Situation in China

- The main new story is that Deng Xiaoping has appeared on 1. Chinese television for the first time since the military operation started (indeed the last time he was seen was during the Sino-Soviet summit). Deng and a number of other geriatric hardline leaders (including President Yang Shangkun and Premier Li Peng) met senior members of the People's Liberation Army in the Zhongnanhai on the afternoon of 9 June Peking local time. The footage was shown on Chinese television at around 1900 local. Deng looked well and used the opportunity to extend his respects to the martial law enforcing troops and express deep condolences to "martyrs who died while putting down riots".
- The other significant development is the operation by Chinese 2. security forces to round up student ring-leaders. The Embassy confirmed to us (at 1015 BST) that some sort of crackdown is under way. They did not know at that stage and still do not know (at 1700 BST) whether there have been violent incidents or whether blood has been shed. Nor do they have any idea what success the authorities are likely to have in catching the students they are after. As far as they can tell, there are no British Council sponsored students left at the universities but they cannot say whether other private British students are still on campus. They are not able to confirm what the position is in other parts of the country. Nor could the Americans in Washington, when I spoke to them at 1500 BST. Mr Orr has heard rumours of students being picked up in Shanghai, but has no confirmation.
- We heard from News Department at 1600 BST that the Peking 3. Independent Radio News (IRN) correspondant had been informed by the US Military Attache that the leading student activists who had been rounded up at their university campuses were being taken to a football stadium and shot. The next move could be against foreign

journalists. We sought immediate corroboration for this story from the Embassy who confirmed with the US liaison office that the story was totally unfounded. The astounded Americans added that Peking was swarming with journalists who would if they could not find a newsworthy story, make up anything, however far-fetched. The Embassy concur entirely.

Consular Enquiries

4. The Consular Enquiries Room handled about 300 calls between 0700 and 1700 BST today. There continues to be a steady stream of incoming enquiries to the Unit, but at a lower level than on previous days. The nature of the work is changing, as we try to contact previous enquirers as and when we receive details of safe arrivals in Hong Kong or elsewhere. Between 1200 and 1700 BST 80 out of the 165 calls were outward rather than inward and this trend is likely to continue. Some earlier enquirers are helpfully telephoning us, if they receive news from friends and relatives inside or outside China.

British Embassy Peking

- 5. I attach a transcript of Alyson Bailes' remarks when she was questioned by journalists at Heathrow this morning. The other three staff and dependants who arrived at Gatwick and were met by Medical and Welfare Unit all arrived safely and in good heart.
- 6. The Embassy have received a diplomatic Note from the Chinese MFA concerning the safety of diplomatic missions. The Note states that "the Chinese Government attaches importance to the safety of the Embassy areas and the diplomatic compounds. It has already instructed the armed forces and the public security forces on the diplomatic compounds to be responsible for the safety of those areas and to increase their vigilance". So much for the good news. The bad news is that "the MFA requires foreign missions and embassies and their personnel to strictly obey martial law. There should be no involvement in the internal affairs of China. Embassy vehicles should not be used for purposes other than those appropriate otherwise their safety cannot be guaranteed. The Ministry advises that during Martial Law foreigners should not be out after dark. The Ministry requests embassies to control their personnel and to

keep an eye on all kinds of weaponry". The Embassy have drawn the attention of the MFA's Protocol Department to the need for security forces to carry out adequate identification. They have also asked about driving vehicles after dark and have been told that they are advised not to drive after sunset. The Embassy pointed out that they had legitimate occasion to be out after dark - eg when going to the airport. The MFA took note. The Embassy also pointed out that they did not have weapons and asked the MFA to note that all Embassy vehicles were without weapons.

7. The Embassy have informed us that they have issued only six special visas under their authority to grant visas to Chinese nationals in extreme danger. It is, however, possible that the activities of the security forces against student ringleaders could lead to further requests from Chinese nationals for visas and/or political asylum.

HM Consulate-General Shanghai

8. We spoke to Mr Orr at 1550 BST. He is well and is working on a list of British citizens in his area about whom we have received enquiries in London. He is in contact with the majority of them. We are keeping relatives here up to date.

Departure of Non-Embassy Personnel

- 9. All indications are that foreign nationals who want to leave Peking and Shanghai are experiencing no difficulties in doing so by commercial means. Our attention has therefore increasingly focussed on the means of helping those British nationals who are in other parts of China. Most of those we know about are on their way out by normal commercial means. However, we have continued to discuss the possibility of special flights with the Canadians, Americans and Hong Kong authorities.
- 10. The most promising development on this front is that the Chinese MFA have effectively given diplomatic clearance for the Canadian aircraft (following a demarche in Peking by the Canadian Ambassador, supported by the British, Australia and US ambassadors). And all should be well, provided the Canadians get technical clearance from CAAC. The Canadian authorities are proceeding on the

assumption that approval for the flight will be given. Following consultation with the Americans (who have some 250 citizens in Wuhan), they have decided to fly first to Wuhan, on Sunday. The Americans hope that they can fly not only once, but twice, as the 170 seat capacity will not be sufficient to take off all foreigners in Wuhan. The Canadians plan to fly on Monday to Dalian to take out all Canadian and other foreign nationals in the Manchurian Peninsula (ie presumably they would not proceed with their plans to fly to other northern airports such as Shenyang and Harbin).

- 11. The Americans do not intend to make any special arrangements for US nationals in Chengdu as they believe that all (apart from residual US Consulate staff) have left by commercial means (some by international flights to Hong Kong, some by domestic flights to Guangzhou and some by train). And the advice for British nationals is to use commercial means, which appear to be a perfectly satisfactory way of leaving. We have not yet been able to raise the US Consul-General in Chengdu direct to see whether they are in touch with British nationals. But we are continuing to make efforts to contact them. We shall make every effort to get this message across to those in Chengdu.
- 12. The Political Advisers Office in Hong Kong is fully aware of developments on the special flights front. Neither Hong Kong, nor the Australians in Hong Kong are keen to attempt to make any further arrangements for special flights pending the outcome of the Canadian efforts.
- 13. As soon as the position on the Canadian plans is clear we shall attempt to inform British nationals in Wuhan and in northern China of the arrival of the Canadian flights. Where we have contact numbers we shall ask the Consulate-General; in Shanghai to speak to the individuals directly. But we shall also arrange for a announcement to be made over the BBC World Service. Our best estimate of British nationals in the Wuhan area is 10 and in the Northern provinces also 10. We await information from Hong Kong on the number of Hong Kong residents in these regions.

W B McCleary / Emergency Unit ALYSON BAILES AT HEATHROW AIRPORT AS CARRIED BY BREAKFAST TIME: 9 JUNE 1989

AB: Well, I've been cut off for more than 24 hours from the Embassy and from any kind of official information having just flown in from Hong Kong. I would only guess that, if it's true that the military situation has also been basically unchanged in the last couple of days, that it would look like some sign of consolidation of the hard-liners on the situation, at least on the situation in Beijing. But I think that we've learned in this crisis that any kind of logical deduction we draw, and any kind of feeling you have in your bones on the basis of normal experience, is pretty well bound to be wrong. So I think we've reached the stage where we almost don't want to guess.

Q: But is it your impression at this stage that the pro-democracy movement, at least in the short-term, has lost?

AB: I think it would be using lost in a very limited sense of the word and a very cynical sense perhaps even. Because there are things that can't be defeated with military power and the majority can't be defeated by the minority in the medium to longer runs. I think most of us who left China left with the hope and indeed with some quite strong hope that we would be going back and we would be working there sometime in better circumstances. It's just that one can't guess at the timescale.

Q: As far as you can assess, what is the widespread view in China now about the immediate future? Are people still very frightened?

AB: This is the strangest thing, and I can only speak about how it was a couple of days ago, some people are very frightened. There are lots of rumours, and indeed some of them seem to be fact now, of people being rounded up and people being imprisoned. And naturally that is worrying particularly to those who are active in the democracy movement. But at the same time, we saw all the time the most extraordinary signs of people's unconcern of their bravery, of their efforts to carry on with normal life as usual.

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