E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, CH
SUBJECT: A STUDENT DEMONSTRATION OF SORTS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE

REF.: (A) BEIJING 23263; (B) BEIJING 26824;

1. SUMMARY. ACTING IN RESPONSE TO AN ANONYMously DISTRIBUTED FLYER CALL FOR DEMONSTRATIONS WITH AN ANTI-JAPANESE THEME IN TIANANMEN SQUARE NOVEMBER 20 TO CELEBRATE AN EXPECTED CHINESE VICTORY IN A NATIONALLY TELEvised SINO-JAPANESE VOLLEYBALL CONTEST, PERHAPS AS MANY AS 4-500 STUDENTS GATHERED FOR A HALF-HEARTED DEMONSTRATION, WITH MOST PARTICIPANTS APPARENTLY THERE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO WITNESS THE EVENT AS MUCH AS PARTICIPATE IN IT. THE DEMONSTRATION WAS GENTLY DISPERSED SHORTLY AFTER IT BEGAN BY POLICE. THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE FLYER WAS DISTRIBUTED AND THE DEMONSTRATION ORGANIZED ENSURED THAT THE PARTY WAS WELL AWARE OF IT AT AN EARLY STAGE, AND YET APPARENTLY DID NOT ACT TO STOP IT. SUSPICION, THEREFORE, IS STRONG OF COMMUNIST PARTY COMPPLICITY IN ORGANIZATION OF THE DEMONSTRATION ALTHOUGH THERE ARE ALSO A NUMBER OF OTHER POSSIBLE SPECULATIVE
EXPLANATIONS. WHATEVER THE EXPLANATION, THE DEMONSTRATION WILL SURELY CAUSE INCREASED UNCERTAINTY IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, AND RAISED THE PROFILE OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND ANTI-JAPANESE ACTIVITY STILL FURTHER AS DECEMBER, ALREADY MARKED AS A MONTH OF STUDENT ACTIVITY IN COMMEMORATION OF ANTI-JAPANESE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE PAST DRAWS CLOSE. END SUMMARY.

2. AN AMERICAN TEACHING AT BEIJING UNIVERSITY (BEIDA) GAVE US A COPY OF A COMPUTER-PRINTED AND XEROXED FLYER WHICH WAS SLIPPED UNDER THE DOORS OF ALMOST EVERY DORM ROOM AT BEIDA LAST WEEKEND. HE SAID THAT AFTER THE FLYER WAS DISTRIBUTED, CAMPUS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ORDERED ALL STUDENTS TO STAY IN THEIR ROOMS MONDAY NIGHT TO STUDY THIS DOCUMENT. STUDENTS WERE REPORTEDLY FORBIDDEN TO DISCUSS THE FLYER WITH FOREIGNERS. HE SAID THAT STUDENTS HE HAD TALKED WITH ABOUT THE FLYER -- SOME OF WHOM HAD BEEN ACTIVE IN THE SEPTEMBER DEMONSTRATIONS -- WERE PUZZLED BY THE FLYER AND DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO MAKE OF IT.

3. THE BROADSIDE LEADS OFF BY RECALLING THE JAPANESE "ECONOMIC INVASION" WHICH OCCASIONED THE "SEPTEMBER 18" DEMONSTRATIONS (REF A). IT CONTINUES THAT SINCE THE THIRD PLENUM OF 1979, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SATISFACTORY AND SHOULD BE PURSUED. BUT, IT SAYS, "THERE ARE TIMES OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN EVERY SOCIETY WHEN CERTAIN PEOPLE LEAD WOLVES INDOORS AND GIVE WINGS TO TIGERS." DURING THE "ANTI-JAPANESE WAR," THE FLYER CONTINUES, "SUCH PEOPLE WERE CALLED TRAITORS." TODAY THESE PEOPLE, USING OPPORTUNITIES CREATED BY REFORMS TO FURTHER PERSONAL INTERESTS, ARE "SUCCERS OF WORKER'S BLOOD" AND ONLY WHEN THEY ARE "ANNIHILATED" CAN THE ECONOMIC INVASION BE CONTROLLED. AT PRESENT, BECAUSE OF "UNEVEN" DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY RECTIFICATION AND AN "IRRRESOLUTE" PARTY LEADERSHIP, A NUMBER OF THESE PEOPLE HAVE BECOME "PRINCES." (NOTE. THIS IS NOT ONLY A SWIPE AT UNNAMED SENIOR LEADERS BUT ALSO TOUCHES ON THE QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGED CHILDREN OF LEADERS). THE DOCUMENT ADDS A LENGTHY PEAAN TO DEMOCRACY, AND ACIDLY OBSERVES THAT "DEMOCRACY IS THE GREATEST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION." THE DOCUMENT THEN URGES STUDENTS TO PRESERVE SECRECY, GET IN TOUCH WITH STUDENTS FROM OTHER SCHOOLS, AND PROCEED FROM PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY (IN A BEIJING SUBURB NEAR BEIDA) BY ANY MEANS, INCLUDING COMMANDEERING VEHICLES, TO TIANANMEN SQUARE TO DEMONSTRATE AT THE CONCLUSION OF A NATIONALLY TELEVISIONED SINO-JAPANESE WOMEN'S VOLLEY BALL MATCH THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 20. IF THE DEMONSTRATION IS SUCCESSFUL, THE FLYER CLAIMED, "NEXT YEAR'S THIRTEENTH PARTY CONGRESS" (SIC) WILL HAVE TO PAY
ATTENTION TO THE STUDENTS' VIEWS.

4. AS IT TURNED OUT, THE DEMONSTRATION WAS MUCH LESS DRAMATIC THAN THE FLYER. EMBOFFS, AT THE SQUARE THROUGHOUT THE EVENING, OBSERVED THAT THERE WERE MANY SECURITY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, BUT APPARENTLY NOT SOLELY IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEMONSTRATION (MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER MAHATHIR WAS ATTENDING A STATE BANQUET AT THE ADJACENT HALL OF THE PEOPLE). DEMONSTRATORS TURNED UP IN SMALL GROUPS, AMOUNTING EVENTUALLY TO PERHAPS
ALMOST ON THE STROKE OF NINE O'CLOCK, SEVERAL PEOPLE GOT UP ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE CROWD, AND QUICKLY SHOUTED A FEW SLOGANS IN SUPPORT OF THE CHINESE VOLLEYBALL VICTORY. HOWEVER, THE CROWD DID NOT RESPOND AND REMAINED GOOD-NATURED, SOME LAUGHING A BIT AND MAKING COMMENTS ON THE SIDELINES. ONE SPEAKER TRIED TO LEAD THE CROWD IN THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, BUT PITCHED IT TOO HIGH, AND GOT ONLY A LAUGH AS A RESPONSE.
FROM THE CROWD. AFTER ABOUT FIVE MINUTES, A POLICE JEEP FITTED WITH A LOUDSPEAKER BEGAN MOVING THROUGH THE CROWD, URGING IT TO DISPERSE. NO MORE SPEAKERS AROSE. THE CROWD DID NOT DISPERSE, BUT RATHER CONTINUED TO STAND AROUND, APPARENTLY WAITING FOR SOMETHING TO HAPPEN. AFTER ABOUT HALF AN HOUR, SMALL NUMBERS OF POLICE SPLIT THE CROWD IN TWO, AND GRADUALLY EDGE THE DEMONSTRATORS OFF THE SQUARE AND INTO SURROUNDING STREETS. AT THIS POINT THE CROWD, CHILLED BY THE NIGHT AIR, DISPERSED. MEMBERS OF THE CROWD WERE RELUCTANT TO SPEAK WITH FOREIGNERS; MOST SEEMED TO BE OF COLLEGE AGE. PEOPLE’S UNIVERSITY AND QINGHUA UNIVERSITY WERE REPRESENTED BY EMBOFFS DID NOT ENCOUNTER ANY STUDENTS FROM BEIJING UNIVERSITY.

5. COMMENT. IT IS HARD TO PIN DOWN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS AFFAIR AT THIS POINT. THE FLYER IS NOT VERY COMPLIMENTARY TOWARD THE COMMUNIST PARTY, YET THE AUTHORITIES, WHO CLEARLY KNEW ABOUT THE CALL FOR A DEMONSTRATION IN ADVANCE AND LET IT PROCEED. THE FIRST EXPLANATION THAT SPRINGS TO MIND IS THAT SOMEONE WANTED TO STIR UP TROUBLE TO EMBARRASS THE AUTHORITIES. HOWEVER, THE SEMI-HOLIDAY ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE STUDENTS AT THE SQUARE, WHO SEEMED TO BE THERE MOSTLY TO GAWK, POINTS TO A LACK OF FEAR OF RETRIBUTION. THUS SOME OFFICIAL BLESSING -- OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE -- MAY HAVE BEEN BESTOWED. WHATEVER THE EXPLANATION, THE PARTY’S AMBIGUOUS ROLE IN THE DEMONSTRATION IS CERTAIN TO CREATE FURTHER UNEASE IN THE SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP. THE DEMONSTRATION SERVED TO HEIGHTEN THE PROFILE OF STUDENT ACTIVITY AS DECEMBER, ALREADY MARKED AS A MONTH OF STUDENT ANTI-JAPANESE ACTIVITY (REF B), DRAWS CLOSE.

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