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#### SECRET

# SECRETARY'S TALKING POINTS: US-CHINA RELATIONS

Objective: To convey a new conceptual basis for a more durable US-Chinese relationship built upon strategic association, under which the US will treat China as a friendly non-allied country, and to demonstrate this concretely by modifying restrictive legislation and regulations on export controls.

# STRATEGIC ASSOCIATION

- VIRTUALLY EVERY FIELD.
- -- OUR BILATERAL TRADE MAY EXCEED \$6 BILLION THIS YEAR.
- WE HAVE CONCLUDED AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF TEXTILES,
- CIVIL AVIATION, MARITIME COMMERCE, INVESTMENT INSURANCE, EXPORT FINANCING, AND CONSULAR RELATIONS.
- OUR SIMILAR STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVES HAVE LED TO A CLOSE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP STRENGTHENED BY REGULAR AND CANDID CONSULTATIONS. OUR POLICIES ARE COMPATIBLE AND COMPLEMENTARY IN MANY AREAS.
  - THESE ASPECTS OF US-CHINA RELATIONS AND LOOK FORWARD TO STRENGTHENING TIES ON THE BASIS OF OUR MUTUAL STRATEGIC INTERESTS. WE ARE PLEASED AT THE OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF USCHINA RELATIONS.
  - TO BE CLOSE AND WE BELIEVE THEY WILL. WE HAVE MANY REASONS

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TO BE FRIENDS.

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- -- PRESIDENT REAGAN BELIEVES THAT US POLICY TOWARD CHINA SHOULD REFLECT THE FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE NATURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.
- WERE FIRST ADOPTED IN THE 1950S, TREAT CHINA IN THE SAME MANNER AS THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATELLITES. THESE LAWS ARE NOT CONSISTENT WITH OUR CURRENT RELATIONSHIP AND IMPEDE STRENGTHENING OUR STRATEGIC COOPERATION. PRESIDENT REAGAN INTENDS TO PROPOSE TO CONGRESS THAT THESE LAWS BE AMENDED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER CHINA A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY AND TO REMOVE LEGAL IMPEDIMENTS TO OUR FURTHER COOPERATION.

#### EXPORT CONTROL POLICY

- -- WE HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN THE SUCCESSFUL MODERNIZATION OF CHINA'S ECONOMY.
- TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO CHINA CAN CONTRIBUTE IN IMPORTANT
  WAYS TO CHINA'S MODERNIZATION PROGRAM.
- -- HE HAS ISSUED A <u>DIRECTIVE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASING</u> THE

  LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY WHICH WILL BE ROUTINELY APPROVED FOR

  SALE TO CHINA. HENCEFORTH OUR <u>POLICY WILL BE MORE REFLECTIVE</u>

  OF OUR <u>INTENTION</u> TO TREAT CHINA AS A FRIENDLY, NON-ALLIED

  STATE.

-- AS A RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT'S ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE, WE WILL HAVE MORE FAVORABLE AND EXPEDITIOUS LICENSING OF HIGH-TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS TO CHINA.

### MILITARY EXPORTS

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- -- OUR COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD CAN HELP TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA.
- -- I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN INTENDS TO

  SUSPEND THE PROHIBITION ON ARMS SALES TO CHINA EMBODIED IN

  OUR ARMS CONTROL LEGISLATION AND CONSIDER ON A CASE-BY-CASE

  BASIS REQUESTS TO EXPORT MUNITIONS LIST ARTICLES TO CHINA.
  - THIS IS THE PROCEDURE WE FOLLOW WITH ALL FRIENDLY COUNTRIES.
    - -- DEFENSE SECRETARY WEINBERGER HAS ASKED ME TO INVITE YOU TO
      SEND A REPRESENTATIVE, PERHAPS VICE CHIEF OF THE PLA GENERAL
      STAFF LIU HUAQING, TO THE US LATER THIS SUMMER TO DISCUSS
      IN GREATER DETAIL EXACTLY WHAT TYPES OF EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY
    - YOU NEED IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO IMPROVE YOUR DEFENSES AGAINST THE SOVIET THREAT.
    - -- WE WOULD INTEND THIS ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP TO BEGIN SLOWLY AND EXPAND GRADUALLY AS WE PURSUE OUR LONG-TERM STRATEGIC ASSOCIATION.
    - -- I AM SURE YOU UNDERSTAND HOW SENSITIVE THIS ISSUE IS IN THE
      US AND AMONG OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT
      OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT REMAIN PRIVATE FOR THE TIME
      BEING. WE WILL NEED TIME TO CONSULT FULLY WITH THE CONGRESS

AND OUR ALLIES.

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## CHINESE MILITARY AND NUCLEAR EXPORTS

- -- AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIET UNION HAS USED MILITARY EQUIPMENT EXPORTS TO EXPAND ITS INFLUENCE IN MANY THIRD WORLD NATIONS.
- -- THE <u>US AND CHINA SHARE AN INTEREST IN REDUCING OTHER</u>

  NATIONS DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION AS A SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT.
- -- CHINA IS UNIQUE AMONG NON-WARSAW PACT NATIONS IN THE RANGE OF SOVIET-COMPATIBLE EQUIPMENT IT MANUFACTURES.
- -- THE US WOULD WELCOME CHINESE ARMS SALES TO COUNTRIES CUR-RENTLY DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET UNION FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT.
- -- AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT MILITARY EXPORTS

  NOT BE DIVERTED TO COUNTRIES SUPPORTING TERRORISM OR ENGAGING
  IN DESTABILIZING REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THIS WOULD ONLY HELP
- -- WE ARE <u>CONCERNED</u> ABOUT THE <u>POSSIBILITY OF CHINESE EXPORTS</u>
  OF SENSITIVE <u>NUCLEAR MATERIALS WITHOUT</u> SECURING ADEQUATE

  <u>SAFEGUARDS</u>.
- -- WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS OF CHINESE EXPORTS OF URANIUM AND HEAVY WATER TO SOUTH AFRICA AND ARGENTINA. IF NOT PROTECTED BY SAFEGUARDS, THESE AND SIMILAR EXPORTS ELSEWHERE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES, UNDERMINING REGIONAL STABILITY AND DAMAGING OUR SHARED STRATEGIC INTERESTS.
- -- FOR EXAMPLE, A PAKISTANI NUCLEAR TEST COULD PROMPT INDIA TO

RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING AND PRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE ALSO BELIEVE SUCH TESTING WOULD ERODE, RATHER THAN INCREASE PAKISTAN'S SECURITY. THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT WELL USE THE ISSUE AS A PRETEXT TO TIGHTEN MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE INDIANS AND TO DEPLOY MORE THREATENING FORCES ALONG THE AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN BORDER.

- NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND TO REQUIRE THAT PURCHASERS UNDERTAKE

  IAEA SAFEGUARDS SO THAT SUCH MATERIAL WILL BE USED ONLY

  FOR THE PEACEFUL PURPOSES FOR WHICH IT IS INTENDED, INCLUDING
  AN ASSURANCE THEY WILL NOT BE USED FOR "PEACEFUL NUCLEAR

  EXPLOSIONS".
- THE PROCEDURES WE EMPLOY IN DESIGNING ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS.

# US-CHINA NUCLEAR COOPERATION

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- -- WE WOULD LIKE TO PERMIT THE US NUCLEAR INDUSTRY TO PARTICIPATE IN CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR POWER.
- -- SOME US FIRMS ARE INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THE GUANGDONG REACTOR PROJECT.
- GOVERNMENTS TO ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR THIS ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONS.
- -- I UNDERSTAND THAT INFORMAL EXPLORATORY TALKS ARE TENTATIVELY PLANNED FOR JULY IN BEIJING. WE SEE THIS AS AN OPPORTUNITY

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FOR A FULL EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND WE HOPE FOR POSITIVE RESULTS.

#### RECIPROCITY

- -- EQUALITY AND RECIPROCITY ARE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE MUTUAL RESPECT THAT CHARACTERIZES OUR RELATIONS.
- -- WE WOULD LIKE TO OPEN OUR NEXT CONSULATE IN SHENYANG -- AS CHINA WOULD IN NEW YORK CITY -- BUT FIRST WE MUST RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF INADEQUATE FACILITIES IN GUANGZHOU.
- MR. HOLDRIDGE WILL DISCUSS THIS IN GREATER DETAIL LATER
  WETH VICE MINISTER ZHANG.

## ⊃ CLOSING REMARKS

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- -- MY PRESENTATION HAS COVERED MANY SUBJECTS. THIS REFLECTS
  BOTH THE BROAD SCOPE OF OUR RELATIONS AND THE VALUE WE ATTACH
  TO OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA.
- -- I WOULD WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS ON MY REMARKS.