARE NOW CLOSED ALTHOUGH SITUATION IS REVIEWED DAILY.

A 6. FINALLY BELGIAN CONSULATE IS ADVISING CHINESE WIVES OF BELGIAN NATIONALS TO LEAVE CHINA IMMEDIATELY.

7. CONSULS GENERAL AGREED TO REMAIN IN CLOSE TOUCH AND COORDINATE THEIR ACTIVITIES.

UUU/777 060900Z ZRGR0835



June 5, 1989

RETURN TO RENOYER AU		D:00		FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE		
FILE	20-China-1-4			DOSSIER

LA SITUATION EN CHINE

Tous les Canadiens ont suivi avec une profonde inquiétude les événements tragiques de la fin de semaine à Beijing. Comme de nombreux Canadiens, j'avais suivi avec beaucoup d'intérêt les manifestations jusque-là sans précédent menées par les étudiants depuis la mi-avril sur la place Tiananmen. Cette éclosion de l'esprit démocratique, que nous avons également vue dans d'autres pays communistes au cours des derniers mois, est la preuve qu'un système politique ne peut indéfiniment empêcher l'expression des valeurs démocratiques fondamentales.

Nous avons été profondément émus par le spectacle de foules immenses en quête de démocratie assumant de grands risques pour appuyer leur demande que soit établie dans la République populaire de Chine, une vie politique plus ouverte et plus représentative. Le gouvernement a déjà exprimé notre profond désarroi devant les mesures agressives que les forces militaires chinoises ont prises contre leurs propres citoyens non armés. Le nombre effroyable de victimes a profondément bouleversé et affligé la population canadienne.

Comme l'a souligné le secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures dans son communiqué du 4 juin, nous avons fait appel au gouvernement chinois pour qu'il prenne des mesures immédiates pour mettre fin à la tuerie aveugle et absurde que commettent ses forces armées. Le même communiqué fait également état de la consternation et de l'indignation provoquées par le recours insensé et brutal à la force contre les étudiants et les habitants de Beijing, ainsi que du caractère inexcusable du comportement de l'armée chinoise.

Nous savons que de nombreux autres pays ont également exprimé leur répulsion devant les tragiques pertes de vie causées par l'assaut militaire sur les manifestants étudiants et ceux qui les appuient. Le monde entier ne peut être que sidéré devant l'ampleur de la tragédie. Nous offrons nos sympathies les plus profondes aux familles des victimes.

L'histoire nous apprend toutefois que de telles mesures de répression ne prévaudront pas nécessairement devant le courage d'une population tout entière. Le désir de voir instaurer un système politique plus ouvert et plus

représentatif ne sera pas facilement réprimé pour les millions de Chinois qui ont participé aux récentes manifestations, en dépit du prix démesuré que certains ont dû payer pour leurs convictions.

Durant la dernière décennie, la Chine a "ouvert la porte" sur l'Occident et s'est engagée dans de très importantes réformes économiques: ces progrès nous avaient donné l'espoir que la nation la plus peuplée au monde serait également capable de répondre à l'appel de ses étudiants qui demandent une plus grande ouverture politique. Nous continuons d'espérer que le pays ne s'est pas engagé de façon irréversible dans une autre voie.

Le Canada entretient depuis longtemps des liens avec la Chine. De nombreux Canadiens doivent leur subsistance au commerce avec la Chine. Ayant une fenêtre ouverte sur le Pacifique, notre pays participe de plus en plus aux affaires trans-pacifiques. En outre, la communauté canadienne d'origine chinoise ajoute une importante dimension à nos intérêts envers la Chine. Je sais qu'un grand nombre de personnes de cette communauté ont des parents en Chine et je partage leurs inquiétudes quant au bien-être des ces personnes qui leur sont chères. Ce qui se passe en Chine ne peut laisser le Canada et les Canadiens indifférents. Les efforts déployés par les médias pour attirer l'attention sur ce qui se déroule dans la République populaire de Chine et la réponse des Canadiens mettent en lumière le fait que la distance ne saurait diminuer nos inquiétudes.

Nous attachons la plus haute importance à la sécurité de la communauté canadienne en Chine; nous suivons la situation de celle-ci de très près et nous lui accordons la plus grande priorité en collaboration avec notre ambassade à Beijing et notre consulat général à Shanghai.

Nous sommes heureux d'apprendre que les mesures nécessaires sont prises pour assurer la protection des Canadiens en Chine.

Nous réexaminons également en toute priorité notre relation bilatérale avec la Chine pour être sûrs que les autorités chinoises comprennent clairement nos préoccupations concernant la situation des droits de la personne dans ce pays.

D'après les événements des dernières semaines, il y a des signes que le mouvement de protestation des étudiants a soulevé de grands débats parmi les dirigeants chinois. Pendant les premiers moments des manifestations, le gouvernement chinois a fait preuve de beaucoup de retenue devant le mécontentement des étudiants. Qu'il est malheureux que la prudence des premiers jours ait cédé à l'exercice de la force brute; qu'il est malheureux que la possibilité de négociation ait été écartée en faveur des canons.

Les droits de la personne et les droits démocratiques fondamentaux sont au centre de la politique étrangère du Canada, quel que soit l'endroit où ces valeurs sont menacées. Nous ne pouvons passer sous silence les événements des derniers jours en Chine. Je sais que tous les députés ici aujourd'hui partagent mon angoisse devant la souffrance des étudiants et des citoyens de Beijing.

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PNR

~~SECRET~~

5 Jun 89

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HR

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JBIW

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER LEE KUAN YEW  
ON THE EVENTS IN BEIJING

My Cabinet colleagues and I are shocked, horrified and saddened by this disastrous turn of events. We had expected the Chinese Government to apply the doctrine of minimum force when an army is used to quell civil disorder. Instead, the fire-power and violence used caused many deaths and casualties. They were totally disproportionate to the resistance unarmed civilians offered.

2 A China with large sections of her people, including her best educated, at odds with the Government, means trouble, with people resentful, reforms stalled, and economy stagnant. Because of her size, such a China could create problems for herself and her neighbours in Asia.

3 We hope wiser counsels will prevail to pursue conciliation, so that the Chinese people can resume the progress which the open door policies have brought them.

RETURN TO RENYOYER AU	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF DATE
FILE 20-CHINA-1-4	DOSSIER

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
5 JUNE 1989

TIME OF ISSUE: 2100 HRS



5 Jun/89

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(CPAS: PLS PASS TO PDB STAFF FOR CHUCK PETERS;  
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ASSISTANT NIO/EAP FOR ROBERT SUETTINGER)

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(STATE: PLS PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY SOLOMON;  
EAP/CM FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS AND CHINA TASK  
FORCE;  
INR/EAP FOR TOM FINGAR AND CHRIS CLARKE)

(DDD: PLS PASS TO ISA FOR CARL FORD)

FBI TRENDS--28 JUN 89--CHINA--REFORM

TAKE 1 OF 3 -- TRENDS/CHINA--REFORM

WA2906234289 FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE MEDIA  
ANALYSIS

NEW PARTY CHIEF IS A REFORMER IN THE DENGIST MOLD

S U M M A R Y

THE CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC REFORM OF NEW CPC GENERAL SECRETARY JIANG ZEMIN EVER SINCE HIS ELEVATION TO THE POLITBURO, SUGGESTS THAT IN GENERAL HE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE TYPE OF ECONOMIC REFORM BACKED BY SENIOR LEADER DENG XIAOPING. HIS PAST CONSERVATIVE STANCE ON IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES AND HIS RELUCTANCE TO ENDORSE THE BOLDER VIEWS OF HIS PREDECESSOR ZHAO ZIYANG, HOWEVER, RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF A RETURN TO A MORE ORTHODOX APPROACH THAT COULD INHIBIT ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTATION.

END SUMMARY

SINCE HIS APPOINTMENT AS PARTY SECRETARY OF SHANGHAI AND MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO IN LATE 1987, JIANG HAS BEEN PORTRAYED BY CHINESE MEDIA AS A VIGOROUS PROPONENT OF BOTH ECONOMIC REFORM AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL, ADOPTING A SLIGHTLY MORE CONSERVATIVE STANCE THAN THE "CENTRIST" POSITION IN PARTY POLITICS ADHERED TO BY SENIOR LEADER DENG XIAOPING SINCE INITIATING THE REFORM PROGRAM A DECADE AGO. IN A TYPICAL REMARK AFFIRMING BOTH DENG'S POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND HIS OWN COMMITMENT TO REFORM, JIANG TOLD A THEORETICAL FORUM IN MARCH 1988 THAT IT HAD BEEN DENG'S "CONSISTENT AND CORRECT ADVOCACY" FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS "TO REFORM, TO EXPLORE, AND TO TAKE RISKS." "WE MUST HAVE SUCH MARXIST AUDACITY AND COURAGE," HE SAID, "WHEN WE CONFRONT MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC REJUVENATION." "OUR PURPOSE IN ALL THIS IS TO FURTHER LIBERATE THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES" (JIEFANG RIBAO, 14 MARCH 1988).

ECONOMIC CENTRIST

IN PUBLIC JIANG APPEARS PRIMARILY TO HAVE THROWN HIS WEIGHT BEHIND ECONOMIC REFORM INITIATIVES THAT WOULD ENHANCE THE STATURE AND ECONOMIC POWER OF SHANGHAI--SUCH AS THE COASTAL POLICY, FINANCIAL DECENTRALIZATION, AND ENTERPRISE REFORM--BUT HE HAS SHIED AWAY FROM PUBLIC COMMITMENT ON MANY SENSITIVE ISSUES AND HAS APPEARED TO CHALLENGE ZHAO IN OTHER AREAS:

RETURN TO RENOYER AU		<b>BICO</b>		FOR FILING POUR - ETRÉ PORTE AU DOSSIER
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20 - China - 1 - 4				

COASTAL POLICY. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE MARCH 1988 THEORETICAL FORUM, FOR EXAMPLE, JIANG ISSUED A STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF THE NEW POLICY OF COASTAL DEVELOPMENT ARTICULATED BY ZHAO EARLIER IN THE YEAR BUT GAVE SOLE CREDIT FOR THE POLICY TO DENG. "WE MUST ENTER THE WORLD ECONOMIC ARENA WITH A MORE COURAGEOUS ATTITUDE," HE SAID, QUOTING DENG'S CALL FOR ACCELERATING THE TRANSITION TO AN EXPORT ECONOMY. DECLARING THAT THE APPROACH WOULD "OPEN A NEW WAY TO BALANCE THE ECONOMY," JIANG CALLED FOR "ORIGINAL AND INNOVATIVE" IDEAS TO IMPLEMENT THE POLICY IN SHANGHAI AND SUGGESTED A HOST OF SUPPORTIVE REFORMS TO BACK UP HIS CALL, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "HIGHLY EFFICIENT MECHANISM OF THE MODERN COMMODITY ECONOMY THAT CONFORMS TO INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE."

PRICE REFORM. ALTHOUGH JIANG HAS APPEARED TO OFFER STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE FAR-REACHING ECONOMIC REFORMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COASTAL POLICY, HE HAS BEEN FAR MORE CONSERVATIVE ON OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS PRICE REFORM. ON THE EVE OF DENG'S CALL FOR SWEEPING PRICE REFORM IN THE SPRING OF 1988, FOR INSTANCE, JIANG CRITICIZED PRICE REFORM EFFORTS UP TO THAT POINT AS TOO EXTREME AND MADE A STRONG ARGUMENT FOR INCREASED SUBSIDIES FOR URBAN WORKERS. AT A MEETING OF MUNICIPAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS ON 9 MAY HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRICES WOULD RISE "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT" DURING PRICE REFORM, BUT "EXCESSIVE PRICE RISES," HE SAID, WOULD HAVE "A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON OUR EFFORTS TO DEEPEN REFORM AND STABILIZE THE ECONOMY." JIANG WENT ON TO COMPLAIN THAT PRICE ADJUSTMENT HAD BEEN MADE "WITHIN TOO SHORT A PERIOD WITH INSUFFICIENT PROPAGANDA" AND CALLED FOR "STRICT CONTROL" OF PRICES OF MANUFACTURED GOODS (SHANGHAI RADIO, 9 MAY 1988).

MARKET FORCES. JIANG HAS RARELY REFERRED TO "MARKETS" IN DISCUSSING ECONOMIC REFORM, GENERALLY PREFERRING TO DISCUSS MODIFICATIONS IN THE USE OF "ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS" TO REGULATE THE ECONOMY RATHER THAN TO CALL FOR "ECONOMIC MEANS." BUT HE APPEARS TO HAVE ENDORSED MARKET-ORIENTED INITIATIVES AS AN ANTIDOTE TO INFLATION IN LATE 1988. IN A SPEECH TO A THEORETICAL SYMPOSIUM IN OCTOBER OF THAT YEAR, JIANG ASKED HOW, "IN AN ECONOMY OF SHORTAGES," "CAN WE CULTIVATE THE MARKET AND BRING MARKET MECHANISMS INTO PLAY? HOW DO WE USE THE REGULATORY ROLE OF THE MARKET TO INCREASE THE PRODUCTION OF GOODS? AND HOW DO WE USE ECONOMIC MEANS TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS?" (JIEFANG RIBAO, 20 OCTOBER 1988).

AVOIDANCE OF CONTROVERSY. ALTHOUGH JIANG HAS NOT SHIED AWAY FROM RAISING CONTROVERSIAL REFORM ISSUES IN PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS, HE HAS GENERALLY AVOIDED TAKING A POSITION ON THEM ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. IN HIS SPEECH TO THEORISTS IN MARCH 1988, FOR EXAMPLE, HE RAISED A HOST OF STICKY PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE FORUM BUT OFFERED NO VIEWS OF HIS OWN.

-- COMPLAINING ABOUT THE LACK OF VITALITY IN STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES, JIANG RAISED THE CONTROVERSIAL NOTION OF OWNERSHIP REFORM, IMPLYING THAT IT MIGHT BE THE KEY TO INVIGORATING URBAN INDUSTRY, BUT HE DID NOT OFFER A PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT. "THIS INVOLVES THE ISSUE OF OWNERSHIP," HE SAID. "I BELIEVE THERE IS A CONTROVERSY REGARDING THIS ISSUE IN THEORETICAL CIRCLES."

-- SIMILARLY, HE RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF ACHIEVING A "FAIR DISTRIBUTION" OF REVENUES IN SOCIETY WHILE STILL "STIMULATING WORKERS TO ACHIEVE HIGHER EFFICIENCY." THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, WAS HOW TO "USE WAGES TO SPARK INITIATIVE" WHILE PREVENTING WORKERS FROM "COMPETING WITH EACH OTHER OVER BENEFITS," BUT HE OFFERED NO SOLUTIONS. AGAIN, HE NOTED THE APPARENT "CONTRADICTION" BETWEEN "DEMOCRACY AND EFFICIENCY" BUT SUGGESTED ONLY THAT THE QUESTION WAS "WORTHY OF STUDY."

(MORE)

**Pages 367 to / à 370  
are withheld pursuant to section  
sont retenues en vertu de l'article**

**13(1)**

**of the Access to Information Act  
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June 5, 1980

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LA SITUATION EN CHINE

TOUS LES CANADIENS ONT SUIVI AVEC UNE PROFONDE INQUIETUDE LES EVENEMENTS TRAGIQUES DE LA FIN DE SEMAINE A BEIJING. COMME DE NOMBREUX CANADIENS, J'AVAIS SUIVI AVEC BEAUCOUP D'INTERET LES MANIFESTATIONS JUSQUE-LA SANS PRECEDENT MENEES PAR LES ETUDIANTS DEPUIS LA MI-AVRIL SUR LA PLACE TIANANMEN. CETTE ECLOSION DE L'ESPRIT DEMOCRATIQUE, QUE NOUS AVONS EGALEMENT VUE DANS D'AUTRES PAYS COMMUNISTES AU COURS DES DERNIERS MOIS, EST LA PREUVE QU'UN SYSTEME POLITIQUE NE PEUT INDEFINIMENT EMPECHER L'EXPRESSION DES VALEURS DEMOCRATIQUES FONDAMENTALES.

NOUS AVONS ETE PROFONDEMENT EMUS PAR LE SPECTACLE DE FOULES IMMENSES EN QUETE DE DEMOCRATIE ASSUMANT DE GRANDS RISQUES POUR APPUYER LEUR DEMANDE QUE SOIT ETABLIE DANS LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DE CHINE, UNE VIE POLITIQUE PLUS OUVERTE ET PLUS REPRESENTATIVE. LE GOUVERNEMENT A DEJA EXPRIME NOTRE PROFOND DESARROI DEVANT LES MESURES AGRESSIVES QUE LES FORCES MILITAIRES CHINOISES ONT PRISES CONTRE LEURS PROPRES CITOYENS NON ARMES. LE NOMBRE EFFROYABLE DE VICTIMES A PROFONDEMENT BOULEVERSE ET AFFLIGE LA POPULATION CANADIENNE.

COMME L'A SOULIGNE LE SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTERIEURES DANS SON COMMUNIQUE DU 4 JUIN, NOUS AVONS FAIT APPEL AU GOUVERNEMENT CHINOIS POUR QU'IL PRENNE DES MESURES IMMEDIATES POUR METTRE FIN A LA TUERIE AVEUGLE ET ABSURDE QUE COMMETTENT SES FORCES ARMEES. LE MEME COMMUNIQUE FAIT EGALEMENT ETAT DE LA CONSTERNATION ET DE L'INDIGNATION PROVOQUEES PAR LE RECOURS INSENSE ET BRUTAL A LA FORCE CONTRE LES ETUDIANTS ET LES HABITANTS DE BEIJING, AINSI QUE DU CARACTERE INEXCUSABLE DU COMPORTEMENT DE L'ARMEE CHINOISE.

NOUS SAVONS QUE DE NOMBREUX AUTRES PAYS ONT EGALEMENT EXPRIME LEUR REPULSION DEVANT LES TRAGIQUES PERTES DE VIE CAUSEES PAR L'AUSSAUT MILITAIRE SUR LES MANIFESTANTS ETUDIANTS ET CEUX QUI LES APPUIENT. LE MONDE ENTIER NE PEUT ETRE QUE SIDERE DEVANT L'AMPLEUR DE LA TRAGEDIE. NOUS OFFRONS NOS SYMPATHIES LES PLUS PROFONDES AUX FAMILLES DES VICTIMES.

L'HISTOIRE NOUS APPREND TOUTEFOIS QUE DE TELLES MESURES DE REPRESSION NE PREVAUDRONT PAS NECESSAIREMENT DEVANT LE COURAGE D'UNE POPULATION TOUT ENTIERE. LE DESIR DE VOIR INSTAURER UN SYSTEME POLITIQUE PLUS OVERT ET PLUS REPRESENTATIF NE SERA PAS FACILEMENT REPRIME POUR LES MILLIONS DE CHINOIS QUI ONT PARTICIPE

AUX RECENTES MANIFESTATIONS, EN DEPIT DU PRIX DEMESURE QUE CERTAINS ONT DU PAYER POUR LEURS CONVICTIONS.

DURANT LA DERNIERE DECENNIE, LA CHINE A "OUVERT LA PORTE" SUR L'OCCIDENT ET S'EST ENGAGEE DANS DE TRES IMPORTANTES REFORMES ECONOMIQUES: CES PROGRES NOUS AVAIENT DONNE L'ESPOIR QUE LA NATION LA PLUS POPULEUSE AU MONDE SERAIT EGALEMENT CAPABLE DE REpondre A L'APPEL DE SES ETUDIANTS QUI DEMANDENT UNE PLUS GRANDE OUVERTURE POLITIQUE. NOUS CONTINUONS D'ESPERER QUE LE PAYS NE S'EST PAS ENGAGE DE FACON IRREVERSIBLE DANS UNE AUTRE VOIE.

LE CANADA ENTRETIENT DEPUIS LONGTEMPS DES LIENS AVEC LA CHINE. DE NOMBREUX CANADIENS DOIVENT LEUR SUBSISTANCE AU COMMERCE AVEC LA CHINE. AYANT UNE FENETRE OUVERTE SUR LE PACIFIQUE, NOTRE PAYS PARTICIPE DE PLUS EN PLUS EN PLUS AUX AFFAIRES TRANS-PACIFIQUES. EN OUTRE, LA COMMUNAUTE CANADIENNE D'ORIGINE CHINOISE AJOUUTE UNE IMPORTANTE DIMENSION A NOS INTERETS ENVERS LA CHINE. JE SAIS QU'UN GRAND NOMBRE DE PERSONNES DE CETTE COMMUNAUTE ONT DES PARENTS EN CHINE ET JE PARTAGE LEURS INQUIETUDES QUANT AU BIEN-ETRE DES CES PERSONNES QUI LEUR SONT CHERES. CE QUI SE PASSE EN CHINESE NE PEUT LAISSER

LE CANADA ET LES CANADIENS INDIFFERENTS. LES EFFORTS DEPLOYES PAR LES MEDIAS POUR ATTIRER L'ATTENTION SUR CE QUI SE DERoule DANS LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DE CHINE ET LA REponse DES CANADIENS METTENT EN LUMIERE LE FAIT QUE LA DISTANCE NE SAURAIT DIMINUER NO INQUETUDES.

NOUS ATTACHONS LA PLUS HAUTE IMPORTANCE A LA SECURITE DE LA COMMUNAUTE CANADIENNE EN CHINE; NOUS SUIVONS LA SITUATION DE CELLE-CI DE TRES PRES ET NOUS LUI ACCORDONS LA PLUS GRANDE PRIORITE EN COLLABORATION AVEC NOTRE AMBASSADE A BEIJING ET NOTRE CONSULAT GENERAL A SHANGHAI.

NOUS SOMMES HEUREUX D'APPRENDRE QUE LES MESURES NECESSAIRES SONT PRISES POUR ASSURER LA PROTECTION DES CANADIENS EN CHINE.

NOUS REEXAMINONS EGALEMENT EN TOUTE PRIORITE NOTRE RELATION BILATERALE AVEC LA CHINE POUR ETRE SURS QUE LES AUTORITIES CHINOISES COMPRENENT CLAIREMENT NOS PREOCCUPATIONS CONCERNANT LA SITUATION DES DROITS DE LA PERSONNE DANS CE PAYS.

D'APRES LES EVENEMENTS DES DERNIERES SEMAINES, IL Y A DES SIGNES QUE LE MOUVEMENT DE PROTESTATION DES ETUDIANTS A SOULEVE DE GRANDS DEBATS PARMIS LES DIRIGEANTS CHINOIS. PENDANT LES PREMIERS MOMENTS DES MANIFESTATIONS, LE GOUVERNEMENT CHINOIS A FAIT PREUVE DE BEAUCOUP DE RETENUE DEVANT LE MECONTENTEMENT DES ETUDIANTS. QU'IL EST MALHEUREUX QUE LA PRUDENCE DES PREMIERS JOURS AIT CEDE A L'EXERCICE DE LA FORCE BRUTE; QU'IL EST MALHEUREUX QUE LA POSSIBILITE DE NEGOCIATION AIT ETE ECARTEE EN FAVEUR DES CANONS.

LES DROITS DE LA PERSONNE ET LES DROITS DEMOCRATIQUES FONDAMENTAUX SONT AU CENTRE DE LA POLITIQUE ETRANGERE DU CANADA, QUEL QUE SOIT L'ENDOIT OU CES VALEURS SONT MENACEES. NOUS NE POUVONS PASSER SOUS SILENCE LES EVENEMENTS DES DERNIERS JOURS EN CHINE. JE SAIS QUE TOUS LES DEPUTES ICI AUJOURD'HUI PARTAGENT MON ANGOISSE DEVANT LA SOUFFRANCE DES ETUDIANTS ET DES CITOYENS DE BEIJING.



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PNC	BMM/C-5 (1)	
	bfd/C-2 (1)	
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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

- On June 3 and 4 the Chinese military violently suppressed the student demonstrations in Peking, with heavy loss of life. Our strong reaction to the tragic loss of life has been made public. The China - Canada relationship is being urgently reviewed in view of recent events.

Source: Telegrams from our missions in China, and media reports.

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

Confidential

- On June 4 and 5 the Chinese military undertook a brutal suppression of unarmed demonstrators in Peking.
- The loss of life has been heavy, estimated at between 1000 and 3000 dead with a much greater number injured.
- There is evidence of continued dissension at the highest levels of the Party and military concerning the use of force.
- President Bush at a June 5 press conference announced the suspension of USA military sales to the PRC; sympathetic consideration of asylum for Chinese students in the USA; an offer of humanitarian assistance through the Chinese Red Cross; and a review of the bilateral relationship.
- French, Australian and U.K. leaders have also made strong condemnatory statements regarding the situation in Peking.
- The two News Releases issued over the weekend are attached.
- The Chinese Ambassador was called in at noon on June 5 and told of our deep concern over the events of June 3 and 4.
- We are urgently reviewing our bilateral relationship with China to identify specific measures which might be taken to convey to the Chinese authorities the seriousness with which we view the current situation.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- As noted in my June 3 and 4 News Releases we are deeply concerned over the tragic loss of life in China due to the violent suppression of unarmed demonstrators by the Chinese military.
- The Chinese Ambassador was summoned on June 4 and the Acting Under-Secretary of External Affairs conveyed to him the reaction of the Canadian Government to the current situation.
- We have no reports of Canadians who have been hurt in the violence in Peking, but are actively reviewing possible contingency plans.
- We are reviewing our bilateral relationship with China in view of recent developments.
- We are prepared to sympathetically consider requests from Chinese students in Canada to extend their stay here.

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	FOR FILING POUR — ETRE POSER AU DOSSIER
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FILE 20-CHINA-1-4	DOSSIER

Prepared by / Préparé par

GORDON HOULDEN

Division / Direction

PNR

Date

5 June 89

Tel. no. / N° de tél.

996-0980 000376

# News Release

# Communiqué

Department of  
External  
Affairs



Ministère des  
Affaires  
extérieures

No. 125

June 3, 1989.

## MINISTER CLARK COMMENTS ON VIOLENCE IN BEIJING

Late this evening Beijing time, the Chinese authorities began to use what appears to have been significant military force to deal with the situation in the streets of Beijing. It is now clear that people are being killed in substantial numbers. Fighting continues in Tiananmen Square, and confrontations continue in streets approaching the city centre.

Commenting on the violence, the Secretary of State for External Affairs the Right Honourable Joe Clark said "We greatly regret that, following a period of evident restraint, the Chinese authorities initiated the use of force. It is clear that because of this, lives are being lost unnecessarily and the situation is being made more confrontational and intractable. We call on the Chinese Government to cease its military action and to return to peaceful methods to resolve the current crisis."

The Department of External Affairs remains in constant contact with the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. As far as we are aware, no Canadians are in any danger.

- 30 -

Secretary of State  
for  
External Affairs

Secrétaire d'État  
aux  
Affaires extérieures

Canada

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# News Release

Department of  
External  
Affairs



# Communiqué

Ministère des  
Affaires  
extérieures

No. 126

June 4, 1989.

## FURTHER DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN BEIJING

The last twenty-four hours in Beijing have seen a serious deterioration in the current civil crisis. It is evident that thousands of people have been killed and many more wounded. The streets of Beijing remain violent, and the situation volatile and tense.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs the Right Honourable Joe Clark condemned the army's actions, saying "We can only express horror and outrage at the senseless violence and the tragic loss of life resulting from the indiscriminate and brutal use of force against the students and citizens of Beijing. We are witnessing violence at a scale and scope that can only shock and offend all Canadians. The actions of the Chinese military are inexcusable. We once again call upon the Chinese Government to urgently and immediately take steps to stop the aggressive and senseless killing by its armed forces."

At noon today, the Department called in the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China. The Acting Under-Secretary of External Affairs conveyed to him the reaction of the Canadian Government to the current situation.

The Department of External Affairs remains in constant contact with the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. The Embassy has warned Canadians in Beijing to remain indoors until further notice. The Department considers prudent the delaying of any planned travel by visitors to Beijing until the situation is calmer.

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Secretary of State  
for  
External Affairs

Secrétaire d'État  
aux  
Affaires extérieures

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**ACTION  
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---CHINESE ACTION AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS - NORWEGIAN REACTION  
 OVER WEEKEND(SUNDAY 04JUN) FM STOLTENBERG CALLED IN CHINESE AMB  
 AND PRESENTED HIM WITH A STATEMENT(LATER RELEASED TO PRESS)  
 DECLARING THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN PEKING IS TRAGIC AND QUOTE WE  
 CONDEMN USE OF MILITARY VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIAN POPULATION.THE  
 EVENTS CAST DARK SHADOWS ON REFORM POLICY.DEVELOPMENTS OVER PAST  
 MONTHS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT SUCH A POLICY PRESUPPOSES INTERNAL  
 STABILITY BASED ON A RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC  
 REFORMS.I CALL ON CHINESE AUTHORITIES TO STOP THE USE OF VIOLENCE  
 UNQUOTE.

2.AT SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE STOLTENBERG SAID THAT QUOTE IT  
 WAS NOT/NOT OF CURRENT INTEREST TO RECALL THE NORWEGIAN AMB IN  
 PEKING NOR/NOR TO SET OTHER INITIATIVES IN MOTION TO STRENGTHEN  
 NORWAYS REACTION TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE STUDENTS  
 UNQUOTE.IN THE SHORT TERM STOLTENBERG SAID THAT HE DID NOT/NOT  
 THINK THAT THE EVENTS IN CHINA WOULD AFFECT THE ONGOING DIALOGUE  
 BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

3.PRESS AND TV COVERAGE HAS BEEN MASSIVE WITH SHOCKING PHOTOS  
 DEPICTING BLOODIED VICTIMS OF MILITARY.

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4. IN AN INTERVIEW UPON HER RETURN FROM NYORK PM BRUNDTLAND CONFIRMED THAT NORWAY WOULD NOT/NOT RECALL ITS AMB IN PEKING FOR CONSULTATIONS. HE WOULD STAY IN PEKING TO OBSERVE AND REPORT DEVELOPMENTS. TO DATE NORWEGIAN GOVT ATTITUDE HAS BEEN TO CONDEMN VIOLENCE BUT NOT/NOT TAKE ANY ACTION THAT WOULD SERIOUSLY IMPAIR SINO-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS IN LONGER TERM.

5. MORE THAN 100 YOUTHS, PRINCIPALLY CHINESE STUDENTS STAGED MARCH, TO EXPRESS THEIR SYMPATHY FOR THEIR COMPATRIOTS IN SQUARE OF HEAVENLY PEACE, FROM CHINESE EMB TO STORTING (PARLIAMENT) WHERE THEY SAT SILENTLY (MANY IN TEARS) MOST OF DAY. IT WAS DIGNIFIED AND PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION AND RECEIVED WIDE MEDIA COVERAGE AND DEEPLY IMPRESSED NORWEGIAN POPULACE.

5. RECTORS FROM FOUR UNIVERSITIES HAVE ALSO SENT MESSAGES OF PROTEST TO CHINESE GOVT.

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**ACTION  
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INFO PEKIN TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMP

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---UNREST IN PRC-HKONG REACTION

SUMMARY:HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS DEMONSTRATED IN STREETS OF HKONG YESTERDAY IN PROTEST TO TRAGIC LOSS OF LIFE IN BEIJING OVER WEEKEND.AGAIN DEMONSTRATORS HAVE CALLED FOR RESIGNATION OF LI PENG.GOVERNOR ISSUED TWO STATEMENTS CONDEMNING VIOLENCE AND PRAISED LOCAL POPULATION FOR THEIR CALM AND RESTRAINT IN EXPRESSING THEIR FEELINGS.AT 1600 HRS TODAY HANG SENG INDEX STOOD AT 2095,579 POINTS DOWN FROM FRIDAYS CLOSING,LARGEST DROP SINCE CRASH OF 87.

REPORT:2.FOR THIRD SUNDAY IN A ROW,HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF HKONG RESIDENTS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES. FOCUS OF YESTERDAYS PROTEST WAS TO EXPRESS ANGER AT MASSACRE THAT TOOK PLACE IN BEIJING.YET AGAIN IN VERY PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY MANNER,PROTESTERS HAVE ASKED FOR RESIGNATION OF LI PENG.RALLY WAS

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ORGANIZED BY ALL HKONG ALLIANCE IN SUPPORT OF PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT IN CHINA. THEY CALLED FOR STRIKE TO BE HELD WEDNESDAY BUT INSISTED THAT LOCAL GOVT AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, PARTICULARLY BANKS SHOULD NOT/NOT STOP WORK.

3. GOVERNOR OF HKONG, SIR DAVID WILSON ISSUED TWO STATEMENTS ON SUNDAY, A FIRST ONE IN MORNING EXPRESSING HIS SADNESS AND SHOCK AND A SECOND ONE IN AFTERNOON CONVEYING HIS HORROR AND ANGER AT LOSS OF LIFE IN BEIJING. HE ALSO PRAISED POPULATION OF HKONG FOR ITS ORDER AND RESTRAINT IN EXPRESSION OF ITS FEELINGS. GOVERNOR ALSO REASSURED OVERSEAS CHINESE THAT HKONG WOULD CONTINUE TO SHOW RESTRAINT. SIR DAVID HAS DECIDED TO POSTPONE HIS TRIP TO LDN AND HAD ASKED FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE NOW HOLDING HEARINGS ON HKONG TO POSTPONE HIS APPEARANCE UNTIL NEXT WEEK.

4. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR ANGER AT EVENTS IN BEIJING AND URGED PRC GOVT NOT/NOT TO USE MILITARY AGAINST CIVILIANS.

5. THEIR CALL WAS ECHOED BY SIX LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES TO NATIONAL PEOPLES CONGRESS WHO EXPRESSED THEIR OPPOSITION TO USE FORCE.

6. BASIC LAW CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT CONSULTATION PERIOD ON SECOND DRAFT DUE TO END 30 JUN WOULD BE EXTENDED; THEY DID NOT/NOT SAY UNTIL WHEN. THREE PROMINENT MEMBERS OF BASIC LAW DRAFTING COMMITTEE (BLDC) HAVE MADE PUBLIC THEIR INTENTION NOT/NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY FURTHER WORK ON DRAFTING OF BASIC LAW WHILE

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PAGE THREE XBGR0453 CONFD

CURRENT ADMINISTRATION IN BEIJING IS POWER. DRAFTERS ARE MARIE TAM, MARTIN LEE AND SZETO WAH. THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT/NOT RESIGNING FROM BLDC.

7. IN LDN, PM THATCHER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY MADE STATEMENTS EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER EVENTS IN BEIJING AND REITERATING THEIR JOINT COMMITMENT WITH PRC TO GUARANTEE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF HKONG. SOME OPPOSITION MEMBERS HAVE ASKED FOR THE SCRAPPING OF SINO-BRITISH JOINT DECLARATION ON FUTURE OF HKONG-1984, WHILE OTHERS HAVE ASKED FOR MORATORIUM ON DATE ON 01JUL97 FOR HANDING OVER OF SOVEREIGNTY. CALLS HAVE BEEN ISSUED IN HKONG AND LDN FOR GRANTING OF RIGHT OF ABODE IN UK FOR 3.5 M HOLDERS OF BRITISH PPT IN HKONG.

8. FINANCIAL MARKETS HAVE REACTED EXTREMELY NERVOUSLY TO SITUATION. THOUSANDS ARE REPORTED TO HAVE WITHDRAWN THEIR DEPOSITS FROM BANK OF CHINA GROUP BRANCHES THROUGHOUT TERRITORY. SECRETARY FOR MONETARY AFFAIRS ISSUED STATEMENT ASKING PEOPLE TO SHOW RESTRAINT AND USE OTHER MEANS TO SHOW THEIR DISSATISFACTION; CLOSE INTERRELATION AMONG BANK NETWORK MAKES HKONG FIRST VICTIM OF SUCH WITHDRAWALS. GOVT IS PREPARED TO EXTEND HKDLR 194M LINE OF CREDIT TO BANK OF CHINA TO COPE WITH SITUATION, BUT ARE CONFIDENT THAT BANK OF CHINA CAN HANDLE SITUATION. AT 1600HRS HANG SENG INDEX HAD PLUNGED 579 TO 2095 LARGEST DROP SINCE SEP87.

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**ACTION  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3485 05JUN89

TO EXTOTT (PNR ISEW FLASH

INFO HKONG TOKYO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO CNBRA

SEOUL KLMPR SPORE JKRTA PCOOTT/IAC CIDAHULL BSC

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR MINA USS DMC PGB PND PNC PGP JIS INP CPP CPD ISS

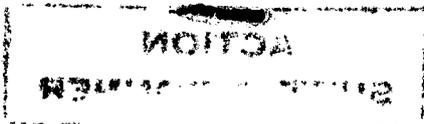
REF OURTEL WJGR3483 02JUN

---PEKIN SITU UNSTABLE AS NEITHER ARMY NOR GOVT CONTROL CITY

SUMMARY: PEKIN TODAY IS IN STATE OF SHOCK AND ANGER AFTER CARNAGE IN TIANANMEN SQUARE AND ELSEWHERE OVER LAST 36 HRS. SITU REMAINS CONFUSED AND VERY TENSE AS TROOPS AND ARMOURED VEHICLES CONTINUE TO POUR INTO CITY, FIRING THEIR GUNS TO CLEAR THE STREETS. ESTIMATES OF YESTERDAYS CASUALTIES VARY BUT DEATHS ALONE ARE PROBABLY WELL OVER 1000/1000. PARTY AND GOVT ISSUED STATEMENT TODAY CLAIMING QUOTE INITIAL VICTORY UNQUOTE IN SUPPRESSING A COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY REVOLT BUT WARNED THAT IT IS NOT/NOT YET COMPLETELY CRUSHED. THOUGH TROOPS CONTROL IMMEDIATE AREAS AROUND THEM, THEY ARE FAR FROM BEING ABLE TO CONTROL CITY AS A WHOLE. CITIZENS BARRICADES REMAIN AT MANY INTERSECTIONS. OVER 100 TANKS AND ARMOURED VEHICLES HAVE BEEN PUT OUT OF ACTION AND CROWDS ARE BURNING THOSE THAT HAVE NOT/NOT ALREADY BEEN DESTROYED. AT 1300 HRS THERE WAS MORE FIRING AS CROWDS GATHERED AGAIN IN TIANANMEN. SITU COULD EASILY DETERIORATE AS CITIZENS PROCURE CAPTURED WEAPONS AND ARMY FINIS

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f (ITSELF FIGHTING 10,000,000 OF ITS OWN CITIZENS. TODAY CDN AND OTHER EMBS HAVE EVACUATED STUDENTS FROM UNIVERSITY DISTRICT WHICH COULD BE SITE OF FURTHER VIOLENCE. AT TIME OF WRITING, NEITHER ARMY NOR/NOR GOVT CONTROLS PEKIN AND CROWD HOSTILITY TOWARDS OCCUPYING FORCES IS GROWING. SITU IS VERY UNSTABLE.

2. REPORT: PEKIN IS IN STATE OF SHOCK AND ANGER AFTER YESTERDAYS CARNAGE. ESTIMATES OF THOSE KILLED VARY AND ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY BUT MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT WELL OVER 1000/1000 STUDENTS AND OTHER CITIZENS, INCLUDING CHILDREN AND ELDERLY, DIED. EYEWITNESSES HAVE REPORTED LINES OF STUDENTS WITH LINKED ARMS MOWN DOWN BY MACHINE GUN FIRE AND CORPSES PURPOSELY CRUSHED BY TANKS (ONE PRESUMES TO HINDER IDENTIFICATION). ACTIONS SUCH AS THESE HAVE REVOLTED AND ANGERED ENTIRE POPULATION. IN MANY PARTS OF CITY DISABLED MILITARY VEHICLES ARE BEING SET ABLAZE BY ENRAGED CITIZENRY AND CROWDS HAVE AGAIN HAD TO BE REPELLED FROM TIANANMEN WITH BULLETS. CONVOYS OF MILITARY VEHICLES ROAM MAJOR ARTERIES AND ARE OBLIGED TO FIRE WEAPONS IN ORDER TO CLEAR STREETS IN FRONT OF THEM. MOST SHOPS ARE CLOSED AND THERE IS ALMOST NO/NO PUBLIC TRANSPORT. ARMY IS OBVIOUSLY NOT/NOT IN CONTROL OF SITU BUT NEITHER IS GOVT, SINCE NO/NO CURFEW HAS BEEN IMPOSED TO PREVENT UNNECESSARY KILLING. IN FACE OF RISING HOSTILITY OF POPULATION AND LACK OF OVERALL CONTROL, SITU IS EXTREMELY UNSTABLE.

3. EARLY THIS MORNING RADIO BROADCAST STATEMENT FROM PARTY CENTRAL

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CTTEE AND STATE COUNCIL.STATEMENT SAID THAT ARMY HAD WON QUOTE INITIAL VICTORY IN SUPPRESSING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REVOLT UNQUOTE BUT THAT REVOLT WAS NOT/NOT YET COMPLETELY CRUSHED.IT VOWED TO STRUGGLE WITH RIOTERS,WHOM IT DESCRIBED AS QUOTE SMALL GROUP OF THUGS UNQUOTE,TO THE END.STATEMENT DETAILED ACTIONS OF THIS QUOTE SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE UNQUOTE:THEY OBSTRUCTED MARTIAL LAW TROOPS FROM ENTERING CITY;DESTROYED AND BURNED OVER 100 MILITARY AND PUBLIC VEHICLES;INSULTED,ATTACKED AND KIDNAPPED TROOPS AND ARMED POLICE;SEIZED WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION;ATTACKED CCP HQ,POLICE HQ AND RADIO AND TV STATIONS;ETC.THEY HAVE ALSO INHUMANLY KILLED AND INJURED MANY TENS OF TROOPS AND ARMED POLICE,EVEN HANGING CORPSES ON VIADUCT RAILINGS.(LATTER AS WELL AS OTHER BRUTUAL ACTS HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED BY OTHER SOURCES.)SAME GROUP IS ACCUSED OF TAKING UP ARMS,OVERTHROWING GOVT AND CALLING FOR MURDER OF 47 MILLION CCP MEMBERS.

4.IN SAME BROADCAST,A LETTER FROM MILITARY COMMAND TO TROOPS WHO CARRIED OUT YESTERDAYS BUTCHERY CONGRATULATED THEM ON WINNING A MAJOR VICTORY BUT SAID THAT STRUGGLE IS COMPLEX AND PROTRACTED.

5.RUMOURS ARE RIFE AND IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE FACT FROM FICTION.ONE UNCONFIRMED REPORT BUT ONE WHICH IS WIDELY BELIEVED IS THAT TROOPS RESPONSIBLE FOR YESTERDAYS CARNAGE ARE 27TH ARMY LED BY SON-IN-LAW OF YANG SHANGKUN AND ARE FIERCELY LOYAL TO HIM.MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT NONE/NONE OF MARTIAL LAW TROOPS

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ARE FROM PEKIN. ANOTHER RUMOUR WHICH HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED FROM A HOSPITAL NURSE IS THAT DENG XIAOPING DIED TODAY. HE WAS RUMOURED TO HAVE BEEN ILL AND HIS DEATH, IF TRUE, COULD HAVE INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES.

6. PRES OF EC AMBASSADORS TODAY ASKED MFA WHAT MEASURES WERE BEING TAKEN TO ASSURE SAFETY OF FOREIGNERS IN PEKIN. REPLY FROM MFA WAS THAT QUOTE IT WAS NOT/NOT CONVENIENT TO PROVIDE REPLY UNQUOTE. EMB CONVOY RETURNING WITH STUDENTS STOPPED BY SOLDIERS WHO WOULD NOT/NOT LET FOREIGNERS THROUGH AND WERE VERY HOSTILE. CONVOY FOUND ITS WAY BACK TO EMB, ALL SAFE.

7. IN VIEW OF ABOVE, CDN AND OTHER EMBASSIES HAVE EVACUATED STUDENTS FROM UNIVERSITY DISTRICT WHICH COULD BECOME ANOTHER SITE OF VIOLENCE WITH STUDENTS DIVIDED ON WHETHER TO FIGHT ARMY OR RETIRE SHOULD THEY ENTER CAMPUSES. MOST UNIV CAMPUSES HAVE DECORATED ENTRANCES WITH FUNERAL WREATHS AND MAJORITY OF STUDENTS VOW TO RESIST UNTIL DEATH. INNATL SCHOOL HAS DECIDED TO CLOSE FOR YEAR AND IN NEXT 24 HRS EMB WILL DECIDE ON WHETHER TO EVACUATE NON/NON ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL.

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MESSAGE

Accession/Référence  
**604381/890606**  
File/Dossier  
**20-1-2-CHINA**  
**20-CHINA-1-4**

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SECURITY / SÉCURITÉ: UNCLASSIFIED  
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FM/DE FROM EXTOTT PNR1540 05JUN89  
TO/À TO PEKIN **DELIVER BY 061600**  
INFO WSHDC MOSCO SHNGHI HKONG TOKYO SEOUL MANIL JKRTA BNGKK CNBRA  
DISTR WLGTN DELHI ROME BONN BNATO PARIS LDN SPORE **PRMNY COAHULL MINE**  
REF DISTR MINA MINP MINT ~~MINE~~ USS DMC DMT PGB EFB UGB RGB BCB PND PSD  
SUBJ/SUJ PGP PSR PNC IND INP CPD CPP JID JFB JIS JIC JIM  
---STATEMENT OF THE SSEA IN HOUSE OF COMMONS ON CRISIS IN PRC  
SSEA MADE STATEMENT ON SITUATION IN CHINA IN HOUSE OF COMMONS THIS  
EVENING (2045 OTTAWA TIME) DURING EMERGENCY DEBATE ON CHINESE  
CRISIS.  
2. TEXT OF STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS QUOTE  
MR SPEAKER, I KNOW THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE, AND INDEED ALL  
CANADIANS, SHARE WITH ME A DEEPLY-FELT SENSE OF HORROR AND OUTRAGE  
AT THE EVENTS THAT HAVE UNFOLDED OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS IN CHINA.  
(PARA) WE HAVE WATCHED A COUNTRY'S ARMED FORCES TURN ON ITS OWN  
CITIZENS IN AN INDISCRIMINATE AND BRUTAL FASHION. WE HAVE SEEN  
UNARMED STUDENTS AND CITIZENS GUNNED DOWN AND OVER-RUN BY TANKS. WE  
HAVE WITNESSED TROOPS SHOOTING FROM BEHIND AT FLEEING CROWDS. WE  
HAVE HEARD OF MILITARY UNITS DEALING SUMMARILY WITH EVEN NON-VIOLENT  
ACTS OF RESISTENCE. TIANANMEN SQUARE, WHICH HAS BEEN THE SITE SO  
MANY IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS OVER THE DECADES AND CENTURIES, NOW  
ADDS TO ITS LEGACY ONE OF THE MOST TRAGIC OCCURANCES OF MODERN  
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*HRBull*  
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CHINA.

(PARA) MR SPEAKER, THE SITUATION IS EVOLVING VERY RAPIDLY. THE LATEST NEWS WE HAVE FROM OUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING ONLY MINUTES AGO IS THAT THE VIOLENCE STARTED IN THE CHINESE CAPITAL IS SPREADING ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THERE IS GROWING EVIDENCE THAT THE MILITARY IS AT ODDS WITH ITSELF AND WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS THAT THERE IS NOW FIGHTING BETWEEN VARIOUS FACTIONS OF THE MILITARY. THE APPEARANCE IS ONE OF MILITARY CHAOS. THOSE FORCES WHO UNLEASHED THE INITIAL PROGRAM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE STUDENTS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE APPEAR TO HAVE SET IN TRAIN A CHAIN OF VIOLENCE THAT CANNOT NOW BE EASILY CONTAINED.

(PARA) HOW COULD THIS HAVE HAPPENED? WE HAD HOPED AND BELIEVED THAT CHINA WAS ON THE ROAD TO EXTENSIVE AND FUNDAMENTAL REFORM. FOR ELEVEN YEARS THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN PURSUING A RANGE OF POLICIES AIMED AT OPENING CHINA UP TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. HALLMARKS OF THIS WELCOME REVERSAL OF EARLIER CENTRALISM AND ISOLATIONISM HAVE BEEN THE DECENTRALIZATION OF DECISION-MAKING, THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, AND THE WELCOMING OF INCREASED TRADE AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES WITH CANADA AND OTHER WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

(PARA) DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS WE HAVE ALSO SEEN WELCOME CHANGE ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, EVEN IF THE DEPTH OF REFORM HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT LESS THAN IN ECONOMIC AREAS. WE HAVE SEEN MORE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, MORE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, MORE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, LESS CONTROL ON TRAVEL, MORE FLEXIBLE POLICIES ON EMIGRATION, AND EVEN SOME TENTATIVE SIGNS OF WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTION EXPRESSED THROUGH VEHICLES OTHER THAN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.



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(PARA) INDEED, THE LAST FEW WEEKS OF POLITICAL DIFFICULTY WERE IN SOME WAYS A GREAT SIGNAL OF THE STRIDES CHINA HAD SEEMED TO HAVE TAKEN. STUDENTS IN GREAT NUMBERS WERE TOLERATED IN THE NON-VIOLENT EXPRESSION OF THEIR DESIRE FOR FURTHER CHANGE. THEIR CRIES FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY, FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BASIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS APPEARED TO BE GETTING THROUGH TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND WE WATCHED SOME OF CHINA'S LEADERS EXPRESS SYMPATHY, UNDERSTANDING, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY RESPECT, FOR THE OBJECTIVES AND INTENTIONS OF THE STUDENTS. THESE WERE POSITIVE SIGNS OF A NATION IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE, AND MANY AMONG US BELIEVED THAT CHINA WOULD SOMEHOW MANAGE THIS PRESSURE FOR SUCH CHANGE BY BECOMING MORE DEMOCRATIC, MORE OPEN AND MORE RESPECTFUL OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.

(PARA) WHEN THE TANKS AND THE TROOPS MOVED INTO TIANANMEN SQUARE ON SATURDAY NIGHT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE FORCES OF DARKNESS AND NOT OF LIGHT HAD TRIUMPHED. IT WAS CLEAR THAT LEADERS WHO HAD URGED RESTRAINT WERE BEING BRUSHED ASIDE. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE INTERESTS OF A FEW WERE BEING PLACED AHEAD OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE MANY. IT IS VERY MUCH IN PART BECAUSE OF THE GREAT STRIDES FORWARD CHINA HAS TAKEN OVER THE LAST DECADE THAT THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW DAYS ARE SO TRAGIC FOR CHINA. AND SO TRAGIC FOR THOSE PRINCIPLES AND FREEDOMS WHICH WE HOLD DEAR AND WHICH WE HAD THOUGHT WERE STARTING TO FIND THEIR PROPER PLACE IN CHINESE POLITICAL LIFE AS WELL.

(PARA) — — MR SPEAKER, CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO BE IMPORTANT TO US. IN 1970, WE WERE AMONG THE EARLIEST OF WESTERN COUNTRIES TO REESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AFTER ALMOST TWO DECADES OF ISOLATION. SINCE THAT



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TIME OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS GROWN TO THE POINT WHERE WHAT HAPPENS IN CHINA IS OF VERY REAL AND DIRECT CONCERN TO CANADIANS FROM EVERY PART OF THIS COUNTRY AND FROM EVERY WALK OF LIFE. EXCHANGES WITH CHINA OF SCIENTISTS, STUDENTS, CULTURAL GROUPS, SPORTING TEAMS, CIRCUSES AND EVEN PANDAS HAVE BECOME COMMON AND HAVE BEEN WELCOMED BY CANADIANS AND CHINESE ALIKE. CANADIAN PROVINCES AND CITIES HAVE BECOME TWINNED WITH CHINESE COUNTERPARTS, AND THE RESULTING WE HAVE TALKED WITH SENIOR CHINESE LEADERS HOW WE CAN COLLECTIVELY ADDRESS ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN, BE THEY REGIONAL DISPUTES, PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, OR WAYS TO MAKE THE WORLD'S TRADING SYSTEM MORE SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF BOTH OF OUR ECONOMIES. OUR TRADE HAS BENEFITTED BOTH ECONOMIES, OUR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM HAS SERVED TO INCREASE CHINA'S ABILITY TO MODERNIZE AND HAS ADDITIONALLY SERVED TO INTRODUCE THE CHINESE TO CANADIAN WAYS OF DOING THINGS. I BELIEVE VERY DEEPLY THAT THE BREADTH AND INTENSITY OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA HAS ENRICHED BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES.

(PARA) THE EXTENT OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CANADIANS AND CHINESE THAT HAS GROWN OVER THE LAST DECADE MAKES THE CARNAGE IN THE STREETS OF CHINA'S CAPITAL PARTICULARLY SAD AND PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT WITHOUT ANY RESPONSE. AS WE EXAMINE WHAT OUR RESPONSE SHOULD BE, HOWEVER, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT WE STILL CHERISH OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE, THAT WE ARE NOT GOING TO BECOME "ANTI-CHINA", THAT OUR CONDEMNATION AND OUR OUTRAGE SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON THE VIOLENT AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS THAT WE CANNOT AND WILL NEVER CONDONE AND ON THOSE WHO INITIATED AND ENCOURAGED THOSE ACTIONS.



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(PARA) MR SPEAKER, AS SOON AS THE MILITARY STRIKE AGAINST THE CIVILIANS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE BECAME KNOWN TO US ON SATURDAY WE MADE CLEAR OUR ABHORENCE AT THE UNNECESSARY AND INDISCRIMINATE USE OF FORCE BEING USED AGAINST UNARMED STUDENTS AND CITIZENS. AS THE EVENTS UNFOLDED AND THE EXTENT OF THE VIOLENCE AND THE KILLING BECAME CLEAR, WE CALLED ON THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS "TO URGENTLY AND IMMEDIATELY TAKE STEPS TO STOP THE AGGRESSIVE AND SENSELESS KILLING BY ITS ARMED FORCES". YESTERDAY AT NOON I HAD THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR CALLED TO MY DEPARTMENT TO UNDERLINE THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE VIEWED THE SITUATION AND TO ENSURE THAT HE PASSED TO HIS AUTHORITIES OUR CALL FOR A STOP TO THE KILLING AND THE DEPTH OF OUR OUTRAGE.

(PARA) WE HAVE NOT BEEN ALONE IN CALLING ON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO STOP THE CARNAGE AND TO RETURN TO PEACEFUL METHODS TO RESOLVE THEIR POLITICAL CRISIS. MOST WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, GOVERNMENTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD, EVEN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES, HAVE JOINED IN CONDEMNING THE BRUTALITY OF THE METHODS CHOSEN TO CLEAR TIANANMEN SQUARE AND TO CRUSH ALL AND EVERY EXPRESSION OF DISSENT BY THE STUDENTS AND OTHER CIVILIANS ONCE THE MILITARY ACTION HAD BEGUN.

(PARA) ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED, AND INDEED SUCH A REQUEST MAY BE UNLIKELY, THE GOVERNMENT REMAINS READY TO OFFER HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OR MEDICAL SUPPLIES IF NEEDED.

(PARA) IN ASSESSING THE ACTIONS WHICH SHOULD ACCOMPANY OUR CONDEMNATION OF THE VIOLENCE AND THE KILLINGS, WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD CANADIAN LIVES AS WELL AS THE NEED TO BUILD



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PRESSURE ON THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

(PARA) AT THE TIME OF THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE, THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY SIX HUNDRED CANADIANS RESIDENT IN CHINA, ROUGHLY HALF OF WHOM WERE IN BEIJING. IN ADDITION, THERE WERE A NUMBER OF BUSINESS VISITORS AND TOURISTS SCATTERED AROUND THE COUNTRY. OUR FIRST CONCERN, BECAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE, HAS BEEN THE SECURITY OF THOSE IN THE CAPITAL. AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE IN CASE OF FURTHER MILITARY ACTION AGAINST THE UNIVERSITIES, OUR EMBASSY EVACUATED ALL CANADIANS FROM THE CITY CAMPUSES, AND IS CURRENTLY PROVIDING TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION TO THE SEVENTY-FIVE OR SO STUDENTS AFFECTED. WE ARE IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH OUR AMBASSADOR, EARL DRAKE, AND WE HAVE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR THE EVACUATION FROM BEIJING FOR THE STUDENTS, OTHER CANADIANS, AND THE STAFF OF THE EMBASSY SHOULD IT PROVE ADVISABLE. WE ARE PUTTING INTO PLACE ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY AIRCRAFT CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO US AT SHORT NOTICE FOR RELOCATING CANADIANS TO NEARBY ASIAN CITIES, AND ONWARD TRANSPORTATION ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING EXPLORED.

(PARA) IN FACT, GIVEN THE FACT THAT MOST OF THE VIOLENCE SEEMS CONCENTRATED AT PRESENT IN THE BEIJING AREA, MR. SPEAKER, WE HAVE JUST DECIDED ABOUT AN HOUR AGO TO ADVISE CANADIANS TO LEAVE BEIJING NOW. OUR EMBASSY WILL BE ASSISTING THEM IN MAKING THEIR DEPARTURE. I WILL OF COURSE KEEP THE HOUSE ADVISED IF WE DECIDE TO PROCEED WITH A MORE COMPLETE EVACUATION.

(PARA) WITH RESPECT TO BILATERAL ACTIONS THAT WE MIGHT TAKE IN RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS, WE HAVE ALREADY DEFERRED OR CANCELLED ALL EVENTS THAT WERE PLANNED FOR THE COMING WEEKS.



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(PARA) WE HAVE POSTPONED THE SIGNING OF A SERIES OF MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROJECTS WHICH WERE TO BE SIGNED LATER THIS WEEK.

(PARA) WE HAVE SUSPENDED NUCLEAR COOPERATION CONSULTATIONS WHICH WERE TO PROCEED EARLY NEXT WEEK AND WE WILL BE TAKING SIMILAR ACTION WITH RESPECT TO OTHER SCHEDULED NEGOTIATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE ADVISING THE PROVINCES AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH PLANNED CONSULTATIONS WITH CHINESE COUNTERPARTS TO FOLLOW SUIT.

(PARA) ALTHOUGH THERE ARE NO HIGH-LEVEL VISITS IN EITHER DIRECTION PLANNED FOR THE COMING FEW WEEKS, WE WOULD DEFLECT SUCH VISITS UNTIL A MORE APPROPRIATE TIME.

(PARA) AT THE MULTILATERAL LEVEL, I HAVE ASKED OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK TO BEGIN IMMEDIATELY CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER U.N. MEMBERS, AND WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, MEANS BY WHICH THE MORAL SUASION OF THE UNITED NATIONS MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO BEAR TO SUPPORT THE VOICES CALLING FOR MODERATION AND RESTRAINT IN CHINA. CANADA FULLY SUPPORTS THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL TODAY CALLING FOR RESTRAINT. ~~IN LIGHT OF THE REQUESTS MADE THIS AFTERNOON IN THE HOUSE FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE, I WOULD LIKE TO ADVISE THE HOUSE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOT MANDATED TO DEAL WITH THIS SORT OF DOMESTIC CRISIS, AND IT WOULD THUS NOT BE FEASIBLE FOR IT TO DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE NO MATTER HOW SERIOUS SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS BELIEVE IT TO BE.~~

(PARA) WITH RESPECT TO THE LARGE NUMBERS OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN CANADA - I BELIEVE THERE ARE SOME FORTY-FIVE HUNDRED HERE AT THE MOMENT - I AM SURE IT IS A MOST TROUBLESOME TIME. WHILE WE TRUST



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THAT BEFORE LONG THE SITUATION IN CHINA WILL NO LONGER BE REPUGNANT TO THEM, WE UNDERSTAND THEIR CONCERNS. WE ARE WILLING TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO ANY REQUESTS FOR EXTENDING THEIR STAY UNTIL CALM RETURNS TO THEIR HOMELAND.

(PARA) MY COLLEAGUE, THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION, HAS ALSO TAKEN STEPS TO SUSPEND, FOR AT LEAST A TWO MONTH PERIOD, ALL REMOVALS TO CHINA UNDER THE TERMS OF THE IMMIGRATION ACT.

(PARA) SOME COUNTRIES HAVE ANNOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF ~~THE U.S.~~ PROGRAMS OF ~~BILATERAL~~ MILITARY COOPERATION AND SALES TO CHINA. CANADA DOES NOT HAVE ANY SUCH FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS, AND HAS SOLD IN THE PAST ONLY VERY SMALL AMOUNTS OF NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT TO THE CHINESE MILITARY. I CAN ASSURE YOU, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT GRANT EXPORT PERMITS FOR MILITARY SALES OF ANY SORT IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. FURTHERMORE, I HAVE ASKED THAT THE MODEST PROGRAM OF DEFENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES AND THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY, WHICH SAW A VISIT TO CHINA LAST YEAR OF THE CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE STAFF, IS TO BE IMMEDIATELY SUSPENDED.

(PARA) MR SPEAKER, WHAT IS TRANSPILING IN CHINA IS TRAGEDY OF GLOBAL PROPORTIONS. LET US HOPE THAT THE EVENTS OF THE COMING WEEKS SEE CHINA, AND ITS GREAT PEOPLE, EMERGE WITHOUT FURTHER UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED, AND WITH A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS IN AN INCREASINGLY DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. I ONLY WISH THAT I COULD FIND GREATER CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM AT THE MOMENT. UNQUOTE

3. TEXT OF RESOLUTION PASSED IN HOUSE OF COMMONS FOLLOWS: QUOTE THIS HOUSE, NOTING THAT:



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- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CANADA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS IMPORTANT TO CANADIANS AND HAS BEEN OF BENEFIT TO BOTH COUNTRIES OVER THE PAST MANY YEARS;
- AUTHORITIES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAVE DIRECTED THE ARMED FORCES OF CHINA TO ATTACK THE UNARMED CIVILIAN POPULATION OF BEIJING IN CONTRAVENTION OF ALL HUMANE PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT;
- THE STUDENTS AND CITIZENS OF BEIJING WERE PEACEFULLY ADVOCATING DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND HUMAN FREEDOMS AS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD; AND
- THE AUTHORITIES OF CHINA RESORTED TO THE USE OF EXCESSIVE AND INDISCRIMINATE FORCE ON A SCALE AND SCOPE WHICH APPALLS ALL CANADIANS AND HAS RESULTED IN THE TRAGIC DEATHS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS THEREFORE;
- UNEQUIVOCALLY CONDEMN THIS BRUTAL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE PEACEFUL POPULACE OF BEIJING AND CALL UPON THE AUTHORITIES OF CHINA TO CEASE THIS SENSELESS KILLING AND IMMEDIATELY ADOPT A COURSE OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE OF CHINA.UNQUOTE.

## OTHER POINTS

### Interference in Domestic Affairs:

We are not telling PRC how to manage its affairs. What is unacceptable anywhere is the use of military force against civilians with the kinds of results that we are seeing. We reject categorically that we are interfering in PRC domestic affairs.

### Situation is a response to "Counter-revolutionary Revolt"

We do not accept this. We have been watching the events as they unfold and although we accept the difficulties facing the Chinese government, we cannot accept that the state was truly facing a counter-revolutionary revolt of any kind.



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

**ACTION  
REQUEST**

**FICHE DE  
SERVICE**

To - À	Date
	Time - Heure
From - De	Telephone No - N° de téléphone
	Extension - Poste

Please Call  
Prière d'appeler

Returned your call  
Vous a rappelé

Will call again  
Vous rappellera

Wants to see you  
Désire vous voir

<input type="checkbox"/> Action Donner suite	<input type="checkbox"/> Approved Approbation	<input type="checkbox"/> Note and return Noter et retourner
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<input type="checkbox"/> As requested Comme demandée	<input type="checkbox"/> Signature Signatruie	<input type="checkbox"/> Note and file Noter et classer

File no. - N° de dossier	Message taken by - Message reçu par
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**000398**

Not to  
be released

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MESSAGE

Accession/Référence  
**604368/890506**  
File/Dossier  
**20-China-1-4**

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SECURITY SÉCURITÉ	C O N F I D E N T I A L	12	10
FM/DE	FM PNR1530 04JUN89		
TO/A	TO PEKIN DELIVER BY 050900		
INFO	INFO HKONG TOKYO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO CNBRA BNGKK DELHI		
DISTR	CIDAHULL/BSC TT NDHQOTT/DGIS DE CAF		
REF			
SUBJ/SUJ	BAG SHNGI DE PEK		
	DISTR MINA USS DMC PGB PND PGP PNC PAM PSR JIS ISEO ISEW ABMA ABMC MPD CFX BCM		
	--UNREST IN CHINA:PRC AMB MTG WITH DMC		
	<u>SUMMARY</u> :PRC AMB WAS CALLED IN 04JUN TO RECEIVE CDN REACTION TO (CHRETIEN) MILITARY ACTION AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS.DMC INFORMED AMB THAT SSEA WOULD SHORTLY BE ISSUING A FURTHER NEWS RELEASE(TEXT PROVIDED BELOW);AND PROVIDED AMB WITH MUCH OF LANGUAGE THAT WOULD BE IN SSEA STATEMENT.AMB STATED THAT HE QUOTE CANNOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE OF STATEMENT UNQUOTE.AMB NOTED THAT QUOTE ANY SOVEREIGN STATE HAS RIGHT TO TAKE MEASURES TO PROMOTE POLITICAL STABILITY UNQUOTE, AND CHARACTERIZED UNREST AS QUOTE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY RIOT UNQUOTE.AMB STATED THAT QUOTE FRIENDLY STATES UNQUOTE WOULD BE UNWISE TO THINK THAT EXERTING PRESSURE ON CHINA WOULD BE HELPFUL. 2. <u>REPORT</u> :PRC AMB WAS CALLED IN AT NOON 04JUN FOR MTG WITH <del>ACTING</del> <del>USSEA</del> DMC,IN RESPONSE TO VIOLENT REPRESSION OF DEMONSTRATORS IN PEKIN.DMC NOTED THAT THIS WAS DIFFICULT TIME FOR AMB,BUT THAT IT VIEW OF EVENTS IN PEKIN SSEA WOULD SHORTLY BE ISSUING A STATEMENT EXPRESSING HIS REACTION TO ARMY REPRESSION OF DEMONSTRATORS.DMC		
	...2		

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG <i>[Signature]</i>	PNR	996-0980	RAYMOND CHRETIEN SIG <i>[Signature]</i> 000400



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DID NOT/NOT PASS COPY TO AMB, BUT RATHER PROVIDED HIM WITH ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF CONTENTS OF SSEAS STATEMENT.

3. AMB, AFTER LISTENING TO STATEMENT, STATED THAT HE QUOTE CANNOT/NOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE UNQUOTE. HE NOTED THAT EMB HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS HAD EVOLVED OVER PAST FEW DAYS INTO A VIOLENT COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY RIOT, THAT COULD NO/NO LONGER BE CHARACTERIZED AS A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION. HE ADDED THAT TROOPS HAD BEEN ORDERED TO ENFORCE CURFEW, BUT THAT SOME SOLDIERS HAD BEEN KIDNAPPED, INSULTED, WEAPONS HAD BEEN TAKEN, AND THAT SOME SOLDIERS HAD BEEN KILLED. IN SUCH A DANGEROUS SITU, AMB ARGUED, EVERY SOVEREIGN STATE HAD RIGHT TO TAKE MEASURES TO PROMOTE POLITICAL STABILITY. HE ADDED THAT CHINESE GOVT HAD SHOWN EXTRA-ORDINARY RESTRAINT, BUT HAD NOT/NOT WANTED THIS SITU TO DEVELOP.

4. DMC REASSURED AMB THAT CDA DID NOT/NOT SEEK TO TELL A SOVEREIGN STATE HOW TO MANAGE ITS AFFAIRS, BUT THAT USE OF MILITARY FORCE ON SCALE AND SCOPE OF THAT EMPLOYED IN PEKIN AGAINST CIVILIANS, WITH RESULTS OBTAINED, WAS NOT/NOT ACCEPTABLE ANYWHERE IN WORLD.

5. AMB NOTED THAT AFFAIR WAS A DOMESTIC CHINESE ONE, AND THAT IT WAS NOT/NOT IN INTEREST OF CHINA OR OF STATES HAVING FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH CHINA, TO HAVE FOREIGNERS QUOTE ENCOURAGING ELEMENTS WHO OPPOSE CHINESE GOVT UNQUOTE. WHEN QUESTIONED BY DMC, AMB ADMITTED THAT CDN GOVT STATEMENTS DID NOT/NOT FIT INTO ABOVE CATEGORY. AMB NOTED THAT HE HOPED THAT QUOTE LOOKING TO FUTURE

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UNQUOTE, CHINA WOULD GET MORE UNDERSTANDING OF ITS POSITION. DMC  
NOTED THAT ~~MANY~~ <sup>MANY</sup> ~~MOST~~ CDN CITS WERE FOLLOWING SITU <sup>LC</sup> CLOSELY, AND THAT  
EVENTS RISKED ALTERING VIEWS TOWARD CHINA.

6. AMB NOTED THAT BASIC CHINESE POLICIES OF OPENING UP TOWARD WEST  
WOULD NOT/NOT CHANGE, AND THAT ACTION OF GOVT WAS TO ENSURE  
POLITICAL STABILITY NECESSARY FOR THESE POLICIES TO BE CARRIED  
OUT. HE STATED THAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES WOULD BE UNWISE TO THINK THAT  
QUOTE EXERTING FORCE ON CHINA WOULD BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING SITU TO  
A QUOTE MORE PEACFUL FINAL SITU UNQUOTE.

7. 04JUN SSEA STAEMENT PROVIDED BELOW:

(COMCENTRE PLEASE COPY ATTACHED TEXT.)

Text begins

Ottawa

June 4, 1989

### **FURTHER DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN BEIJING**

The last twenty-four hours in Beijing have seen a serious deterioration in the current civil crisis. It is evident that thousands of people have been killed and many more wounded. The streets of Beijing remain violent, and the situation volatile and tense.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs the Right Honourable Joe Clark condemned the army's actions, saying "We can only express horror and outrage at the senseless violence and the tragic loss of life resulting from the indiscriminate and brutal use of force against the students and citizens of Beijing. We are witnessing violence at a scale and scope that can only shock and offend all Canadians. The actions of the Chinese military are inexcusable. We once again call upon the Chinese Government to urgently and immediately take steps to stop the aggressive and senseless killing by its armed forces."

At noon today, the Department called in the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China. The Acting Under-Secretary of External Affairs conveyed to him the reaction of the Canadian Government to the current situation.

The Department of External Affairs remains in constant contact with the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. The Embassy has warned Canadians in Beijing to remain indoors until further notice. The Department considers prudent the delaying of any planned travel by visitors to Beijing until the situation is calmer.

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Text ends.



External Affairs  
Canada

Affaires exterieures  
Canada

MGTC JOURNAL/CIRC/DOSSIER

MESSAGE

Accession/Référence

604376/990606

File/Dossier

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20-CHINA-1-4

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SECURITY  
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FM EXTOTT PNR1529 03JUN89  
TO PEKIN DELBY040900  
INFO SHNGI HKONG TOKYO SEOUL BNGKK WSHDC PARIS LDN BONN MOSCO ROME  
DISTR KLMPR MANIL JKRTA SPORE PCOOTT/HEBERT NDHQ/DIPOL CIDAHULL/BSD BSC  
REF DISTR MINA MINT MINE MINP USS DMC DMT PBB PND PNC PGP PSD PSR BMM  
SUBJ/SUJ IFB BFD CPD CPP IND INP INE LGX  
---SSEA STMT ON SITUATION IN PEKIN  
FOLLOWING STMT WAS RELEASED AT 031500 OTT TIME. CHINESE EMB WAS  
CALLED IN TO BE GIVEN STMT. YOU SHLD PRESENT IT TO CHINESE AUTH  
ASAP IN MANNER YOU CONSIDER APPROPRIATE. COMCENTRE PLS COPY  
ATTACHED.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

PNR/995-8663

HOWARD BALLOCH

SIG

000404

*Quote* Ottawa

June 3, 1989

### **SSEA COMMENTS ON VIOLENCE IN BEIJING**

Late this evening Beijing time, the Chinese authorities began to use what appears to have been significant military force to deal with the situation in the streets of Beijing. It is now clear that people are being killed in substantial numbers. Fighting continues in Tiananmen Square, and confrontations continue in streets approaching the city centre.

Commenting on the violence, the Secretary of State for External Affairs the Right Honourable Joe Clark said "We greatly regret that, following a period of evident restraint, the Chinese authorities initiated the use of force. It is clear that because of this, lives are being lost unnecessarily and the situation is being made more confrontational and intractable. We call on the Chinese Government to cease its military action and to return to peaceful methods to resolve the current crisis."

The Department of External Affairs remains in constant contact with the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. As far as we are aware, no Canadians are in any danger.

-30- *Unquote*

*Action did not  
arrive in BICO*

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3483 02JUN69

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 02 900

INFO HKONG MANIL TOKYC SEOUL ENGKK LMFR SPORE DELHI JKRTA FNATC

MOSCO PCOOTT/IAC CIDAHULL BSC TT NDEQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

EAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR PGB PND PNC PGP INP CPP CPL ISS

REF OURTEL WJGR3480 02JUN

---YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH SHEDS LIGHT ON CRISIS

SUMMARY: IMPORTANT SPEECH DELIVERED BY PRES YANG SHANGKUN, VICE CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL MIL COMMISSION, TO ENLARGED SPECIAL SESSION OF COMMISSION CONFIRMS MANY RUMOURS THAT HAVE CIRCULATED IN PEKIN REGARDING ACTIONS AND DEBATES OF CHINESE LEADERS IN DEALING WITH CURRENT CRISIS. SPEECH SAID: IF HARD LINE NOT/TAKEN, THEN PARTY WOULD BE DOOMED; CHAOS WAS RESULT OF THERE BEING QUOTE TWO VOICES IN PARTY UNQUOTE; THAT LEADERSHIP CHANGE WAS ESSENTIAL; AND THAT PARTY HAD TO ACT QUICKLY AND RESOLUTELY TO IMPLEMENT HARD LINE OF 26 APR PEOPLES DAILY EDITORIAL AND TO ACHIEVE UNITY, ESPECIALLY IN THE MILITARY. AUTHENTICITY OF SPEECH CANNOT/NOT BE CONFIRMED BUT CONTENT, TONE AND STYLE SUGGEST THAT IT IS A TRUE VERSION.

2. REPORT: SPEECH WAS DELIVERED ON 24 MAY, FIFTH DAY OF MARTIAL LAW. SPEECH MADE MAIN POINT THAT IF PARTY DID NOT/NOT ADHERE TO HARD LINE

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PAGE TWO WJGR3483 CONF

FUT FORWARD IN 26APR EDITORIAL(OURTEL WJGR3358 26APR) THEN PARTY WAS DOOMED.QUOTE TO WITHDRAW MEANS OUR DOWNFALL,DOWNFALL OF THE PRC AND RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM.IT WOULD MEAN MATERIALIZATION OF WISH OF DULLES OF USA THAT AFTER SEVERAL GENERATIONS,OUR SOCIALISM WOULD BECOME LIBERALISM UNQUOTE.THIS WAS OPINION OF CCMRADES DENG XIAOPING,CHEN YUN,PENG ZHEN,WANG ZHEN AND DENG YINGCHAO.

3.SECOND MAIN POINT WAS THAT QUOTE CHACS IN STREETS UNQUOTE WAS RESULT OF THERE BEING QUOTE TWO VOICES IN PARTY UNQUOTE.SPEECH OUTLINED HOW AFTER ZHAO HAD RETURNED TO PEKIN FROM NKOREA ON 29APR HE CEASED TO SUPPORT VIEW OF 26APR EDITORIAL,IE,THAT TURMOIL WAS ORGANIZED AND PLANNED AND THAT ITS NATURE WAS TO NEGATE SOCIALISM AND CCP.ON CONTRARY,HE REGARDED IT AS PATRIOTIC STUDENT MOVEMENT AND WISHED TO DECLARE EDITORIAL WRONG.YANG SAID THAT ZHAOS WAVERING, AS SHOWN IN HIS ADDRESS TO ASIAN DEV BANK ON 03MAY,INVITED STUDENTS TO ESCALATE THEIR ACTION AND TO BECOME MORE PERSONAL IN THEIR SLOGGANS.HE SAID SLOGGANS SUDDENLY APPEARED SUPPORTING ZHAO AND CALLING FOR REMOVAL OF DENG XIAOPING AND LI PENG.ZHAOS WORDS HAD EXPOSED DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF POLITBURO STANDING CTTEE.YANG SAID HE ADVISED ZHAO THAT STUDENTS FELT THERE WAS QUOTE A PERSON WITHIN PARTY CENTRAL SUPPORTING THEM UNQUOTE AND STUDENTS WERE BECOMING MORE AND MORE FIERCE.HE SAID EITHER THE PARTY ACCEPTED STUDENTS DEMANDS OR IT IMPLEMENTED DIRECTIVE OF 26APR EDITORIAL TO CLAMP DOWN.ZHAOS RESPONSE CAME ON 19MAY WHEN HE QUOTE CONSOLIED

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PAGE THREE WJGR3483 CONF

HUNGER STRIKERS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE, AND LATER REFUSED TO TURN UP TO MTG OF BEIJING MUNICIPAL PARTY CTTEE, STATE AND ARMY CADRES AT WHICH LI PENG AND YANG MADE IMPORTANT SPEECHES. QUOTE YOU CAN IMMEDIATELY SPOT THE PROBLEM UNQUOTE SAID YANG.

4. YANG NOTED SPEECH BY DENG ON 25 APR IN WHICH HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID THAT PRESENT CASE OF ANTI-BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION WAS SAME AS THAT OF HU YAOPANG.

5. SPEECH WOUND UP BY STATING THAT CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP WAS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE QUOTE MAJORITY IN POLIBURO DO NOT/NOT AGREE WITH (ZHAO), AND WITHIN STANDING CTTEE, HE ONLY HAD HIS OWN VOTE UNQUOTE. YANG CALLED FOR WHOLE PARTY TO UNITE TO QUOTE IMPLEMENT WHOLEHEARTEDLY 26 APR PEOPLES DAILY EDITORIAL UNQUOTE. CONFIRMING THAT THERE WERE PROBLEMS IN ARMY, HE SAID WE SHOULD CONSOLIDATE OURSELVES, ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY. NOT/NOT ALL MILITARY MEMBERS CAN THINK CLEARLY AND IT IS THE JOB OF YOU TO DO THE WORK UNQUOTE. HE THREATENED THAT THOSE WHO DO NOT/NOT IMPLEMENT PARTY ORDERS WOULD BE DEALT WITH BY MILITARY LAW.

6. ELSEWHERE SPEECH CONFIRMS THAT ZHAO OFFERED TO RESIGN IN EARLY MAY AND FINALLY DID RESIGN AFTER SENDING LET TO DENG XIAOPING STATING THAT QUOTE MY LINE OF THINKING IS NOT/NOT IN ACCORD WITH YOURS UNQUOTE.

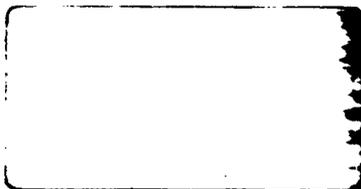
7. YANGS SPEECH IS IMPORTANT IN THAT IT SHOWS LINE OF THINKING OF PARTY ELDERS UP UNTIL 24 MAY. IN PARTICULAR IT SHOWS SERIOUS

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PAGE FOUR WJGR3483 CONF

CONCERN OVER SPLIT WITHIN PARTY AND WITHIN MILITARY. WHAT IT DOES  
NOT/NOT PROVIDE, HOWEVER, ARE CLUES AS TO HOW LEADERS ARE TRYING  
TO RESOLVE LEADERSHIP QUESTION NOW. QUICK PURGE OF ALL QUOTE ZHACISTS  
UNQUOTE THAT WAS EXPECTED LAST WEEK HAS PROVEN TO BE IMPOSSIBLE  
TO CARRY OUT. NO/NO ONE IN PEKIN WE HAVE TALKED TO IN LAST FEW  
DAYS IS CONFIDENT NOW OF BEING ABLE TO PREDICT OUTCOME.

CCC/078 020600Z WJGR3483



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ACC REF DATE  
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20-CHINA-1-4

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**ACTION**  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3480 02JUN89

TO EXTOTT (PNR) DELIVER BY 020900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISPAD JKRTA MANIL

FNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO WSHDC PCOOTT/IAC CIDAHULL BSC

TT NDHQOTT/EIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG PRGUE WSAW BUCST EGRAD BPEST DE OTT SENGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB FND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPF CPD BKR ISE ISS

JIS

---CHINA:MAY DAYS

SUMMARY:THE DUAL DRAMA BEING PLAYED ON PEKIN STREETS AND IN BYZAN-  
TINE CORRIDORS OF POWER IS FAR FROM OVER.BUT SOME PRELIMINARY  
LESSONS CAN ALREADY BE DRAWN.UNDENIABLE COURAGE OF TENS OF THOUSANDS  
OF CHINESE STUDENTS PROMPTED UNPRECEDENTED NUMBERS OF USUALLY DOCILE  
POPULACE TO EXPRESS DEFIANCE AND HOSTILITY AGAINST THEIR LEADERS.  
MEMORIES OF CITIZENS MANNING BARRICADES AGAINST PEOPLES ARMY WILL  
NOT/NOT LIE.WORKERS PROVIDED SOME CRITICAL SUPPORT AND A FEW EVEN  
ORGANIZED A SOLIDARITY STYLE INDEPENDENT UNION.BUT AS MAJOR BENEFIC-  
IARIES OF TEN YEARS OF REFORM,THEY WERE ON THE WHOLE NOT/NOT READY  
FOR LONG MOBILIZATION AGAINST REGIME.BEREFT OF ANY CREDIBLE CLAIM TO  
LEGITIMACY,GERONTOCRACY RESORTED TO MILITARY THREAT(CLUMSILY)AND TO  
FORMIDABLE PROPAGANDA APPARATUS(WITH GREATER SUCCESS SO FAR).DENG'S  
SUCCESSION PLAN IS IN TATTERS.HE NOW APPEARS SQUEEZED BETWEEN REFORM-  
ISTS(WEAK IN POLITBURO BUT STRONG IN LARGER CENTRAL CTTEE)AND HARD

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PAGE TWO WJGR3480 CONFD. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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LINE IDEOLOGUES WHOM HE HAD PURGED FROM PARTY ORGANS. HARDLINERS HAVE  
TAKEN THE OFFENSIVE BUT STRUGGLE FOR POWER IS FAR FROM OVER. WHOEVER  
EMERGES ON TOP WILL FACE UNENVIABLE TASK. POPULACE HAS SHOWN ITSELF  
TO BE INCREASINGLY IMMUNE TO MASSIVE INDOCTRINATION. ECONOMY WILL  
LIKELY GET WORSE BEFORE IT GETS BETTER. PEASANTS ARE PAID IN IOUS,  
WORKERS ARE KEPT HAPPY THANKS TO ECONOMICALLY CRIPPLING SUBSIDIES.  
INFLATION WILL NOT/NOT SUBSIDE QUICKLY. PROVINCES WILL RESIST  
RECENTRALIZATION. HKONG CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN DEALT SEVERE BLOW AND  
MANY FOREIGN INVESTORS WILL REMAIN WARY. ARMY WILL WANT BIGGER SHARE  
OF MEAGRE PIE. CORRUPTION/NEPOTISM IS ENTRENCHED AT HIGHEST PARTY/GOVT  
LEVELS. AS MARXIST WOULD SAY, CONTRADICTIONS ARE LIKELY TO BECOME MORE  
ACUTE. EVEN IF THEY WIN CLEAR VICTORY HARDLINERS CANNOT/NOT TOTALLY  
TURN BACK THE CLOCK, THEY CAN ONLY POSTPONE DAY OF RECKONING. WHEN  
IT COMES, IT MAY NOT/NOT BE SO PEACEFUL AS WAS THE CASE DURING THIS  
EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE HAPPENING OF MAY 89.

f  
2. REPORT: BUILD UP OF STUDENT DEMOS HAS BEEN AMPLY DOCUMENTED AND  
SEQUENCE IN WHICH LEADERSHIP CRISIS WAS GRAFTED UPON THESE EVENTS  
IS NOW BECOMING SOMEWHAT MORE CLEAR. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO OVER-  
EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT BECAME A TRULY POPULAR MOVEMENT  
BEFORE PARTY AND STATE APPARATUS WENT ON COUNTER OFFENSIVE. MANY QUOTE  
FIRSTS UNQUOTE SINCE PROCLAMATION OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC IN 1949 WILL  
BE RECORDED IN CHINESE HISTORY AND WILL INFLUENCE FUTURE EVENTS.  
NEFVER HAVE STUDENTS EFFECTIVELY OCCUPIED CENTRE OF PEKIN FOR SUCH

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PAGE THREE WJGR3480 CONF

A TIME, CAMPING BEFORE LEADERSHIP COMPOUND AND FLOUTING ANTI DENG OR ANTI LI PENG SLOGANS WITH TOTAL IMPUNITY. NEVER HAVE STUDENTS BROUGHT JOURNALISTS, BUREAUCRATS AND WORKERS TO JOIN THEM EN MASSE ON THE STREETS. NEVER HAS PLA BEEN REPELLED BY CITIZENS AND BARRICADES ERECTED IN PEKIN STREETS. NEVER HAVE ANTI-GOVT DEMOS SPREAD TO SUCH AN EXTENT TO ALL CITIES OF CHINA AND NEVER SINCE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAVE STUDENTS BEEN ABLE TO CARRY THEIR MESSAGE TO VARIOUS CITIES AT WILL. NEVER HAS HKONG POPULACE RESPONDED SO MASSIVELY TO EVENTS ON MAINLAND.

3. THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE LESSON FOR HISTORY CONSCIOUS CHINESE: THE MANDATE OF HEAVEN IS PASSING. THE MOST COMMON PHRASE ON THE STREET WAS QUOTE THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP UNQUOTE. IRONICALLY THIS IS WHAT MAO PROCLAIMED ON TIANANMEN ROSTRUM ON 01OCT49. X

4. NO/NO WONDER THAT THE FRAGILE LEADERSHIP COALITION COLLAPSED. THE POWER STRUGGLE EXPECTED AFTER DENG'S DEATH ERUPTED BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. BUT THE STRENGTH OF POPULAR UPHEAVAL AND DISPLAY OF LEADERSHIP IMPOTENCE MADE IT MUCH MORE SEVERE THAN COULD EVER HAVE BEEN PREDICTED. DENG IMMEDIATELY CALLED FOR A TOUGH LINE, ARGUING THAT IT WAS BUT A STUDENT REBELLION WHICH HAD TO BE SQUASHED IN THE BUD (REPORTEDLY EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN WORKERS, PEASANTS AND ARMY). NEITHER HE NOR ANYONE FORESAW THAT A MASS HUNGER STRIKE WOULD FAN THE FIRES OF POPULAR DISCONTENT SO QUICKLY. UPON HIS RETURN FROM PYONGYANG ZHAO DISASSOC-

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PAGE FOR WJGR3480 CONF D

IATED HIMSELF FROM HIS POLITBURO COLLEAGUES AND ARGUED FOR DIALOGUE. HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE THE HUNGER STRIKERS AND HIS DRAMATIC ADMISSION THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAD REACTED TOO LATE IS PROBABLY WHAT SEALED HIS FATE. HE SHOWED THAT A HUMILIATED LEADERSHIP (DENG'S SINO-SOVIET SUMMIT HAD BECOME A SIDE SHOW) WAS DIVIDED AND ZHAO APPEARED READY TO LET DENG TAKE THE FLAK.

5. THIS WAS WHAT THE PARTY HARDLINERS WERE PROBABLY WAITING FOR. THEY HAD FUMED AGAINST THE EARLY COLLAPSE OF THE 1987 QUOTE ANTI-BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION CAMPAIGN UNQUOTE. STUDENTS HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO BE INFECTED BY FOREIGN IDEAS AND WERE CONTAMINATING THE POPULATION. A HASTY DECISION WAS MADE TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW IN PARTS OF PEKIN, AND ZHAO AGAIN DISASSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM A MEASURE WHICH TREW THE LEADERSHIP INTO FURTHER RIDICULE. MILLIONS WERE THEN IN THE STREETS. LI PENG MOVED INTO FRONT LINE (AND WILL PROBABLY BE ACCUSED WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE TO HAVE MISINFORMED DENG AND HUMILIATED HIM AND THE ARMY). MORE TROOPS WERE POSITIONED AROUND CAPITAL, FROM OUTSIDE PEKIN MILITARY REGION. BUT NO/NO ONE DARED TO SEND THEM INTO THE CITY. (ALTHOUGH THERE ARE RELIABLE REPORTS THAT ARMY IS ON THE MOVE AT TIME OF WRITING).

6. WHILE STUDENTS WERE FREE TO DIRECT OPERATIONS IN A CITY CENTRE WHERE MARTIAL LAW BECAME A FARCE, THE LEADERSHIP REGROUPED DESPITE ITS EVIDENT DIVISIONS. THE MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPLICITLY TERMED A SUCCESS BECAUSE IT QUOTE HAD RESTORED ORDER UNQUOTE. THAT THE ARMY HAD BEEN

...5

PAGE FIVE WJGR3480 CONF

CALLER IN TO SUPPRESS THE DEMONSTRATORS WAS LABELLED AS A RUMOUR. STUDENTS SMELLED VICTORY, ADDING TO SLOGANS CALLING FOR DEMOCRACY SLOGANS CALLING FOR LI PENG'S FALL. HOPES RAN HIGH THAT WAN LI WOULD RETURN TO PEKIN, CONVENE THE NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS AND IMPEACH LI PENG.

7. THE STUDENTS, DESPITE THEIR IMPRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONAL SKILLS, SHOWED THEIR NAIVETE. MOST WERE YOUNG, UNAWARE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE WHICH THE PARTY HAD SET UP AND EFFECTIVELY USED AGAINST THEIR ELDERS. WAN LI RETURNED FROM WSHDC, BUT WAS PARKED IN SHENGT UNTIL 30 MAY. HE DELIVERED A QUOTE WRITTEN STATEMENT UNQUOTE SUPPORTING MARTIAL LAW. HE AND OTHER PARTY ELDERS SUCH AS FORMER NPC CHAIRMAN FENG ZHEN MADE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MASS OF QUOTE PATRIOTIC STUDENTS UNQUOTE AND QUOTE VERY, VERY SMALL HANDFUL OF TROUBLEMAKERS UNQUOTE. INTIMIDATION BY LOCAL PARTY UNITS (SEVERE PENALTIES FOR PARTICIPATING IN DEMOS AFTER DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW), SHEER EXHAUSTION AND EVIDENCE THAT ARCH-CONSERVATIVES WERE GAINING UPPER HAND IN ONGOING LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE, ALL TOOK THEIR TOLL. DESPITE HEAVY INFLUX OF STUDENTS FROM OUTSIDE CITIES, NUMBERS OF DEMONSTRATORS DWINDLED. NUMBERS ON TIANANMEN FELL TO A FEW THOUSAND.

8. AS WE REPORTED SEPARATELY PARTY WAS ABLE THIS WEEK TO MOUNT HEAVY DUTY PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE. MEANS AT DISPOSAL OF PARTY ARE FORMIDABLE. REWARDS (MANY WORKERS ARE PAID TO KEEP OFF THE STREETS), THREATS, EXPULSION FROM PARTY OR FACTORY AND INCARCERATIONS ARE WELL PROVEN

...6

PAGE SIX WJGR3480 CONF

X WEAPONS. PARTY SPONSORED DEMOS HAVE STARTED TO FEATURE IN PRESS AS WELL AS QUOTE LETTERS UNQUOTE FROM CITIZENS OR GROUPS OF CITIZENS CALLING UPON PARTY/ARMY TO RESTORE ORDER. REAL OR IMAGINARY LETTERS FROM DISSIDENT STUDENTS ARE READ AD NAUSEAM. STUDENTS HAVE DISPLAYED CREATIVITY IN KEEPING SOME MOMENTUM, DEMONSTRATING IN SUPPORT OF ARRESTED WORKERS OR PLACING HUGE LIBERTY STATUE ON SQUARE, FACING MAO PORTRAIT (FURY OF AUTHS DEMONSTRATES POTENCY OF SYMBOL). X

9. BUT THESE HAPPENINGS HAVE BECOME SIDESHOW TO MORE OMINOUS EVENTS IN CORRIDORS OF POWER. DENG NOW HAS TO DEAL WITH ARCH-CONSERVATIVES WHOM HE PURGED BUT MAY OUTLIVE HIM. THEY WANT MORE CENTRAL PLANNING AND FORCEFUL RETURN TO IDEOLOGICAL QUOTE STRUGGLE UNQUOTE. NOR HAVE SUPPORTERS OF ZHAO BEEN SILENCED. FEW IN POLITBURO, THEY ARE A FORCE TO RECKON WITH IN LARGER CENTRAL CTTEE WHO ALONE HAS POWER TO DEPOSE PARTY SEC GEN. MANY ARE PROVINCIAL PARTY BOSSES WHO BENEFITTED FROM ZHAOS DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM. WHETHER ZHAO CAN BE BRANDED QUOTE ANTI-PARTY ELEMENT UNQUOTE IS IN DOUBT ALTHOUGH HE MOST CERTAINLY HAS LOST HIS JOB. RUMOURS ABOUND ON LEADERSHIP WHEELING AND DEALING, AND FACTS MAY EMERGE ONLY GRADUALLY. BUT WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION IS FOR ENHANCED ROLE FOR HARD-LINE MARXISTS AND FULL FLEDGED IDEOLOGICAL QUOTE ANTI BOURGEOIS UNQUOTE CAMPAIGN (PARTY WILL WORK HARD TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS, AND IT WILL BE TEST CASE OF ITS ABILITY TO REGAIN CONTROL).

10. ARMY IS ALSO EXPECTED TO COME OUT A WINNER ALTHOUGH LIKE EVERY ...7

PAGE SEVEN WJGR3480 CONF

OTHER SEGMENT OF CHINESE SOCIETY IT IS REPORTEDLY SPLIT. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN REPORTS THAT SPLIT ALSO EXISTS AT LEVEL OF HIGH COMMAND. IF SO, SOLUTION TO CRISIS WILL BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. BUT ARMY WILL LIKELY PRESS FOR BETTER DEAL IN ALLOCATION OF GOVT FUNDS AND GREATER POLITICAL POWER. THERE AGAIN, DENG MAY SEE ONE OF HIS LONG FOUGHT FOR POLICIES REVERSED.

11. ITS SHORTSIGHTEDNESS AND INTRANSIGENCE HAVE LANDED CHINAS LEADERSHIP INTO A MESS. THE REGIME IS DISCREDITED, WITH NO/NO POPULAR SAVIOR IN SIGHT. CORRUPTION/NEPOTISM WAS MAJOR ISSUE UNITING DEMONSTRATORS. IT HAS REACHED CANCEROUS PROPORTIONS (INCL IN ARMY). IT IS DOUBTFUL LEADERSHIP CAN CURE IT EFFECTIVELY. CHINESE SOCIETY IS DIVIDED AND DEMORALIZED. IT WILL MOST LIKELY FACE ANOTHER DEBILITATING POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO SOLVE, IF ONLY BECAUSE SO MUCH ENERGY WILL BE CHANNLED INTO POLITICAL SURVIVAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK. SULEN WORKFORCE WILL REMAIN UNPRODUCTIVE. NEW REFORMS WILL PROBABLY BE INDEFINITELY SHELVED AND NO/NO SATISFACTORY SOLUTION LIKELY TO BE FOUND TO LACK OF INDUSTRIAL COMPETITIVENESS. MORE ATTN WILL BE PAID TO AGRICULTURE (A CHEN YUN PREOCCUPATION) BUT PRIORITY WILL LIKELY BE TO PLACATE URBAN WORKERS. THIS MEANS SUBSIDIES FOR ALL, POSSIBLY MORE IOUS IN LIFU OF CASH FOR PEASANTS. CONFIDENCE IN HKONG APPERAS DURABLY AFFECTED, TAIWAN REUNIFICATION MADE EVEN MORE REMOTE. REPRESSION COULD RAISE PROFILE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN CHINAS RELNS WITH WEST, ESPECIALLY WITH

...8

PAGE EIGHT WJGR3480 CONF

COUNTRIES HAVING LARGE QUOTE OVERSEAS CHINESE UNQUOTE POPULATION..  
ETC..ETC.

12.ABOVF MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT MITIGATED IF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF  
PROMINENT ZHAOISTS REMAIN INFLUENTIAL AT THE TOP.BUT HARM DCNE WILL  
REMAIN SEVERE WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE CURRENT PALACE INFIGHTING.  
CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL ONSLAUGHT DOES NOT/NOT AUGUR WELL FOR POLITICAL  
REFORMS WHICH ARE SO NECESSARY(COSMETIC STEPS MAY BE TAKEN)BUT WHICH  
REMAIN THREATENING FOR MAJORITY OF PARTY STALWARTS.

13.ONLY BRIGHT SPOT ON HORIZON IS THAT CHINA IS UNLIKELY TO RETREAT  
MUCH FROM OPEN DOOR POLICY AND ECON MODERNIZATION PROG.PRC IS TOO  
DEPENDENT ON WEST AND REPORTS THAT SHE MAY TURN TOWARDS USSR FOR  
ECON HELP NOT/NOT SERIOUS.BUT CAUTIOUS INVESTORS,ESPECIALLY FROM  
HKONG AND JPN,ARE LIKELY TO BE EVEN MORE CAUTIOUS THAN THEY WERE  
UNTIL NOW.

14.POST SHARES PM MULRONEYS VIEW THAT CHINESE THIRST FOR CHANGE AND  
DEMOCRACY WILL NOT/NOT BE REPRESSED,IN THE LONG RUN.BUT INDICATORS  
POINT TO GRIM TIMES AHEAD EVEN AS CURRENT DRAMA UNFOLDS AND IS  
LIKELY TO HOLD A FEW MORE SURPRISES.

CCC/078 020730Z WJGR3480

P R O T E C T E D

FM PEKIN WJGR3479 02JUN89

TO EXTOTT PNR BCM

DELIVER BY 020000

INFO HKONG CIDADULL BSC TT NDHQCTT/DIPOL/ DE CAF

BAG SHENGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGP ISE CPP CPF INP BKR PGP PND IMH

---CITY BAN ON FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE:CRACKDOWN EXPECTED

BEIJING MUNICIPAL GOVT ON 01JUN REITERATED BAN ON NEWS COVERAGE

BY FOREIGN PRESS, INCLUDING JOURNALISTS FROM HKONG, MACAO AND TAIWAN?

2. EXTENT OF BAN EFFECTIVELY BANS ANY REPORTING ON CURRENT PRC EVENTS.

FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE IS SUBJ TO PRIOR APPROVAL BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF BEIJING MUNICIPAL GOVT. SPECIFICALLY BANNED ARE:

A) NEWS COVERAGE, PHOTOGRAPHY, VIDEOTAPES OF ANY ACTIVITIES PROHIBITED BY MARTIAL LAW AT TIANANMEN, AROUND GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE, ZHONGNANHAI ENTRANCE AND QUOTE OTHER PUBLIC PLACES UNQUOTE;

B) REPORTING QUOTE IN DISGUISED FORM SUCH AS MAKING APPTS WITH CHINESE CITIZENS TO MEET WITH FOREIGN JOURNALISTS IN THEIR OFFICES, RESIDENCES, HOTELS OR ELSEWHERE UNQUOTE;

C) REPORTS, PHOTO OR VIDEOS OF TROOPS ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW.

3. ABOVE IS OMINOUS SIGN OF SERIOUS CRACKDOWN AND FURTHER ENTRY OF TROOPS IN CITY PROPER.

4. JOURNALISTS CANNOT/NOT FUNCTION IF THEY FOLLOW ALL OF ABOVE AND HAVE DECIDED TO IGNORE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE BUT ACT PRUDENTLY. CBC/OTT WAS ASKED SOME DAYS AGO WHY TOM KENNEDY (WHO IS ON TOURIST VISA) WAS IN PEKIN BUT SO FAR OTHER THAN THIS NO/NO CDN JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN SINGLED OUT. BBC, NBC, ABC, JPNS TV AND NEWS AGENCIES HAVE BEEN CALLED IN FOR STERN VERBAL WARNINGS. QUESTION ON EVERYONES MIND IS WHOM CHINESE AUTHS WILL DECIDE TO MAKE EXAMPLE OF FIRST.

CCC/078 020300Z WJGR3479

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 PGB DMT/A-8 (1)  
 PND BMD/A-6 (1)  
 PNC BMM/C-5 (1)  
 BFD/C-2 (1)  
 IMU IMH INP

HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

- Ban on Foreign Media Coverage in Peking - When martial law was proclaimed in parts of Peking on May 20, the provisions of martial law included tight restrictions on the work of foreign journalists. On June 1, the restrictions were reiterated. Despite the proclamation of these restrictions however, the Chinese authorities have made very little effort to implement the regulations.

Source  
Reports from our Embassy and media reports.

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

Protected

- When martial law was proclaimed in parts of Peking on May 20, in response to several weeks of unprecedented student demonstrations.  
 - The media regulations are comprehensive, and if thoroughly applied would effectively ban coverage of current events in PRC by foreign journalists.  
 - Specifically forbidden are: news coverage, photography, or videotaping of any activities prohibited by martial law in central Peking and "other public places"; meeting with Chinese citizens to discuss the current unrest; reports, photos, or videos of troops enforcing martial law.  
 - It is significant that these draconian restrictions have been in effect since May 20, but that apart from the ending of live satellite transmissions, they have not been enforced.  
 - On June 1 the Peking Municipal Government reminded foreign journalists that the media restrictions contained in the martial law proclamation remain in effect, and have given oral warnings to some British, American and Japanese correspondents.  
 - According to our Embassy, no Canadian journalists have been warned as yet, and the quite large corps of Canadian media representatives in Peking (most of whom are working on tourist visas), have not yet encountered serious difficulties in carrying out their work.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following closely events in China, and receiving regular reports from our missions there.  
 - We view with concern the broad restrictions imposed on the activities of foreign correspondents in Peking, and are hopeful that Canadian journalists in the Chinese capital will be able to continue to carry out their work.

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR — ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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MESSAGE

Accession/Référence  
**604379/890606**  
File/Dossier  
**20-CHINA-1-4**

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SECURITY / SÉCURITÉ  
**P R O T E C T E D**

FM/DE FM EXTOTT PNR1522 02JUN  
TO/À TO PEKIN DELIVER BY 050900  
INFO INFO HKONG CIDA HULL/BSC TT NDHQ/DIPOL/ DE CAF  
DISTR BAG SHNGI DE PEK  
REF  
SUBJ/SUJ DISTR USS PGB ISE CPP CPE INP BKR PGP PND PNC IMH BMM

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---CITY BAN ON FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE: CRACKDOWN EXPECTED  
REITERATION OF MARTIAL LAW REGULATIONS BY PEKIN MUNICIPAL GOVT  
HAS, NOT/NOT SURPRISINGLY DRAWN NEGATIVE PRESS COMMENT BY CDN MEDIA.  
2. SHORT EDITORIAL IN 02JUN GLOBE AND MAIL TITLED QUOTE BEIJINGS  
OMINOUS STEPS UNQUOTE FOLLOWS. QUOTE NOW, APPARENTLY DETERMINED TO  
SILENCE POPULAR DEMANDS FOR DEMOCRACY, CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE  
ORDERED WORLD MEDIA TO LOOK AWAY. IT IS OLDEST TACTIC OF TYRANNY -  
WAIT FOR COVER OF DARKNESS, SLAUGHTER OR JAIL INNOCENT, DENY IT EVER  
HAPPENED. BUT THIS TIME CENSORS CANNOT/NOT SUCCEED. CHINAS STUDENTS  
OF TIANANMEN SQUARE HAVE TOUCHED WORLD. EVEN IN DARKNESS, WE SEE THEM  
WITH EYES OF HEART. UNQUOTE.

3. IN QANDA PREPARED FOR HOUSE OF COMMONS WE HAVE SUGGESTED FOLLOWING  
PRESS LINE, WHICH WOULD BE MODIFIED WHEN/IF CHINESE AUTHORITIES  
ENFORCE MARTIAL LAW MEDIA CONTROLS:

- WE ARE FOLLOWING CLOSELY EVENTS IN CHINA, AND RECEIVING REGULAR  
REPORTS FM OUR MISSIONS THERE.

- WE VIEW WITH CONCERN BROAD RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON ACTIVITIES OF

...2

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG	PNR 	996-0980	HOWARD BALLOCH SIG

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CONFID PAGE TWO PNR1522 02JUN

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN PEKIN, AND ARE HOPEFUL THAT CDN JOURNALISTS  
IN CHINESE CAPITAL WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT THEIR WORK.  
4. GRATEFUL YOU KEEP US INFORMED OF VIEWS OF CDN JOURNALISTS IN PEKIN  
CONCERNING MEDIA RESTRICTIONS AND THEIR IMPACT.

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67-1189  
BKO  
CA+  
we may have  
to speak on  
this in  
same fashion -  
add to CIA  
give BMM  
a sketch?

FBIS 033JUN01

AFF: BEIJING RESTRICTS FOREIGN PRESS ACTIVITIES

HK0106080889 HONG KONG AFF IN ENGLISH 0800 GMT 1 JUN 89

[TEXT] BEIJING, JUNE 1 (AFF)--THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES ON THURSDAY EXPLICITLY BANNED ALL UNAUTHORIZED PRESS COVERAGE BY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS IN BEIJING RELATING TO MARTIAL LAW AND STUDENT PROTESTS IN THE CAPITAL.

THE MEASURES, WHICH ALSO SEVERELY RESTRICT CONTACTS BETWEEN FOREIGN NEWSMEN AND CHINESE CITIZENS, APPLY EQUALLY TO JOURNALISTS FROM HONG KONG, MACAO AND TAIWAN.

"DURING THE PERIOD WHEN MARTIAL LAW IS IN FORCE IN SOME DISTRICTS OF BEIJING, PRESS COVERAGE IN BEIJING BY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS ... IS SUBJECT TO PRIOR APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL TO THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE BEIJING MUNICIPAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT," MUNICIPAL SPOKESMAN DING WEIJUN TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE.

NEWS COVERAGE AT "TIANANMEN SQUARE, AREAS AROUND THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE, AND IN FRONT OF XINHUAMEN," THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO ZHONGNANHAI, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS, IS PROHIBITED, HE SAID.

TIANANMEN SQUARE HAS BEEN THE SCENE OF AN ONGOING SIT-IN BY SEVERAL THOUSAND STUDENTS DEMANDING DEMOCRATIC REFORMS, PRESS FREEDOM AND AN END TO CORRUPTION IN CHINA, IN DEFIANCE OF MARTIAL LAW IMPOSED MAY 20 BY PREMIER LI PENG.

MR. DING TOLD REPORTERS THEY COULD NOT ENGAGE IN "PRESS COVERAGE IN A DISGUISED FORM, SUCH AS MAKING APPOINTMENTS WITH CHINESE CITIZENS TO MEET AT THE OFFICES OR RESIDENCES OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS ... OR AT HOTELS OR ELSEWHERE FOR INTERVIEWS" RELATING TO ACTIVITIES BANNED BY MARTIAL LAW.

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS "SHALL CONDUCT NO PRESS COVERAGE, PHOTOGRAPHING OR VIDEOTAPING OF THE TROOPS ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW," MR. DING ADDED.

NOR MAY THEY "ACQUIRE BY UNJUST MEANS INFORMATION, MATERIALS ON ACTIVITIES OF AN INSTIGATIVE NATURE," HE SAID.

VIOLATORS "SHALL BE DEALT WITH BY (MUNICIPAL) DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED IN LIGHT OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE," HE SAID.

IF MARTIAL LAW DECREES CONTRADICT OTHER CHINESE REGULATIONS, HE SAID, THEN THE DECREES SHALL PREVAIL, AND ANY INTERPRETATION OF THE DECREES SHALL REST EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE BEIJING CITY GOVERNMENT.

01 JUN 0828Z JLB

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**ACTION  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3476 01JUN89

TO EXTOTT L PNR DELIVER BY 010900

INFO HKONG MANIL TOKYO SEOUL BNGKK KLMPR SPORE DELHI JKRTA ENATO  
MOSCO PCOOTT/IAC CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPCL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF  
BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR PGB PND PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD ISE ISS JIS

REF OURTELS WJGR3467 30MAY 3469 31MAY(NOTAL)

---PARTY PROPAGANDA MACHINE SWINGS INTO GEAR

WITH CHINESE LEADERS STILL THRASHING OUT SOLUTION TO PARTY RIFT  
THAT HAS CREATED UNPRECEDENTED POWER VACUUM FOR TWO WEEKS,  
PROPAGANDA MACHINE IS NOW IN FULL GEAR,SOFTENING UP POPULAR  
OPINION TO FACILITATE INTRODUCTION OF TROOPS INTO CENTRAL PEKIN AND  
ENDING OF STUDENT SIT-IN.IN SUBURBS OF PEKIN,QUOTE SPONTANEOUS  
UNQUOTE DEMOS BY PEASANTS,WORKERS,BUSINESSMEN AND INTELLECTUALS  
NUMBERING IN 10,000S WERE SHOWN ON TV NEWS LAST NIGHT CARRYING  
BANNERS SUPPORTING SPEECHES BY LI PENG AND YANG SHANGXUN AND  
OPPOSING QUOTE SMALL MINORITY WHO ARE CREATING TURMOIL UNQUOTE.  
NOT/NOT SHOWN ON TV WAS BURNING OF TWO EFFIGIES:ONE OF DISSIDENT  
FANG LIZHI(WHO HAD DISAPPEARED FOR WEEK BUT IS NOW BACK IN PEKIN)  
AND ONE OF ANTI-PARTY QUOTE CONSPIRATOR UNQUOTE.(ORGANIZER OF  
RALLY INADVERTENTLY TOLD CDN JOURNALIST IT WAS ZHAO ZIYANG).

2.SUCH STAGED DEMOS OF SUPPORT WOULD STILL BE IMPOSSIBLE IN CENTRAL

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PAGE TWO WJGR3476 CONF

PEKIN BUT ALREADY BANNERS SAYING QUOTE DOWN WITH BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM UNQUOTE AND SUPPORTING THE PARTY ARE BEING DRAPED OVER MANY PUBLIC BLDGS. IN TIANANMEN SQUARE NOISE IS DEAFENING AS HUNDREDS OF LOUDSPEAKERS ON EDGE OF SQUARE, THAT URGE STUDENTS TO RETURN TO THEIR CLASSES, TRY TO DROWN OUT MAKESHIFT PA SYSTEM CONTROLLED BY STUDENTS IN CENTRE OF SQUARE. NEWSPAPERS ARE FULL OF LETS FROM ORGANIZATIONS AND ANONYMOUS INDIVIDUALS CALLING FOR REMOVAL OF GODDESS OF DEMOCRACY STATUE AND RESTORATION OF SQUARE TO ITS FORMER STATE.

3. HOWEVER, MOST FORMIDABLE WEAPON IN SUPPRESSING OVERT DISSENT IS PRESSURE PUT ON PARTY CELLS IN EVERY GOVT OR WORK UNIT TO FORCE CONFESSIONS OR EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR OFFICIAL LINE. FAILURE TO COMPLY MEANS ANYTHING FROM LOSS OF PERKS TO LOSS OF JOBS (AND IN SOME CASES, JAIL).

4. ERECTION OF STATUE, MODELLED ON STATUE OF LIBERTY, AND ARREST OF THREE LEADERS OF ILLEGAL PEKIN AUTONOMOUS WORKERS UNION HAVE PROVIDED MORE FUEL FOR CONTINUING DEMOS, BUT STUDENT ORGANIZATION ON SQUARE ITSELF IS NO/NO LONGER DISCIPLINED. OTHER FOREIGN

OBSERVERS AND LOCALS WE HAVE TALKED TO AGREE THAT ALTHOUGH DWINDLING NUMBER OF STUDENTS WILL TRY TO STAY UNTIL NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS STANDING CTTEE MTG CONVENES 20JUN, ARMY AND POLICE WILL SEIZE FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO RE-ESTABLISH ORDER. GIVEN HIGH DOSAGE OF

...3

PAGE THREE WJGR3476 CONFD

PARTY PROPAGANDA AND FLAGGING ENERGY OF MILITANTS WHO HAVE BEEN  
DEMONSTRATING NON-STOP FOR SIX WEEKS, THIS MOMENT COULD COME IN A  
MATTER OF DAYS. MOST PEOPLE IN PEKIN ARE RESIGNED TO A CHILL WIND  
OF CONSERVATIVE CONTROL SWEEPING OVER PARTY AND GOVT AND ARE  
NOT/NCT WILLING TO PUT UP A FIGHT.

CCC/078 010700Z WJGR3476



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CPP	USS/A-8	(1)	IMH
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PND	DMT/A-8	(1)	
PGP	BMD/A-6	(1)	
PNC	BMM/C-5	(1)	
	BFD/C-2	(1)	
	IMU		

HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

Political Crisis in China - The student demonstrations in China (originally touched-off by the April 15 death of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang), which have dominated Chinese political life for over a month have lost some momentum. Party strongman Deng Xiaoping and PM Li Peng have made headway in their efforts to exerting their control over the party, state and military, but they have not as yet been able to repress the open defiance of their authority by demonstrators in the streets.

Source

Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and media reports.

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

CONFIDENTIAL

- The extraordinary numbers of students who took part in demonstrations in April and earlier this month have been sharply reduced in the face of evidence that Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and their allies may soon move to repress public expressions of defiance of the authorities. The exhaustion of the demonstrators; an effective campaign of psychological pressure on the demonstrators by the Deng/Li faction; and the failure of the student leaders to develop a coherent strategy to counter the latest moves by their opponents has slowed the momentum of the protest movement, but it remains a direct challenge to the monopoly of political power previously enjoyed by the party and government.
- Since the May 20 imposition of martial law Party Secretary General Zhao Ziyang has not been seen, but PM Li Peng has re-emerged in a more prominent position, indicating that he and Deng Xiaoping have, at least for the time being, gained the upper hand in the political struggle taking place to determine who will govern the country.
- Large numbers of Army reinforcements are in place in and near Beijing, but it appears that the faction currently in control is attempting to consolidate its authority, and hoping the student movement will further weaken, before moving against the protest movement.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following the developing events in China closely.
- We are pleased that both the authorities and the students have shown restraint and that the demonstrations have generally not been violent.
- We continue to receive detailed reports from our Embassy in Peking and we are not aware of any danger to Canadians.
- On May 20 I issued a statement (attached) which called on the Chinese leadership exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Responsive Only - should the Chinese authorities violently repress the student demonstrators.

- Canada is concerned over the question of human rights in China, and is hopeful that further violence can be avoided.

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR — ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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Prepared by / Préparé par

GORDON HOULDEN

Division / Direction

PNR

Date

31 MAY 89

Tel. no. / N° de tél.

996-0980 000426

# News Release

# Communiqué

Department of  
External  
Affairs



Ministère des  
Affaires  
extérieures

No. 117

May 20, 1989.

## SITUATION IN BEIJING

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, called on the Chinese leadership to exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Earlier today the Government of the PRC imposed martial law on parts of Beijing, and army units were dispatched to disperse public gatherings in the centre of the city. It appears that those units remain some blocks away from their alleged destinations, and that hundreds of thousands of city residents are in the streets. There have thus far been only isolated and unconfirmed reports of violence in outlying areas.

Mr. Clark said "the Chinese Government, and indeed the students themselves, appear to have shown considerable restraint in the past weeks and we would hope that restraint will continue to be exercised. We trust that the current difficult situation will be resolved peacefully and the use of force avoided."

-30-

Secretary of State  
for  
External Affairs

Secrétaire d'État  
aux  
Affaires extérieures

Canada

000427

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3469 31MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 312900

INTO HKONG MANIL ENGKK TOKYO KLMR DELEI PCOOTT/IAC CIEAKUII ESC

TT NDHQOTT/DGIS/ DE CAF

BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR PGE PND PGF PNC PAM JIS ISS ISE ABMA ABMC MPD CFX

REF YOURTELS PNR1419 1421 29MAY OURTFL WJGR3465 30MAY

---UNREST IN CHINA:TRAVEL BY CDN TOURISTS,BUSINESSMEN,OFFICIAL  
VISITORS

REVIEW OF SITU AND CONSULTATION WITH FRIENDLY MISSIONS MILITATE  
AGAINST LIFTING RESPONSIVE ADVICE TO AVOID TOURIST TRAVEL TO PRC  
UNTIL LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW AND/OR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF  
LEADERSHIP CRISIS.SITU OF THOSE HAVING REAL BUSINESS TO DO IN  
CHINA IS DIFFERENT.

2.WHILE LARGE MASS DEMOS SEEM TO BE OVER(FOR TIME BEING),SITU  
REMAINS HIGHLY ABNORMAL AND UNPREDICTABLE.SOME STUDENTS(MAINLY  
FROM OUTSIDE PEKIN)REMAIN CAMPED ON TIANANMEN SQUARE AND SHOW  
NO/NO INTENTION OF LEAVING.ERECTION OF 30-FT QUOTE GODDESS OF  
LIBERTY UNQUOTE IN TIANANMEN HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS INSULT AND  
PROVOCATION BY STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA.WHETHER AUTHORITIES WILL  
WANT(OR FEEL ABLE)TO TAKE REPRESSIVE ACTION IS MATTER OF  
SPECULATION.BUT INFO DEPT OF MFA HAS REMINDED FOREIGN PRESS THAT

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PAGE TWO WJGR3469 CONF

TAKING PICTURES AS VIOLATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

3. BETWEEN 100,000 AND 200,000 TROOPS FROM PEKIN AND OUTSIDE PROVINCES REMAIN AROUND CITY. THERE IS NO/NO INDICATION THAT MILITARY FORCE WILL BE USED IN SUPPORT OF CONTENDING LEADERSHIP FACTIONS. BUT THERE ARE CREDIBLE REPORTS OF DIVISIONS WITHIN ARMY AS WELL AS WITHIN PEOPLES ARMED POLICE. IN DEEPENING POLITICAL CRISIS AND STALEMATE, IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO DISMISS ENTIRELY A DESPERATE RESORT TO FORCE.

4. CROWDS STILL ASSEMBLE IN ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION. FOR INSTANCE, ARREST OF LEADERS OF ILLEGAL INDEPENDENT WORKERS UNION HAS RESULTED YESTERDAY IN ASSEMBLY OF HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE AT GATE OF PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU (NEAR TIANANMEN).

5. ABOVE SUGGESTS TOURISTS MIGHT BE ADVISED TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE DESTINATIONS UNTIL SITU CHANGES. THIS IN OUR VIEW MAY TAKE SOME TIME.

6. AMERICAN, AUSTRALIAN AND BRITISH EMBS CONFIRM THEY ARE NOT/NOT RESCINDING THEIR ADVICE TO TOURISTS THAT THEY AVOID CHINA UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

7. BUSINESSMEN AND OFFICIAL DELS: THOSE WITH ONGOING CONTACTS AND REAL BUSINESS TO DO IN CHINA SHOULD NOT/NOT BE DISCOURAGED FROM TRAVELLING TO PEKIN, AND CERTAINLY NOT/NOT TO OTHER PARTS OF CHINA WHERE SITU APPEARS MORE NORMAL. AS INDICATED REFTTEL, IT WOULD BE

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PAGE THREE WJGR3469 CONF

WISE TO ASCERTAIN CHINESE CONTACTS ARE READY TO RECEIVE THEM AND TO BUSINESS. AS CURRENT STALFIMATE MAY BE PROLONGED, AND GIVEN OUR INABILITY TO POINT TO IMMINENT DANGER, BUSINESS INTERESTS MIGHT SUFFER FROM CONTINUED POSTPONEMENT OF THEIR PLANS. HOWEVER THIS IS NOT/NCT TIME FOR QUOTE FIRST TIME UNQUOTE BUSINESSMEN, IE, THOSE WHO ARE NEW TO PRC MARKET TO COME. LIKE TOURISTS, THEY SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO POSTPONE.

8. WE WILL TRANSMIT SANITIZED VERSION OF OUR RESPONSE TO SHNGI BY PHONE.

CCC/078 310800Z WJGR3469



MESSAGE

Accession/Référence

604154/890505

File/Dossier

80-10-1-CHINA

20-CHINA-1-4

31 MAY 89 21 159z

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SECURITY  
SÉCURITÉ

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM/DE  
TO/À  
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FM PNR1461 31MAY89  
TO PEKIN DELIVER BY 010900  
INFO HKONG CIDA/HULL/BSC TT NDHQOTT/DGIS/DE CAF  
BAG SHNGI DE PEK  
DISTR PGB PND PGP PNC PAM JIS ISEO ISEW ABMA ABMC MPD CFX  
REF YOURTEL WJGR3469 31MAY

--UNREST IN CHINA:TRAVEL BY CDN TOURISTS,BUSINESSMEN,OFFICIAL VISITORS

WE HAVE DISCUSSED CONTENTS OF YOUR REFTEL WITH CIDA/BSC,PNC AND JIS,AND CONCUR WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATION THAT RESPONSIVE ADVICE TO TOURISTS NOT/NOT TO VISIT PRC WILL NOT/NOT BE LIFTED,BUT THAT BUSINESSMEN AND CDN OFFICIALS WITH ONGOING CONTACTS AND REAL BUSINESS TO CONDUCT WILL NOT/NOT BE DISCOURAGED FM VISITING CHINA AT THIS TIME.WE WILL ENCOURAGE INDIV TO VERIFY THAT THEIR CHINESE CONTACTS ARE IN A POSITION TO RECEIVE THEM.WE HAVE BEGUN SO ADVISING CDN OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN WHO HAVE CONTACTED US CONCERNING THEIR TRAVEL PLANS.

2.CIDA/BSC WISHES CONFIRMATION THAT LIFTING OF TRAVEL RESTRICTION ON OFFICIAL VISITORS ALSO INCLUDES A;MONITORING AND EVALUATION MISSIONS;B;PROJECT INCEPTION MISSIONS AND STEERING COMMITTEE MTGS;AND C;SHORT AND LONG-TERM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE MISSIONS (INCLUDING DEPENDENTS).GRATEFUL FOR CLARIFICATION ON THESE POINTS

BY 010900 OTT TIME,WITH DELIVERY AT SAME TIME TO CIDA/BSC.

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DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG	PNR	996-0980 SIG	HOWARD BALLOCH

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CONFID PNR1461 31MAY89

3. CIDA HAS INFORMED US THAT THERE <sup>HAVE</sup> ALREADY BEEN SUBSTANTIAL COSTS TO CIDA CHINA PROGRAM DUE TO CANCELLATIONS CAUSED BY UNREST.

4. CIDA/BSC ALSO INFORMED US THAT TELEGLOBE CDA HAD ALREADY RECEIVED A TEL FM EMB/HAMILTON INDICATING THAT THEIR SCHEDULED TRAVEL TO PRC COULD PROCEED AS SCHEDULED 01JUN. AT THIS POINT CIDA/BSC WAS STILL ADVISING THAT VISITS TO PRC SHOULD BE POSTPONED. (TELEGLOBE WILL TRAVEL AS PLANNED.) GRATEFUL FOR ASSISTANCE OF ALL SECTIONS OF EMB IN ENSURING THAT WE ARE IN POSITION TO GIVE CONSISTENT ADVICE ON TRAVEL TO CHINA.

5. GRATEFUL YOU CONTINUE TO KEEP US INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER SUGGESTED CHANGES TO THIS POLICY, IN RESPONSE TO EVOLVING SITUATION IN CONDITIONS IN PRC.

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

RETURN TO BICO FOR FILING  
RENOYER AU BICO POUR - ETE  
PORTE AU DOSSIER

ACC 604386 REF 87060 DATE  
FILE 20-China-1-4 DOSSIER

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3467 30MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 300900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC

CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG WSAW DE OTT SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS

JIS

REF OURTEL WJGR3461 29MAY

---ARCH-CONSERVATIVES CRANK UP IDEOLOGICAL MACHINE  
EXTENSIVE TV AND PEOPLES DAILY COVERAGE OF SPEECH BY  
ARCH-CONSERVATIVE PENG ZHEN, CHAIRMAN OF PARTY CENTRAL ADVISORY  
COMMISSION, CONFIRMS THAT CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGUES ARE NOW  
CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITION. HOWEVER, DELAY IN ANNOUNCING NEW  
LINE-UP INDICATES CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT OVER WHO IS TO BE PURGED,  
TERMS OF PURGE AND MOST IMPORTANT, WHO WILL REPLACE THOSE WHO FALL  
FROM POWER.

2. STUDENTS HAVE ERECTED 30-FOOT PLASTER COPY OF STATUE OF LIBERTY  
AT NORTH END OF TIANANMEN IN WHAT MAY BE THEIR LAST DRAMATIC  
GESTURE TOWARDS A COMMUNIST PARTY THAT IS REGROUPING AND PREPARING  
TO REASSERT ITS AUTHORITY.

3. SPEECH BY PENG ZHEN CALLED FOR UNIFIED THINKING IN LINE WITH THE

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PAGE TWO WJGR3467 CONF

NOITCA  
A BTUJZ

CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW(SIC). HINTING AT SERIOUS IDEOLOGICAL SPLIT IN PARTY, PENG ZHEN SAID THAT IF BRINGING UNITY TO IDEOLOGICAL THINKING IS NOT/NOT ADDRESSED, THEN PARTYS PROBLEMS CANNOT/NOT BE SOLVED. SPEECH STRESSED THAT PRC WAS LED BY WORKING CLASS NOT/NOT BOURGEOIS CLASS. BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM (TERM USED TO ATTACK INTELLECTUALS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FOLLOWING PURGE OF HU YAOBANG IN 1987) IS NEGATION OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM, HE SAID. HE REITERATED THAT DESPITE NOBLE MOTIVATION OF STUDENTS, THEIR ACTIONS HAD CAUSED CHAOTIC SITU AND THAT THESE ACTIONS WERE THUS ILLEGAL AND AGAINST CONSTITUTION. HE CALLED FOR RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTION AND WARNED THAT CLEAR LINE SHOULD BE DRAWN BETWEEN BROAD MASSES AND QUOTE VERY, VERY SMALL NUMBER OF CONSPIRATORS UNQUOTE.

4. ENTIRE SPEECH WAS BROADCAST AS FIRST ITEM ON TV NEWS AND GOOD PORTION OF REST OF NEWS CONSISTED OF REPORTS THAT VARIOUS PARTY, STATE AND WORKERS UNITS SUPPORT CORRECT DECISIONS OF LEADERSHIP AND ARE BUSY STUDYING SPEECHES OF LI PENG AND YANG SHANGKUN. STYLE OF COVERAGE IS REMINISCENT OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD. IT IS REMARKABLE THAT PENG ZHEN, WHO IS FORMER CHAIRMAN OF NPC STANDING CTTEE, HAS BEEN GIVEN FAR MORE PROMINENCE THAN CURRENT CHAIRMAN, WAN LI, A FIRM SUPPORTER OF DENG XIAOPING. DENG'S NAME HAS NOT/NOT BEEN MENTIONED IN PRESS SINCE EARLY LAST WEEK, WHICH COULD SUPPORT OUR VIEW THAT HAVING HAD TO PURGE HIS REFORMIST SUPPORTERS, EVEN DENG MAY BE FIGHTING FOR HIS POLITICAL LIFE.

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**ACTION  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3465 30MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 300900

INFO HKONG MANIL BNGKK TOKYO KLMPR DELHI PCOOTT/REAGN CIDA

TT NDHQOTT/DGIS/ DE CAF

BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR PGB PND PGP PNC PAM JIS ISE ABMA ABMC MPD

REF YOURTELS 1419 1421 29MAY

FOR FILING		
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CFX	20-CHINA-1-4	

---UNREST IN CHINA:TRAVEL BY CDN TOURISTS AND OFFIC AL VISITORS

WE UNDERSTAND STUDENT LEADERS HAVE AGREED TO VACATE TIANANMEN

SQUARE LATE TODAY(WHERE STUDENTS HAVE ERECTED LARGE PLASTER STATUE  
OF LIBERTY).LARGE QUOTE BAROUD D HONNEUR UNQUOTE DEMO MAY TAKE PLACE.

2.TOURISTS:WILL ADVISE TOMORROW.UNLESS SOMETHING UNEXPECTED  
HAPPENS,WOULD FORESEE LIFTING CAVEAT ON TRAVEL TO CHINA(ALTHOUGH  
TECHNICALLY,PARTIAL MARTIAL LAW WILL REMAIN IN FORCE.UNTIL  
LIFTED,THE SQUARE,FORBIDDEN CITY,SUN YAT SEN ADN PEOPLES PARKS  
WILL BE OUT OF BOUNDS).

3.OFFICIAL VISITORS:SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION TOMORROW OF RETURN TO  
VISIBLE NORMALCY,WOULD SEE NO/NO REASON TO KEEP RESTRICTION ON  
OFFICIAL TRAVEL.HOWEVER,IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ASCERTAIN ON CASE  
BY CASE BASIS THAT HOSTS ARE IN A POSITION TO PROCEED AS PLANNED.  
THERE MAY BE SOME SHAKE-UP AT BUREAUCRATIC LEVELS.FYI:MINISTRY OF  
PERSONNEL IS INSTRUCTED TO QUOTE SERIOUSLY STUDY LI PENG/YANG  
SHANGKUN SPEECHES UNQUOTE.THERE MAY OR MAY NOT/NOT BE RESULTING  
BUREAUCRATIC UNCERTAINTY.

CCC/078 3007002 WJGR3465

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FILE	CLASSIFICATION
20- <u>China-1-4</u>	
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*Handwritten notes:*  
 HK 30-50-94-89  
 File  
 [Signature]

FBI 093MAY30

PRC: WORKER LEADERS ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED IN BEIJING

HK3005094089 HONG KONG HSIN WAN PAO IN CHINESE 30 MAY 89 P 1

["SPECIAL DISPATCH" FROM BEIJING BY UNIDENTIFIED HSIN WAN PAO REPORTER: "HUNDREDS OF WORKERS AND STUDENTS SURROUNDED BEIJING MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU, DEMANDING RELEASE OF THREE RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF WORKERS AUTONOMOUS UNION"]

[TEXT] BEIJING, 30 MAY--SEVERAL HUNDRED WORKERS AND STUDENTS GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE BEIJING MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU, DEMANDING THE RELEASE OF THREE RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF THE WORKERS AUTONOMOUS UNION WHO WERE ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED SECRETLY.

BY THIS AFTERNOON, MORE AND MORE STUDENTS AND WORKERS HAVE COME TO THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU, AND THE MASSES WERE GETTING MORE AND MORE EXCITED. THEY CONTINUOUSLY SHOUTED THE SLOGAN: "RELEASE OUR MEN!"

IT WAS REPORTED THAT THE THREE WORKERS WHO WERE SECRETLY ARRESTED AND MISSING WERE RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF THE WORKERS' AUTONOMOUS UNION. ONE OF THEM WAS SHEN YINHAN, PROPAGANDA DIRECTOR OF THE UNION. ACCORDING TO EYEWITNESSES, IN THE SMALL HOURS OF TODAY, HE WAS KIDNAPPED AND PUSHED INTO A JEEP NEAR THE BEIJING HOTEL. SHEN IS A RAILWAY WORKER.

EYEWITNESSES ADDED THAT AT 0130 TODAY, SHEN YINHAN WAS RIDING A BICYCLE, CROSSING A LANE NEAR THE BEIJING HOTEL. JUST AT THAT TIME, SEVERAL PERSONS SUDDENLY RUSHED OUT A JEEP PARKED NEARBY, DRAGGED HIM DOWN, AND PUSHED HIM INTO THE JEEP. WHEN PASSERSBY ASKED THEM WHAT HAD HAPPENED, THOSE PERSONS SAID THAT THE MATTER HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THEM.

EYEWITNESSES CONTINUED: WHEN SHEN YIHAN WAS PUSHED INTO THE JEEP, HE STEALTHILY THREW OUT TWO NOTEBOOKS. SOME PEOPLE PICKED THEM UP, AND FOUND OUT HIS NAME FROM THE NOTEBOOK, AND THE NAMES OF THOSE PERSONS WHO CONTRIBUTED MONEY. THEY PASSED THE NOTEBOOKS TO STUDENTS AT THE SQUARE. STUDENTS IMMEDIATELY PASSED ON THE NEWS TO THE WORKERS' AUTONOMOUS UNION.

IN ADDITION, BAI DONGPING AND QIAN YUMIN, MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE AUTONOMOUS UNION, ARE ALSO REPORTEDLY MISSING. IN THE SMALL HOURS TODAY, THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS WENT TO THE FEDERATION TO LOOK FOR THEM. BAI DONGPING'S WIFE WILL GIVE BIRTH TO A BABY SOON.

AT 0900 TODAY, MORE THAN 40 WORKERS WENT TO THE BEIJING MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS, BUT THEY RECEIVED NO SATISFACTORY REPLY. AT 1100, THERE WERE MORE THAN 200 PERSONS IN FRONT OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU. MOST OF THEM SIT ON THE FLOOR, AND SEVERAL WORKER REPRESENTATIVES HELD NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PUBLIC SECURITY PERSONNEL. PUBLIC SECURITY PERSONNEL STATED THAT THEY WOULD CLARIFY THE ACTUAL STATE OF AFFAIRS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, BUT WORKERS DEMANDED AN IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES. IN FRONT OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU, THERE WERE MORE THAN 20 PUBLIC SECURITY PERSONNEL STANDING GUARD, AND SOME OF THEM WERE RECORDING VIDEOS ON THE SPOT. IN ADDITION, THERE WERE SEVERAL HUNDRED ONLOOKERS.

AT ABOUT NOON, MORE AND MORE WORKERS AND STUDENTS CAME TO THE SITE CONTINUOUSLY. THEY CARRIED BANNERS WITH SLOGANS ON THEM WHICH READ: "IT IS NOT A SIN TO LOVE ONE'S COUNTRY," "WORKERS HAVE ALSO

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS," AND SO ON. THEY ALSO SHOUTED: "RELEASE OUR MEN!"

30 MAY 0954Z JLB

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MESSAGE

Accession/Référence
File/Dossier <i>20-China-1-f</i>

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FM/DE	FM <sup>EXT OFF</sup> PNR1446 30MAY89
TO/À	TO PEKIN
INFO	INFO HKONG CIDA HULL/BSC
DISTR	BAG SHNGI DE PEK
REF	DISTR PGB PND PGP PNC CFX
SUBJ/SUJ	<p>--UNREST IN CHINA-HEILONGJIANG GOVERNOR</p> <p>ALBERTA DEPT OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS HAS ASKED FOR EXTAFF ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING TO THEIR ATTN ANY INDICATION YOU RECEIVE THAT POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN PRC HAS AFFECTED STANDING OF HEILONGJIANG GOVERNOR SUN WEIBEN. SUN IS EXPECTED IN ALBERTA ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT IN JUL89.</p>

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG <i>[Signature]</i>	PNR <i>[Signature]</i>	996-0980	HOWARD BALLOCH SIG <i>[Signature]</i>

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29 May/89  
HHS  
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BICW

FBIIS @42MAY29

PRC: MAIN POINTS OF YANG SHANGKUN'S SPEECH OF 24 MAY

TAKE 1 OF 5 -- YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH

HK2905064089 HONG KONG MING PAO IN CHINESE 29 MAY 89 PP 1, 2

[REPORT: "MAIN POINTS OF YANG SHANGKUN'S SPEECH AT EMERGENCY ENLARGED MEETING OF CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION ON 24 MAY 89 (EDITED FROM TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH)"]

fascinating!  
3

[TEXT] (EDITOR'S NOTE: THIS IS A SPEECH GIVEN BY YANG SHANGKUN, EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AT AN EMERGENCY ENLARGED MEETING OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION ON 24 MAY. IT WAS ORIGINALLY ENTITLED "MAIN POINTS OF COMRADE YANG SHANGKUN'S SPEECH AT EMERGENCY ENLARGED MEETING OF CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION ON 24 MAY 1989, EDITED FROM THE TRANSCRIPT" THE SUBHEADS ARE OURS)

IS THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS STILL NOT A DISTURBANCE? [SUBHEAD]

THE MILITARY COMMISSION HAS DECIDED TO CONVENE AN EMERGENCY ENLARGED MEETING AND ASK THE PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBLE COMRADES OF ALL MAJOR UNITS TO ATTEND. THE PRINCIPAL AIM IS TO TELL YOU ONE THING, NAMELY, THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BEIJING IS STILL CHAOTIC. ALTHOUGH MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN DECLARED, SOME OF THE MARTIAL LAW TASKS HAVE IN FACT NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT. SOME ARMY UNITS ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW HAVE BEEN BLOCKED AND THEY HAVE NOT FORCIBLY PASSED THROUGH, IN ORDER TO AVOID DIRECT CONFRONTATION. THROUGH GREAT EFFORT, MOST UNITS HAVE NOW ENTERED THEIR PREDETERMINED POSITIONS. THE SITUATION WAS EVEN MORE CHAOTIC A FEW DAYS AGO. NO VEHICLE BEARING A MILITARY PLATE COULD PASS THROUGH. IS THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS STILL NOT A DISTURBANCE? THE SITUATION IN THE CAPITAL IS PRECISELY A DISTURBANCE. THIS DISTURBANCE HAS NOT SUBSIDED.

THERE HAVE BEEN UPS AND DOWNS IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE PAST MONTH AND MORE. GENERALLY SPEAKING, IT IS MOVING UPWARD. SINCE COMRADE YAOBANG'S DEATH, THE SLOGANS IN THE STREETS HAVE CHANGED SEVERAL TIMES. WHEN COMRADE YAOBANG DIED, THE SLOGANS WERE TO REHABILITATE COMRADE YAOBANG AND "DOWN WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY," "DOWN WITH THE BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT," AND "DOWN WITH THE CORRUPT GOVERNMENT." AT THAT TIME, THE SLOGAN "DOWN WITH DENG XIAOPING" WAS NOT COMMON AND WAS ONLY SHOUTED IN A SMALL NUMBER OF PLACES. AFTER RENMIN RIBAO CARRIED THE EDITORIAL "IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE A CLEAR-CUT STAND AGAINST DISTURBANCES" ON 26 APRIL, THE STUDENTS CHANGED THEIR SLOGANS. THEY NO LONGER SHOUTED "DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT" AND "DOWN WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY" BUT CHANGED THE SLOGANS TO "ELIMINATE CORRUPTION," "DOWN WITH BUREAUCRATS," "SUPPORT THE CORRECT CPC," AND "SUPPORT THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES." AFTER 4 MAY, SOME OF OUR COMRADES SUDDENLY SAID THAT THE CURRENT MOVEMENT WAS PATRIOTIC AND REASONABLE. THIS IMMEDIATELY STARTED ANOTHER HIGH TIDE, WHICH LATER DEVELOPED INTO A HUNGER STRIKE. IN COMRADE LI XIMING'S SPEECH, HE TALKED ABOUT THESE THINGS IN GREAT DETAIL. THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS DISTRIBUTED THE MATERIAL TO YOU, AND I AM NOT GOING INTO DETAIL ABOUT IT HERE. THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALWAYS TRIED TO EASE THE FEELINGS OF THE MASSES AND CALM THE SITUATION. BUT THEY HAVE STIRRED UP GREATER TROUBLE AND NOW BEIJING IS OUT OF CONTROL. MOREOVER, FOR A TIME IT WAS CALM IN OTHER

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER <b>20-CHINA-1-4</b>	

PROVINCES BUT NOW TROUBLE HAS BEEN STIRRED UP AGAIN THERE. THERE IS NOW TROUBLE IN ALMOST EVERY PROVINCE AND CITY. IN SHORT, EVERY TIME WE TAKE A STEP BACKWARD, THEY TAKE A STEP FORWARD. AT PRESENT, THEY ARE FOCUSING ON ONE SLOGAN, NAMELY, "DOWN WITH LI PENG." THIS IS WHAT THEY HAVE DECIDED INTERNALLY, AND THEY HAVE DISCARDED OTHER SLOGANS. THEIR OBJECTIVE IS TO OVERTHROW THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. THE SITUATION BECAME STABLE FOR A TIME, BUT THE DISTURBANCES STARTED UP AGAIN FOLLOWING THE TALK OR ARTICLE OF A CERTAIN PERSON IN THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES. AFTER IT SUBSIDED A LITTLE, IT STARTED UP AGAIN. EVENTUALLY, BEIJING COULD NOT BUT DECLARE MARTIAL LAW.

WHY HAS THIS SITUATION EMERGED? WHY HAS THE CAPITAL GONE OUT OF CONTROL? WHY HAVE THERE BEEN MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY? WHY ARE THE SLOGANS THEY RAISE SPECIALLY DIRECTED AT THE STATE COUNCIL? SOME TIME AGO, SOME OLD COMRADES OF NOBLE CHARACTER AND HIGH PRESTIGE, SUCH AS COMRADE CHEN YUN, COMRADE XIANNIAN, COMRADE PENG ZHEN, COMRADE XIAOPING, COMRADE WANG ZHEN, AND SISTER DENG YINGCHAO, WERE VERY WORRIED ABOUT THIS AND ASKED WHY THE SITUATION HAD DEVELOPED TO SUCH AN EXTENT. AFTER ANALYZING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINGS, THEY DREW THIS CONCLUSION: THE EVENTS ARE HAPPENING AMONG THE STUDENTS, BUT THE ROOT IS IN THE PARTY. THAT IS TO SAY, THERE ARE TWO VOICES, TWO DIFFERENT VOICES IN THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU. AS SUMMARIZED BY COMRADE XIANNIAN, THERE ARE TWO HEADQUARTERS.

TWO HEADQUARTERS IN THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU  
[SUBHEAD]

THE SPIRIT OF THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL WAS TO RESOLUTELY OPPOSE DISTURBANCES. THIS WAS DISCUSSED AND DECIDED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE. AT THAT TIME, COMRADE ZIYANG WAS NOT IN BEIJING BUT IN KOREA. A CABLE WAS SENT TO COMRADE ZIYANG, INFORMING HIM OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE'S DECISION AND COMRADE XIAOPING'S VIEW.  
[PARAGRAPH CONTINUES]

(MORE)

29 MAY 0725Z JLB

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FBIS 044MAY29

TAKE 2 OF 5--042 (YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH)

///VIEW. [PARAGRAPH CONTINUES]

HK2905064289

[TEXT] HE CABLED A REPLY, SAYING THAT HE AGREED AND COMPLETELY SUPPORTED THIS. HOWEVER, WHEN HE RETURNED ON 29 APRIL, HE WAS THE FIRST TO SAY THAT THE TONE OF THE EDITORIAL WAS TOO SHRILL AND THAT ITS NATURE WAS NOT CORRECTLY DETERMINED. THE EDITORIAL DEALT WITH THE QUESTION OF OPPOSING THE DISTURBANCE, POINTING OUT THAT THE DISTURBANCE WAS ORGANIZED AND PLANNED AND THAT ITS NATURE WAS TO NEGATE SOCIALISM AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. IN HIS VIEW, HOWEVER, IT WAS A PATRIOTIC STUDENT MOVEMENT. HE DID NOT RECOGNIZE THIS AS A DISTURBANCE. AS SOON AS HE RETURNED, HE WANTED THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO DO AS HE SAID AND ANNOUNCE THAT THE EDITORIAL WAS ERRONEOUS. THUS, ANOTHER VOICE AMONG THE FIVE STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS WAS HEARD. HE SPOKE SEVERAL TIMES. THE FIRST TIME WAS HIS 3 MAY SPEECH MARKING THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT. AT THAT TIME, IT COULD NOT BE DISCERNED CLEARLY. HE TALKED AT GREAT LENGTH ABOUT THE DISTURBANCE, SAYING THAT OUR COUNTRY COULD NOT TOLERATE IT. THIS WAS GOOD. BUT HE ALSO SAID THAT THE STUDENT MOVEMENT WAS STILL PATRIOTIC. IT WAS MOST OBVIOUS IN A SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING WITH THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. YOU SHOULD READ THE SPEECH CAREFULLY; IN IT HE SAYS THAT THE STUDENTS' ACTION IS A PATRIOTIC ONE AND UNDERSTANDABLE. THEN HE POINTED OUT THAT WE INDEED HAVE MANY CORRUPT PHENOMENA, THAT WE ARE IDENTICAL WITH THE STUDENTS IN THINKING, AND THAT WE SHOULD SOLVE THESE QUESTIONS THROUGH DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM. IN HIS SPEECH HE DID NOT SAY WHETHER THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL WAS CORRECT OR NOT; HE JUST SKIRTED THE ISSUE. BUT HE DID TALK ABOUT THE DISTURBANCE. THIS WAS QUITE AN IMPORTANT SPEECH. THAT IS WHY CHAIRMAN DENG SAID THAT THE STUDENT RIOTING HAS EXPERIENCED SEVERAL RELAPSES AND THAT TWO VOICES HAVE EMERGED. THIS PRECISELY REFERS TO COMRADE ZHAO ZIYANG'S SPEECH. IT WAS A TURNING POINT. WITH THE EXPOSURE TO THE STUDENTS OF THE DIFFERENT VIEWS AMONG THE STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STUDENTS BECAME EVEN MORE VIGOROUS, AND THUS, SUCH SLOGANS AS "SUPPORT ZHAO ZIYANG," "DOWN WITH DENG XIAOPING," AND "DOWN WITH LI PENG" EMERGED. A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAS EMERGED [SUBHEAD]

DURING THIS PERIOD, THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD MANY MEETINGS, SAYING THAT THE TONE SHOULD NO LONGER BE CHANGED. BUT HE STUCK TO HIS VIEW. EVEN WHEN COMRADE XIAOPING ATTENDED THE MEETING, HE ALSO STUCK TO HIS VIEW, SAYING THAT HE WAS UNCONVINCED AND THAT ON THE QUESTION OF THE NATURE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT, HE COULD NOT MAINTAIN UNANIMITY WITH THE ARGUMENTS OF COMRADE XIAOPING AND OTHER COMRADES OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE. HE THEREFORE ASKED TO RESIGN, SAYING THAT HE COULD NO LONGER WORK. LATER, I TOLD HIM THAT THE ISSUE WAS SO GREAT THAT IF THE NATURE WAS CHANGED, WE WOULD ALL COLLAPSE. THE VAST NUMBERS OF SCHOOL TEACHERS, PRESIDENTS, AND ACTIVE STUDENTS WOULD BE SLAPPED IN THE FACE AND COULD NOT HAVE A FOOTHOLD, AND THE VAST NUMBERS OF STUDENT PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES, AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS,

WHO HAD BEEN WORKING HARD AMONG THE STUDENTS, WOULD BE OVERTHROWN. BY THIS TIME THE STUDENTS SAID THEY WANTED TO SET UP THEIR OWN NEW STUDENT FEDERATION TO OPPOSE THE ORIGINAL, OLD STUDENT FEDERATION. MOREOVER, THEY WANTED TO HOLD THEIR OWN ELECTIONS. A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ALSO EMERGED IN BEIJING. AT BEIJING UNIVERSITY, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SCHOOL BROADCASTING STATION WAS OCCUPIED AND THE NAMEPLATE OF THE STUDENT UNION WAS SMASHED. SIMILAR EVENTS ALSO HAPPENED AT THE CHINA POLITICS AND LAW UNIVERSITY. CASES OF SEIZING BROADCASTING STATIONS OCCURRED IN SOME UNIVERSITIES, AND SOME STUDENTS EVEN ENTERED THE STATIONS BY BREAKING THROUGH WINDOWS. THE PRESENT PROBLEM IS THAT TWO DIFFERENT VOICES IN THE PARTY HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY EXPOSED IN SOCIETY. THE STUDENTS FEEL THAT THERE IS A PERSON IN THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO SUPPORTS THEM AND, THEREFORE, THEY STIR UP GREATER TROUBLE, CALLING FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS [NPC] STANDING COMMITTEE OR AN EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE NPC. THEIR OBJECTIVE IS CLEARLY TO USE THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO PASS A RESOLUTION TO NEGATE THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL AND, IN LINE WITH THEIR ARGUMENT, AFFIRM THAT THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS A SPONTANEOUS PATRIOTIC, DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. PLEASE THINK IT OVER; IF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE MAKES SUCH A RESOLUTION, DOES THIS NOT MEAN THAT THE AFORESAID EDITORIAL WOULD BE NEGATED? NOW THEY ARE ENERGETICALLY CARRYING OUT THIS WORK AND INITIATING A SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN. IN THE FACE OF THIS SITUATION, WHAT SHOULD WE DO? COMRADES CHEN YUN AND XIANNIAN HAVE HURRIEDLY RETURNED TO BEIJING, SAYING THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO HOLD A MEETING TO DEFINE A POLICY ON WHAT SHOULD BE DONE. NATURALLY, OTHER COMRADES, SUCH AS PENG ZHEN, WANG ZHEN, SISTER DENG, AND THE TWO OLD MARSHALS, ARE ALSO VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION. SHALL WE RETREAT OR NOT? IF WE RETREAT, WE SHALL HAVE TO RECOGNIZE WHAT THEY WANT; IF WE DON'T, WE SHOULD UNSWERVINGLY CARRY OUT THE PRINCIPLE OF THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL.

(MORE)

29 MAY 0730Z JLB

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FBIS 045MAY29

TAKE 3 OF 5-- 042 (YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH)

//26 APRIL EDITORIAL.

HK2905064489

[TEXT] THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THESE OCTOGENARIANS HAD GOTTEN TOGETHER TO DISCUSS CENTRAL AFFAIRS IN MANY YEARS. XIAOPING, CHEN YUN, PENG ZHEN, BIG SISTER DENG, AND WANG ZHEN ALL FELT THAT THERE WAS NO WAY TO RETREAT, BECAUSE A RETREAT WOULD INDICATE OUR COLLAPSE AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE PRC, AND THIS WOULD MEAN A COMEBACK FOR CAPITALISM, JUST AS FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES, WHO SAID THAT OUR SOCIALISM WOULD BECOME LIBERALISM THROUGH A NUMBER OF GENERATIONS, HAD HOPED. COMRADE CHEN YUN MADE A VERY IMPORTANT STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WAS BUILT THROUGH DECADES OF WAR, AND THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS WON WITH THE BLOOD OF TENS OF MILLIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS COULD BE RUINED OVERNIGHT, AND THAT THIS WOULD BE EQUAL TO THE NEGATION OF THE CPC. COMRADES IN BEIJING CLEARLY HEARD WHAT COMRADE ZIYANG SAID ON THE MORNING OF 19 MAY WHEN VISITING THE HUNGER STRIKERS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE. ANY PERSON OF SENSIBILITY COULD DISCERN THAT HIS WORDS WERE UNREASONABLE. FIRST, HE SAID THAT WE HAD COME TOO LATE, AND THEN HE BEGAN TO CRY. SECOND, HE SAID THAT THE EVENTS WERE VERY COMPLICATED AND THAT MANY THINGS COULD NOT BE SOLVED AT THAT MOMENT, BUT THAT THINGS COULD EVENTUALLY BE SOLVED IN TIME. HE TOLD THE STUDENTS THAT THEY WERE STILL YOUNG AND HAD A LONG WAY TO GO BUT THAT WE ARE OLD SO IT DOES NOT MATTER. IT WAS A LOW-KEY SPEECH FULL OF COMPUNCTION. IT SEEMED THAT HE HAD A GREAT DEAL OF PAIN AND DIFFICULTY THAT COULD NOT BE CLEARLY EXPRESSED. AFTER HEARING WHAT HE SAID, MOST CADRES IN BEIJING SAID THAT HE SIMPLY HAD NO SENSE OF ORGANIZATION OR DISCIPLINE. ON THE SAME EVENING, WE HELD A MEETING OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT, AND MILITARY CADRES IN BEIJING, AND HE WAS ALSO ASKED TO ATTEND THIS MEETING. HOWEVER, HE SUDDENLY DECIDED NOT TO ATTEND THIS MEETING SHORTLY BEFORE THE MEETING WAS OPENED. WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY, PEOPLE COULD IMMEDIATELY DISCERN THE PROBLEM. ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL AGENDA, HE WAS SUPPOSED TO MAKE A SPEECH AT THE MEETING. SO WHEN THE TIME FOR THE MEETING WAS UP, WE STILL HAD TO WAIT FOR HIM. AT THAT MOMENT, THE TROOPS WERE MOVING TOWARD BEIJING. IT WAS PLANNED TO DECLARE THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW AT ~~0000~~ ON 21 MAY, BECAUSE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, MARTIAL LAW HAD TO BE IMPOSED. AS A RESULT, MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPOSED ON 20 MAY (DATE AS PUBLISHED). ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL AGENDA, I WAS NOT REQUIRED TO MAKE A SPEECH. HOWEVER, I COULD NOT BUT MAKE AN IMPROMPTU SPEECH, BECAUSE THE MILITARY VEHICLES WERE BLOCKED THERE. HOW COULD I NOT SAY SOMETHING TO EXPLAIN THIS? SO I SAID THAT THE TROOPS WERE ORDERED TO MOVE INTO BEIJING TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER, AND THEY WERE ABSOLUTELY NOT AIMED AT THE STUDENTS. IF YOU DO NOT BELIEVE THIS, JUST SEE WHAT HAPPENS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

ZHAO WROTE A LETTER OF RESIGNATION TO DENG (SUBHEAD)

MATERIALS COMPILED BY SEVERAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES WERE CIRCULATED IN SOCIETY. THEY WERE EVEN PRINTED UNDER THE NAME RENMIN RIBAO EXTRA ISSUE. FIVE POINTS WERE MENTIONED THERE. THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT WILL REPRINT THESE MATERIALS FOR YOUR

REFERENCE. ACCORDING TO THESE MATERIALS, THE SEVERAL POINTS PUT FORWARD BY COMRADE ZHAO ZIYANG WERE ALL VETOED BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU STANDING COMMITTEE, BUT THIS WAS ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE POINT THAT PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED ALONG THE COURSE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM WAS ENDORSED BY ALL OF THE PEOPLE. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE BE HELD AFTER COMRADE WAN LI RETURNED HOME. FOR A PERIOD OF NEARLY 1 MONTH, ALL OF THE COMRADES TRIED TO PERSUADE ZHAO, TELLING HIM THAT THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL SHOULD NOT BE NEGATED, OTHERWISE OUR POSITION WOULD BECOME UNTENABLE, BUT HE REFUSED TO ACCEPT THIS. AFTER COMRADE XIAOPING AND OTHER ELDERS DECIDED THAT NO CONCESSION COULD BE MADE, HE WROTE A LETTER TO COMRADE XIAOPING, SAYING THAT HE WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO WORK, BECAUSE "MY IDEA IS DIFFERENT FROM YOURS AND I CANNOT GO ALONG WITH YOUR DECISION, AND IF I CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THE STANDING COMMITTEE, I MIGHT BE AN OBSTACLE TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IDEA OF SEVERAL SENIOR COMRADES, INCLUDING CHAIRMAN DENG." AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HE ALSO AGREED THAT MAKING A DECISION IS BETTER THAN MAKING NO DECISION. WHEN COMRADE XIAOPING AND SEVERAL OTHER OLD COMRADES DECIDED NOT TO RETREAT, HE SAID THAT MAKING A DECISION WAS BETTER THAN MAKING NO DECISION. HE THEN SAID THAT HE WAS WILLING TO FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MINORITY BEING SUBORDINATE TO THE MAJORITY. HE SAID THAT WHAT COMRADE XIAOPING SAID WAS CORRECT AND THIS WAS A PRINCIPLE OF THE ORGANIZATION'S DISCIPLINE. FINALLY, HE RESIGNED.

(MORE)

29 MAY 0742Z JLB

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000441

FBIS 046MAY29

TAKE 4 OF 5-- 042 (YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH)

///FINALLY, HE RESIGNED.

HK2905064689

[TEXT] THEREFORE, AS I HAVE TOLD YOU, THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE PROBLEM LIES WITHIN THE PARTY. ON THIS ISSUE, COMRADE XIAOPING HAS TALKED TWICE. THE FIRST TIME, HE MENTIONED THE ECONOMIC DISORDER, INFLATION, AND THE OVERHEATED ECONOMY WHICH APPEARED 5 YEARS AGO AND HAS BECOME MORE AND MORE SERIOUS IN THE PAST 3 YEARS SINCE THERE HAVE BEEN NO EFFECTIVE COUNTERMEASURES. THE SECOND TIME, ON 25 APRIL, HE SAID THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENT OPINIONS WITHIN THE PARTY. ON THE ISSUE OF OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION, ZHAO'S ATTITUDE WAS THE SAME AS HU YAOBANG'S. IF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT THOROUGHLY, THE CURRENT EVENTS WOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED. IN PARTICULAR, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SPIRITUAL POLLUTION WAS CARRIED OUT FOR ONLY 20 DAYS. THE CURRENT EVENTS ARE RELATED TO THE FAILURE TO THOROUGHLY CARRY OUT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION AND THE FAILURE TO OPPOSE SPIRITUAL POLLUTION. THEREFORE, THE CHARACTER OF COMRADE ZIYANG'S WORDS IS THE SAME AS THAT OF COMRADE HU YAOBANG'S REFUSAL TO OPPOSE LIBERALIZATION. THIS THUS THOROUGHLY REVEALS THE NATURE OF THINGS. ON ANOTHER OCCASION, COMRADE XIAOPING TOLD SOME FOREIGN VISITORS THAT THE GREATEST ERROR OF THE PAST 10 YEARS WAS OUR FAILURE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO EDUCATION. THEN HE SAID THAT WE HAD NOT DONE PAINSTAKING WORK TO ADVOCATE A HARD-WORKING SPIRIT OR TO CARRY FORWARD FINE TRADITIONS. HERE, HE MENTIONED TWO POINTS: FIRST, THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION; AND SECOND, SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION. HE DID NOT ONLY SAY THAT THE EDUCATION BUDGET WAS INSUFFICIENT. COMRADE XIAOPING'S THOUGHT IS CONSISTENT. THAT IS, THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES MUST BE MAINTAINED, AND CITIZENS SHOULD HAVE THE "FOUR GOOD THINGS."

THE LEADER MUST BE CHANGED IF HE REFUSES TO CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS [SUBHEAD]

AS WE ARE NOW FACING SUCH A PROBLEM, HOW SHALL WE SOLVE IT? TODAY I WANT TO FIRST TALK TO YOU, COMRADES IN VARIOUS MAJOR MILITARY UNITS. THE CENTRAL COMRADES HAVE CONSIDERED AGAIN AND AGAIN AND FOUND THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO CHANGE THE LEADER, BECAUSE HE HAS REFUSED TO IMPLEMENT THE CENTRAL INSTRUCTIONS AND HAS STUCK TO HIS OWN IDEAS. HE HAS TRIED TO ACHIEVE HIS PURPOSE THROUGH LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES, BECAUSE HIS OPINION WAS OPPOSED BY MOST COMRADES IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND HE COULD HAVE ONLY ONE VOTE IN THE STANDING COMMITTEE. AFTER ZHAO ZIYANG'S RESIGNATION REQUEST WAS PASSED ON TO OUTSIDE PEOPLE, RUMORS CIRCULATED AND PEOPLE DOUBTED THAT THESE OLD PEOPLE IN THEIR 70'S AND 80'S COULD PROPERLY SOLVE PROBLEMS. HERE I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT THIS QUESTION CAN BE ANSWERED VERY EASILY. THE DECISION WAS MADE BY THE MAJORITY OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS. THE MANY OLD COMRADES ENJOY THE HIGHEST PRESTIGE INSIDE THE PARTY, BECAUSE THEY HAVE THE HIGHEST SENIORITY IN THE PARTY AND HAVE MADE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARTY AND THE STATE. WE DO NOT NEED TO MENTION THAT COMRADE XIAOPING, XIANNIAN, CHEN YUN, MARSHAL NIE, MARSHAL XU, BIG SISTER DENG, PENG ZHEN, AND WANG ZHEN HAVE ALL MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARTY. AT SUCH A CRITICAL

JUNCTURE OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE, HOW COULD THEY REMAIN SILENT? THEY COULD NOT JUST SIT THERE AND SEE OUR STATE BEING BROUGHT TO THE VERGE OF DESTRUCTION. AS COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS, IT WAS THEIR DUTY TO DO SOMETHING. SOME PEOPLE HAVE SPREAD THE RUMOR THAT THERE IS NO PARTY NOW AND THAT ONLY ONE PERSON MADE THE DECISION. THIS IS COMPLETELY WRONG. THE CURRENT EVENTS WERE HANDLED CORRECTLY ACCORDING TO THE DECISION MADE BY THE MAJORITY OF COMRADES IN THE CENTRAL POLITICAL BUREAU AND ITS STANDING COMMITTEE. THE REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE OLDER GENERATION, INCLUDING CHEN YUN, XIANNIAN, AND COMRADE XIAOPING, COMPLETELY SUPPORTED THIS CORRECT DECISION. DURING GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO CHINA, ZHAO ZIYANG TOLD GORBACHEV OF COMRADE XIAOPING'S HISTORICAL POSITION, WHICH WAS PROPER OF HIM TO DO. HOWEVER, ZHAO TALKED ABOUT THIS FOR A LONG TIME AS SOON AS THE TALKS BEGAN. HE SAID THAT ALL MAJOR ISSUES WERE DECIDED BY COMRADE XIAOPING. ANY COMRADE WITH A SOBER HEAD COULD DISCERN THAT ZHAO WAS TRYING TO SHIRK RESPONSIBILITY BY SAYING THIS. HE PUSHED COMRADE XIAOPING TO THE FOREFRONT TO BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL ERRORS. I BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE ALSO DISCERNED ZHAO'S RECENT MANEUVERS.

NOW, THE WHOLE PARTY MUST BE UNITED AND IMPLEMENT THE 26 APRIL EDITORIAL WHOLEHEARTEDLY. WE CAN NO LONGER RETREAT AND MUST LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE. TODAY I JUST WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT THIS SO THAT YOU CAN PREPARE YOURSELF MENTALLY. IN PARTICULAR, THE ARMY MUST BE CONSOLIDATED, AND THIS IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE. HAVE ALL THE MILITARY PERSONNEL BEEN CONVINCED? THIS WILL DEPEND ON YOUR WORK. I THINK THAT THERE IS NO PROBLEM AMONG THE COMRADES AT THE LEVEL OF THE MAJOR MILITARY REGIONS. BUT ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS AMONG THE OFFICERS AND MEN AT AND BELOW THE ARMY CORPS LEVEL? [PARAGRAPH CONTINUES]

(MORE)

29 MAY 0749Z JLB

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FBIS #47MAY29

TAKE 5 OF 5-- #42 (YANG SHANGKUN SPEECH)

///LEVEL? [PARAGRAPH CONTINUES]

HK2905064889

[TEXT] NOW SOME PEOPLE ASK: AS THERE ARE THREE CHAIRMEN IN THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION, HOW COULD DENG XIAOPING ALONE ORDER THE MOVEMENT OF THE TROOPS RESPONSIBLE FOR ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW? THESE PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE MILITARY SERVICES IN OUR COUNTRY AT ALL AND CAN ONLY DECEIVE SOME STUDENTS. IN OUR ARMY, WE PURSUE A COMMANDER RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM. SUCH PEOPLE AS I ONLY PLAY A COUNSELING ROLE IN ASSISTING THE CHAIRMAN. WHEN HE MADE THE DECISION, HE HAD NOT ONLY TALKED WITH ME, BUT HAD ALSO TALKED WITH XUEZHI, HUAQING, AND MINISTER QIN AS WELL. WHY COULD HE NOT ISSUE THE ORDER? NOW I PASS ON THIS INFORMATION TO YOU, AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL NOT BE TOO SURPRISED IF THERE IS A CHANGE IN THE PARTY'S TOP LEADING BODY. FRANKLY SPEAKING, WE GAVE TOO MUCH CREDIT TO COMRADE ZIYANG FOR HIS WORK IN THE PAST. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST FEW YEARS WERE IN FACT MADE COLLECTIVELY BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS OF COMRADE XIAOPING. ZHAO WAS ONLY RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTING THESE DECISIONS.

NOW YOU ARE INVITED TO THIS MEETING, BECAUSE WE WANT YOU TO DO SOME WORK:

IF THE TROOPS DO NOT OBEY ORDERS, COMMANDERS WILL BE PUNISHED ACCORDING TO THE MILITARY LAW [SUBHEAD]

FIRST, YOU MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND ALL THIS.

SECOND, YOU SHOULD HOLD PARTY COMMITTEE MEETINGS AFTER YOU RETURN TO YOUR OWN UNITS AND CLEARLY EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO YOUR COMRADES. THIS CAN BE CONVEYED TO CADRES AT THE REGIMENT LEVEL.

THIRD, ALL PARTY COMMITTEES SHOULD UNIFY THE THINKING OF THEIR MEMBERS AND BRING THEIR THINKING INTO LINE WITH THE POSITION OF THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP. IN PARTICULAR, IF ANY TROOPS DO NOT OBEY ORDERS, I WILL PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE ACCORDING TO THE MILITARY LAW.

FOURTH, YOU MUST PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE MILITARY ACADEMIES. CADRES, INSTRUCTORS, AND PROFESSORS SHOULD EFFECTIVELY EDUCATE THE CADETS, WHO MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO JOIN ANY DEMONSTRATION OR SUPPORT ACTIVITY.

FIFTH, THE TROOPS THAT HAVE ARRIVED IN THE PREDETERMINED AREAS SHOULD NOW IMMEDIATELY SETTLE DOWN AND TAKE A GOOD REST. THEN THE TROOPS SHOULD BE FULLY MOBILIZED. CLEAR EXPLANATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE GRASS-ROOTS CADRES.

BEFORE I CAME TO THIS MEETING, CHAIRMAN DENG GAVE ME AN IDEA. HE SAID THAT MILITARY CADRES SHOULD BE ORGANIZED TO CONDUCT PROPAGANDA AMONG STUDENTS AND CITIZENS. THEY SHOULD TELL THE MASSES (IN VARIOUS NEIGHBORHOODS) AND THE STUDENTS WHY THE ARMY HAS COME HERE. TODAY IS THE 5TH DAY OF MARTIAL LAW. IN THE PAST 5 DAYS, NOT A SHOT WAS FIRED NOR WAS ANYONE BEATEN UP. ALL CITIZENS ARE CLEAR ABOUT THIS. SO WE NEED TO CARRY OUT PROPAGANDA WORK PERTINENTLY.

IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD ALSO GIVE EXPLANATIONS TO RETIRED COMRADES. WE SHOULD NOTIFY THEM OF THIS SEPARATELY. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT JOB, AND WE MUST TAKE IT ON IMMEDIATELY. AFTER THIS MEETING, WE WILL SEE HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPS. YOU SHOULD SUBMIT

A BRIEF REPORT ABOUT THE GENERAL SITUATION A FEW DAYS FROM NOW. THE CENTRAL DECISION WILL BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH YOUR WORK.

(ENDALL)

29 MAY #757Z JLB

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000443

29 May 1989

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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

Political Crisis in China - The student demonstrations in China (originally touched-off by the April 15 death of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang), which have dominated Chinese political life for over a month appear to have lost momentum. Party strongman Deng Xiaoping and PM Li Peng have made headway in their efforts to exerting their control over the party, state and military.

Source

Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and media reports.

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

CONFIDENTIAL

- The extraordinary numbers of students who took part in demonstrations in April and earlier this month have been sharply reduced in the face of evidence that Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and their allies may soon move to repress public expressions of defiance of the authorities. The exhaustion of the demonstrators; an effective campaign of psychological pressure on the demonstrators by the Deng/Li faction; and the failure of the student leaders to develop a coherent strategy to counter the latest moves by their opponents has weakened the protest movement.

- Since the May 20 imposition of martial law Party Secretary General Zhao Ziyang has not been seen, but PM Li Peng has re-emerged in a more prominent position, indicating that he and Deng Xiaoping have, at least for the time being, won the upper hand in the political struggle taking place to determine who will govern the country.

- Large numbers of Army reinforcements are in place in and near Beijing, but it appears that the faction currently in control prefers to extend its authority, and allow the student movement to further weaken before moving against the die-hards of the protest movement.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following the developing events in China closely.
- We are pleased that both the authorities and the students have shown restraint and that the demonstrations have generally not been violent.
- We continue to receive detailed reports from our Embassy in Peking and we are not aware of any danger to Canadians.
- On May 20 I issued a statement (attached) which called on the Chinese leadership exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Responsive Only - should the Chinese authorities violently repress the student demonstrators.

- Canada is concerned over the question of human rights in China, and is hopeful that further violence can be avoided.

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# News Release

# Communiqué

Department of  
External  
Affairs



Ministère des  
Affaires  
extérieures

No. 117

May 20, 1989.

## SITUATION IN BEIJING

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, called on the Chinese leadership to exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Earlier today the Government of the PRC imposed martial law on parts of Beijing, and army units were dispatched to disperse public gatherings in the centre of the city. It appears that those units remain some blocks away from their alleged destinations, and that hundreds of thousands of city residents are in the streets. There have thus far been only isolated and unconfirmed reports of violence in outlying areas.

Mr. Clark said "the Chinese Government, and indeed the students themselves, appear to have shown considerable restraint in the past weeks and we would hope that restraint will continue to be exercised. We trust that the current difficult situation will be resolved peacefully and the use of force avoided."

-30-

Secretary of State  
for  
External Affairs

Secrétaire d'État  
aux  
Affaires extérieures

Canada

000445



Accession/Référence

MESSAGE

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**24MAY**

**--UNREST IN CHINA:OFFICIAL VISITORS TO PRC**

**THERE HAS BEEN RENEWED INTEREST IN TRAVEL TO CHINA BY SOME FEDERAL AND PROV OFFICIALS,AND PARTICULARLY CIDA EXPERTS AND COOPERANTS, DUE TO APPARENT LESSENING OF TENSION IN STREETS.GRATEFUL YOUR VIEW WHETHER THIS TRAVEL RESTRICTION SHOULD REMAIN IN PLACE.**

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---GREAT DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN

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FILE	DOSSIER
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SUMMARY: CHAIRMAN OF STANDING CTTEE OF NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS WAN LI HAS WITH NUMBER OF OTHER PARTY STALWARTS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR HARD LINE LAID OUT OF PREMIER LI PENG AND PRESIDENT YANG SHANGKUN INCL IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN PARTS OF PEKIN. DESPITE LIKELIHOOD THAT SEC GEN ZHAO AND OTHER GOVT/PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN PURGED AS RUMOURED, THIS HAS NOT/NOT BEEN CONFIRMED OFFICIALLY. STUDENTS HAVE MOUNTED YET ANOTHER DEMO ON 28MAY, BUT NUMBERS ACTUALLY ON TIANANMEN SQUARE ARE DWINDLING. APPROX 130,000 TROOPS ARE DIGGING IN AROUND PEKIN. NONE OF THIS MAKES MUCH SENSE IF ISSUE IS SIMPLY ZHAO VS DENG/LI CONFRONTATION. BUT PIECES OF PUZZLE COULD FALL INTO PLACE IN SUPPORT OF OTHER THEORY WHICH WE BELIEVE LIKELY. AFTER PURGE OF ZHAO AND OTHER MODERATES, DENG COULD NOW BE FACING BID BY ARCH-CONSERVATIVES (WHOM HE PURGED, BUT WHO REMAIN INFLUENTIAL) TO REINTRODUCE POLICIES INIMICAL TO DENGIST REFORM PROGRAMME. THIS WOULD GIVE CRED-

...2

PGAE TWO WJGR3461 CONFD

DENCE TO LI PENG'S CONTENTION THAT CURRENT TURMOIL COULD LEAD TO  
NEGATION OF TEN YEARS OF REFORM. MOBILIZATION OF CONSIDERABLY MORE  
TROOPS THAN NEEDED TO QUELL STUDENTS COULD BE DENG'S TRUMP CARD IN  
STRUGGLE AGAINST WHAT OFFICIAL PRESS CALLS A QUOTE PLOT BY VERY SMALL  
MINORITY OF PEOPLE UNQUOTE. WHATEVER THE SITU IS, IT REMAINS HIGHLY  
ABNORMAL IN MILITARY OR POLITICAL TERMS. AS MAO QUOTATION SAYS QUOTE  
THERE IS GREAT DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN UNQUOTE. BUT MAO SAW DISORDER AS  
LIBERATING FACTOR. FUTURE OF CHINA'S REFORM PROGRAM COULD BE ON THE  
LINE, WITH DENG FIGHTING HIS MOST DECISIVE BATTLE EVER.

2. REPORT: SINCE LI PENG'S TV APPEARANCE 25 MAY (SEE REFTEL), WHICH  
SEEMED TO CONFIRM THAT FACTION REPRESENTED BY LI PENG HAD TRIUMPHED  
OVER ZHAO AND HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES, OTHER AGING BUT INFLUENTIAL  
LEADERS HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR MARTIAL LAW AND FOR SPEECHES BY  
LI PENG AND YANG SHANGKUN. ON 26 MAY, STANDING CTTEE OF PARTY CENTRAL  
ADVISORY COMMISSION PRESIDED OVER BY ARCH-CONSERVATIVES CHEN YUN  
(84), BO YIBO (81) AND SONG RENQIANG (88) ISSUED STATEMENT OF  
SUPPORT AND CALLED FOR REVOLUTIONARY VETERANS AND WHOLE PARTY TO  
QUOTE RESOLUTELY EXPOSE SCHEMES AND INTRIGUES OF THE VERY, VERY FEW  
PEOPLE WHO INTEND TO CREATE TURMOIL UNQUOTE. 80-YEAR OLD LI  
XIANNIAN, CHAIRMAN OF CHINESE PEOPLES CONSULTATIVE CONF ISSUED  
STATEMENT OF SUPPORT ON 28 MAY AND WAN LI (73-YEAR OLD CHAIRMAN OF

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PAGE THREE WJGR3461 CONF

NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS) HAS NOW ALSO SUPPORTED LI/YANG LINE. STATEMENTS HAVE GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT STUDENTS ARE NOT/NOT TARGET OF LEADERSHIP. ✓

3. IN FACT, BY END OF LAST WEEK, IT WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT LARGE CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS SURROUNDING PEKIN (CURRENT ESTIMATE 130,000) WERE IN SUCH NUMBERS AND EQUIPPED IN SUCH A FASHION (ARTILLERY, SAM MISSILES, RADIO JAMMERS) THAT THEIR TARGET COULD NOT/MOT POSSIBLY BE TO PUT DOWN STUDENT DEMOS. FURTHERMORE, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT TROOPS ARE SETTLING DOWN IN THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS AND NOT/NOT PREPARING TO RETURN TO THEIR BASES (SOME OF WHICH ARE ONLY 4 HRS DRIVE AWAY) DESPITE FACT THAT STUDENT/WORKER DEMOS HAVE SUBSIDED AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN CAPITAL IS FUNCTIONING NORMALLY. PLAUSIBLE REASON FOR ABOVE COULD BE THAT PARTY CONSERVATIVES FEARED THAT REFORMISTS WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF POPULAR SENTIMENT, THAT SIDED WITH STUDENTS AGAINST LEADERSHIP, TO ENGINEER A COUP. FACT THAT SOLDIERS POSTED AT RADIO AND TV AND NEWSPAPERS ARE MERELY PROTECTING INSTALLATIONS--EDITORIAL POLICY IS BEING DIRECTED THROUGH NORMAL PARTY CHANNELS--SUPPORTS THIS. X

4. TO WHAT EXTENT MILITARY IS UNITED IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS. PEKIN AREA MILITARY COMMAND, WHOSE TROOPS WERE UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO ENTER CENTRAL PEKIN A WEEK AGO, WAS ALSO LAST OF SEVEN COMMANDS TO LEND SUPPORT TO CURRENT PARTY LINE. FACT THAT DEFENCE MIN QIN JIWEI, X

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PAGE FOUR WJGR3461 CONF

WHO HAD BEEN COMMANDER OF THIS REGION UNTIL LAST YEAR, HAS NOT/NOT BEEN HEARD OF AND IS RUMOURED TO BE ON PURGE LIST, FITS WITH REPORTS THAT TROOPS IN PEKIN REGION WERE SYMPATHETIC TO STUDENT/WORKER PROTESTS, HENCE NECESSITY OF SENDING IN TROOPS FROM OTHER REGIONS. IT WILL ALSO BE REMEMBERED THAT A WEEK AGO A LETTER DRAFTED BY 6 SENIOR GENERALS AND AN ADMIRAL AND SIGNED BY 100 OTHER OFFICERS, WAS SENT TO CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION, ACCORDING TO PEOPLE'S DAILY SOURCES. LET OPPOSED USING ARMY TO ENTER PEKIN.

5. STUDENT PROTESTS NOW APPEAR TO BE SIDESHOW COMPARED TO POLITICAL STRUGGLE TAKING PLACE IN PARTY. REMARKABLE FACT IS THAT DESPITE RUMOURED PURGE OF ZHAO AND THOSE CONSIDERED HIS SUPPORTERS, BEYOND LI PENG'S BRIEF APPEARANCE LAST WEEK AND PROFORMA STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FROM PREDICTABLE SOURCES, NO/NO OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN MADE TO INDICATE A REALIGNMENT OF POWER OR EVEN TO REAFFIRM LEADERSHIP'S CONTROL OVER PARTY AND GOVT. THERE IS THUS STRONG LIKELIHOOD THAT DEALS BETWEEN VARIOUS POWER GROUPS IN COUNTRY HAVE NOT/NOT YET BEEN COBBLED TOGETHER.

6. TELEVISED APPEARANCE OF CHEN YUN AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMISSION WHO WITH GREAT EFFORT WERE SHUNTED OUT OF INFLUENTIAL PARTY POSITIONS BY DENG ONLY IN LAST TWO YEARS SUGGESTS THAT IN FUTURE THEIR EXTREME CONSERVATIVE VIEWS WILL BE BROUGHT TO BEAR IN FUTURE POLITICAL LINE-UP. THIS WOULD IMPLY RECENTRALIZING

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PAGE FIVE WJGR3461 CONF

ECONOMY AND EMPHASIS ON ORTHODOX IDEOLOGY. ALREADY LI XIANNIAN, A RELATIVE MODERATE, HAS STATED THAT QUOTE FOR A LONG TIME, THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES AND THE ANTI-BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM PRINCIPLE RAISED BY DENG XIAOPING HAVE NOT/NOT BEEN FULLY PRACTISED, CAUSING SOME CONFUSION IN THINKING UNQUOTE. X

7. WHATEVER DEAL IS STRUCK WITH AGING CONSERVATIVES, ARMY WILL ALSO HAVE TO BE REWARDED. ARMY IS UNLIKELY TO BE INTERESTED IN PLAYING DIRECT POLITICAL ROLE BUT IT WILL WANT TO EXACT SOME PRICE FOR CURRENT ROLE IT IS PLAYING IN TRYING TO MAINTAIN STABILITY. THIS COULD AFFECT MILITARY BUDGET WHICH HAS BEEN STEADILY SHRINKING IN RECENT YEARS. X

8. A FINAL CONSIDERATION IN CURRENT CRISIS IS DEGREE OF SUPPORT WITHIN PARTY ITSELF FOR PURGE AGAINST REFORMIST FACTION. EVER SINCE THIRD PARTY PLENUM IN OCT88, ZHAOS POSITION WITHIN LEADERSHIP HAS APPEARED TO BE WEAKENING AS A RESULT OF CONSERVATIVES GAINING CONTROL OVER ECON POLICY AND POL REFORM BEING PUT ON BACK BURNER. HOWEVER, FOURTH PARTY PLENUM, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO SANCTION LEADERSHIP CHANGE, HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY POSTPONED SINCE FEB. ALTHOUGH OFFICIAL EXPLANATION FOR POSTPONEMENT WAS DISAGREEMENT OVER EDUCATION POLICY, IT IS FAR MORE LIKELY THAT REAL REASON CONCERNED MORE FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT. THUS, APART FROM FACTORS MENTIONED ABOVE, ANOTHER REASON FOR DELAY IN SHOWING NEW LEADERSHIP IN ACTION, IS THAT X

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PAGE SIX WJGR3461 CONFD

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CONSENSUS HAS STILL NOT/NOT BEEN ACHIEVED WITHIN PARTY CENTRAL  
CTTEE. ARRIVAL OF PROVINCIAL REPS OVER WEEKEND, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS  
THAT MTG COULD BE HELD SOON.

9. TO COMPLETE PICTURE OF DISORDER AND UNCERTAINTY, STUDENTS, WHO  
STILL OCCUPY TIANANMEN AND ARE CAMPED OUT IN FRONT OF ZHONGNANHAI,  
ARE UNDECIDED OVER NEXT MOVE. DEMO, WHICH ATTRACTED ONLY  
20,000-50,000 DID NOT/NCT ATTRACT VISIBLE WORKER SUPPORT. MOST OF  
STUDENT PARTICIPANTS WERE FROM OUTSIDE OF PEKIN AND THESE STUDENTS  
HAVE NOT/NOT HAD THEIR FILL OF ACTION--UNLIKE THE SEASONED PEKIN  
STUDENTS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR UNIVS. STUDENT LEADERS  
WANT TO CALL A HALT TO SIT-IN, BUT MAJORITY OF THOSE IN SQUARE WANT  
TO CONTINUE. MEANWHILE, CITY AND HEALTH OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO URGE  
STUDENTS TO MOVE FOR REASONS OF SANITATION. WHETHER ARMY WOULD MOVE  
IN TO CLEAR SQUARE IN NEXT DAYS IS QUESTION IN EVERYONES MIND. IN  
SHORT, SITU REMAINS CONFUSED AND READINGS ON COURSE OF EVENTS OVER  
NEXT FEW DAYS ARE HIGHLY SPECULATIVE.

CCC/078 290800Z WJGR3461

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MESSAGE

Accession/Référence

File/Dossier

*20 - China - 1 - 1*

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow  
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

SECURITY SÉCURITÉ	UNCLASSIFIED	29 MAY 89 22 39z <sup>12</sup>	10
FM/DE	FM PNR1421 29MAY89		
TO/À	TO <del>PEKIN</del> <i>PEKIN</i> DELIVER BY 300900		
INFO	INFO SHNGI <del>PEKIN</del> MANIL BNGKK TOKYO KLMPR DELHI CIDAHULL/BSC TT		
DISTR	NDHQOTT/DGIS DE CAF		
REF	DISTR PGB PND PGP PNC PAM PSR JIS ISE ABMA ABMC MPD		
SUBJ/SUJ	REF OURTEL PNR1269 24MAY		
	--UNREST IN CHINA:TRAVEL BY CDNS TO PRC		
	WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE NUMEROUS ENQUERIES REGARDING ADVISABILITY OF TRAVEL TO PRC AT PRESENT TIME.GRATEFUL FOR INDICATION WHETHER YOU BELIEVE RECOMMENDATION CONTAINED REFTEL THAT NON-ESSENTIAL TRAVEL TO CHINA BE POSTPONED SHOULD REMAIN IN FORCE.		

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG <i>[Signature]</i>	PNR	996-0980	HOWARD BALLOCH SIG <i>[Signature]</i> 000453



MESSAGE

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow  
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

Accession/Référence
File/Dossier <b>20-CHINA-1-4</b>

SECURITY SÉCURITÉ	UNCLASSIFIED	26 MAY 89 21 12 25z	10
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FM/DE	FROM EXTOTT PNR-1404	26MAY89
TO/À	TO PEKIN	DELIVER BY 290900
INFO	<b>INFO HKONG SHNGI</b>	
DISTR	DISTR PND PGP IFX CPP	

REF	---FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT -- CHINA
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SUBJ/SUJ	PART OF PM SPEECH TO FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT CONCERNING CHINA AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE CE QUI SE PASSE EN CHINE, OU S'AMORCE UN PROFOND MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE REVET UNE IMPORTANCE HISTORIQUE. LA SOIF DE DEMOCRATIE DU PEUPLE CHINOIS NE PEUT ETRE REPRIMEE, PAS PLUS QUE SA LUTTE POUR LA LIBERTE ET POUR SON EPANOUISSEMENT. L'EVEIL DE LA CHINE AUX VALEURS QUI NOUS SONT CHERES NE PEUT QUE PRODUIRE UN IMPACT BENEFIQUE SUR LES AFFAIRES MONDIALES. LE RAPPROCHEMENT SINO-SOVIETIQUE, APRES 30 ANS D'ELOIGNEMENT, REDUIT LES TENSIONS INTERNATIONALES ET EST POUR NOUS TOUS UN MOTIF D'ENCOURAGEMENT. UNQUOTE
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DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR <i>Michel Tessier</i> SIG	DIVISION/DIRECTION PNR	TELEPHONE 996-0918	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ BRUCE JUTZI <i>Bruce Jutzi</i> SIG
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REFERRED BY THE OFFICE  
OF THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE FOR EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS,  
MINISTER'S RECORDS UNIT

TRANSMIS PAR LE CABINET  
DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT  
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES  
SECTION DES DOSSIERS  
DU MINISTRE

992-6428 or 995-1047  
ou

TO/À  
AU

*PND*

*PNR*

FOR INFORMATION AND ANY NECESSARY ACTION  
POUR EXAMEN ET SUITE À DONNER, S'IL Y A LIEU

FOR DIVISIONAL RESPONSE  
POUR RÉPONSE PAR LA DIRECTION

REMARKS/REMARQUES

MAY 30 1989

PNR  
DATE RECEIVED

DATE REÇUE

MAY 29 1989

PND

R. E. D'Aoust

Signature

*29-5-89*

Date

May 26, 1989

The Honourable Joe Clark  
Minister of External Affairs  
Government of Canada  
Ottawa

*CHINA*

*26 May 1989*  
*HB*  
*BS*  
*MR*  
*File*

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

Dear Honourable Joe Clark:

On behalf of the "Toronto Committee of Concerned Chinese Canadians Supporting the Movement for Democracy in China", I am writing to request your participation in a mass rally this Sunday, May 28, 1989 at 2:30 p.m. at Toronto Nathan Phillips Square.

This Committee was formed by a group of concerned Chinese Canadian a week ago. The Committee has no political affiliation in either Canada or China. In the name of universal human rights and democracy, we respond to the recent developments in China by organizing a rally last Sunday in front of the Consulate of the People's Republic of China. It was well attended by over 500 people.

The public rally this Sunday will be our continuous effort to show our support and to maintain vigilant watch on developing events in the People's Republic of China.

We anticipate an attendance of over 3000 people and our speaker list reflects the cross section of support from the Chinese and English-speaking communities. We would be honoured if you could attend and deliver a brief message at the rally.

Should you require any additional information, please feel free to contact Dr. Joseph Y. K. Wong at (416) 591-6837.

Sincerely,

*[Signature]*  
Connie Shum  
Rally Organizer  
(416) 540-7246

RETURN TO RENOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER	
<i>20-1-2-China</i>		
<i>20-CHINA-1-4</i>		

**ACTION  
SUITE A DUNNER**

RETURN TO  
RENOYER AU

DICO

FOR FILING  
FOUR  
ETRE  
DOSSIER

REF. DATE

617384

FILE

20-CHINA-1-4

DOSSIER

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3458 26MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 260900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC

CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG WSAW DE OTT SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS

JIS

REF CURTEL WJGR3457 26MAY

---PEKIN AWASH WITH RUMOURS AS UNCERTAINTY CONTINUES

UNCONFIRMED REPORTS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE IN PEKIN THAT, AT ENLARGED MTG OF POLITBURO LAST NIGHT, GEN SEC ZHAO ZIYANG, POLITBURO MEMBER HU QILI, V-PREMIER TIAN JIYUN AND DEFENCE MIN QI JIWEI WERE SACKED OR AT LEAST ACCUSED OF ANTI-PARTY ACTIVITIES THAT WOULD NECESSITATE THEIR RESIGNATIONS. A DIPLO COLLEAGUE HERE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT DISSIDENT FANG LIZHI HAS BEEN ARRESTED. THIS WOULD SEEM TO SUPPORT RUMOURS THAT A BLACK LIST OF NAMES HAS BEEN DRAWN UP OF THOSE WHO COULD BE BLAMED AS INSTIGATORS OF RECENT STUDENT UNREST.

ALL MILITARY REGIONS AS WELL AS PROVINCIAL PARTY AND GOVT ORGANS ARE NOW REPORTED BY OFFICIAL PRESS AS SUPPORTING MARTIAL LAW ORDER.

2. MEANWHILE STUDENT ORGANIZATION APPEARS TO HAVE DUG IN WITH OVERWHELMING VOTE BY 300 UNIV REPS LAST NIGHT TO CONTINUE SIT-IN IN

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TIANANMEN AND IN FRONT OF ZHONGNANHAI AND TO STEP UP OTHER ACTIVITIES SUCH AS MARCHES. THERE IS NO/NO DOUBT THAT A CERTAIN PROPORTION OF STUDENTS ARE WILLING TO PURSUE THEIR PROTEST AT ALL COSTS. THEY FEEL THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE AND HAVE TAKEN PUBLIC OATH TO UPHOLD IDEALS OF THEIR MOVEMENT. HOWEVER, THIS MUST BE BALANCED AGAINST FACT THAT YESTERDAY, AFTER LI-DENG FACTION APPEARED TO HAVE GAINED UPPER HAND, NUMBER OF THOSE STUDYING IN PEKIN UNIV LIBRARY HAD INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY. NUMBER OF BUSES USED BY STUDENTS IN TIANANMEN HAS DECREASED, BUT COMMANDEERED BUSES AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS ARE STILL ACTIVELY DISSEMINATING INFO (NEWS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES, ESPECIALLY CHINESE HKONG PRESS, IS BEING SPREAD QUICKLY VIA CHINESE STAFF OF FOREIGN COMPANIES WHO HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN GIVEN CARTE BLANCHE TO USE FAX AND PHOTOCOPYING FACILITIES).

3. STATE COUNCIL HAS ISSUED CIRCULAR FORBIDDING COMMON PRACTICE NOW OF ALLOWING THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS TO TRAVEL TO PEKIN FREE OF CHARGE. HOWEVER, THIS IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE MUCH EFFECT UNLESS RAILWAY WORKERS COOPERATE, WHICH SEEMS UNLIKELY AT PRESENT. THOUGH REPORTS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS ARE ALSO CIRCULATING, LEADERSHIP HARDLINERS ARE PROBABLY JUDGING CORRECTLY THAT WORKERS WILL NOT/NOT GO BEYOND THIS TYPE OF SUPPORT FOR STUDENTS UNLESS THERE IS VIOLENCE.

4. KEY TO RESOLUTION OF CRISIS NOW WILL PROBABLY DEPEND ON TROOPS

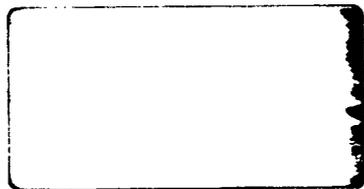
...3

PAGE THREE WJGR3458 CONF

BEING ABLE TO MOVE INTO PEKIN WITH LITTLE OR NO/NO RESISTENCE. FOR THIS REASON, IF RUMOURS OF ZHAOS SACKING ARE TRUE, LEADERSHIP WILL PROBABLY DELAY OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT FOR SOME DAYS. DEMONSTRATORS WOULD BE DEPRIVED OF CONCRETE EVIDENCE ON WHICH TO BUILD THEIR PROTESTS AND ENTHUSIASM FOR PRESENT LEVEL OF ACTION WOULD WANE IN MEANTIME. HOWEVER, BEYOND FACT THAT DENG REMAINS DOMINANT FIGURE IN PRESENT LEADERSHIP, TODAY MOST ANALYSTS ARE UNABLE TO COME UP WITH MUCH MORE THAN UNCONFIRMED RUMOURS.

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CCC/078 260800Z WJGR3458



**ACTION**  
UNCLASSIFIED  
**SUITE A DONNER**  
FM HKONG XBGR0424 26MAY89

*PA*  
*ht*  
*r B1w*

*seen* *MA*

TO EXTOTT PNR ✓ DELIVER BY 260900

INFO PEKIN MANIL TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLM R DELHI ISBAD JKRTA  
BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC  
CIDAHULL BSC SHNGI WSAW

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS/ADM/ DE CAF

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR

ISE ISS JIS

REF PEKIN TEL WJGR3457 26MAY

---UNREST IN PRC

RETURN TO	<b>BICO</b>		FOR ENVOY
RENOYER AU			POUR -
ACC	REF	DATE	PORTE AU
617372			
FILE	20-CHINA-1-4		

GIVEN WHAT WE UNDERSTAND ARE DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY EMB IN PEKIN IN COLLECTING INFO ON LATEST DEVELOPMENTS WE WOULD WISH TO PASS ON TO YOU LATEST INFO AS REPORTED BY HK MEDIA AS OF 1530.

2. IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED THAT ZHAO ZIYANG HAD BEEN REMOVED AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF CCP, WAN LI IS UNDER HOUSE ARREST IN SHNGI AND THAT DEFENCE MINISTER QIN JIWEI WHO IS FORMER COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF BEIJING MILITARY AREA COMMAND HAS BEEN RELIEVED FROM HIS DUTIES. OTHER LEADERS ARE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN PURGED. IF ACCURATE, THIS INFO WOULD INDICATE THAT DENG AND LI HAVE SUCCEEDED IN SECURING VICTORY OVER OPPOSITION, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY.

3. AN IMPORTANT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS EXPECTED TOMORROW (SATURDAY).

4. STUDENTS AT TIANANMEN SQUARE ARE REPORTED TO HAVE VOWED TO STEP UP THEIR ACTION AND ARE APPEALING FOR CASH DONATIONS TO DEFRAY COST OF OCCUPATION, ESTIMATED AT 40,000 RMB/DAY.

UUU/104 260759Z XBGR0424



MESSAGE 1/2

Accession/Référence
File/Dossier 20-China-14

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow  
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

SECURITY SÉCURITÉ	UNCLASSIFIED	FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION	26 MAY 89 19 20z	10
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FM/DE	FM EXTOTT PNR-1405 26MAY89	1 FAX
TO/À	TO PERIN	
INFO	HK <sub>015</sub> SHANGI DE PEK	
DISTR	---STUDENT PROTESTS	
REF	ARTICLE ATTACHED APPEARED IN GLOBE AND MAIL ON MAY 25/89.	
SUBJ/SUJ	2.COMCENTRE PLS FAX ATTACHED TWO PAGES.	

UNCLASSIFIED  
NON CLASSIFIE

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
GORDON HOULDEN SIG	PNR	996-0980	 BRUCE JUTZI



A student lies on top of a bus in Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

## Freedom struggle in China can't be quelled, PM says

BY GRAHAM FRASER  
The Globe and Mail

DAKAR

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had applause yesterday for the events in China, praised what he called "the Gorbachev revolution" and welcomed the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and China.

At a closed meeting of the francophone summit here in Senegal's capital, only days before next week's NATO summit, Mr. Mulroney spoke in glowing terms about events in the two Communist superpowers. A copy of his remarks was circulated by the Prime Minister's Office.

"One of the most promising forces we are encountering is the Gorbachev revolution," Mr. Mulroney said. He added that everyone had to hope the revolution continued to promote positive change for the sake of the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, for the sake of East-West relations, and for the sake of world peace.

"But even in the context of this favorable evolution, we must maintain the essential vigilance that guarantees liberty and the progress of democratic values," he said.

Even with that cautionary note, Mr. Mulroney's remarks went substantially further and were more enthusiastic in tone than his comments in Boston on May 3.

At that time, he said that com-

munistism was in "inexorable retreat" and that "the West has clearly won the battle of values." He added, however, that it is important "to temper our optimism with realism" and said the Soviet Union "is not in any way a free society as we know it."

Mr. Mulroney also pointed to the turbulence in China yesterday.

"Events of historic significance are also taking place in China, which is being stirred by the actions of a broad popular movement," he said. "The Chinese people's thirst for democracy cannot be suppressed, nor can their growing struggle for freedom and development."

After saying that the liberalization in China "cannot help but have a positive impact on world affairs," Mr. Mulroney also spoke warmly of the recent meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping.

He pointed to a trend to reductions in international tensions in Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, Vietnam, Central America, Namibia and Angola, and saluted these developments.

The summit unanimously endorsed a Canadian resolution on fundamental rights, which states that the respect of human rights is an aspiration shared by all member states, that the right to development is inseparable from the right to life and liberty.

## Getting worse at protest site

Reuter  
BEIJING

2/2

Health conditions are worsening in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, turned into a squatter village by tens of thousands of protesting students. Doctors yesterday warned there is a serious danger of an epidemic.

"The environment in the square is very bad and a serious epidemic could break out at any time," the Chinese Red Cross warned in a front-page article in the Beijing Daily.

"Of course I agree with the Red Cross. Just look around you," said a doctor from Tiantan Hospital, pointing to piles of garbage that have festered for days next to sleeping students.

The students occupied the square 11 days ago at the start of a series of massive pro-democracy demonstrations that have rocked China and triggered a power struggle paralyzing the country's leadership.

Between 20,000 and 30,000 students from throughout China sleep in the square each night, down from the 200,000 who packed it on several nights last week.

Some have only blankets to protect them from cold and occasional fierce rain and dust storms. Others have put up makeshift tents of tarpaulins and plastic sheets.

Doctors said many students suffered from exposure. Several long, tense nights without sleep as they waited to see if the army would enter the square left many emotionally and physically drained.

The huge crush of people has overwhelmed the public toilets in the area of the square. To meet demand, workers opened drains hidden behind canvas screens along the east side of Tiananmen, 40 hectares of paved expanse surrounded by the grandest monuments of Chinese communism.

The rank smells of human sweat, rotting garbage and sewage fill the square 24 hours a day.

Between 600 and 700 doctors from the capital's hospitals run clinics in the square trying to prevent and treat disease. Most common are throat and stomach ailments, they said.

Tuesday, doctors passed out disinfectant towels for students to use before eating. The wrappers claimed they were effective against hepatitis, AIDS and dysentery.

Health workers spray the garbage pile daily with disinfectant.

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288-828  
5285 Qu  
487-573  
6955 St  
270-1137  
TOWN C  
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731-688  
WESTM  
4145 Sh  
876-250  
4945 Sh  
487-260  
WEST F  
280, Ave  
636-474  
Bouleva  
Beacons  
694-201

Globe and Mail May 25/89 UNCLASSIFIED NON CLASSIFIED 000462

**ACTION  
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RETURN TO RENYOYER AU	<b>B100</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
<b>610445</b>		<b>890727</b>
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3457 26MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 260900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC

CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG WSAW DE OTT SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS

JIS

REF OURTEL WJGR3456 25MAY

---MILITARY HOLDS KEY AS POLITICAL STRUGGLE COMES TO BOIL

SUMMARY: LI PENG APPEARED ON TV 25MAY FOR FIRST TIME SINCE HE DECLARED MARTIAL LAW. RELAXED AND CONFIDENT, HE EXPLAINED MEASURE WAS NEEDED TO RESTORE ORDER IN CAPITAL, BUT WAS NOT/DIRECTED AT MASS OF STUDENTS. HIS COMMENT THAT DENG HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE ARCHITECT OF REFORM WOULD CONFIRM THAT LI, AND NOT/NOT ZHAO, HAS CONFIDENCE OF PARAMOUNT LEADER. MEDIA REVEALS EXTENT OF CURRENT MILITARIZATION OF POLITICAL LIFE AND RETURN TO IDEOLOGICAL LANGUAGE NOT/NOT HEARD SINCE 1970S: QUOTE THERE IS BITTER POLITICAL STRUGGLE WHICH ARMY WITH SUPPORT OF PEOPLE MUST CARRY OUT TIL THE END UNQUOTE. FORECAST IS FOR EARLY MOVE TO QUOTE CLEAN OUT UNQUOTE TIANANMEN SQUARE ALTHOUGH WE EXPECT IT TO HAPPEN AT QUIET HOURS TO MINIMIZE BLOODSHED. STUDENTS ARE STILL HOLDING LARGE EVENING DEMOS

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PAGE TWO WJGR3457 CONF

BUT SIGNS OF LASSITUDE ARE APPEARING. WORKERS HAVE BEEN KEEPING LOW PROFILE IN PAST FEW DAYS. HOW THEY MIGHT REACT TO MILITARY MOVE IS QUESTION ON EVERYBODYS MIND.

2. REPORT: SITU REMAINS EXTREMELY CONFUSED ALTHOUGH CAPITAL IS FUNCTIONING QUASI-NORMALLY (DESPITE REPORTS OF ABSENTEEISM, SO SLOW ATTITUDE IN SOME FACTORIES).

3. PREMIER LI PENG USED OPPORTUNITY OF TRADITIONAL MTG WITH FOUR NEW AMBS WHO HAVE JUST PRESENTED CREDENTIALS TO APPEAR ON TV 25 MAY. HE WAS CONFIDENT AND RELAXED. HIS COMMENTS WERE PRIMARILY ABOUT DOMESTIC SITU ALTHOUGH HE ALSO SPOKE ABOUT INNATL ISSUES. LI SAID PARTIAL MARTIAL LAW (HE EMPHASIZED THIS IS NOT/NOT FULL MARTIAL LAW WHICH IS SUBJECT TO DIFFERENT CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS) WAS REQUIRED TO RESTORE ORDER IN CAPITAL, BUT IT IS NOT/NOT DIRECTED AT MASS OF PATRIOTIC STUDENTS. TROUBLE IS DUE TO SMALL NUMBER OF AGITATORS. LI SAID DENG IS AND REMAINS THE SOLE ARCHITECT OF REFORM, AND THESE WILL CONTINUE. THE ACCENT IN CHINESE WAS ON DESCRIBING DENG AS THE ONLY PERSON RESP FOR ECON SUCCESSES, THUS IMPLICITLY NEGATING ZHAO WOULD HVE PLAYED IMPORTANT ROLE.

4. TV BROADCASTS (REVEALING BECAUSE OF DIRECT ARMY PRESENCE IN STUDIOS) CONCENTRATE ON

(A) REPORTS DESIGNED TO BOOST ARMY MORALE, INCL VISITS TO ARMY CONTINGENTS IN BROADCASTING STATION BY STATE COUNCIL SEC GEN

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PAGE THREE WJGR3457 CONFD

LUO GAN;

(B) STATEMENT THAT STUDENT DEMOS CONTINUE BUT NUMBER ARE DECREASING;

(C) TIANANMEN PRESENTS HEALTH HAZARD AND RED CROSS IS EXPRESSING CONCERN.

RADIO BROADCASTS DWELL AT LENGTH ON ROLE OF ARMY IN PRESENT CRISIS IN TERMS OF LINE STRUGGLE REMINISCENT OF 60S AND 70S. PICTURES ARE OF ARMY, LANGUAGE IS OF IDEOLOGY.

5. FOREIGN PRESS REPORTS THAT POLITBURO HAS MET TO PURGE ZHAO ZIYANG, STANDING CTTEE MEMBER HU QILI (RESP FOR PROPAGANDA AND PRESS) AND MINISTER OF DEFENCE HAVE NOT/NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED. BUT THEY ARE CREDIBLE. WE ARE CLEARLY WITNESSING CLASSICAL LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE AND TENOR OF OFFICIAL MEDIA SHOWS IT IS ACUTE. REPORTS ARE OF PLOTS, STRUGGLE TO THE FINISH, ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS, ETC. USA AND AUSTRALIAN COLLEAGUES CONSIDER AS CREDIBLE REPORTS THAT ZHAO HAS BEEN BRANDED AS ARCH-VILLAIN (READY TO CONDONE ANTI-PARTY PLOT) AND HIS CLOSE SUPPORTERS SUCH AS BAO TONG DESCRIBED AS QUOTE BLACK HANDS UNQUOTE.

6. MORE TROOPS ARE POURING IN AROUND PEKIN. LOYALTIES OF VARIOUS COMMANDERS DIFFICULT TO SPECULATE ABOUT, BUT DOUBTLESS DENG IS IN STRONG POSITION TO IMPOSE HIS WILL.

7. QUESTION IS WHY, AFTER SIX DAYS OF MARTIAL LAW, TROOPS HAVE NOT/NOT YET DISLODGED STUDENTS. SWIFT SURGICAL OPERATION USING ELABORATE TUNNEL NETWORK AS PASSAGEWAYS AND TEAR GAS AS WEAPON SHOULD BE POSSIBLE. IT IS LIKELY THAT SUCH INTERVENTION WAS DELAYED BY

PAGE FOUR WJGR3457 CONFD

(A) LEADERSHIP PREOCCUPATION WITH FACTIONAL STRUGGLE;

(B) NEED TO PREPARE CAREFULLY TO AVOID ANOTHER HUMILIATING RETREAT OR SPILLING TOO MUCH BLOOD WHICH COULD HAVE UNPREDICTABLE REACTIONS FROM WORKERS AND POPULATION.

IT MAY ALSO BE THAT LEADERS ARE BETTING THAT STUDENT LASSITUDE (THERE ARE REPORTS OF RIFTS ON WHAT TO DO NEXT) AND DECREASING POPULATION VIGILANCE ARE ADVANTAGE FOR MILITARY. WORKERS IN IRON AND STEEL WORKS SAID LAST WEEK THEY WILL TAKE TO THE STREETS IF A STUDENT IS HARMED BY SOLDIERS. QUESTION IS WHETHER THIS DETERMINATION STILL STANDS.

S. DEMOCS IN LAST DAYS HAVE CONCENTRATED ON VILIFYING LI PENG (WITH GLEE TWO DAYS AGO WHEN RETURN OF WAN LI WAS INTERPRETED AS SIGN THAT MILITARY MIGHT BE PREPARED TO DUMP LI, WITH ANXIETY SINCE). THERE IS NO/NO DOUBT THAT PRIME MINISTER IS WIDELY HATED BY PROPULATION AT LARGE. THAT HE TURNED ARMY AGAINST CITIZENRY PROMPTS OTHERWISE UNCOMMUNICATIVE LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS WE HAVE TALKED WITH TO DESCRIBE HIM AS A QUOTE FASCIST UNQUOTE. BUT WHATEVER THE POPULAR SENTIMENT, HE CLEARLY NOW ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF DENG AND DENG QUITE OBVIOUSLY REMAINS THE FORMIDABLE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION AND PARAMOUNT LEADER. AS MAO SAID, POWER FLOWS FROM THE BARREL OF THE GUN. THE GUN IS ASSERTING ITS FORCE IN CHINA.

CCC/078 260515Z WJGR3457



Accession/Référence

File/Dossier

*20-Christy*

MESSAGE

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow  
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

SECURITY / SÉCURITÉ **C O N F I D E N T I A L** 29 MAY 89 12 10 1.5 00z

FM/DE FM PNR1406 26MAY89

TO/À TO PEKIN DELIVER BY <sup>30</sup>300900

INFO INFO HKONG DELIVER BY 290900 WSHDC LDN. CIDA HULL/BSC TT

DISTR NDHQOTT/DGIS DE CAF

REF

SUBJ/SUJ BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR PGB PND PGP PNC PAM JIS ISE ISS MIT ABMA ABMC

REF YOURTEL WJGR5253 26MAY

--UNREST IN CHINA-CONTINGENCY PLANNING: COMMUNICATIONS  
OUR VIEW, SHARED BY MIT, IF THAT CURRENT CONDITIONS WARRANT AN  
ENHANCED COMMUNICATION WITH MISSION. FWDING OF PORTABLE  
COMMUNICATIONS LINK IS JUSTIFIED, IN OUR VIEW AS IT WOULD GIVE EMB  
A BACKUP FACILITY INDEPENDENT OF CHINESE INFRASTRUCTURE. SATELLITE  
LINK IS BEING FWD'D TO YOU, ALONG WITH FLY-AWAY PACK AND SECURE  
TELEPHONE, WITH SCHEDULED DIPLO COURIER DEPARTING OTT  
27MAY, ARRIVING PEKIN 30MAY.

2. MIT WILL PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS CONCERNING SHIPMENT OF  
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT AND OPERATION.

3. WE ARE EXAMINING QUESTION OF RADIOS FOR SHNGI.

GORDON HOULDEN DRAFTED BY	DIVISION/DIRECTOR PNR	TELEPHONE 996-0980	BRUCE EDWARDS <i>Bruce Edwards</i>
SIG			SIG 000467

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

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Feb 2*

P R O T E C T E D

FM BNGKK ZHGR7746 25MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR

INFO SPORE KLMPR JKRTA HKONG TOKYO SEOUL WSHDC

DISTR JIS PSR ISS ISE

REF PEKIN TEL WJGR3449 23MAY

---BEIJING:SITUATION

WITH REFERENCE PARA 14 PEKIN TEL, WE HAVE RECD NUMBER OF  
ENQUIRIES AT THIS MISSION ABOUT ADVISABILITY OF TRAVEL TO CHINA  
AND WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR GUIDANCE ON WHAT TO TEL TRAVELLING  
CDNS.

CCC/027 250220Z ZHGR7746

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Vol 61*



**ACTION  
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P R O T E C T E D

FM HKONG XBGR0423 25MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 250900

INFO PEKIN TOKYO WSHDC FINOTT/IFD

BAG SHNGI DE HOK

DISTR PGB PND PNC PGP INP INE

---STUDENT UNREST-HKONG REACTIONS

*Handwritten: Jean A*

RETURN TO RENOYER AJJ	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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SUMMARY:TENS OF THOUSANDS OF LOCAL CITIZENS ARE DEMONSTRATING DAILY IN SUPPORT OF STUDENT MOVEMENT IN BEIJING.WHILE BASIC LAW CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE HAS SUSPENDED ITS WORK ON COLLECTING VIEWS ON SECOND DRAFT OF BASIC LAW, MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS HAVE CALLED FOR DIRECT ELECTION OF 50 PERCENT OF MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURE BY 1997 AND ALL OF THEM BY 2003.AS UNREST CONTINUES IN CHINA SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN HKONG IS INCREASING.

2.REPORT:SINCE RALLY OF APPROX ONE MILLION PEOPLE LAST SUNDAY, HKONG HAS SEEN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ITS CITIZENS TAKING TO STREETS EVERY DAY ASKING FOR RESIGNATION OF LI PENG AND MORE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN CHINA.DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES WERE MAINLY HELD LATE AFTERNOON IN VICTORIA PARK IN HAPPY VALLEY WITH CROWDS LISTENING TO SPEECHES AND CHANTING PATRIOTIC SLOGANS FOLLOWED BY MARCHES TO XINHUA HEADQUARTERS AND/OR STATUE SQUARE IN CENTRAL DISTRICT.DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN SO FAR EXTREMELY PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY.SUPPORT IS COMING FROM ALL QUARTERS WITH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN DEMONSTRATIONS,1000 CAB DRIVERS HOLDING THEIR OWN DEMO AT 0100 HRS IN FRONT OF XINHUA OFFICE,HAWKERS ORGANIZING SPECIAL SALES TO COLLECT

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SECRET

PAGE TWO XBGR0423 25MAY89

MONEY AND SOME OF MOST PROMINENT TYCOONS PLEDGING SUPPORT TO PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT AND MONEY.

3. BASIC LAW: ON 24MAY, BASIC LAW CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (BLCC) PUBLISHED AD IN LOCAL PAPERS STATING THAT BECAUSE OF EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN CHINA, THEY WERE QUOTE TEMPORARILY UNABLE TO CARRY OUT WORK AS PLANNED UNQUOTE. NO/NO STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE THAT CONSULTATION PERIOD ON SECOND DRAFT DUE TO END IN JUNE WOULD BE EXTENDED, BUT IT IS BELIEVED THAT IT WILL. TWO HKONG MEMBERS OF BASIC LAW DRAFTING COMMITTEE (BLDC) HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR RESIGNATION AND SO FAR NO/NO OTHER MEMBERS HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR INTENTION TO DO SO. SOME HAVE VOICED THEIR SKEPTICISM OVER DRAFTING PROCESS ITSELF AND ON PRCS ABILITY TO HONOUR THEIR COMMITMENT, BUT IT APPEARS THAT GREATER NUMBER OF PEOPLE NOW BELIEVE THAT WORK ON BASIC LAW HAS TO BE STRENGTHENED. GOVERNOR HIMSELF HAS ISSUED STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT.

4. NEED FOR MORE DEMOCRACY: THERE IS NO/NO DOUBT THAT AS UNREST AND STRUGGLE FOR MORE DEMOCRACY CONTINUES IN PEKIN, POPULATION OF HKONG IS GETTING MORE AWARE OF NEED FOR EVEN MORE DEMOCRACY IN HKONG AS SAFEGUARD AGAINST POSSIBLE ABUSES OF POWER BY FUTURE SAR GOVT AND POSSIBLY CENTRAL GOVT IN PEKIN. IN AN UNEXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT 23MAY, OMELCO (OFFICE OF MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS) CALLED FOR DIRECT ELECTION OF 50 PERCENT OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLORS BY 1997, TWO THIRDS IN 1999 AND DIRECT ELECTION OF ALL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLORS IN 2003. ANNOUNCEMENT CAME AFTER LONG MEETING DURING WHICH LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVE WERE ABLE TO AGREE ON NEED FOR MOVING MORE QUICKLY

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PAGE THREE XBGR0423 PROTECTED

TOWARDS UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE. THIS WILL GIVE MUCH IMPETUS TO LIBERAL CAMP ACTIVITIES. MOREOVER, WHEN DUST SETTLES IN BEIJING IT WILL PROBABLY ALSO BE WELCOME NEWS TO CHINESE PL DRAFTERS WHO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FIND COMMON VIEW IN HKONG SO THEY COULD RESPOND.

5. FINANCIAL MARKET: AS EXPECTED, STOCK MARKET REACTED STRONGLY TO UNREST IN CHINA, WITH HANG SENG OSCILLATING NERVOUSLY. SHARPEST DAILY DROP OCCURED ON MONDAY 22MAY WITH INDEX CLOSING DOWN 339 TO 2806, WITH 10.78 PERCENT DROP IN SHARE VALUE. THIS WAS BIGGEST SINGLE DAY DROP SINCE OCT87. AT NOON ON 25MAY, INDEX STOOD AT 2763 DOWN 226 FROM 24MAY CLOSE. DAILY TURNOVER SINCE MONDAY HAS BEEN IN EXCESS OF HKD 3B. AS DENG XIAOPING AND LI PENG APPEARED TO BE REGAINING SOME CONTROL, SHARE PRICES WERE FALLING SHARPLY. IN SHORT TERM, CURRENT STRENGTH OF LOCAL ECONOMY WILL TAKE DISTANT SECOND PLACE IN MINDS OF INVESTORS.

CCC/031 250745Z XBGR0423



REFE BY THE OFFICE  
OF THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE FOR EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS,  
MINISTER'S RECORDS UNIT

TRANSMIS PAR LE CABINET  
DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT  
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES,  
SECTION DES DOSSIERS  
DU MINISTRE

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AU

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*DATE RECEIVED*  
*DATE REÇUE*  
*JUN 11 1989*  
*PAR*

- FOR INFORMATION AND ANY NECESSARY ACTION  
POUR EXAMEN ET SUITE À DONNER, S'IL Y A LIEU
- FOR DIVISIONAL REPLY  
POUR RÉPONSE PAR LA DIRECTION

REMARKS/REMARQUES

DATE RECEIVED	DATE REÇUE
JUN JUN 6 1989	6 1989
<b>PND</b>	

DATE RECEIVED	DATE REÇUE
JUN JUN 18 1989	18 1989

*R. E. D'Aoust*

*5-6-89*

Signature

Date

CTV Television Network Ltd.  
1705 DeSales St. N.W.  
Suite 206  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Telephone: (202) 466-3595  
Telex: 0089427

25 May/89  
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Mr. Norman Mailhot,  
Consul General of Canada,  
Shanghai, China. -

Thursday May 25 1989.

Dear Norman:

I offer my kindest thanks to you and Vice Consul Wayne Speers for your assistance when we were 'shanghaied' by China's frontier police last Sunday and Monday.

Your quick attention to our difficulties is a tribute to Canada's foreign service. We are in your debt, though we were unable to solve the problem in a rational matter. I offer my apologies for the work you were forced to put aside during those difficult hours of our 'house arrest.'

The arbitrary and dictatorial nature in which China enforces its regulations is an issue all foreigners, who love the Chinese people, should be fighting constantly.

My anger over this incident has been tempered by the news I hear today; that Wan Li was put in detention by radical frontier guards upon his arrival in Shanghai after his Canada/US tour.

To paraphrase a Chinese saying: - bigger monkey's than I have been caged.-

Events are changing quickly in China. I hope the arrival of this note finds all the Canadians in Shanghai healthy and well.

Best wishes -

Bob Hurst

Robert Hurst,  
CTV News - Washington Bureau Chief.

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c.c.: Joe Clark: Minister of External Affairs - Ottawa ✓  
Tim Kotcheff: vice President, CTV News - Toronto

**ACTION  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PEKIN WJGR3456 25MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 250900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC

CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG WSAW DE OTT SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS  
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REF OURTEL WJGR3451 24MAY

---UNCERTAINTY IN PEKIN AS OFFICIAL MEDIA PUBLISHES HARD-LINE  
WARNING

GENERAL OPTIMISM YESTERDAY THAT POLITICAL SOLUTION TO LEADERSHIP  
CRISIS WAS IMMINENT HAS BEEN SHAKEN BY LETTER READ OUT OVER RADIO  
AND PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S PEOPLES DAILY. LETTER FROM CHINESE MILITARY  
HIGH COMMAND IS ADDRESSED TO MILITARY PERSONNEL CARRYING OUT QUOTE  
SACRED TASK UNQUOTE OF MARTIAL LAW. LET REFERS TO QUOTE INCREASINGLY  
SERIOUS SOCIAL TURMOIL UNQUOTE AND QUOTE SERIOUS POLITICAL STRUGGLE  
UNQUOTE. IT URGES PERSONNEL TO STUDY 19MAY SPEECHES BY PREMIER LI  
PENG AND PRES YANG SHANGKUN THAT PRECEDED DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW  
20MAY AS WELL AS HARD-LINE PEOPLES DAILY EDITORIAL OF 26APR THAT  
PRECIPITATED MASSIVE STUDENT DEMO 27APR. REPEATING LANGUAGE FROM  
THESE STATEMENTS REMINISCENT OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION DAYS. LET AGAIN

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PAGE TWO WJGR3456 CONF

ACCUSES SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITH ULTERIOR MOTIVES OF CREATING TURMOIL TO NEGATE LEADERSHIP OF CCP AND SOCIALIST SYSTEM. LET URGES TROOPS TO DISPLAY REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT ADVOCATED BY DENG XIAOPING AND EXPRESSES CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT QUOTE NEW TESTS AND TRAINING UNQUOTE IN ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW. RADIO REPORTS SUPPORT TO LI PENG/YANG SHANGKUN DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW COMING FROM ALL REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS.

2. LET IS SEEN AS EVIDENCE THAT MILITARY HIGH COMMAND IS LOYAL TO LI PENG AND DENG XIAOPING AND THAT CONSERVATIVE FACTION IS PREPARED TO DEPLOY TROOPS IN PEKIN. ZHAO ZIYANG SUPPORTER WAN LI WHO RETURNED TO CHINA THIS MORNING IS UNDERGOING MEDICAL TREATMENT IN SHNGI ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL MEDIA BUT IS MOST LIKELY BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING TO PEKIN.

3. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT MORE TROOPS HAVE BEEN ARRIVING IN PEKIN SUBURBS. PRESENCE OF TOUGH AIRBORNE TROOPS IN SOUTHEAST OF CITY IS PRESUMABLY NOT/NOT JUST FOR SHOW. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE REPORTS OF DIVISION WITHIN ARMY, NONE HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED. RIOT-EQUIPPED 60,000-STRONG PEOPLES ARMED POLICE CONTROLLED BY ULTRA-HARDLINE PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTER WANG FANG HAVE NOT/NOT BEEN SEEN FOR LAST WEEK. RUMOURS SAY THAT DENG IS IN WUHAN AND THAT PLAN IS AFOOT TO OUST QUOTE ZHAO CLIQUE UNQUOTE. BUT NONE OF THIS CAN BE CONFIRMED. MEANWHILE STUDENTS AND WORKERS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE IN CENTRAL PEKIN.

4. IN SHORT, HARDLINERS IN LEADERSHIP APPEAR POISED TO DECISIVE ACTION THAT COULD INVOLVE USE OF FORCE.

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INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKPTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPEST PCOOTT/IAC

CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG SHNGI DE PEK WSAW DE OTT

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS

JIS

REF OURTEL WJGR3449 23MAY

---ARMY IN PIVOTAL POSITION WAITING FOR LEADERSHIP TO ACHIEVE  
POLITICAL SOLUTION

SUMMARY:AN ESTIMATED 80,000 TROOPS NOW SURROUND PEKIN AND ARE IN  
POSITION TO ENTER CITY SHOULD MILITARY ORDER BE GIVEN.HOWEVER  
MILITARY HIGH COMMAND IS GIVING ORDER FOR TROOPS TO BE GARRISONED  
ON OUTSKIRTS OF CITY PENDING CLEARER OUTCOME OF STRUGGLE WITHIN  
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.CHINAS OFFICIAL PRESS, NOW UNDER CONTROL OF  
ARMYS PROPAGANDA UNITS, IS PERMITTED MORE DETAILED AND ACCURATE  
REPORTING BUT NEWS ITEMS CONTINUE TO REFLECT POWER STRUGGLE AT TOP.  
XINHUA HAS NOW TWICE REFERRED TO ZHAO ZIYANG AS PARTY GEN SEC BUT  
REPORT OF PROVINCIAL SUPPORT FOR LI PENG'S MARTIAL LAW ORDER  
CONTINUE TO BE PRINTED.MEDIA EFFORTS ARE CONCENTRATING ON  
RESTORING PRESTIGE OF PLA.ARMY FEELS BETRAYED BY LEADERSHIP IN

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RETURN TO RENYOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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PAGE TWO WJGR3451 CONED

HAVING BEEN SENT TO DEAL WITH SITUATION THAT WAS BADLY MISREPRESENTED BY GOVT. NPC CHAIRMAN WAN LIS HASTY RETURN TO PEKIN QUOTE FOR HEALTH REASONS UNQUOTE IS FUELLING SPECULATION THAT HE WILL PLAY ROLE IN FINAL OUTCOME OF POLITICAL CRISIS. OFFICIAL CHINESE MEDIA REPORTED THAT MARCH BY ONE MILLION STUDENTS AND WORKERS YESTERDAY CALLED FOR RESIGNATION OF LI PENG. DEMONSTRATORS ALSO CALLED FOR DENG XIAOPINGS RESIGNATION. WHILE PEKIN OUTSIDE TIANANMEN AREA FUNCTIONS NORMALLY, PUBLIC TRANSPORT IS ERRATIC AND AT NIGHT CROWDS OF STUDENTS AND WORKERS TAKE OVER STREETS, ERECTING BARRICADES OF BUSES AND CONCRETE BLOCKS AGAINST POSSIBLE SURPRISE ATTACK. IT IS REMARKABLE THAT WITH SUCH LARGE GATHERINGS AND CONFRONTATION THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE. IT APPEARS INCREASINGLY LIKELY THAT SITUATION WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO RESOLVE AND THAT NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND. WHILE GENERAL SUPPORT FOR ZHAO APPEARS TO BE STRONG, UNPRECEDENTED PROBLEM OF HOW TO DEAL WITH PARAMOUNT LEADER DENG, WHOSE POLICIES LI PENG ESSENTIALLY REPRESENTS, WILL REQUIRE EXTRAORDINARY MANOEUVRING IF PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND.

2. REPORT: SOME 80,000 TROOPS NOW SURROUND PEKIN. CALLED IN FROM AS FAR AWAY AS NANNING ON VIETNAM FRONT, PLA IS IN POSITION TO ENTER PEKIN EVEN THOUGH ROADBLOCKS OF BUSES AND CONCRETE DIVIDERS ARE ERECTED EVERY NIGHT AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS RINGING THE CITY.

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PAGE THREE WJGR3451 CONF D

HOWEVER, MILITARY COMMAND IS FOR MOMENT REFUSING TO GIVE ORDER TO ADVANCE, DESPITE MARTIAL LAW INSTRUCTION FROM STATE COUNCIL, AND TROOP CONVOYS THAT HAVE BEEN SURROUNDED AND IMMOBILIZED BY THOUSANDS OF ORDINARY CITIZENS ARE BEING WITHDRAWN TO NEARBY GARRISONS. ARMY IS EVIDENTLY NOT/NOT SUPPORTING LI PENG-DENG XIAOPING LINE AND IS WAITING FOR POLITICAL TREND TO DEVELOP THAT WOULD EITHER ALLOW THEM TO ENTER CITY PEACEFULLY OR SIMPLY WITHDRAW. PLA IS FEELING HUMILIATED AT HAVING BEEN PUT INTO A SITUATION IN WHICH IT WOULD BE UNABLE TO ACHIEVE ITS ALLEGED OBJECTIVES WITHOUT CONSIDERABLE SPILLING OF BLOOD OF CHINESE CITIZENS. WITH CENTRE OF PEKIN ABANDONED TO THE PEOPLE, ARMY IS PLAYING WAITING GAME. PROBABLY UNWILLING TO TAKE ACTION THAT WOULD INVOLVE THEM IN DIRECT RUNNING OF COUNTRY, MILITARY COMMANDERS ARE MOST LIKELY TO AWAIT A CLEAR POLITICAL TREND BEFORE PUTTING THEMSELVES BACK UNDER GOVT/PARTY CONTROL. WE HAVE NO/NO EVIDENCE THAT TROOPS ARE RESPONDING TO PERSONAL COMMANDS OF LEADERSHIP FACTIONS.

3. MEANWHILE PLA, WHOSE PROPAGANDA UNITS NOW CONTROL OFFICIAL MEDIA, IS ACTIVELY TRYING TO RESTORE PRESTIGE OF ARMY. NUMEROUS NEWS ITEMS REINFORCE IDEA THAT ARMY IS FRIENDLY TO PEOPLE, IS NOT/NOT AGAINST STUDENTS AND HAS ONLY BEEN CALLED IN TO ASSURE ORDER. ALTHOUGH ARMY OFFICIALS ARE EVEN PRESENT IN STUDIO WHEN NEWS BROADCASTS ARE READ,

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PAGE FOUR WJGR3451 CONF

f  
MEDIA ARE AGAIN REPORTING EVENTS WITH MORE BALANCE AND IN GREATER  
DETAIL. NEVERTHELESS, THIS BALANCE OFTEN REFLECTS POWER STRUGGLE AT  
TOP. IN LAST 24 HOURS, XINHUA HAS NOW TWICE REFERRED TO ZHAO ZIYANG  
AS GEN SEC OF PARTY AND HAS CONFIRMED THAT HE WILL BE HEADING  
OFFICIAL DEL TO THAILAND LATER THIS YEAR. THERE HAS BEEN NO/NO  
MENTION OF EITHER DENG OR LI PENG'S ACTIVITIES. ON OTHER HAND, PRESS  
CONTINUES TO REPORT MESSAGES OF SUPPORT FOR LI PENG'S MARTIAL LAW  
ORDER FROM PROVINCIAL PARTY, MIL AND GOVT ORGANS.

2  
4. YESTERDAY, DESPITE TORRENTIAL DOWNPOUR IN AFTERNOON, TIANANMEN  
WAS ONCE AGAIN SCENE OF MASSIVE ONE MILLION-STRONG DEMO, ACCORDING  
TO OFFICIAL REPORTS. STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS AND WORKERS CHANTED  
SLOGANS AND CARRIED BANNERS OPENLY CALLING FOR RESIGNATIONS OF LI  
PLENG AND DENG XIAOPING. AS PREVIOUSLY AT NIGHT, TRUCKS, BUSES AND  
AMBULANCES CARRYING BANNER-WAVING DEMONSTRATORS ROAM THE STREETS  
AND BARRICADES OF BUSES AND CONCRETE DIVIDERS ARE MANNED AT MAJOR  
INTERSECTIONS. AT NIGHT, GROUPS OF STUDENTS FAN OUT TO TALK OF  
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL REFORM BEFORE RECEPTIVE STREET CORNER  
AUDIENCES OF WORKERS. ON MAJOR STREETS, BUSES HAVE BEEN TAKEN OVER  
AND USED TO BROADCAST STUDENT SPEECHES VIA LOUDSPEAKERS THAT  
EMPHASIZE SUPPORT FOR ARMY AND CALL FOR POL REFORMS. WHEN ASKED  
ABOUT THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS STUDENTS, WORKERS WE SPOKE TO ACCEPTED  
STUDENTS AS LEADERS SINCE QUOTE THEY HAVE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF  
...5

PAGE FIVE WJGR3451 CONFD

THINGS UNQUOTE.TIANANMEN,WHICH IS STILL COVERED WITH 90 BUSES CONVERTED INTO TEMPORARY SHELTER FOR STUDENTS,WAS CORDONED OFF LAST NIGHT BY HUNDREDS OF STUDENT GUARDS WHO FEARED THAT PLAIN CLOTHES POLICE WOULD ATTEMPT TO INFILTRATE THEIR ORGANISATION. STUDENTS WERE QUICK TO CONDEMN ACTION BY SOME DEMONSTRATORS YESTERDAY WHO SPLASHED PAINT OVER GIANT PORTRAIT OF MAO IN SQUARE (IT WAS RAPIDLY RESTORED BEFORE MIDNIGHT).

5.WHILE XINHUA HAS REPORTED THAT 7,000 STUDENTS WHO ARRIVED IN PEKIN FROM OTHER PROVINCES SINCE WEEKEND HAVE RETURNED BY TRAIN, MANY OF THESE HAD COME FOR ONLY ONE OR TWO DAYS TO SEE SITUATION IN PEKIN AND REPORT BACK TO STUDENT AND OTHER GROUPS THROUGHOUT CHINA. STUDENTS COMMUNICATIONS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN KEEPING SUPPORTERS INFORMED OF EVENTS AND IN SPREADING THEIR IDEAS TO OTHER GROUPS(INCLUDING PLA)WITHIN PEKIN AND BEYOND.SQUADS OF MOTORCYCLES,MINIBUSES AND COMMANDEERED TRUCKS PATROL NIGHTLY FROM CHECKPOINT TO CHECKPOINT.

6.RETURN OF WAN LI FROM HIS AMERICAN TRIP,ALLEGEDLY FOR HEALTH REASONS,IS FUELLING SPECULATION THAT HE MAY PLAY ROLE IN ACHIEVING POLITICAL SOLUTION TO CURRENT CRISIS.AS CHAIRMAN OF NPC STANDING CTTEE AND ZHAO ALLY,HE COULD CONVENE NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS AND HAVE LI PENG REMOVED AS PRIME MINISTER ACCORDING TO CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE.HOWEVER,LI PENG IS NOT/NOT ONLY PROBLEM.HARD LINE

...6

PAGE SIX WJGR3451 CONFD

f ( ADOPTED BY LI WAS PUBLICLY SUPPORTED BY PRESIDENT YANG SHANGKUN AND IS WIDELY BELIEVED TO REPRESENT THINKING OF DENG YIAOPING. DESPITE TREMENDOUS LOSS OF PRESTIGE OF CHINAS PARAMOUNT LEADER IN LAST MONTH, HIS POSITION IS BOLSTFRED BY INTRICATE NETWORK OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLEGIANCES BUILT UP OVER FIFTY YEARS. IT WILL BE AN EXTRAORDINARY TASK TO TRY TO ACHIEVE A POL SOLUTION THAT WOULD NECESSARILY REMOVE POWER FROM LI PENG AND DENG XIAOPING AND STILL MAINTAIN FACE FOR PARTY AS A WHOLE. FOR THIS REASON, WE EXPECT PRESENT UNCERTAIN SITU COULD CONTINUE PERHAPS FOR AS LONG AS A WEEK OR MORE. IN MEANTIME, HOWEVER, WE DO NOT/NOT EXPECT FORCE TO BE USED IN RESOLVING THIS UNPRECEDENTED CRISIS FOR POL FUTURE OF PRC.

CCC/078 240830Z WJGR3451

**ACTION  
SUITE A DONNER**

RETURN TO RENYOYER AU	<b>BIGO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
ACC 817066	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER <b>20-CHINA-1-4</b>	

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P R O T E C T E D

FM PEKIN WJGR3449 23MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 230900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL  
BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO WSAW PRGUE PUCST BGRAD BPFST PCOOTT/IAC  
CIDAHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF  
BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP INE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS  
JIS

REF OURTEL WJGR3448 19MAY

---BEIJING:SITUATION REMAINS CONFUSED AND VOLATILE

SITU ON STREETS TODAY IS CALM,SOME BUSES ARE RUNNING,FOOD  
SUPPLIES ARE AVAILABLE,WORKERS ARE AT THEIR JOBS.

2.POLITICAL SITU REMAINS VERY CONFUSED.SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT OF MARTIAL  
LAW NO/NO OFFICIAL WORD ABOUT STATUS OF SEC GEN ZHAO ZIYANG,NO/NO  
PRONOUNCEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY PREMIER LI PENG OR OTHER PARTY OR  
STATE COUNCIL MEMBERS.

3.IT IS SYMPTOMATIC THAT ONLY STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FROM OLDER  
AND WIDELY RESPECTED PERSONNAGES SUCH AS 90-YEAR OLD MARSHALL NIE  
RUNGHZEN,AND 88-YEAR OLD MARSHALL XU XIANGQIAN,ON SUN 21MAY THAT  
TALK OF WORD THAT GOVT WILL SUPPRESS STUDENTS WITH THE ARMY ON  
TIANANMEN WAS FALSE RUMOUR.RUMOUR WAS BASED ON ALLEGED TOUGH  
STATEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN ISSUED BY LI PENG.NO/NO

CONFIRMATION THAT SUCH STATEMENT WAS MADE ON MON 22MAY,85-YEAR

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PAGE TWO WJGR3449 PROTECTED

OLD WIDOW OF ZHOU ENLAI, DENG YINGCHAO, ISSUED PUBLIC LETTER TO STUDENTS AND RESIDENTS OF THE CITY, ASKING THEM TO SUPPORT PARTY AND GOVT AND TO QUOTE BELIEVE IN PLA UNQUOTE AND HELP THEM MAINTAIN SOCIAL ORDER.

4. EVERYONE BELIEVED ARMY WAS TO MOVE IN SUN NIGHT AND OUR CONFIRMED INFO WAS THAT ONSLAUGHT WAS PLANNED FOR 0200H. POPULATION WAS WORKED UP TO A FRENZY WITH TRUCKLOADS OF WORKERS AND STUDENTS GOING TO MAN BARRICADES ON EVERY MAJOR THOROUGHFARE. INDICATIONS ARE THAT SENIOR ARMY GENERALS CALLED IT OFF GIVEN THAT IT WOULD HAVE LED TO CONSIDERABLE BLOODSHED.

5. HOWEVER ARMY REINFORCEMENTS ARE STILL POURING INTO CITY SUBURBS (ALTHOUGH SOME OTHERS HAVE RETREATED). MON NIGHT PEOPLES ARMED POLICE COLUMN WAS STOPPED BY POPULATION ON ROAD NORTH OF PEKIN BEFORE IT REACHED 3RD RING ROAD. THOUSANDS OF ARMY ARE STILL BLOCKED IN PEKIN RAILWAY STATION, AND IN MANY AREAS AROUND CITY. THERE ARE ISOLATED REPORTS OF RELATIVELY MINOR FIGHTS (NO/NO INDICATION OF FIREARMS USED).

6. IT THUS SEEMS LEADERSHIP (WHOEVER THIS IS AT MOMENT) WILL NOT/NOT RESORT TO MASSIVE MILITARY INTERVENTION AT COST OF SERIOUS BLOODSHED. EMPHASIS NOW IS ON PSYCHOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE WITH RADIO BROADCASTS DETAILING HARDSHIP WHICH CURRENT SITU IS IMPOSING ON POPULATION, AND MORE TO BE EXPECTED (SPREAD OF DISEASE IS HINTED AT, ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT/NOT A CREDIBLE DANGER AT PRESENT). LEAFLETS

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PAGE THREE WJGR3449 PROTECTED

ALSO DROPPED BY HELICOPTERS PRAISING ROLE OF PLA. TO ADD TO  
CONFUSION, TV BROADCASTS LAST NIGHT WERE NOT/NOT ALARMING AND  
PORTRAYED SITU AS RETURNING TO NORMAL. CONTRADICTION BROADCASTS  
WOULD SEEM TO MIRROR CONFUSED POLITICAL SITU.

7. STUDENTS ARE STILL ON TIANANMEN. MANY ARE GATHERED IN FRONT OF  
ZHONGNANHAI (WHERE LEADERSHIP RESIDES). PROMINENT BANNER CALLS FOR  
IMMEDIATE CONVENING OF NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS AND OUSTING OF LI  
PENG. THERE WAS AGAIN A DEMO ON CHANGAN (LEADING TO TIANANMEN) LAST  
NIGHT. THERE WERE FEWER PEOPLE, AND WORKERS WERE NOT/NOT PRESENT EN  
MASSE AS HAD BEEN CASE PREVIOUS NIGHTS (ONLY A FEW DOZEN TRUCKLOADS  
PARADING WITH FLAGS). THIS MAY BE DUE TO (A) DECISION BY  
STUDENTS/WORKERS TO DIFFUSE SITU AND COUNTERACT PSYCHOLOGICAL  
OFFENSIVE; (B) GENERAL LASSITUDE AND EVEN STUDENT/WORKER RIFT; OR  
(C) PRESENCE OF POPULATION AT BARRICADES AROUND CITY PROPER.

8. UNCLEAR WHETHER LEADERSHIP IS PREPARED TO AGREE ON ELEMENTS OF  
A POLITICAL SITUATION, OR WHETHER THEY ARE WAITING FOR OCCASION  
TO MOVE TROOPS IN WITHOUT EXCESSIVE BLOODSHED. THERE IS TALK ON THE  
STREETS ABOUT A ROLE FOR WAN LI, CHAIRMAN OF NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS  
NOW IN USA AFTER CDA VISIT. MORNING NEWS REPORTED WAN LI AS HAVING  
SAID IN TRNTO QUOTE IT IS IMPERATIVE TO PROTECT THE BROAD MASSES  
OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR PATRIOTIC ENTHUSIASM AND MAINTAIN SOCIAL

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PAGE FOUR WJGR3449 PROTECTED

ORDER UNQUOTE. APART FROM DENG YINGCHAO, HE WAS ONLY INDIVIDUAL CITED TODAY. THERE ARE RUMOURS THAT DENG IS OUT OF TOWN. HE HAS NOT/NOT BEEN HEARD FROM NOR SEEN SINCE HIS MTG WITH GORBACHEV.

9. THIS IS NOW FOURTH DAY OF MARTIAL LAW IN PEKIN. IT IS TOTALLY IGNORED. ARMY ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE HAVE BEEN FOILED (RADIO NEWS THIS MORNING ACKNOWLEDGED QUOTE FOR THE THREE DAYS SINCE THE MARTIAL LAW, THE LIBERATION ARMY HAS NOT/NOT BEEN ABLE TO ENTER THE CITY PROPER UNQUOTE). IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY WHERE GOVT IS UNABLE TO IMPOSE ITS WILL, THERE WOULD BE VIOLENCE AND LOOTING. INSTEAD, ORDER AND GOOD HUMOUR PREVAIL. STUDENTS ARE MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE IN DIRECTING TRAFFIC IN CITY CENTER THAN TRAFFIC POLICE EVER WERE.

10. AS INDICATED ABOVE, NO/NO ONE CAN PREDICT WHETHER SOLUTION WILL BE POLITICAL, MILITARY, OR A COMBINATION OF BOTH. BUT IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF LI PENG, WHO PRECIPITATED THE CRISIS, CAN SURVIVE FOR LONG THE MONUMENTAL DISPLAY OF PARTY/GOVT INEPTITUDE AND RIDICULE.

11. CDNS ARE WELL AND SAFE. MANY WHO HAD NOT/NOT REGISTERED NOW HAVE PHONE IN. MOST WORRIED ARE STUDENTS ON CAMPUSES (ARMY HAS ATTEMPTED TO PENETRATE BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY), AND THEY ARE KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH EMB. WE ARE REVIEWING OUR CONTINGENCY/EVACUATION PLAN TO TAILOR IT BETTER TO CURRENT UNPRECEDENTED SITU. EMB STAFF ARE IN GOOD SPIRITS. BUT SOME WHOSE APTS ARE ON OR NEAR JIANGUOMENWAI (EXTENSION OF CHANGAN) WHERE DEMOS TAKE PLACE ARE STARTING TO FEEL EFFECTS OF LACK OF SLEEP. WAILING SIRENS, TRUCKLOADS OF SLOGAN SHOUTING DEMONSTRATORS, CHEERING CROWDS, HAVE MADE REST DIFFICULT

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*PAM*

PAGE FIVE WJGR3449 PROTECTED

FOR WEEKS. IF SITU CONTINUES, WE MAY MOVE MOST AFFECTED TO HOTELS IN QUIETER AREA. GRATEFUL ADVISE ASAP IF FUNDS CAN BE PROVIDED FOR THIS CONTINGENCY. WILL ADVISE SEPARATELY ON OTHER ASPECTS OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING. } ✓

12. WE MUST ADVISE THAT MULTITUDE OF JOURNALISTS ARE PHONING FROM CDA WITH EXPECTATION OF ORAL REPORTS ON SITU. WE ARE TELLING THEM AS POLITELY AS WE CAN THAT CDNS ARE IN NO/NO DANGER, SITU APPEARS FLUID BUT IN CONTROL, AND EXPLAINING WE MUST KEEP OUR LINES OPEN FOR CDNS IN CHINA WHO PHONE IN FOR GUIDANCE. WE REFER THEM TO SSFA STATEMENT. THEY ARE NOT/NOT ALL UNDERSTANDING OF PRESSURES EMB IS WORKING UNDER. } ✓

13. FOR YOUR INFO, INNATL SCHOOL IS CLOSED BECAUSE OF TRANSPORT DIFFICULTY (BARRICADES, TEMPORARY DISRUPTION IN PETROL SUPPLY). DAY CAMP IS ORGANIZED IN THOSE EMBS (INCL CDN) WHO HAVE SUFFICIENT GROUNDS. } ✓

14. WSHDC HAS REPORTEDLY ISSUED TRAVEL ADVISORY AGAINST TRAVELLING TO PRC AT PRESENT TIME. SUGGEST YOU DO THE SAME OR CAUTION THAT (A) SITU REMAINS LARGELY UNPREDICTABLE ALBEIT NOW PEACEFUL; (B) TAXIS AND OTHER TOURIST SERVICES ARE GROWING PROBLEM. } ✓

CCC/078 230530Z WJGR3449

*Personal safety ph*

23 May / 89

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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

Political Crisis in China - Student demonstrations in China (originally touched-off by the April 15 death of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang) have continued for over a month and have now engulfed the Chinese state and party leadership.

Source

Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and media reports.

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

CONFIDENTIAL

- The on-going political crisis which has gripped China since the April 15 death of former Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang, and led by China's students, now appears to have paralysed the state and party leadership.
- Since the May 20 imposition of martial law neither Party Secretary General Zhao Ziyang, nor PM Li Peng have been seen, and there is considerable evidence of a behind the political struggle taking place to determine who will govern the country.
- Army reinforcements are still entering Beijing's suburbs however, although these troops remain blocked by barricades constructed and manned by the populace. There are isolated reports of relatively minor fights between the PLA and the citizenry, but without any indication of the use of firearms.
- The current emphasis of the leadership (whomever this comprises at present) is on a psychological offensive, with radio broadcasts detailing the hardships which the current situation is imposing on the population.
- It appears that a massive military intervention (at a cost of considerable bloodshed) is unlikely at this point in time.
- Canadians in China are well and safe. Many who had not registered with the Embassy have now telephoned the Embassy.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following the developing events in China closely.
- We are pleased that both the authorities and the students have shown restraint and that the demonstrations have generally not been violent.
- We continue to receive detailed reports from our Embassy in Peking and we are not aware of any danger to Canadians.
- On May 20 I issued a statement (attached) which called on the Chinese leadership exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Responsive Only - should the Chinese authorities violently repress the student demonstrators.

- Canada is concerned over the question of human rights in China, and is hopeful that further violence can be avoided.

RETURN TO RENYOYER AU	B100	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE MISE AU DOSSIER
ACC	REF	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER	
20-CHINA-1-4		

Prepared by / Préparé par  
GORDON HOULDEN

Division / Direction  
PNR

Date  
23 MAY 89

Tel. no. / N° de tél.  
996-0980 000487

# News Release

# Communiqué

Department of  
External  
Affairs



Ministère des  
Affaires  
extérieures

No. 117

Ottawa, May 20, 1989

## SITUATION IN BEIJING

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, called on the Chinese leadership to exercise restraint and to avoid the use of force in managing the current student and public demonstrations in Beijing.

Earlier today the Government of the PRC imposed martial law on parts of Beijing, and army units were dispatched to disperse public gatherings in the centre of the city. It appears that those units remain some blocks away from their alleged destinations, and that hundreds of thousands of city residents are in the streets. There have thus far been only isolated and unconfirmed reports of violence in outlying areas.

Mr. Clark said "the Chinese Government, and indeed the students themselves, appear to have shown considerable restraint in the past weeks and we would hope that restraint will continue to be exercised. We trust that the current difficult situation will be resolved peacefully and the use of force avoided."

-30-

Secretary of State  
for  
External Affairs

Secrétaire d'État  
aux  
Affaires extérieures

Canada

000488



MESSAGE

Accession/Référence	602390/890524
File/Dossier	20-12-CHINA
	20-CHINA-1-4

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INFO SHNGI HKONG TOKYO WSHDC  
DISTR MINP MINA USS PGB PND PNC PGP BMM BCB DMT  
REF BALLOCH-DRAKE TELCON 20MAY

---SSEA STATEMENT ON STUDENT CRISIS

FOLLOWING TEXT WAS ISSUED IN OTT MIDDAY TODAY.TEXT PROVIDED TO PRC  
EMB HERE AS COURTESY.SUGGEST YOU SIMILARLY PROVIDE TO MFA.

2.START TEXT OTTAWA, MAY 20, 1989 SITUATION IN BEIJING PARA THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE  
CLARK, CALLED ON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND  
TO AVOID THE USE OF FORCE IN MANAGING THE CURRENT STUDENT AND  
PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS IN BEIJING.PARA.EARLIER TODAY THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE PRC IMPOSED MARTIAL LAW ON PARTS OF BEIJING, AND ARMY UNITS  
WERE DISPATCHED TO DISPERSE PUBLIC GATHERINGS IN THE CENTRE OF THE  
CITY. IT APPEARS THAT THOSE UNITS REMAIN SOME BLOCKS AWAY FROM  
THEIR ALLEGED DESTINATIONS, AND THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CITY  
RESIDENTS ARE IN THE STREETS. THERE HAVE THUS FAR BEEN ONLY  
ISOLATED AND UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF VIOLENCE IN OUTLYING AREAS.  
PARA. MR. CLARK SAID QUOTE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND INDEED THE  
STUDENTS THEMSELVES, APPEAR TO HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE RESTRAINT  
IN THE PAST WEEKS AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT RESTRAINT WILL CONTINUE  
TO BE EXERCISED. WE TRUST THAT THE CURRENT DIFFICULT SITUATION

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DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
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WILL BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY AND THE USE OF FORCE AVOIDED. UNQUOTE

END TEXT.

**ACTION  
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FILE 20-CHINA-1-4		DOSSIER

P R O T E C T E D

FM PEKIN WJGR3448 19MAY89

TO EXTOTT PNR DELIVER BY 190900

INFO HKONG TOKYO SEOUL SPORE BNGKK KLMPR DELHI ISBAD JKRTA MANIL

BNATO GENEV PARIS LDN MOSCO WSAW PRGUE BUCST PGRAD BPEST

PCOOTT/IAC CIDADHULL BSC TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/CIS ADM/ DE CAF

BAG SHNGI DE PEK

DISTR USS PGB PND PSD PSR PNC PGP INP IVE CPP CPE CPD BKR ISE ISS  
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REF OURTEL WJGR3442 18MAY

---LI PENG:CHAOS SPREADS THROUGHOUT CHINA

SUMMARY:DEMO IN PEKIN ON 18MAY WAS EVEN MORE MASSIVE THAN PRECEDING  
ONES WITH WORKERS NOW JOINING EN MASSE,DRIVING TO CITY CENTRE IN  
EVERY AVAILABLE VEHICLE.RAILWAY WORKERS ALLOW STUDENTS TO TRAVEL  
FREELY TOWARDS PEKIN,AND OFFICIAL ESTIMATE IS THAT 50,000 ARE  
FLOODING IN DAILY FORM AL PARTS OF COUNTRY.DEMOS HAVE ERUPTED IN  
ALL MAJOR CHINESE CITIES.POLITBURO STANDING CTTEE MEMBERS VISITED  
HUNGER STRIKERS IN HOSPITALS AND PREMIER LI MET WITH STUDENT REPS  
IN GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE.PREMIER WAS GRIM.WHILE EXPRESSING  
APPRECIATION FOR STUDENTS QUOTE PATRIOTIC ENTHUSIASM UNQUOTE AND  
DENYING PRESS HAD PORTRAYED THEIR MOVEMENT AS CHAOS,LI DID NOT/NOT  
MEET STUDENT DEMAND FOR OFFICIAL REHABILITATION OF THEIR MOVEMENT NOR  
PROMISE TO IMMEDLY DISCUSS WITH ILLEGAL MOVEMENT ON EQUAL BASIS.LI

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SAID SITU WAS NOW DEVELOPING IN A DIRECTION INDEPENDENT OF STUDENTS WILL AND THERE WAS QUOTE REAL CHAOS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY UNQUOTE. LI SAID HE DISAPPROVED OF WORKERS SUPPORT OF HUNGER STRIKERS (WHICH WILL NOT/NOT HELP DIFFUSE SITU) AND APPEALED TO HUNGER STRIKERS TO ACCEPT BEING SENT TO HOSPITAL EN BLOC. AT 0400H 19MAY, SEC GEN ZHAO VISITED HUNGER STRIKERS ON SQUARE. VISIBLY WORN AND SHAKEN, HE TOOK GRANDFATHERLY APPROACH, SAYING THEIR HEALTH WAS OF CONCERN TO THEIR PARENTS AND TO LEADERSHIP. HE SAID GOVT COULD AND WOULD ADDRESS PROBLEMS OF CONCERN OF STUDENTS BUT DID NOT/NOT MAKE ANY SPECIFIC PROMISES. SITU ON TIANANMEN SQUARE RESEMBLES THAT OF REFUGEE CAMP. HEPATITIS AND OTHER DISEASES REPORTEDLY SPREADING. IMPASSE IS THEREFORE TOTAL AND WORRISOME. NOBODY CAN PREDICT HOW SITU WILL EVOLVE IN COMING HOURS AND DAYS ALTHOUGH SITU TODAY IS MUCH MORE CALM.

2. REPORT: PROTEST MOVEMENT IS GROWING TO POINT WHERE LEADFRSHIP APPEARS UNABLE TO CONTAIN IT AND COUNTRY COULD FALL INTO ANARCHY. DEMONSTRATORS ON 19MAY WERE LARGELY COMPRISED OF WORKERS FROM EVERY GROUP AND CATEGORY, AS WELL AS PRIMARY/SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN LED BY THEIR TEACHERS. WORKERS SPENT DAY PARADING IN BUSES, TRUCKS, TAXIS, BICYCLES, AND WERE CHEERED BY ONLOOKERS AS IF THEY WERE LIBERATING ARMY. MOOD STILL RESEMBLES THAT OF HUGE CARNIVAL, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS YESTERDAY GROWING FEELING OF ANXIETY, ESPECIALLY AMONG OLDER POPULATION WHO HAVE VIVID RECOLLECTION OF PREVIOUS

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PAGE THREE WJGR3448 PROTECTED

CHAPTERS OF CHINAS TUMULTUOUS HISTORY OF MASS MOVEMENTS.

3. WITH ENCOURAGEMENT OF RAILWAY WORKERS, AN ESTIMATED 50,000 STUDENTS A DAY (ACCORDING TO CHINA DAILY) ARE FLOODING INTO THE CAPITAL FROM TIANJIN, HEILONGJIANG, JILIN, LIAONING, HEBEI, SHANXI, ANHUI, HUBEI, SHAANXI, JIANGSU, INNER MONGOLIA AND EVEN GUANGDONG. WORKERS HAVE CONGREGATED ON TIANANMEN AND PARADE AROUND TOWN (ESSENTIALLY ON CHANGAN BLVD) DISPLAYING LARGE BANNERS. MOST READ QUOTE WORKERS SUPPORT STUDENTS HUNGER STRIKE UNQUOTE. HUNGER STRIKE SEEMS TO HAVE SERVED AS CATALYST IN OBTAINING WORKERS AND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR STUDENTS. SOME BANNERS ARE MORE RADICAL (AS REPORTED REFTEL) AND A FEW LARGE MAO PORTRAITS HAVE APPEARED (LIKELY AS SIGN OF PROTEST AGAINST CURRENT LEADERSHIP, ESP CORRUPTION/NEPOTISM, RATHER THAN INDICATING NOSTALGIA FOR MAO HIMSELF).

4. LEADERSHIP HAS YESTERDAY AND TODAY ATTEMPTED TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF REASONABLENESS AND FLEXIBILITY, SHORT OF ACCEDING TO STUDENT DEMANDS, MANY OF WHICH REMAIN VAGUE. POLITBURO STANDING CTTEE MEMBERS MADE WELL-PUBLICISED VISIT TO A HOSPITAL WHERE HUNGER STRIKERS WHO COLLAPSED HAVE BEEN TAKEN. IMAGE WAS THAT OF SYMPATHY AND SOME DIALOGUE WITH SELECTED STUDENTS AND WAS REPEATEDLY BROADCAST ON TV. IN EVENING, TV COVERED MTG OF STUDENTS WITH PREMIER LI PENG AT GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE. LIS TACTIC WAS COMBINATION OF EXPRESSION OF CONCERN (OBVIOUSLY ADDRESSED AT VIEWERS) AND

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PAGE FOUR WJGR3448 PROTECTED

FIRMNESS. LI MADE QUOTE CONCRETE SUGGESTION UNQUOTE THAT FASTING STUDENTS BE SENT TO HOSPITALS IMMEDIATELY. BUT HE REFUSED TO ACCEDE TO REHABILITATION OF STUDENT MOVEMENT ALTHOUGH HE CONCEDED THEIR QUOTE PATRIOTIC ENTHUSIASM UNQUOTE HAD HELPED GOVT TACKLE OBSTACLES TO REFORM. BUT WHATEVER THEIR ORIGINAL INTENTIONS, HE SAID, TURMOIL HAD OCCURRED, AND PEKIN WAS ON BRINK OF ANARCHY. HE REFERRED TO SPREADING CHAOS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY AND CITED STUDENTS INTERRUPTION OF RAIL TRAFFIC OVER YANGTZE IN CENTRAL CHINA. LI OMINOUSLY ADDED HE HAS ALREADY HINTED AT HIS OWN VIEWS ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH STUDENT MOVEMENT, WOULD NOT VOICE THEM NOW AND WOULD SPEAK OUT AT APPROPRIATE TIME.

5. THIS PROMPTED STUDENT LEADERS TO QUESTION LIS SINCERITY ABOUT FUTURE DIALOGUE AND RENEWED DEMAND THAT GOVT CLEARLY REDEFINE ITS POSITION ON STUDENT MOVEMENT, APOLOGIZE TO NATION VIA PEOPLE'S DAILY AND ALLOW LIVE BROADCAST OF DIALOGUE WITH QUOTE GENUINE UNQUOTE LEADERS OF STUDENTS. ZHAO'S IMPROMPTU CALL ON FASTING STUDENTS AT TIANANMEN AT 0400H DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE SOFTENED THEIR POSITION. VISIBLY EXHAUSTED AND SHAKEN, ZHAO APPEALED TO STUDENTS TO END HUNGER STRIKE. HE SAID PARTY AND PARENTS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT HEALTH OF SO MANY YOUNG PEOPLE, AND SITU COULD NOT CONTINUE. SANITARY CONDITIONS IN SQUARE ARE DETERIORATING (DESPITE FACT THAT FASTERS ARE NOW SHELTERED IN 90 CITY BUSES) AND THERE IS DANGER OF SPREAD OF DISEASES SUCH AS HEPATITIS. NOR CAN TRANSPORT PARALYSIS

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CONTINUE FURTHER SAID ZHAO, PROBABLY APPEALING TO APPREHENSIVE CITY DWELLERS. SOME FACTORIES HAVE ALSO HALTED PRODUCTION.

6. WORKERS AND STUDENTS ARE STILL CONVERGING ON CITY CENTER TODAY, BUT IN MUCH LESSER NUMBERS. THERE ARE POSSIBLY 350,000 TO 500,000 AS COMPARED TO YESTERDAYS MILLIONS. TRAFFIC IS RELATIVELY FLUID, EVEN ON CHANGAN. THERE ARE RUMOURS THAT MANY MORE DEMONSTRATORS ARE TO COME LATER TODAY FROM OUTSIDE CITY PROPER, BUT AS OF MID-AFTERNOON, SITU SEEMS CALM AND UNDER CONTROL. WHETHER THIS IS A SHIFT IN DEMO TACTICS, A GENERAL QUIETING DOWN OR THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM IS QUESTION ON EVERYONES MIND. THERE ARE ALSO RUMOURS ABOUT ARMY ATTITUDES AND MOVEMENTS, BUT THESE REMAIN BIGGEST QUESTION MARK OF ALL. EMB MEMBER HAS SEEN SOLDIERS JOINING STUDENTS ON SQUARE, BUT GENERALS HAVE NOT/NOT SPOKEN. NOR HAS DENG WHOSE RESIGNATION IS CALLED FOR BY MANY POSTERS DISPLAYED BY STUDENTS AS WELL AS WORKERS.

CCC/078 190730Z WJGR3448

RETURN TO RENNVOYER AU	<b>BICO</b>	FOR FILING POUR - ETRE PORTE AU DOSSIER
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MA  
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FBIS 067MAY18/89

PRC: PLA OFFICERS SAY NO ARMED SUPPRESSION OF MASSES PLANNED

HK1805122089 HONG KONG ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE IN CHINESE 1138 GMT  
18 MAY 89

["SOME PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY OFFICERS SEND OPEN LETTER TO  
CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION"--ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE HEADLINE]

[TEXT] BEIJING, 18 MAY (ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE)--AT 0600 THIS  
MORNING, THE TIANANMEN SQUARE BROADCASTING STATION OF THE STUDENT  
HUNGER STRIKERS BROADCAST AN OPEN LETTER FROM A NUMBER OF PEOPLE'S  
LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) OFFICERS TO THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION.  
THE MAIN POINTS OF THE LETTER WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1. WE ABSOLUTELY CANNOT SUPPRESS THE STUDENTS AND THE MASSES BY  
ARMED FORCE. WE MUST TEACH THE WHOLE BODY OF PLA OFFICERS AND MEN  
TO LOVE THE PEOPLE AND PROTECT THEM; TO CARRY FORWARD THE PEOPLE'S  
ARMY'S GLORIOUS TRADITION OF IDENTITY OF ARMY AND PEOPLE; AND TO  
STRICTLY FOLLOW CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN  
COMRADE ZHAO ZIYANG'S DEMAND FOR REASON, CALM, RESTRAINT, AND ORDER  
IN PROPERLY HANDLING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE MASSES. UNDER NO  
CIRCUMSTANCES MAY WE ACT LIKE FAMILY MEMBERS DRAWING SWORDS ON EACH  
OTHER, WHICH WOULD GIVE JOY TO OUR ENEMIES AND GRIEF TO OUR FRIENDS.  
WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PROTECT THE MASSES.

2. AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, URGE THE GOVERNMENT AND THE STUDENT  
REPRESENTATIVES TO HOLD A PUBLIC AND FAIR DIALOGUE. THE LIVES OF  
THE HUNGER STRIKING STUDENTS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE ARE IN DANGER AND  
WE HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THE GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP TO GO  
AMONG THE STUDENTS AND ACCEPT THEIR REASONABLE DEMANDS TO ATTAIN  
GENUINE STABILITY AND UNITY.

3. IMMEDIATELY TAKE PART IN RESCUING THE STUDENTS WHO ARE GOING  
WITHOUT FOOD AND WATER. WE ASK YOU TO IMMEDIATELY ORDER THE MAJOR  
PLA HOSPITALS IN BEIJING TO SEND MEDICAL PERSONNEL TO TIANANMEN  
SQUARE TO TAKE PART IN RESCUE WORK AND TO DISPLAY REVOLUTIONARY  
HUMANITARIANISM AND THE SPIRIT OF HEALING THE SICK AND SUCCOURING  
THE DYING, TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF THE STUDENTS' LIVES.

4. BEGINNING WITH THE ARMED FORCES, ACTIVELY PROMOTE ALL REFORMS  
IN THE UNITS, CUT MILITARY SPENDING, STREAMLINE THE ORGANS AND THE  
UNITS, AND REFORM THE ARMED FORCES SETUP. THE ARMED FORCES LEADERS  
AT ALL LEVELS SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN GIVING UP THEIR IMPORTED CARS,  
SHARE WEAL AND WOE WITH THE MASSES, AND SPEND ON EDUCATION THE MONEY  
THUS SAVED, TO ACCOMPLISH THE INVIGORATION OF THE ECONOMY AND  
CULTURE OF THE WHOLE NATION.

18 MAY 1320Z RF

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**ACTION  
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FM PEKIN WJGR3442 18MAY89

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REF OURTEL WJGR3441 17MAY

---PEOPLE POWER:BLDG MOMENTUM,BROADENING SUPPORT

SUMMARY:NUMBERS OF STUDENTS AND WORKERS-INCLUDING GOVT OFFICIALS  
DEMONSTRATING IN PEKIN TODAY AT LEAST DOUBLED.BASE OF SUPPORT HAS  
WIDENED CONSIDERABLY.MORE THAN HALF OF THOSE ON THE STREETS ARE  
NOT/NOT STUDENTS.XINHUA NEWS AGENCY HAS REPORTED SMALLER DEMOS IN  
EACH OF PROVINCES.GOV'T HAS NOT/NOT YET REVISED ITS TACTICS TO DEAL  
WITH NEW SITU OF BROAD-BASED SUPPORT.IT IS CLEAR HOWEVER THAT AS  
CROWDS ESCALATE,SO DO EXPECTATIONS.DIRECT DIALOGUE BY SENIOR  
LEADERS WITH STUDENTS MAY NC/NO LONGER BE ENOUGH TO RESTORE ORDR.

HUGE NUMBERS NOW INVOLVED HEIGHTEN RISK OF INJURY TO PARTICIPANTS.

HOWEVER,THERE IS STILL NO/NO VIOLENCE AND SMALL NUMBERS OF  
MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY HAVE JOINED DEMONSTRATORS.

2.REPORT:EXTENT TO WHICH SPONTANEOUS DEMOS HAVE BROADENED DESPITE  
THREATENING THUNDERSTORMS(REAL NOT/NOT FIGURATIVE)HAS BEEN

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IMPRESSIVE GROUPS OF SEVERAL HUNDRED, BEARING FLAGS NAMING THEIR UNITS HAVE COME FROM EVERY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION. THERE HAVE BEEN REPS RANGING FROM APPLIANCE FACTORIES AND DEPT STORES TO THOUSAND-STRONG CONTINGENT FROM BEIJING JEEP FACTORY. GROUPS FROM CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL, BEIJING CITY GOVT, CUSTOMS DEPT AND MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAVE ALSO TURNED OUT. WE HAVE NO/NO EYEWITNESS EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM RUMOURS THAT FARMERS FROM LOCAL COUNTIES PLAN TO JOIN DEMONSTRATORS. CHINESE OBSERVERS HAVE WRITELY POINTED OUT THAT STRIKES OR NO/NO STRIKES, MOST OF TODAY'S WORK WILL BE DISCUSSION OF CURRENT EVENTS.

3. GOVT HAS NOT/NOT MOVED SIGNIFICANTLY ON ITS EARLIER POSITIONS. AT 0500H THIS MORNING, SENIOR LEADERS ZHAO ZIYANG, LI PENG, HU QILI, QIAO SHI, LUO GAN (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE STATE COUNCIL) AND RUI XINGWEN (MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CPC CENTRAL CTTEE) VISITED HOSPITALIZED HUNGER STRIKING STUDENTS AT UNION AND TONGREN HOSPITALS. THIS PEACE OFFERING CAME BEFORE CROWDS STARTED BLDG. AT 1100H NUMBERS OF PEOPLE GATHERING WERE ESTIMATED AT 2 MILLION AND OUTPOURING INTO TIANANMEN, CHANGAN AREAS CONTINUES. XINHUA REPORTS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SUPPORTING DEMOS IN EACH OF CHINA'S PROVINCES.

4. LEADERSHIP HAS LAUNCHED SMALL PUBLIC RELNS EFFORT BY CONTINUOUSLY RUNNING VIDEO OF HOSPITAL VISIT (FOR 3 HOURS) ON CENTRAL TV. IMPACT OF THIS IS MINIMAL. IT IS COMPLETELY OVERSHADOWED BY EXTENT TO WHICH

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PAGE THREE WJGR3442. CONF

HAS BROADENED FROM STUDENTS AND THEN JOURNALISTS. SOME OF DEMONSTRATORS ARE NOW SAYING IT IS ALREADY TOO LATE FOR APPEARANCE OF SENIOR LEADER TO APPEASE EXPECTATIONS. X

5. MORE AND MORE POSTERS EXPLICITLY CALL FOR DENG TO STEP DOWN AND FOR LI PENG TO SHOW HIMSELF. ZHAO HAS NOT/NOT BEEN NAMED SPECIFICALLY BUT IS ALSO TAINTED BY RUMOURS OF SONS CORRUPTION. X

SLOGANS ON TRUCKS CARRYING WORKERS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR STUDENTS. SOME SAY QUOTE DOWN WITH DICTATORSHIP UNQUOTE OR QUOTE OUR PATIENCE HAS RUN OUT UNQUOTE. ✓

6. SCENARIO DEMANDING REPLACEMENT OF ENTIRE DENG/ZHAO/LI TRIUMVIRATE IS INCREASINGLY LIKELY. LEADERS WHO EMERGE MUST ABOVE ALL BE PERCEIVED TO BE CLEAN. IT WILL BE INNER PARTY JOCKEYING HOWEVER AND NOT/NOT DEMONSTRATORS WHO WILL DETERMINE NEW LEADERSHIP. X

7. AS OF 1500H. WE ESTIMATE NUMBERS AT AND ON BOTH SIDES OF TIANANMEN AT 2.5 TO 3 MILLION. ✓

CCC/078 180645Z WJGR3442



18 May / 89

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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

Student Demonstrations in China (touched-off by the April 15, 1989 death of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang) have continued for the past month and have unstaged the Summit Meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping.

Source

Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and press reports

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

CONFIDENTIAL

Following the death on April 15 of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang, Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) until 1987, a continuous series of demonstrations by large numbers of Chinese university students in support of further political liberalization have dominated PRC political life. The latest wave of protests have taken place against the backdrop of the arrival of General Secretary Gorbachev in Beijing May 15 for the first Sino-Soviet Summit in 30 years. On May 13 over 1,000 student demonstrators began a hunger strike in Tiananmen which later grew to over 3,500. The protestors have called for democratic reforms and the ouster of senior leader Deng Xiaoping. In addition to students, protestors now include a broad cross-section of the Beijing populace. Thus far the authorities have shown moderation, and offered concessions once the Gorbachev visit is over. On May 17, Prime Minister Mulroney met with Chairman of the National People's Congress, Wan Li, who is in Canada on an official visit. The current unrest in Beijing was discussed.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following the developing events in China closely.
- We are pleased that both the authorities and the students have shown restraint and that the demonstrations have generally not been violent.
- We continue to receive detailed reports from our Embassy in Peking and we are not aware of any danger to Canadians.

Responsive Only - should the Chinese authorities violently repress the student demonstrators.

- Canada is concerned over the question of human rights in China, and is hopeful that further violence can be avoided.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

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Source  
Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and press reports

Assessment / Evaluation  
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Prepared by / Préparé par JOE MAKIN	Division / Direction PNR	Date 17 MAY 89	Tel. no. / N° de tél. 996-2807 000501
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17 May 89

HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

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---PEOPLE POWER:WHERE WILL IT LEAD

SUMMARY:OVER ONE MILLION STUDENTS,SUPPORTERS AND ONLOOKERS  
 TOOK OVER THE CENTER OF PEKIN LAST NIGHT.NUMBER OF HUNGER STRIKERS  
 IS INCREASING(GOVT ADMITS TO 3,000).MASSIVE DEMO IS UNDERWAY WITH  
 NUMBERS LIKELY TO EXCEED ANYTHING SEEN SINCE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.  
 DOCTORS AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ARE JOINING STUDENTS.THERE ARE  
PERSISTENT RUMOURS THAT WORKERS AT CAPITAL STEEL PLANT,ONE OF  
 CHINAS LARGEST ENTERPRISES,HAVE THREATENED TO STRIKE SHOULD  
 STUDENTS GET HURT.PARTY AND STATE COUNCIL HAVE PROMISED TO ADDRESS  
 QUOTE PROBLEMS OF MASS CONCERN UNQUOTE AND REPEATEDLY URGED  
 STUDENTS TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND RETURN TO SCHOOL.STUDENTS ARE  
 IN NO/NO MOOD YET TO ACQUIESCE.GOVT WILL EVENTUALLY REGAIN CONTROL  
 OF STREETS;QUESTION IS HOW.THERE HAS BEEN NO/NO VIOLENCE SO FAR,  
 BUT WITH SUCH CROWDS FORMING EVERYWHERE,IT CANNOT/NOT BE

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SECRET  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

PAGE TWO WJGR3441 CQNF

DISCOUNTED COMMUNIST SLOGAN THAT PARTY AND PEOPLE ARE ONE HAS MET WITH FORCEFUL AND IRONIC REBUTTAL. NEITHER LI PENG'S TOUGH LINE NOR ZHAOS CONCILIATORY STANCE HAVE SWAYED PROTESTERS. POSTERS ARE CALLING FOR DENG TO RESIGN.

2. REPORT: AS STUDENT DEMOS WERE GATHERING FURTHER MOMENTUM, GENERAL OFFICES OF CPC CENTRAL CTTEE AND STATE COUNCIL ISSUED STATEMENT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT ON 16 MAY APPEALING FOR CALM AND RESTRAINT. DOCUMENT SAID PARTY AND GOVT ARE STUDYING REASONABLE DEMANDS AND SUGGESTIONS MADE BY STUDENTS, AND PROMISES TO MAKE PRACTICAL MEASURES TO SOLVE THEM. IT REFERRED TO SPECIAL MTG OF NATL PEOPLES CONGRESS SCHEDULED FOR JUNE. DOCUMENT APPEALED TO PATRIOTISM (NOT/NOT TO DISTURB SINO-SOVIET SUMMIT, WHOSE SCHEDULE HAS ALREADY BEEN MILDLY DISTURBED), AND URGES TEACHERS AND PARENTS TO PERSUADE STUDENTS TO GO BACK TO SCHOOL.

3. APPEAL HAS BEEN TOTALLY IGNORED. THERE WERE LAST NIGHT THREE GROUPS TOTALLING APPROX 3,000 STUDENTS FASTING ON TIANANMEN SQUARE AND IN FRONT OF NPC AND NATL MUSEUM. SMALL GROUP OF ELEVEN THREATENED TO SET THEMSELVES ON FIRE AND WERE PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY MORE SOBER-MINDED STUDENTS AND TEACHERS (MANY OF WHOM HAVE JOINED STUDENTS AND JOURNALISTS). STUDENTS FROM TIANJIN, WUHAN AND NANJING (AND OTHERS) HAVE ARRIVED. STUDENTS ARE RUNNING SECURITY AND TRAFFIC (TO LET AMBULANCES TAKING AWAY PAINTING HUNGER

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STRIKERS THROUGH) WITH CONSIDERABLE EXPERTISE AND CALM. POLICE AND ARMY HAVE LEFT CENTER OF CITY TO DEMONSTRATORS. BY 2000H 16MAY, ENTIRE CITY CENTER WAS OCCUPIED BY LARGEST CROWD EVER SINCE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. NUMBERS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE GIVEN THAT WALKING IN ANY STREET LEADING TO TIANANMEN WAS SLOW PROCESS. ONE MILLION IS AS GOOD AN ESTIMATE AS ANY.

4. BANNERS AND SLOGANS REMAIN BASICALLY SAME, GENERALLY CALLING FOR DEMOCRACY AND REEVALUATION OF MONTH-LONG STUDENT MOVEMENT (AS PATRIOTIC, NOT/NOT INTENTIONAL ATTEMPT TO CREATE CHAOS).

SOME BANNERS HAVE APPEARED CALLING FOR DENG'S RESIGNATION (PROMPTING ZHAO TO CONFIRM TO GORBACHEV NEXT MORNING THAT DENG WAS STILL CHINA'S HELMSMAN WHEN IT COMES TO IMPORTANT ISSUES). MOOD OF STUDENTS IS CHEERFUL, BUT DETERMINED. ONLOOKERS RESPOND IN KIND, CLAPPING AND CHEERING. MEASURE OF SUPPORT IS DEMONSTRATED BY LARGE AMOUNT OF DONATIONS STUDENTS COLLECT AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS.

5. IN EARLY HOURS OF 17MAY, WRITTEN SPEECH BY ZHAO ZIYANG WAS HANDED OVER TO STUDENTS. ADDRESS MADE ON BEHALF OF STANDING CTTEE OF POLITBURO PRAISES STUDENTS FOR QUOTE PATRIOTIC ENTHUSIASM DEMANDING DEMOCRACY AND LEGALITY, OPPOSING CORRUPTION AND PROMOTING REFORMS UNQUOTE AND CALLS ON THEM TO MAINTAIN STABILITY. IT URGES STUDENTS TO STOP FASTING, PROMISES THAT REVENGE WILL NOT/NOT BE TAKEN AND SAYS THAT AFTER STUDENTS RETURN TO THEIR SCHOOLS

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Li Tieying

PAGE FOUR WJGR3442 CONF

DIALOGUE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS AND THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS WILL CONTINUE IN DEPTH.

6. STUDENTS WILL NOT/NOT BE SATISFIED UNLESS SENIOR GOVT LEADER SPEAKS TO THEM. UP TO NOW, LI TIEYING, HEAD OF STATE EDUCATION COMMISSION, HAS BEEN MOST SENIOR LEADER TO ENGAGE IN-DIRECT DIALOGUE. IN LATE APR, STUDENTS HAD ASKED TO SEE LI PENG. BANNERS NOW ASK QUOTE LI PENG WHERE ARE YOU? UNQUOTE. RELUCTANCE OF LI OR EVEN VICE PREMIER TO COME OUT TO SEE STUDENTS IS ALL MORE FRUSTRATING AS LI JUST LAST WEEKEND ADDRESSED ASSEMBLY OF WORKERS AT CAPITAL STEEL PLANT. TEN PRESIDENTS OF PRESTIGIOUS UNIVS IN PEKIN AREA CALLED (ON NIGHT OF 16 MAY) ON GOVT TO CALM EXCITABLE SITUATION BY MTG REASONABLE DEMAND FOR DIALOGUE. IT POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS NO/NO FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT IN STUDENT AND GOVTS AIMS.

7. AT TIME OF WRITING, TENS OF THOUSAND OF STUDES ARE ON TIANANMEN, WHILE MANY MORE ARE MARCHING (OR BEING DRIVEN IN TRUCKS AND BUSES) TOWARDS IT. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ONLOOKERS ARE CHEERING AND CLAPPING. STUDENTS HAVE TOLD US MAMMOTH RALLY/MARCH PLANNED FOR THIS AFTERNOON, AND IT IS PLDG UP STEADILY. WORKERS ARE JOINING FOR FIRST TIME. GROUPS FROM CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY AND BICYCLE FACTORIES HAVE ALREADY APPEARED. THERE ARE PERSISTENT RUMOURS (CONFIRMED BY CHINESE SOURCES) THAT PEKIN STEELWORKERS HAVE ALSO THREATENED TO STRIKE IF STUDENTS ARE HURT OR IF HUNGER

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PAGE FIVE WJGR3442 CONF

STRIKERS DIE.

8. WE NOW HAVE REPORTS FROM COMMERCIAL MINISTER IN XIAN THAT AT LEAST ONE SQ MILE OF CITY CENTER THERE IS FILLED WITH STUDENTS AND OTHER SUPPORTING PEKIN BROTHERS. CONSTRUCTION AND OFFICE WORKERS ARE CHEERING THEM ON. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN SEPARATE REPORTS OF DEMOS IN SHANGHAI.

9. ABOVE PLACES LEADERSHIP IN VERY DIFFICULT POSITION. HARD LINE HAS NOT/NOT INTIMIDATED STUDENTS (WITH BROADENING POPULAR SUPPORT, IT COULD QUICKLY INFLAME SITUATION) AND PROMISES OF CONCESSIONS HAVE NOT/NOT WORKED. STUDENTS WANT RECOGNITION OF THEIR INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION, DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THEM AND SENIOR LEADERS, PROMISE OF IMMUNITY AND GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF PRESS. SOME CLEARLY WANT MORE, INCLUDING QUOTE DEMOCRACY UNQUOTE WHICH FEW SEEM ABLE TO DEFINE WITH MUCH PRECISION.

10. GOVT WILL EVENTUALLY REGAIN CONTROL OF THE STREETS AS MASS DEMOS CANNOT/NOT GO ON FOREVER (POPULATION, IF NOT/NOT STUDENTS, WILL TIRE OUT). PROBLEM WILL BE TO AVOID VIOLENCE IF STUDENTS BELIEVE THEY MUST CONTINUE BEYOND DEPARTURE OF GORBACHEV AND WORLD PRESS AND IF MOVEMENT BECOMES TRULY UNIVERSAL. EVEN PEACEFUL DEMOS AND MARCHES CAN LEAD TO INCIDENTS (CROWD MOVEMENTS BEING DIFFICULT TO CONTROL OR PREDICT WHEN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS ARE PRESENT).

11. BUT WHATEVER OUTCOME OF CURRENT EVENTS, CHINESE POLITICAL LIFE

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WILL BE VERY DIFFERENT. THEY HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT FICTION OF PARTY AND PEOPLE BEING ONE IS BUT THAT, THAT IF THEY HAVE NUMBERS AND ORGANIZATION, GROUPS OF CITIZENS CAN DEFY GOVT; THAT LEVEL OF CYNICISM AND DISSATISFACTION WITH REGIME IS MASSIVE (MUCH HIGHER THAN IN 1976 OR 1986/87); THAT FAILURE TO CONTROL PRICES OR DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH CORRUPTION COULD UNLEASH MUCH MORE POTENT PROTEST. DENG MAY BE THE HELMSMAN, BUT THE SLIP IS DRIFTING. THE STUDENTS ARE NOT/NOT WILLING TO LISTEN TO ANY VOICE IN A COLLECTIVELY HUMILIATED LEADERSHIP. THERE IS A SENSE THAT CHINA IS ENTERING INTO A NEW ERA; ONCE THE CHEERS AND SMILES ARE GONE, UNCERTAINTY AND CONCERN WILL PREVAIL. NO/NO LEADER HAS EMERGED WHO CAN INSPIRE FAITH AND HOPE.

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Deng Xiaoping

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---HUNGER STRIKE AND RUMOURED DENG RETIREMENT RAISE STAKES IN STUDENT-GOVT STANDOFF

SUMMARY:FACED WITH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS SUPPORTING 1,000 HUNGER SRIKES IN TIANANMEN SQUARE, CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAD TO SWITCH GORBACHEV OFFICIAL WELCOME CEREMONY TO AIRPORT AT LAST MOMENT. HIGH LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS WITH STUDENTS PREVIOUS NIGHT FAILED TO PRODUCE RESULTS. CONTINUATION OF HUNGER STRIKE AND RUMOURED RETIREMENT OF DENG XIAOPING SOON AFTER GORBACHEV VISIT HAVE RAISED STAKES FOR PARTY LEADERS IN THEIR SEARCH FOR SOLUTION TO STUDENT CRISIS. NEXT FEW DAYS AND WEEKS MAY PROVE DECISIVE FOR FUTURE DIRECTION OF SOME OF CHINAS MOST BASIC POLICIES.

2.REPORT:JUST HOURS BEFORE GORBACHEVS ARRIVAL IN PEKIN, AUTHORITIES DECIDED TO MOVE OFFICIAL WELCOMING CEREMONY FOR SOVIET PRESIDENT FROM TIANANMEN SQUARE TO PEKIN AIRPROT. IN SO DOING, THEY

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AVOIDED CREATING WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN UNFORGETTABLE MOMENT FOR WORLD TV-LEADERS OF WORLDS TWO LARGEST SOCIALIST STATES MTG AGAINST A BACKDROP OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF BANNER-WAVING STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS, AND EVEN SOME WORKERS. A CORE GROUP OF 1,000 STUDENTS CAMPED OUT IN THE SQUARE IS NOW INTO ITS FOURTH DAY OF AN INDEFINITE HUNGER STRIKE CALLED TO PRESS DEMANDS FOR HIGH LEVEL PUBLIC DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVT AND ILLEGAL STUDENTS ORGANIZATION.

3. AT 0900H 15MAY, PARTY SEC GEN ZHAO ZIYANG HIMSELF EMERGED FROM THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE TO SURVEY THE SCENE WITH BINOCULARS. ALREADY TIANANMEN WSA FILLED WITH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE DESPITE GOVT ORDER TO CLEAR SQUARE BY 0830H. SECURITY FORCES HAD EARLIER MADE HALF-HEARTED ATTEMPT TO CLOSE SQUARE OFF BUT QUICKLY GAVE UP AS EVERY MINUTE HUNDREDS OF PROTESTERS ON BICYCLE AND ON FOOT ARRIVED TO SWELL THOUSANDS ALREADY THERE. WHILE SMALL GROUPS OF STUDENTS ENGAGED ONLOOKERS IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS, OTHERS PARADED AROUND PERIMETER OF SQUARE CARRYING BANNERS THAT READ QUOTE THE PEOPLE ARE SUPERIOR TO THE PARTY UNQUOTE AND WELCOMING GORBACHEV, WHO IS WIDELY ADMIRER BY STUDENTS FOR HIS POLITICAL REFORMING EFFORTS IN USSR. ANOTHER BANNER IN RUSSIAN AND CHINESE READ QUOTE DEMOCRACY: OUR SHARED DREAM UNQUOTE. WHILE HUNGER STRIKERS SAT ON THEIR BLANKETS IN SMALL GROUPS AT FOOT OF MONUMENT TO PEOPLES HEROES, LEADERS DELIVERED IMPASSIONED SPEECHES AGAINST

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Li Tieying

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CORRUPT OFFICIALS WHO SEND THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO USA (DENG'S GRANDSON WHO WAS BORN IN USA RECENTLY, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE AN AMERICAN PPT). ON 16 FLAGPOSTS WHERE NORMALLY CEREMONIAL RED FLAGS ARE FLOWN, A HUGE 20-FOOT SQUARE BLACK BANNER WITH HUNGER STRIKE (JUESHI) IN GOLD CHARACTERS FLOATED IN STRONG WIND ALONG WITH FLAGS OF VARIOUS UNIVS AND COLLEGES. CLEARLY THIS WAS NOT/NOT TIME OR PLACE FOR HISTORIC HANDSHAKES SYMBOLIZING NEW ERA IN SINO-SOVIET RELNS.

Handwritten bracket and 'X' mark.

4. STANDOFF IN TIANANMEN SQUARE FOLLOWED GOVT EFFORTS TO DEMONSTRATE WILLINGNESS TO ENTER DIALOGUE WITH STUDENTS AND TO PERSUADE STUDENTS TO ABANDON THEIR DEMOS. OVER WEEKEND, POLITBURO MEMBER LI TIEYING WHO IS ALSO STATE COUNSELLOR (EDUCATION), CCP SECRETARIAT MEMBER TAN MINGFU (ALSO PARTYS UNITED FRONT DEPT DIRECTOR) AND WEI JIANXING, MINISTER OF SUPERVISION, HAD TRIED TO REACH AGMT WITH STUDENT REPS BUT TALKS WERE BROKEN OFF AT 1930H PREVIOUS NIGHT WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT GOVT COULD NOT ACCEPT TWO KEY DEMANDS: (1) THAT GOVT-STUDENT DIALOGUE BE BROADCAST LIVE TO FASTING STUDENTS IN TIANANMEN; AND (2) THAT GOVT PUBLICLY RENOUNCE PREVIOUS ALLEGATIONS THAT THEIR ACTIONS DURING MOURNING FOR HU YAOBANG CREATED QUOTE CHAOS UNQUOTE.

Large handwritten bracket and 'X' mark.

5. IN FACT, BOTH STUDENTS AND GOVT CONTINUES TO SCRUPULOUSLY AVOID TAKING ACTIONS THAT WILL PROVOKE ANY KIND OF VIOLENCE OR CHAOTIC INCIDENT. PARTY AND GOVT LEADERSHIP IS NEVERTHELESS UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE TO COME UP WITH CREATIVE SOLUTION TO CURRENT

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IMPASSE. WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR STUDENTS AND PRESENCE OF THOUSANDS OF MEDIA PREVENTS GOVT FROM CRACKING HEADS AND CREATING MARTYRS. STUDENTS EXTREMELY WELL BEHAVED AND WELL DISCIPLINED DEMOS HAVE NOT/NOT ONLY WON RESPECT OF MANY PEOPLE BUT ALSO DEPRIVED SECURITY FORCES OF EASY EXCUSE TO CRACK DOWN. ON OTHER HAND, LEADERSHIP WANTS AT ALL COSTS TO AVOID TALKS THAT WOULD IMPLICITLY RECOGNIZE UNOFFICIAL STUDENT UNION THAT WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO SOLIDARITY-TYPE POWER SHARING SITU, POSSIBLY ENCOURAGING WORKERS AND OTHER GROUPS TO FOLLOW SUIT. GOVT HAS ALREADY EDGED CLOSER TO LATTER POSITION AS RESULT OF TALKS ON 16MAY WHICH INVOLVED SENIOR GOVT LEADERS AND UNOFFICIAL STUDENT REPS. BUT UNLESS STUDENTS VOLUNTARILY ABANDON HUNGER STRIKE (UNLIKELY AT PRESENT), PRESSURE TO FIND SOLUTION TO IMPASSE WILL CONTINUE TO BUILD, DESPITE HOOPLA SURROUNDING HISTORIC SINO-SOVIET SUMMIT. STUDENTS WE HAVE TALKED TO SAY THEY WILL OCCUPY SQUARE UNTIL DEMANDS ARE MET. DOUBTFUL HOWEVER THAT THEY CAN MAINTAIN MOMENTUM (INCL DAYS AND NIGHTS OF PAVEMENT CAMPING) OR THAT GOVT WILL ALLOW IT BEYOND SUMMIT. SOMEONE/SOMETHING WILL HAVE TO GIVE.

6. HKONG-BASED MING BAO NEWSPAPER AND OTHER SOURCES ARE PREDICTING THAT DENG WILL RETIRE FROM HIS OFFICIAL POST AS HEAD OF CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION BEFORE END OF MAY AND THERE ARE REPORTS THAT HIS HEALTH IS WORSE THAT IT WAS A FEW MONTHS AGO. WITH LEADERSHIP STAKES RIDING PARTLY ON HOW STUDENT CRISIS IS HANDLED, NEXT FEW WEEKS MAY PROVE DECISIVE FOR FUTURE DIRECTION OF SOME OF CHINAS MOST BASIC POLICIES.

CCC/078 160530Z WJGR3437



16 May 89

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HOUSE OF COMMONS BOOK — BRIEFING NOTE

LIVRE DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES — NOTES D'INFORMATION

Section  
North Asia Relations

Subject/Highlights / Sujet/Points saillants

Student Demonstrations in China (touched-off by the April 15 1989 death of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang) have continued into the fourth week and threaten to unstage the Summit Meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and Teng Hsiaoping.

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Source

Telegrams from our Embassy in Beijing, and press reports

Assessment / Évaluation

Classification

CONFIDENTIAL

Following the death on April 15 of Political Bureau Member Hu Yaobang, Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) until 1987, a continuous series of demonstrations by large numbers of Chinese university students in support of further political liberalization have dominated PRC political life. The students, who organized massive demonstrations over the last two weeks of April, took advantage of official fears of a repeat of the violent suppression of unsanctioned mourning for Zhou Enlai in 1975. The first cycle of demonstrations culminated May 4, when over 100,000 students demonstrated in Tiananmen Square to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the "May 4th Movement". The latest wave of protests have taken place against the backdrop of the arrival of General Secretary Gorbachev in Beijing May 15 for the first Sino-Soviet Summit in 30 years. On May 13 over 1,000 student demonstrators began a hunger strike in Tiananmen. Just hours before Gorbachev's arrival in Peking, authorities decided to switch the welcoming ceremony from Tiananmen Square to Peking airport. The Square was jammed with tens of thousands of students as well as writers and workers calling for democracy and dialogue with Government. Thus far the authorities have shown moderation. Nonetheless, the situation remains unpredictable.

Suggested Reply / Réponse suggérée

- We are following the developing events in China closely.
- We are pleased that both the authorities and the students have shown restraint and the demonstrations have generally avoided violence.
- We continue to receive detailed reports from our Embassy in Peking and we are not aware of any danger to Canadians.

Responsive Only - should the Chinese authorities violently repress the student demonstrators.

- Canada is concerned over the question of human rights in China, and is hopeful that further violence can be avoided.

Prepared by / Préparé par JOE MAKIN <i>JM</i>	Division / Direction PNR	Date 16 MAY 89	Tel. no. / N° de tél. 996-2807
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