

**June 21, 1989**

**Document for the Vice Minister from the Aid Policy  
Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau**

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**Summary:**

The document was written on June 21, 1989 by the Aid Policy Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau for the Vice Minister of Japan. The document focuses on how to respond to the Tiananmen Square incident and China's means to which it modernizes and opens its economy. It urges the continuing of ongoing projects and eventual resumption of new economic projects in China once the situation stabilizes and dissuades from any substantial change in Japan's economic policy towards China.

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経 協 政 策 課

## 今後の対中経協政策について

### (1) 基本的考え方

- (イ) 近代化、開放化を如何に進めるかは中国の内政の問題。
- (ロ) しかし、西側諸国が一致して非難を高めている中で、「日本は経済利益だけに従って動く国」との印象を与えることは不適當。
- (ハ) 他方、日中関係には、欧米諸国の対中関係とは同一視できない特殊な面あり。
- (ニ) また、中国の安定が我が国にとり、更にアジア全体の安定に不可欠との大局観、及び我が国経済協力が中国の近代化、開放化ひいては国民生活の向上に重要な支援策となっており、近代化、開放化の大筋が維持される限りこれを変更すべき理由はなし。
- (ホ) また、約束・合意したことはキチンと守る姿勢も重要。
- (ヘ) 以上を勘案すれば、軍による鎮圧行動、現在進行中の「反体制勢力」の逮捕など人道、人権上の問題を我が国の対中経協政策の基本政策そのものにこれを反映させることは、長期的な対中関係の見地から行き過ぎ。

### (2) 今後の具体的対応振り

- (イ) 対象は、「継続案件(On-going)」と「新規案件」に大別される。
  - (a) 継続案件—原則としては続ける  
関係者の帰国等により中断中の継続案件は、平静状態が完全に回復すれば、個々の状況を確認の上、続行に移る。
  - (b) 新規案件—当面は延期の姿勢
    - ・ 第三次円借→(昨年8月に竹下総理より意図表明、1990年～95年の6年間に8,100億円)は、正式合意ではなく新規案件だが政治公約であり、約束違反になるようなことはしない。但し、これに関連しての調査団の派遣は、国際的動向との関係に特に留意し、当面(少なくとも7月中旬のサミットまで)は「wait and see」の状況を維持。
    - ・ その他計画中のもので新規にコミットしていくことが予定されていた案件についても、当面は閣議請議、署名、調査団派遣等の関連行為を控える。  
結果として、「日中環境センター協力(無償)」等の総理事案件を含む案件実施に或る程度の遅れが生ずるも、止むを得ず。  
(但し、新規案件に係る以上の慎重対応につき「凍結」「中止」「根本的見直し」等の表現は使わぬように注意。)
    - ・ これらの新規案件をいつ、いかなる状況下で動かし始めるかは、退避勧告・戒厳令の解除の有無、「改革・開放路線」の確認、経協受入れ体制の確認、国際的動向など諸点を勘案の上、総合的見地から検討する。
- (ロ) 国際的動向との関係で特に注意すべきは、日本政府ないし日本企業の対応がことさら「突出」し、「火事場泥棒」と映るような行為となるのを極力控えること。  
逆に、中国側は日本政府・日本企業を引き込もうと画策するであろう。この点、中国側による新規国際入札公示への我が国企業参加は特に注意を要す。
- (ハ) 以上の我が方基本的対応ぶりについては、外務大臣の訪米の際に説明したい。  
また、対外説明については欧米の「センシティブティ」とともに中国の対外的面子を

(参考)

1. 背景

- (1) 対中経協基本方針→78年以来の中国の近代化・開放政策に呼応する出来る限りの支援「大平三原則」(79年の大平総理訪中時に表明)

(イ) 西側諸国との協調 (ロ) ASEAN諸国等との横並び (ハ) 軍事協力は行わない
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81年以降中国にとって最大の援助国(対中二国間援助の約75%は日本)

2. 主要関係国・国際機関の対応

- (1) 西独: 既存の合意・協定は遵守、既に実施中の案件は可能な限り継続  
新規援助は事態正常化まで停止
- (2) 世銀: 既往のプロジェクトの支払いは継続  
新規案件の承認は暫時見合わせる
- (3) 米国: 対中経済制裁は望まず。→武器売却等の禁止等の限定的措置のみ。  
今後の事態の進展による追加措置を留保(対中経済協力は元来なし)。

(Document for the Vice Minister)

Secret

Indefinite Duration

June 21, 1989

Aid Policy Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau

(1) Overview

(a) How to advance modernization and opening is China's internal affair.

(b) However, with Western countries joining together and increasing their criticism, it would be inappropriate to give the impression of Japan as "a country that acts only according to economic interests."

(c) On the other hand, in relations between Japan and China there are special aspects that cannot be regarded as the same as relations between the Western countries and China.

(d) In addition, in view of the overall situation in which China's stability is indispensable to that of our country and, further, to the stability of all of Asia, and as our country's economic cooperation has become an important measure in support of China's modernization, opening, and, in turn, the improvement of the lives of the Chinese people, there is no reason to change it as long as modernization and opening are maintained on the whole.

(e) The position of keeping commitments and agreements that have been made is also important.

(f) Considering the above, making our country's basic policy of economic cooperation with China reflect humanitarian and human rights issues, such as acts of military suppression and the ongoing arrests of "opposition forces," would be going too far from the viewpoint of long-term relations with China.

(2) Future Specific Responses

(a) The subject can be divided broadly into "ongoing projects" and "new projects."

(a) In principle, we will continue ongoing projects.

- For ongoing projects that have been suspended due to such reasons as those involved having returned to Japan, we will shift to their continuation if the situation has completely returned to a state of calm and following confirmation of the individual circumstances.

(b) New projects - position of delay for the time being

- The Third Yen Loan (810 billion yen over six years, from 1990 through 1995, for which Prime Minister Takeshita made a statement of intent in August last year) is not a formal agreement and is a new project, but we will not violate our commitment. However, as for the dispatch of a survey team in this connection, paying particular attention to its relation to international trends, we will maintain the situation of "wait and see" for the time being (at least until the mid-July Summit).

- As for other projects in the planning stage for which we planned to make commitments, we will refrain for the time being from such related actions as requests for Cabinet deliberation, signings, and survey team dispatches. As a result, there will be some delays in project implementation, including the Prime Minister's project, "Japan-China Environmental Center Cooperation (Grant Aid)," but it cannot be helped. (In regard to responding with care concerning new projects, be careful not to use such phrases as "freeze," "cancellation," or "fundamental revision.")

- We will examine from a comprehensive viewpoint when and under what circumstances we begin to get these new projects going, taking into account such factors as whether or not the evacuation advisory and martial law are lifted, confirmation of the "line of reform and opening," confirmation of the system for accepting economic cooperation, and international trends.

(b) We should pay particular attention in relation to international trends to refraining to the utmost from acts that would make the Government of Japan or Japanese companies appear to be "standing out" or "taking advantage of the situation." On the other hand, the Chinese side will probably maneuver to pull in the Government of Japan and Japanese companies. On this point, the participation of Japanese

companies in new international tenders announced by the Chinese side will require particular care.

(c) We would like to explain this basic response of ours to the Foreign Minister at the time of his visit to the United States. In addition, in giving external explanations, the West's "sensitivities" and China's face vis-a-vis foreign countries [TN: rest of sentence is missing and presumably continued on a following page, which is missing].