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TEXT

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SERIAL: DCA 27-90

SUBJ: CHINA: THE ASIAN GAMES. [REDACTED]

DOI: 22 AUG 90

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SUMMARY

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1. [REDACTED] THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS COUNTING ON THE 22 SEPTEMBER TO 7 OCTOBER ASIAN GAMES TO ASSIST IT IN A NUMBER OF WAYS: TO HELP RESTORE CHINA TO INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY, TO BOLSTER BEIJING'S STATUS AS A MAJOR ASIAN POWER, TO REKINDLE FOREIGN INTEREST IN CHINA AS A SAFE AND MORALLY UNOBJECTIONABLE TOURISM DESTINATION, AND TO VALIDATE THE GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM THAT SOCIAL ORDER HAS BEEN RESTORED. BEIJING HAS IMPLEMENTED EXTRAORDINARY SECURITY PRECAUTIONS TO ENSURE THAT THE GAMES ARE NOT INTERRUPTED BY ANTIREGIME SENTIMENT. SECURITY MEASURES WILL CONTINUE TO MULTIPLY, INTENSIFY, AND BE REFINED UNTIL AUTHORITIES ARE SURE THAT ALL POTENTIAL SOURCES OF EMBARRASSMENT AND PROMOTERS OF CIVIL UNREST ARE COMPLETELY SUPPRESSED. THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) WILL QUITE LIKELY BE UNOBTUSIVE TO FOREIGN VISITORS DURING THE GAMES, BUT THE PEOPLE OF BEIJING ARE AWARE OF AND INTIMIDATED BY THE ARMY'S OMNIPRESENCE IN GARRISONS ALL AROUND THE CAPITAL PERIPHERY. COMBINED PLA AND POLICE STRENGTH IN THE IMMEDIATE BEIJING AREA APPROACHES 100,000 PERSONNEL.

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DISCUSSION

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GAINS FOR BEIJING

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2. [REDACTED] THE OLYMPIC COUNCIL OF ASIA AWARDED THE PRIVILEGE OF HOSTING THE 11TH ASIAN GAMES TO BEIJING SOME YEARS AGO, WHEN CHINA'S "OPENING" TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD WAS AT ITS HEIGHT. UNABLE TO FORESEE THE PRESSURES FOR CHANGE THAT WOULD CULMINATE IN THE SUPPRESSION OF PRODEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATIONS ON TIANANMEN SQUARE AND IN THE COLLAPSE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN 1989, THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP LOOKED OPTIMISTICALLY TO 1990 AS A KEY POINT IN THE NATION'S LONG-TERM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE ASIAN GAMES, IN PARTICULAR, WERE SEEN AS A RITE OF PASSAGE, A NECESSARY STEP TOWARD ATTAINMENT OF TWO GOALS. ONE CONCERNS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A CERTAIN LEVEL OF POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SOPHISTICATED. THE OTHER GOAL WAS TO GAIN THE APPROVAL OF THE JUDGMENTAL INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

3. [REDACTED] THE EVENTS OF 1989 THAT BEGAN WITH THE DEATH OF FORMER CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) GENERAL SECRETARY HU YAObANG IN APRIL AND CLIMAXED WITH THE BLOODSHED IN BEIJING ON 4 JUNE UNDERMINED THOSE GOALS. THE ACTIVITIES WERE CATAclySMIC IN TERMS OF THEIR EFFECTS ON THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COUNTRY'S LEADERSHIP AND

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ON THE ALWAYS TENUOUS UNITY OF THE LEADERS. AS THE ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS CAUSED BY WESTERN SANCTIONS TOOK HOLD, AND AS REFORMS WERE INTERRUPTED WHILE CONSERVATIVES REASSERTED TRADITIONAL MARXIST POLITICAL-ECONOMIC THEORY AND IDEOLOGY, BEIJING TOOK A NEW LOOK AT THE GAMES. IT REPORTEDLY CONSIDERED CANCELING THEM RATHER THAN RISK ADDITIONAL LOSS OF "FACE" OWING TO INADEQUATE FACILITIES OR, WORSE, RENEWED UNREST.

4. [REDACTED] THE LEADERS HAD RECOVERED SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE IN THEIR CONTROL OF CHINA'S INTERNAL SITUATION BY ABOUT NOVEMBER TO DECIDE TO PROCEED WITH ASIAD PREPARATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, THEY HAD REACHED CONSENSUS ON THE NECESSITY TO PROMOTE "STABILITY" AS THE FOREMOST DOMESTIC PRIORITY. MAOIST-STYLE MASS CAMPAIGNS, BACKED UP BY DRACONIAN SECURITY MEASURES, HAD BEEN LAUNCHED TO PERSUADE A DUBIOUS CITIZENRY OF THE ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT FOR SOCIAL ORDER. NEW EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON IMPROVING THE EQUIPMENT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF CHINA'S VAST POLICE APPARATUS, ESPECIALLY THE PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE (PAP). EXTERNALLY, BEIJING BEGAN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO CONVINCe FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS THAT CHINA WAS STABLE AND THAT THE REGIME CONTINUED TO DERIVE ITS LEGITIMACY FROM A SUPPORTIVE PEOPLE.

5. [REDACTED] WHO'S COMING?

DESPITE SOME PRESSURE FROM THE COMMUNITY OF EXILED CHINESE DISSIDENTS TO BOYCOTT THE 11TH ASIAD, 38 OF 39 MEMBER STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE OLYMPIC COUNCIL OF ASIA REPORTEDLY PLAN TO SEND DELEGATIONS. BEIJING ANTICIPATES THE PARTICIPATION OF ABOUT 10,000 OFFICIALS AND CONTESTANTS, AND IT HOPES FOR UP TO 100,000 FOREIGN AND OVERSEAS CHINESE OBSERVERS. THE LARGEST DELEGATIONS, APART FROM THE CHINESE TEAM, WILL PROBABLY BE THOSE OF JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA. A TEAM FROM TAIWAN WILL TAKE PART, COMPETING UNDER THE NAME CHINESE TAIPEI. PREMIER HAO PEI-TSUN HAS GIVEN APPROVAL FOR 10 MILITARY ATHLETES TO PARTICIPATE, THE FIRST TIME TAIWAN ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO VISIT THE MAINLAND. TAIPEI COULD NOT OVERCOME ITS MISGIVINGS ABOUT DEALING WITH BEIJING SUFFICIENTLY, HOWEVER, TO ACCEPT AN INVITATION TO DELIVER ITS TEAM ON THE FIRST DIRECT FLIGHT BETWEEN THE CITIES SINCE THE 1940S. TEAM CHINESE TAIPEI WILL TRAVEL TO AND RETURN FROM THE GAMES BY WAY OF HONG KONG.

AMONG OTHER NOTEWORTHY GAMES-RELATED DEVELOPMENTS:

-- FORMER JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER TAKESHITA WILL ATTEND THE OPENING CEREMONIES, SIGNALING THE IMPORTANCE TOKYO ATTACHES TO RELATIONS WITH CHINA BUT STOPPING SHORT OF THE COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF TIES THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SIGNIFIED IF PRIME MINISTER KAIFU HAD ACCEPTED BEIJING'S INVITATION.

-- BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA WILL FIELD TEAMS. EARLIER REPORTED POSSIBILITIES OF A MID-GAMES MEETING BETWEEN THE NORTH'S KIM IL-SONG AND SOUTH KOREAN PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO WERE SCOTCHED WHEN CHINESE STATE COUNCIL SPOKESMAN YUAN MU IN EFFECT DISINVITED ROH.

6. [REDACTED] HAVING SURVIVED WITHOUT MAJOR INCIDENT THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE TIANANMEN MASSACRE, CHINA'S LEADERS AGAIN LOOK FORWARD TO THE ASIAN GAMES AS A SIGNIFICANT, POSITIVE EVENT IN "NEW CHINA'S" HISTORY. SOME ARE REPORTEDLY EVEN TALKING OF HOSTING THE OLYMPICS IN THE NEAR TERM. FOR NOW, THE LEADERS HOPE THAT SUCCESSFULLY STAGED ASIAN GAMES WILL SHOW THEIR COUNTRY'S RETURN TO INTERNAL "NORMALCY" AND THEREBY AID IN THE RESTORATION OF FOREIGN CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNTRY'S PROSPECTS FOR LONG-TERM STABILITY. THEY KNOW THAT FOREIGN CONFIDENCE IS ESSENTIAL IF BEIJING'S ACCESS TO

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BADLY NEEDED SOURCES OF FINANCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IS TO BE RESTORED. BEIJING VIEWS THE PARTICIPATION OF OLYMPIC COUNCIL OF ASIA MEMBERS AS A SIGN OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS' AFFIRMATIVE JUDGMENT ON RELATIONS WITH BEIJING AND AS IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF CHINA'S PROMINENCE, IF NOT PREEMINENCE, IN ASIAN AFFAIRS. MOREOVER, BEIJING IS COUNTING ON THE INFUX OF ASIAN GAMES PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS TO HELP OFFSET THE COSTS OF BUILDING THE ATHLETIC FACILITIES AND OTHER PROJECTS NECESSARY TO AN EVENT OF SUCH MAGNITUDE. IT IS ALSO COUNTING ON FAVORABLE NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE TO REINVIGORATE CHINA'S FLAGGING TOURISM INDUSTRY.

7. [REDACTED] PREPARING THE PHYSICAL PLANT

AS OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE FOUND IN PREPARING TO HOST A MAJOR MULTIDISCIPLINE INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENT, THE ECONOMIC COSTS HAVE BEEN STAGGERING. CHINESE AUTHORITIES CLAIM TO HAVE BUILT OR COMPLETELY RENOVATED 34 INDOOR AND OUTDOOR STADIUMS, AS WELL AS 46 TRAINING SITES FOR USE DURING THE GAMES. MORE HOTELS TO HOUSE THE ANTICIPATED INFUX OF FOREIGNERS HAVE BEEN ERECTED, AND MANY IMPROVEMENTS TO ROADS AND TRANSPORTATION CAPABILITIES IN THE CAPITAL REGION HAVE BEEN MADE. COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES HAVE BEEN MODERNIZED. A TELEVISION BROADCAST CENTER WILL SERVICE 10 REMOTE CENTERS AND 11U PORTABLE CAMERA SYSTEMS. ELEVEN SATELLITE FEEDS HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THE ASIAD. THE PAY OF BEIJING CITIZENS IS REPORTEDLY BEING INVOLUNTARILY DOCKED TO HELP DEFRAY COSTS.

(1),1.4 (c) [REDACTED] HAVE NOTED NUMEROUS INADEQUACIES IN BEIJING'S PREPARATIONS, RANGING FROM POOR-QUALITY CONSTRUCTION TO MALFUNCTIONING ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS AND AIR CONDITIONING IN THE SPORTS VENUES. [REDACTED] COMMENTED THAT GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO BEAUTIFY THE CITY BY BUILDING WALLS IN FRONT OF SLUM QUARTERS SOMETIMES CREATE A POTEMKIN VILLAGE EFFECT.

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BEIJING'S THREAT PERCEPTIONS

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9. [REDACTED] STUDENTS AND ALIENATED INTELLECTUALS ARE THE VANGUARD OF THE LATENT PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENT, AND THEY REMAIN THE MOST VOLATILE ELEMENT OF SOCIETY IN THE VIEW OF CHINA'S LEADERS AND SECURITY PLANNERS. ALTHOUGH THE STRICTURES IMPOSED ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR FACULTIES HAVE SUPPRESSED MOST MANIFESTATIONS OF CAMPUS DISSENT, THE AUTHORITIES WILL TRY TO PREVENT A RECURRENCE OF THE SMALL-SCALE BUT SYMBOLICALLY SCATHING ANTIGOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS THAT OCCURRED IN JUNE. THE MOVEMENTS OF STUDENTS AND THEIR MENTORS WILL BE CLOSELY CHECKED, AND ACCESS TO BEIJING-AREA CAMPUSES BY FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS WILL PROBABLY BE CURTAILED.

10. [REDACTED] BY MOST ACCOUNTS, ACTIVIST STUDENTS HAVE BEEN INTIMIDATED BY THE POLICE AND MILITARY POWER ARRAYED AGAINST THEM. NONETHELESS, SEVERAL REPORTS IN THE SPRING SUGGESTED THAT THEY WOULD WAIT UNTIL THE WORLD'S ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON CHINA DURING THE

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ASTIAN GAMES BEFORE AGAIN RISKING THEIR FUTURES, AND POSSIBLY THEIR LIVES, IN OVERT, ORGANIZED PROTEST. A GROUP OF STUDENTS IS EVEN SAID TO BE PLANNING SELF-IMMOLATIONS DURING THE GAMES.

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11. [REDACTED] (b)(1),(b)(3):P.L. 86-36,1.4 (c)

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12. [REDACTED] (b)(1),(b)(3):P.L. 86-36,1.4 (c)

13. [REDACTED] ALTHOUGH CHINESE OFFICIALS DO NOT VIEW THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AS AN INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT, THEY ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS WILL BOYCOTT THE GAMES TO PROTEST IRAQ'S PARTICIPATION. THEY ARE ALSO WORRIED THAT, EVEN IF ALL THE TEAMS COME TO BEIJING, FRICTION BETWEEN THE IRAQIS AND OTHERS COULD BECOME DISRUPTIVE AND DETRACT FROM THE DESIRED IMAGE OF UNITY AND GOOD WILL.

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14. [REDACTED] (b)(1),(b)(3):P.L. 86-36,1.4 (c)

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15. [REDACTED] SECURITY AT HOTELS AND OTHER FACILITIES WHERE FOREIGNERS ARE EXPECTED TO CONGREGATE DURING THE GAMES HAS BEEN INTENSIFIED. THE USDAO, BEIJING, HAS OBSERVED UNITS OF A NEW SECURITY ORGANIZATION, KNOWN AS TEJING OR SPECIAL POLICE, MOVING INTO BEIJING-AREA COMPOUNDS. IT SPECULATED THAT THEY MAY BE REGULAR PLA SOLDIERS DETAILED FOR SPECIAL DUTY IN THE CAPITAL DURING THE GAMES. THE USDAO ALSO REPORTED THAT ANOTHER NEW SECURITY ORGANIZATION, THE AN QUAN JU OR SECURITY BUREAU, HAS BEEN CREATED TO PROVIDE PHYSICAL SECURITY TO GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC, AND COMMERCIAL

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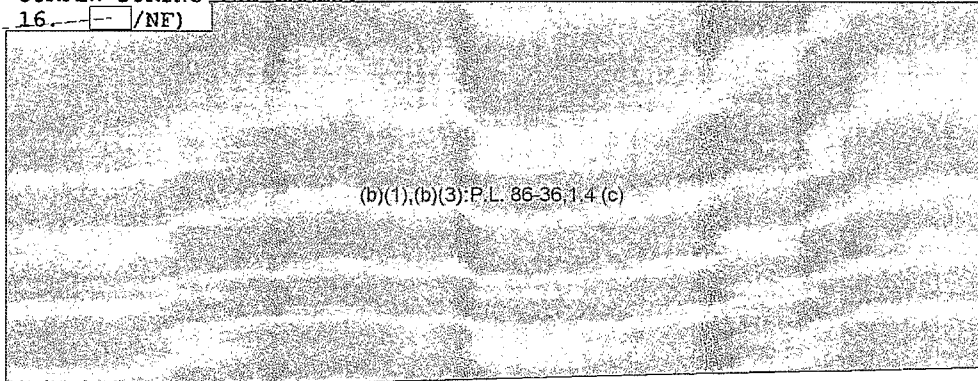
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ESTABLISHMENTS PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED OF INSUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE TO REQUIRE A PERMANENT SECURITY PRESENCE. ALTHOUGH NOT LIKELY TO BE ANNOUNCED, BEIJING RESIDENTS PROBABLY WILL BE UNDER A DE FACTO CURFEW DURING THE GAMES.

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16. [redacted] /NF)



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OUTLOOK

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17. [redacted] THE CCP LEADERS HAVE CHOSEN TO DEFINE THE 11TH ASIAD AS A CRITICAL EVENT IN CHINA'S EVOLUTION, ONE THAT WILL VALIDATE THE WISDOM OF THE PARTY'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY CHOICES OVER THE YEARS. OWING TO THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN EVENTS OF LAST YEAR, THE LEADERS ARE MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO SUPPRESS ALL ANTIREGIME ACTIVITY. THEY HOPE THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN THUS FAR WILL FORESTALL OBSERVABLE PUBLIC PROTEST DURING THE GAMES, BUT THEY ARE PREPARED TO USE WHATEVER FORCE BECOMES NECESSARY. EMPLOYMENT OF THE PLA WILL BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY IN THE MOST DIRE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THE ARMY WOULD QUITE LIKELY RESPOND WITH ALACRITY.
18. [redacted] SECURITY PRECAUTIONS AND FORCES IN BEIJING ARE PROBABLY SUFFICIENT TO STIFLE PROTESTS DURING THE ASIAN GAMES. IF EVEN A SINGLE DRAMATIC ACT OF DEFIANCE, SUCH AS SELF-IMMOLATION, TAKES PLACE WITHIN RANGE OF A FOREIGN TELEVISION CAMERA, HOWEVER, THE LEADERSHIP'S RELENTLESS EFFORTS TO ERECT A FACADE OF STABILITY WILL HAVE BEEN LARGELY FOR NAUGHT. EVEN MORE WORRISOME THAN NEGATIVE EXTERNAL REACTION IS THE POTENTIAL THREAT TO PARTY CONTROL THAT SUCH AN EVENT COULD POSE. THE LEADERS ARE ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE WIDESPREAD POPULAR ANTIPATHY TOWARD THE CCP. MINDFUL OF THE FATE OF THE HARD-LINE EAST EUROPEAN REGIMES IN THE PAST YEAR, THEY WILL BE ESPECIALLY VIGILANT TO ENSURE THAT ONE OF MAO ZEDONG'S OBSERVATIONS DOES NOT PROVE IRONICALLY PROPHECIC: "A SINGLE SPARK CAN START A PRAIRIE FIRE."

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ADMIN
PREP: [redacted]
DECL: OADR
END OF MESSAGE

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