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Welcoming Banquet Toast--Beijing, China 2/25/89 [OA 6343] [2]

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G	26	18	6	6

NORWAY: HOLMENKOLLEN SKI FESTIVAL. Feb 27-Mar 3. Oslo, Norway.

ST. GABRIEL POSSENTI FEAST DAY. Feb 27. St. Gabriel of the Sorrowful Mother (Francis Possenti, 1838-1862). Italian patron saint of young seminarians.

"SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE" ANNIVERSARY. Feb 27. President Richard Nixon and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai issued a joint communique on Feb 27, 1972, describing their historic discussions and defining areas of difference and agreement. Nixon was the first US president to visit any country not diplomatically recognized by the US.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Mary Frann, actress, born at St. Louis, MO, Feb 27, 1943.
Alan Guth, physicist, born at New Brunswick, NJ, Feb 27, 1947.
Howard Hesseman, actor, born at Salem, OR, Feb 27, 1940.
Charlayne Hunter-Gault, broadcast journalist, born at Due West, SC, Feb 27, 1942.
Ralph Nader, consumer advocate, lawyer, born at Winsted, CT, Feb 27, 1934.
Irwin Shaw, writer, born at New York, NY, Feb 27, 1913.
Elizabeth Taylor, actress, born at London, England, Feb 27, 1932.
Malcolm Wallop, US Senator, (R, Wyoming), born at New York, NY, Feb 27, 1933.
Joanne Woodward, actress, born at Thomasville, GA, Feb 27, 1930.

FEBRUARY 28 — Tuesday

59th Day — Remaining, 306

AMERICAN CAMPING ASSOCIATION: NATIONAL CONVENTION. Feb 28-Mar 4. Westin Hotel, Seattle, WA. Theme: "Let the Spirits Soar in the Pacific Northwest." Sponsor: American Camping Assn, 5000 State Rd 67 N, Martinsville, IN 46151.

BLONDIN, CHARLES: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Feb 28. Daring French acrobat and aerialist (whose real name was Jean Francois Gravelet) was born at St. Omer, France, Feb 28, 1824. Especially remembered for his conquest of Niagara Falls. See also: "Charles Blondin's Conquest of Niagara Falls: Anniversary" (June 30).

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL, DE: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Feb 28. French essayist and philosopher, born Feb 28, 1533. Died Sept 13, 1592. "And if you have lived a day," he wrote in Book I of his *Essays*, "you have seen everything. One day is equal to all days. There is no other light, no other night. This sun, this moon, these stars, the way they are arranged, all is the very same your ancestors enjoyed and that will entertain your grandchildren. . . ."

MOON PHASE: LAST QUARTER. Feb 28. Moon enters Last Quarter phase at 3:08 P.M., EST.

OLOF PALME: ASSASSINATION ANNIVERSARY. Feb 28. The popular prime minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, was shot to death on Feb 28, 1986, as he left a movie theatre in Stockholm with his wife. A courageous and dominant figure in Swedish politics, Palme, an aristocrat turned socialist, had earned international respect. On the day of his death he had signed (with five other world leaders) an appeal to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to forgo nuclear testing until the next summit meeting. Palme was born on Jan 30, 1927. He was the third European head of government to be assassinated since World War II (the others: Prime Minister Armand Calinescu of Rumania in 1939 and Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco of Spain in 1973).



ST. OSWALD OF WORCESTER: FEAST DAY. Feb 28. Bishop of Worcester from 961, and Archbishop of York from 972. Oswald died on Feb 29, 992, but Feb 28 is generally celebrated as his Feast Day.

TENNIEL, JOHN: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Feb 28. English illustrator and cartoonist, Sir John Tenniel was born at London on Feb 28, 1820. Best remembered for his illustrations for Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Tenniel died at London, Feb 25, 1914.

USS *PRINCETON* EXPLOSION ANNIVERSARY. Feb 28. On Feb 28, 1844, the newly built "war steamer," USS *Princeton*, cruising on the Potomac River with top government officials as its passengers, fired one of its guns (known, ironically, as the "Peacemaker") to demonstrate the latest in naval armament. The gun exploded, killing Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of State; Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; David Gardiner, of Gardiners Island, NY; and several others. Many were injured. The president of the US, John Tyler, was on board and narrowly escaped death.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Svetlana Alliluyeva, author, daughter of Joseph Stalin, born at Moscow, USSR, Feb 28, 1926.
Mario Andretti, race car driver, born at Montona, Trieste, Italy, Feb 28, 1940.
Adrian Dantley, pro basketball player, born at Washington, D.C., Feb 28, 1956.
Charles Durning, actor, born at Highland Falls, NY, Feb 28, 1923.
Frank Gehry, architect, born at Toronto, Canada, Feb 28, 1929.
Gavin MacLeod, actor, born at Mount Kisco, NY, Feb 28, 1930.
Linus Pauling, chemist, educator, born at Portland, OR, Feb 28, 1901.
Bernadette Peters, actress, singer, born at New York, NY, Feb 28, 1944.
Bubba Smith (Charles Aaron Smith), football player, born at Orange, TX, Feb 28, 1945.
Tommy Tune, actor, singer, dancer, musical theater director, born at Wichita Falls, TX, Feb 28, 1939.

(Klugmann)
February 15, 1989
9:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WELCOMING BANQUET TOAST
BEIJING, CHINA
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1989

Premier Li

President Yang, distinguished guests:

Barbara and I are delighted to be returning once again to China. It's been 14 years since we made our home here, and over these years, we've paid your remarkable country several visits. And, each time we come, Barbara and I are fascinated by the dynamic change and growth, all of which takes place against an extraordinary, unchanging backdrop of a great culture several thousand years old.

There is a Chinese proverb that says "one generation plants a tree, the next sits in its shade." And there is a timeless wisdom in that. But thanks to your reforms -- courageous reforms, and I don't minimize the difficulties -- the Chinese people are planting great and sturdy trees some of which are bearing fruit right now, for this generation.

Today, the people of China have more opportunities to express themselves and to make important decisions in their personal and professional lives. And your new and farsighted economic program is already improving the lives of the people, as it will for generations to come. And the expansion of your international relationships is also creating new possibilities for peace, prosperity, and world leadership, and the United States welcomes the enlarged role that China has taken in the world.

When Barbara and I first arrived in Beijing in 1975, it was a period when our two countries were just beginning to renew contact after almost a quarter century of estrangement and hostility. It was not easy; there were great differences between us. But in the principles of the historic Shanghai Communique, signed 17 years ago this coming Tuesday, we found a common basis for moving beyond those differences to find our shared interests. So, together, we helped to plant a tree. And we should keep planting trees.

We value the new relationship our two countries have established with each other. Our friendship is continuing to develop, and that is good. For a relationship must be strong enough to tackle areas of disagreement as well as those of common interest, and it must be based on respect for the individual as well as the integrity of states.

We remain firmly committed to the principles set forth in the three joint communiques that form the basis of our relations. And based on the principle that there is but one China, we have found ways to address without rancor the sensitive issue of Taiwan. As my predecessor said when he came to China, we have a long historical friendship with the Chinese people on Taiwan, even as we have a new and important relationship with the People's Republic of China. We believe that the deeply-rooted differences that remain between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait should be left to the Chinese people themselves to peacefully resolve.

The United States and the People's Republic of China have found common interest in a growing economic relationship in which

our two-way trade has increased from near zero to some $14 billion, and for this we must credit the reforms China embarked upon ten years ago under Deng Xiaoping's farsighted leadership.

And we have seen greater exchanges in education as well, with tens of thousands of Chinese students now studying in the United States, just as thousands of U.S. scholars have studied and taught in the farthest corners of China.

And we have developed an active program of military cooperation that is forging ties of friendship between our defense establishments, even as we have found a diplomatic unity in our shared opposition to policies of international aggression and domination.

Our two countries, as nuclear powers and as permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, have a special responsibility for preserving world peace. We owe it to mankind to work together for peace and international stability.

The United States has pressed forward with the Soviet Union in the arms reduction process, achieving under the I.N.F. Treaty the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Asia as well as Europe. We are mindful of the danger posed to other countries by the proliferation of deadly weapon technologies, including chemical weapons, particularly in regions of the world marked by conflict.

And we are pleased that improved relations between China and the Soviet Union can contribute to the search for peace in Cambodia and stability in Korea. I hope this is part of a larger pattern of reduced global tensions. That would be in the

interest of China, of the Soviet Union, of the United States, of East Asia, and of the world.

There can be little doubt that even as the people of our two countries are watching this meeting, the world as a whole is watching the larger movement of our two great Nations as we build ever firmer bonds across the vast ocean that joins us.

Two centuries ago, just a few years after the United States was established, the first American merchant ship sailed across the Pacific to then distant China. Those early Americans found an ancient culture, one which inspires and fascinates my countrymen to this day. But today, in a world that has grown smaller and at a time in which history progresses ever faster, America also sees a China that is boldly moving toward the future, releasing the enterprise and imagination of her citizens, so that they can lead their Nation toward the great world role that she is destined to play on the world stage.

Barbara and I are personally grateful for the friendship and kindness that we have been shown over the years by the Chinese people. And the expanding relationship between your country and ours has been a source of satisfaction to us, as well. Let us continue, then, to work together, to plant trees together, so that the next generation, ours and yours, can sit together in the shade.

So please let me ask you all to join me, and Barbara, in a toast: To the health of President Yang; to the health of Chairman Deng, general Secretary Zhao, and Premier Li; to Barbara's and my dear close friends here tonight; and to Sino-American friendship. Ganbei!

Chinese Proverbs

translated

by

Tin-yuke Char

(謝廷玉譯)

Jade Mountain Press
San Francisco

FREER GALLERY O.
WASHINGTON D. C.

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Calligraphy by Prof. Shao Chang Lee
Michigan State University

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	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
前	ch'in	ts'ien	ts'ien	forebears; predecessors
人	yen	ngin	ren	
種	chung	chung	chung	plant
樹	sue (suih)	shu	shu	trees
，				
後	hau	heo	hou	descendants; successors
人	yen	ngin	ren	
遮	che (jieh)	cha (jah)	cheh (jer)	take cover
陰	yem (yum)	yim	yim	(in the) shade
。				

One generation plants the tree, the next sits in its shade.

* * * *

酒	chau (jao)	tsiu	tsiu	wine
肉	yuk (yook)	nyuk	ru	meat
朋	p'eng (pung)	p'eng	p'ien	friends
友	yau	yiu	yiu	
，				
柴	ch'ai	ts'ai	ts'ai	firewood
米	mei	mi	mi	rice
夫	fu	fu	fu	husband
妻	ch'ei	ts'i	ts'i	(and) wife
。				

Friends while good dinners last; husband and wife while fuel and food remain.

	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
善	sinn	shan	shan	(a) good
名	ming	miang	ming	name
難	nan	nan	nan	(is) difficult
成	sing	shin	ch'eng	(to) establish; achieve
，				
惡	ok	ok	oh (or)	(news of) bad
事	si	si	shih	deeds
易	i (ee)	i (ee)	i (ee)	(is) easy
傳	ch'uin	ch'uan	ch'uan	(to) circulate
。				

A good reputation is hard to establish, while news of evil deeds is easily circulated.

* * * *

說	suet	suot	shuo	saying
話	wa	fa	hua (hwa)	words
爲	wei	wui	wei	is
空	hung (hoong)	k'ung	k'ung	empty; airily
，				
落	lok	lok	loh	jotting down
筆	pet (butt)	pit	pi	(with) pen
爲	wei	wui	wei	is
實	sed (sud)	shitt	shih	real; reality
。				

Mere talk is empty; a written statement is concrete.

	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
天	t'in	t'ien	t'ien	heaven
有	yau	yiu	yiu	has
不	pet	put	pu	no
測	ch'ek	ts'et	ts'eh	predictable
風	fung	fung	feng	wind
雲	wen	yuen	yuin	(and) cloud
，				
人	yen	ngin	ren	man
有	yau	yiu	yiu	has
旦	tan	tan	tan	morning
夕	chik	sip	si	(and) night
禍	wo	wo	wo	calamities
福	fuk	fuk	fu	(or) blessings
。				

The fortunes of men are as uncertain as the weather.

	*	*	*	*
君	kwen	kuin	chuin (june)	} gentleman;
子	chi	tzi	tzu	} superior man
成	shing	shin	ch'eng	perfects
人	yen	ngin	ren	} (a) man's
之	chi	chi	chih	}
美	mei	mi; mui	mei	good qualities
，				
不	pet	put	pu	not
成	shing	shin	ch'eng	perfect
人	yen	ngin	ren	} (a) man's
之	chi	chi	chi	}
惡	ok (ork)	ok	oh (or)	bad qualities
。				

A true gentleman seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to develop their bad faults.

	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
肯	heng	hen	k'en	willing
忍	yen	yin	ren	(to) restrain
一	yet	yit	i	one
時	si	shi	shih	moment
之	chi (gee)	chi	chih (jih)	of
氣	hei	hi	ch'i	anger
，				
可	ho	k'o	k'oh	can
免	min	mien	mien	avoid
百	pak (bark)	pak	poh	hundred
日	yet	ngit	rib	days
之	chi	chi	chih	of
憂	yau	yiu	yiu	grief; sorrow
。				

One who is willing to restrain a moment's anger will avoid a hundred days' sorrow.

	*	*	*	*
遠	yuin	yen	yuan	distant
水	sui	shui	shui	water
難	nan	nan	nan	difficult
救	kau	kiu	chiu	(to) save
近	ken	k'ioun	chin	near; closeby
火	fo	fo	huo	fire
，				
遠	yuin	yen	yuan	distant
親	ch'en	ch'in	ch'in	relatives
不	pet	put	pu	not
如	yue	ngi	ru	equal to; like
近	ken	k'uin	chin	nearby
鄰	lun	lin	lin	neighbors
。				

Water far away will not extinguish a fire that is nearby; relatives far from you are not as good as neighbors close to you.

	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
平	p'ing	p'ing	p'ing	} in peace;
安	on	on	an	} all's well
二	i	ngi	erh	two
字	chi	si	tzu	characters; words
值	chik	chik	chih	worth
千	ch'in	ts'ien	ts'ien	thousand(s)
金。	kem	kim	chin	(of) gold

The two words "in peace" are worth a thousand pieces of gold.

* * * *

名	ming	miang	ming	fame
利	lei	li	li	(and) gain
二	i	ngi	erh	two
字	chi	si	tzu	words; characters
是	si	si	shih	} troubles; scandals
非	fei	fi	fei	} troubles; scandals
多。	to	to	to	many; much

Fame and Gain have been the cause of many troubles.

* * * *

求	k'au	k'iu	ch'iu	asking; begging
人	yen	ngin	ren	(a) person (for a favor)
如	yue	ngi	ru	(is) like
吞	t'en	t'un	t'un	swallowing
三	sam	sam	san	three
尺	ch'ek	ch'ak	ch'ih	foot; feet
劍。	kim	kiam	chien	sword

Asking a favor is like swallowing a three-foot sword.

	Cantonese	*Hakka*	*Mandarin*	*English Equivalents*
百	pak	pak	po; pai	hundred
藝	ngai	ngai	yi	skills
不	pet	put	pu	not
如	yue	ngi	ru	equal (to); like
一	yet	yit	i	one
藝	ngai	ngai	i	skill
精。	ching	chin	ching	mastered

Better be a master of one trade than be a Jack of all trades.

* * * *

養	yiong	yong	yang	raising
兒	i	ngi	erh	child
纔	ch'oi	ts'oi	ts'ai	then
知	chi	di	chi	know
報	poe	pao	pao	repaying
娘	niong	ngiong	niang	mother's
恩。	yen	en	en	affection; love

One has to raise children before he realizes gratitude for his mother.

* * * *

觀	koon	kon	kuan	watching
棋	k'ei	k'i	ch'i	chess game
不	pet	put	pu	not
語	yue	ngi	yue	talking
眞	chen	chin	chen	(is) truly
君	kwen	kioun	chuin	} gentleman;
子。	chi	tzi	tze	} superior man

He is truly a gentleman who can watch a game of chess in silence.

(Klugmann)
February 17, 1989
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WELCOMING BANQUET TOAST
GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE
BEIJING, CHINA
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1989

President Yang, Premier Li, distinguished guests:

Barbara and I are delighted to be returning once again to China. It's been 14 years since we made our home here, and over these years, we've paid your remarkable country several visits. And, each time we come, Barbara and I are fascinated by the dynamic change and growth, all of which takes place against an extraordinary, unchanging backdrop of a great culture several thousand years old.

There is a Chinese proverb that says "one generation plants a tree, the next sits in its shade." And there is a timeless wisdom in that. But thanks to your reforms -- courageous reforms, and I don't minimize the difficulties -- the Chinese people are planting great and sturdy trees some of which are bearing fruit right now, for this generation.

Today, the people of China have more opportunities to express themselves and to make important decisions in their personal and professional lives. And your new and farsighted economic program is already improving the lives of the people, as it will for generations to come. And the expansion of your international relationships is also creating new possibilities for peace, prosperity, and world leadership, and the United States welcomes the enlarged role that China has taken in the world.

When Barbara and I first arrived in Beijing in 1975, it was a period when our two countries were just beginning to renew contact after almost a quarter century of estrangement and hostility. It was not easy; there were great differences between us. But in the principles of the historic Shanghai Communique, signed 17 years ago this coming Monday, we found a common basis for moving beyond those differences to find our shared interests. So, together, we helped to plant a tree. And we should keep planting trees.

We value the new relationship our two countries have established with each other. Our friendship is continuing to develop, and that is good. For a relationship must be strong enough to tackle areas of disagreement as well as those of common interest, and it must be based on respect for the individual as well as the integrity of states.

We remain firmly committed to the principles set forth in the three joint communiques that form the basis of our relations. And based on the bedrock principle that there is but one China, we have found ways to address without rancor the sensitive issue of Taiwan. As my predecessor said when he came to China, we have a long historical friendship with the Chinese people on Taiwan, even as we have a new and important relationship with the People's Republic of China. And in the last few years we have seen an encouraging expansion of family contacts, travel, indirect trade, and other forms of peaceful interchange across the Strait, which has come not from outside pressure, but from the interests of the Chinese people themselves. This trend -- this new environment -- is consistent with America's present and

long-standing interest in a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves.

The United States and the People's Republic of China have also found common interest in a growing economic relationship in which our two-way trade has increased from near zero to some $14 billion, and for this we must credit the reforms China embarked upon ten years ago under Chairman Deng Xiaoping's farsighted leadership.

And we have seen greater exchanges in education as well, with tens of thousands of Chinese students now studying in the United States, just as thousands of U.S. scholars have studied and taught in the farthest corners of China.

And we have developed an active program of military cooperation that is forging ties of friendship between our defense establishments, even as we have found a diplomatic unity in our shared opposition to policies of international aggression and domination.

Our two countries, as nuclear powers and as permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, have a special responsibility for preserving world peace. We owe it to mankind to work together for peace and international stability.

The United States has pressed forward with the Soviet Union in the arms reduction process, achieving under the I.N.F. Treaty an agreement to eliminate U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Asia as well as Europe. We are mindful of the danger posed to other countries by the proliferation of deadly weapon technologies, including chemical weapons, particularly in regions of the world marked by conflict.

And we are pleased that improved relations between China and the Soviet Union may contribute to the search for self-determination and peace for the Cambodian people and to stability in Korea. I hope this is part of a larger pattern of reduced global tensions. That would be in the interest of China, of the Soviet Union, of the United States, of East Asia, and of the world.

There can be little doubt that even as the people of our two countries are watching this meeting, the world as a whole is watching the larger movement of our two great Nations as we build ever firmer bonds across the vast ocean that joins us.

Two centuries ago, just a few years after the United States was established, the first American merchant ship sailed across the Pacific to then distant China. Those early Americans found an ancient culture, one which inspires and fascinates my countrymen to this day. But today, in a world that has grown smaller and at a time in which history progresses ever faster, America also sees a China that is boldly moving toward the future, releasing the enterprise and imagination of her citizens, so that they can lead their nation toward the great role that she is destined to play on the world stage.

Barbara and I are personally grateful for the friendship and kindness that we have been shown over the years by the Chinese people. And the expanding relationship between your country and ours has been a source of satisfaction to us, as well. Let us continue, then, to work together, to plant trees together, so that the next generation, ours and yours, can sit together in the shade.

So please let me ask you all to join me, and Barbara, in a toast: To the health of President Yang; to the health of Premier Li; to the health of Chairman Deng and General Secretary Zhao; to Barbara's and my dear close friends here tonight; and to Sino-American friendship. Ganbei!

ment of rewards for information concerning the unauthorized manufacture of atomic weapons, recognizes that payment of a reward in connection with acts of domestic terrorism raises a matter of law enforcement that is properly within the jurisdiction of the Attorney General, but that the payment of a reward in connection with an act of terrorism abroad poses a political and foreign relations problem within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State. By increasing the amounts of fines that may be paid, and by authorizing rewards for information concerning terrorist acts committed abroad, this Act would markedly improve the ability of the Departments of Justice and State to obtain information leading to the freeing of hostages or the capture of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism. In passing this legislation, the Congress can further underscore the intent of the United States to take every appropriate and necessary step to protect its citizens and property from terrorist acts.

Prohibition Against the Training or Support of Terrorist Organizations Act of 1984

The training and support of terrorist groups and activities by a number of countries has reached alarming proportions. In addition, the number of states now using terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy is both increasing and highly disturbing. The provision of assistance to countries that support terrorism and use terrorism as a foreign policy tool has thus become a matter of grave concern to national security. This Act, together with revised and strengthened regulations that the Department of State intends to issue shortly, would enhance the ability of the Department of Justice to prosecute persons involved in the support of terrorist activities and of states using terrorism. Enactment of this legislation would be a strong contribution to the effort to combat terrorism.

We must recognize that terrorism is symptomatic of larger problems. We must dedicate ourselves to fostering modernization, development, and beneficial change in the depressed areas of the world. We must renew our commitment to promoting and assisting representative and participatory governments. We must attack the problem of terrorism as a crime against the international community whenever and wherever possible, but we must strive to eradicate the sources of frustration and despair that are the spawning places and nutrients of terrorism.

The legislative proposals that I am sending to the Congress today will, when approved, materially benefit our Nation and help us to assist friendly countries. I believe that they are extraordinarily important, and I strongly urge that the Congress undertake their timely consideration and speedy passage.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
April 26, 1984.

Toast at a Dinner Hosted by President Li Xiannian of China in Beijing

April 26, 1984

President Li, Premier Zhao, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, it's a pleasure to be here with you tonight. Nancy and I are most grateful for the warmth of the reception that you've given us. I'm certain I speak for everyone in our entourage when I say we are overwhelmed by the loveliness of this hall, the gardens. The setting is certainly a tribute to the richness and depth of your culture. And might I add, this meal appears to be a tribute to your culinary arts, as well.

You've made us feel welcome after a long journey. And this, even more than the grandeur of the surroundings and the grace of the meal, is appreciated.

Premier Zhao's recent trip to the United States and our visit, as well, demonstrate

Toast at Welcoming Banquet p. 5584 (folded page)
Toast in Honor of Premier Zhao p. 591 (folded page)

how technological leaps in communications and transportation are changing our perceptions of the world. Yet, even as technology catapults us into the future, making possible in our travel that once took months or even years, ancient truths are reconfirmed. Many centuries ago, Wang Po, a famous Chinese poet-philosopher, wrote, "Although we reside in far corners of the world, having a good friend is akin to having a good neighbor."

The essence of that observation is as true today as it was when it was penned. In that spirit, President Li, I come to China representing the sincere desire of the American people to be good neighbors to the Chinese people.

It was just 200 years ago when the first American merchant ship called on a Chinese port. Two hundred years seems like the blink of an eye to Chinese civilization; yet, for Americans, this spans almost the entire history of our Republic. Looking back, President Li, we can see that at times the relationship between our two nations was not what it should have been. But thanks to the hard work and determination of farsighted leaders of both of our countries during the last 12 years, our future is bright with potential.

There are differences between us, yes, differences that should be neither glossed over nor dented—denied, I should say. Yet we, the people of China and the United States, share a sincere desire for peace and prosperity, and we understand that by working together, emphasizing our areas of agreement, everyone will benefit.

Premier Zhao's visit to the United States was the first visit ever by a Chinese Premier. And now this marks the first visit by an American President since our countries formally established diplomatic relations in 1979.

The travel of government leaders is symbolic of the surge of activity, of the exchange and cooperation going on between our peoples at all levels. Whether in commerce, the arts, science, or industry, our citizens are establishing personal bonds of trust and friendship that mirror the good will found at the highest levels.

This healthy intercourse is encouraged because our countries, our people as a whole, have determined that what we have in common, what we can accomplish working and building together, is vastly more significant than those things that separate us. This, of course, does not mean progress will be easy. Few things worthwhile ever happen without commitment and effort by good people. We can be proud, considering our differences, of how much has already been accomplished.

If you'll permit me, we believe even greater progress can be made if our future efforts are based on *hu jing hu hui*—mutual respect and mutual benefit. If we have the will to live up to it, *hu jing hu hui* can make our countries more prosperous and more secure. It can keep us friends, even while recognizing that we do not totally agree on some things which we believe important. There is every reason for optimism about the continuing peaceful evolution of relations between our two countries.

I would hope in the not too distant future that you, President Li, as I have already expressed to you earlier, will come and be our guest in the United States, so that you can meet and talk with the American people.

Nancy and I are now looking forward with great anticipation to the rest of our visit to your country. We're especially pleased to see Premier Zhao again. I'm also eager to make the personal acquaintance of Chairman Deng and General Secretary Hu.

This, our first day, was even more gratifying than expected. Meeting you and having the opportunity for open and constructive dialog was an excellent way to inaugurate this trip.

During our stay, Nancy and I hope to see and learn much about China and its people. The history, the beauty, and the culture of your country is legend throughout the world. I first learned about it as a boy in a small school in the farm country of America. I never dreamed back then that I'd have the opportunity to come and see these things for myself.

Now, as I suggested a moment ago, technology has made us neighbors. Neighbors are not family, but they can be dear and trusted friends. And that is the spirit I sense already. It's something upon which weighty

accomplishments can be built. In that spirit, I invite all of you to join me in a toast.

To your health, Mr. President, and that of Mrs. Li, and to the health of Premier Zhao and of China's other distinguished leaders, and to further success in advancing the relations of our two countries.

Note: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. at Yang Yuan Hall in response to a toast by President Li.

In his opening remarks, the President also referred to Premier Zhao Ziyang.

Remarks to Chinese Community Leaders in Beijing, China
April 27, 1984

Thank you very much, Dr. Zhou Peiyuan, and all of you distinguished ladies and gentlemen. I'm honored to come before you today, the first American President ever to address your nation from the Great Hall of the People.

My wife, Nancy, and I have looked forward to visiting the people and treasures of your great and historic land, one of the world's oldest civilizations. We have marveled at Beijing's sweeping vistas, and we have felt the warmth of your hospitality touch our hearts. We only regret that our visit will be so brief. I'm afraid it will be as a Tang Dynasty poet once wrote, "looking at the flowers while riding horseback." But you have another saying from the book of Han which describes how Nancy and I feel: "To see a thing once is better than hearing about it a hundred times."

Twelve years ago former President Nixon arrived in Beijing, stepped down from Air Force One, and shook hands with former Premier Zhou Enlai. Premier Zhou would later tell him, "Your handshake came over the vastest ocean in the world—25 years of no communication." With one handshake, America and China each turned a new page in their histories.

I believe that history beckons again. We have begun to write a new chapter for peace and progress in our histories with America and China going forward hand in hand—*xieshou bingjin* [walk together hand in hand].

We must always be realistic about our relationship, frankly acknowledging the fundamental differences in ideology and institutions between our two societies. Yes, let us acknowledge those differences. Let us never minimize them. But let us not be dominated by them.

I have not come to China to hold forth on what divides us, but to build on what binds us. I have not come to dwell on a closed-door past, but to urge that Americans and Chinese look to the future, because together we can and will make tomorrow a better day.

When Premier Zhao was in the United States, he told us, "China has opened its door and will never close it again." Permit me to assure you today, America's door is open to you, and when you walk through, we'll welcome you as our neighbors and our friends.

We may live at nearly opposite ends of the world. We may be distinctly different in language, customs, and political beliefs. But on many vital questions of our time, there is little difference between the American and Chinese people. Indeed, I believe if we were to ask citizens all over this world what they desire most for their children, and for their children's children, their answer, in English, Chinese, or any language, would likely be the same: We want peace. We want freedom. We want a better life. Their dreams, so simply stated, represent mankind's deepest aspirations for security and personal fulfillment. And helping them make their dreams come true is what our jobs are all about.

We can work together as equals in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit. I believe in Chinese you say *hu jing hu hui.*

Well, America and China are both great nations. And we have a special responsibility to preserve world peace.

To help fulfill that responsibility, the United States is rebuilding its defenses, which had been neglected for more than a decade. Our people realize this effort is crucial if we're to deter aggression against America, our allies, and other friends. But we threaten no nation. America's troops are not massed on China's borders. And we occupy no lands. The only foreign land we occupy anywhere in the world is beneath gravesites where Americans shed their blood for peace and freedom. Nor do we commit wanton acts, such as shooting 269 innocent people out of the sky for the so-called cause of sacred airspace.

America and China both condemn military expansionism, the brutal occupation of Afghanistan, the crushing of Kampuchea; and we share a stake in preserving peace on the Korean peninsula.

I think our two peoples agree there can be only one sane policy to preserve our precious civilization in this modern nuclear age: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. And that's why we've proposed to the Soviet Union meaningful negotiations that go beyond rhetoric to actual arms reductions and why we must all work for the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of the Earth.

America's interest in China, our friendship for your people, and our respect for China's many contributions to the progress of civilization date back to the beginning of our own history. You might be interested to know that personal dinner settings used by our first three Presidents—George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson—were of Chinese origin, evidence of our Founding Fathers attraction for your country's high artistic standards.

Back in 1784, when the first American trading ship, the *Empress of China,* entered your waters, my country was unknown to you. We were a new republic, eager to win a place in international commerce. A slightly homesick American sailor recorded that first day in a letter home.

"My dear father," he wrote, "if ever you receive this letter, it will acquaint you, that after a passage of 6 months and 7 days we came to anchor at Wampoo . . . The Chinese had never heard of us, but we introduced ourselves as a new nation, gave them our history with a description of our country, the importance and necessity of a trade here to the advantage of both, which they appear perfectly to understand and wish."

Well, since those early days, our countries have both profited from the exchange of people, goods, and ideas. Chinese settlers helped tame our continent during the 19th century. Today their families' descendants join other Americans in cooperating with you to build a new prosperity in China.

How did America, which began as an impoverished country and a melting pot, attracting immigrants from every corner of the globe, pull together and become the leading economic nation in the world? How did we go in so short a time from living by candlelight to exploring the frontiers of the universe by satellite, from each farmer laboring with horse and hoe for an entire year just to feed four people, to running his farm with the most modern machinery and producing enough to feed 75 people, making America the breadbasket of the world?

Well, we're people who've always believed the heritage of our past is the seed that brings forth the harvest of our future. And from our roots we have drawn tremendous power from two great forces: faith and freedom. America was founded by people who sought freedom to worship God and to trust in Him to guide them in their daily lives with wisdom, strength, goodness, and compassion.

Our passion for freedom led to the American Revolution, the first great uprising for human rights and independence against colonial rule. We knew each of us could not enjoy liberty for ourselves unless we were willing to share it with everyone else. And we knew our freedom could not truly be safe unless all of us were protected by a body of laws that treated us equally.

George Washington told us we would be bound together in a sacred brotherhood of free men. Abraham Lincoln defined the heart of American democracy when he said, "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. . . ." These great principles have nourished the soul of America, and they have been enriched by values such as the dignity of

work, the friendship of neighbors, and the warmth of family. Like China, our people see the future in the eyes of our children. And like China, we revere our elders. To be as good as our fathers and mothers, we must be better.

"Trust the people"—these three words are not only the heart and soul of American history but the most powerful force for human progress in the world today. Those who ignore this vital truth will condemn their countries to fall farther and farther behind in the world's competition for economic leadership in the 1980's and beyond, because look around us, the societies that have made the most spectacular progress in the shortest period of time are not the most rigidly organized nor even the richest in natural resources. No, it's where people have been allowed to create, compete, and build, where they've been permitted to think for themselves, make economic decisions, and benefit from their own risks, that societies have become the most prosperous, progressive, dynamic, and free. Nothing could be more basic to the spirit of progress for a farmer, laborer, or merchant than economic reward for legitimate risk and honest toil.

A little over a century ago, Ulysses S. Grant, who was then a former President, visited your country and saw China's great potential. "I see dawning . . ." Grant wrote, "the beginning of a change. When it does come, China will rapidly become a powerful and rich nation . . . The population is industrious, frugal, intelligent, and quick to learn."

Well, today, China's economy crackles with the dynamics of change: expansion of individual incentives for farmers in your new responsibility system; new bonuses for workers and more disciplined management in terms of profits and losses; improved methods of market distribution; opening your economy to the world through China's membership in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and through your invitation to trade and invest, especially in your four Special Economic Zones; and your commitment to attract capital and scientific knowledge to create a high technology base for the future. All this reflects China's new role in the international economic community and your determination to modernize your economy and raise the standard of living of your people.

Unlike some governments which fear change and fear the future, China is beginning to reach out toward new horizons, and we salute your courage.

"Progress," Premier Zhao has told us, "lies in our efforts to emancipate our thinking in a bold way—to carry out reform with determination, to make new inventions with courage, and to break with the economic molds and conventions of all descriptions which fetter the development of the productive force." Well, we Americans have always considered ourselves pioneers, so we appreciate such vitality and optimism.

Today I bring you a message from my countrymen. As China moves forward in this new path, America welcomes the opportunity to walk by your side.

Incidentally, I know Premier Zhao has demonstrated mastery of his subject. When he was directing agricultural policies in Sichuan, the peasants went from food shortages and forced imports to bumper harvests and rising exports. In fact, I'm told that because of the work he did, it is said in Sichuan Province, "If you want rice, go see Zhao."

Well, China's growth is in China's hands. You will choose your own path to development. But we're not surprised to see the fresh breezes of incentives and innovation sweeping positive changes across China. And behind the statistics of economic growth are reports of personal success stories pointing to a new spirit of progress. Chairman Deng has a saying, "Seek truth from facts." Well, today in China, the reality of more small enterprises doing a thriving business, more families profiting from their own hard work and the bigger harvests they produce, and more investment in science and technology points to more opportunity for all. President John Kennedy often used a metaphor to describe such progress: "A rising tide lifts all boats."

In the United States, as I mentioned earlier, we've always believed deeply that incentives are key and that free people build free markets that ignite dynamic development for everyone. For a time, America's

government had drifted away from this key principle, and our economic growth suffered.

When we took office, in January 1981, we said to the people, "Let us make a new beginning. From now on, if you work harder and earn more than before, your reward will be greater than it was. We're putting America's future in your hands. You can spark the spirit of enterprise. You can get America moving again." And they have.

In 3 short years, the American people have revived a dynamic growth economy bolstered by incentives of lower tax rates, stable prices, reduced interest rates, a rebirth of productivity, and restored confidence in our currency.

Hope is high. Confidence is strong. America's future looks bright again. With a strong technological base, pioneering sunrise industries and modernizing older ones, the United States is beginning an economic renaissance and helping pull other nations toward worldwide recovery.

I see America and our Pacific neighbors going forward in a mighty enterprise to build strong economies and a safer world.

The United States and China have an historic opportunity. We can expand our economic and scientific cooperation, strengthen the ties between our peoples, and take an important step toward peace and a better life. And there is much we can share.

We think progress in four areas is particularly promising: trade, technology, investment, and exchanges of scientific and managerial expertise.

In a few short years, two-way trade has risen sharply. The United States is now China's third largest trading partner. Our bilateral trade shows great promise for the future, particularly in areas such as machinery, technology, oil equipment, petroleum, agricultural and manufacturing products.

Last June, I instructed our government to liberalize controls over the export to China of high technology products, such as computers and laboratory instruments. Our policies on technology transfer will continue to evolve along with our overall relationship and the development of broader cooperation between us. May I emphasize to the members of the scientific community here today: The relaxing of export controls reflects my determination that China be treated as a friendly, nonallied nation and that the United States be fully prepared to cooperate in your modernization.

During Premier Zhao's visit to our country, we took another step forward, signing the United States-China Industrial and Technological Cooperation Accord. Our Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade will discuss implementation of the Accord during their next meeting in Washington in May. We will focus our efforts on the sectors to which China has attached greatest priority. Our trade and development program will facilitate our progress.

Expanding cooperative ventures is another area of promising growth: American firms have invested almost $700 million in joint ventures and offshore oil exploration in China, making the United States your largest foreign investor. We welcome your determination to improve conditions for foreign business in China. Streamlining bureaucratic procedures, establishing a more predictable system for investment through domestic legislation and international agreements, reforming prices to make them internationally competitive, and providing foreign business people with the offices, housing, and schools they and their families need to work effectively, will stimulate more American investment.

For your part, some 50 Chinese firms have established offices or branches in the United States, and China has invested in several joint ventures in our country.

We intend to strengthen these trends. When Treasury Secretary Regan was here last month for the meeting of the Joint Economic Committee, he concluded a bilateral tax agreement. Monday, our two countries will sign this agreement, which, I'm pleased to report, will increase incentives for even closer cooperation between American and Chinese firms. And we're continuing to work toward conclusion of bilateral agreements on greater investment protection and many other areas of cooperation.

I am particularly proud that the United States and China have reached agreement on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. As many of you know, the negotiations between our two countries go

back almost to the beginning of my administration. We have held a total of six sessions in Washington and Beijing. We made great progress during Premier Zhao's visit, and our negotiations have just now concluded successfully. The result: an agreement for cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

I understand that several of the people here made major contributions to this effort, which meets the requirements of both sides. Once approval is complete, it will open broad opportunities for joint work in development of the energy base which China needs for her modernization. Scientists, engineers, business leaders, and officials of both countries interested in peaceful nuclear energy will welcome this agreement. China has one of the world's most ambitious programs for expansion of electric power generation, and I believe that America's energy technology—not just in nuclear energy but across the board—is second to none, and perhaps most suitable for China's varied needs.

Our agreement is founded on important nonproliferation standards. We have noticed recent statements of China's nonproliferation policies, particularly those by Premier Zhao in Washington and Beijing over the past several months. Premier Zhao and I have discussed these matters directly. I can tell you that our countries share the same basic principles of preserving world peace and preventing the destabilizing spread of nuclear explosives. Neither of us will encourage proliferation nor assist any other country to acquire or develop any nuclear explosive device. Our cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy will be based on shared principles of nonproliferation.

There is also great potential in our joint efforts to increase managerial and scientific expertise. I know that many of you have heard through the Chinese press about the good work of the 9-month Dalian program of management training for industry, science, and technology. More than 750 graduates have received training in modern methods of industrial management. And I'm told some of you are graduates of that program. Well, I'm delighted to announce that we have agreed to establish a special new program there offering a full 3-year master's degree in business administration. The degree will be awarded by the State University of New York. We're to share with you the knowledge that is America's key technology—management and science skills to develop a nation.

Under our Joint Commission on Science and Technology, we have a very productive agreement with exchange programs in 21 specific areas. We're sharing the benefits of research in medicine, energy, and other technical fields. Our scientists are learning a great deal from each other in public health, agricultural sciences, and many other areas.

Men and women of vision already see that working in the zero gravity environment of space offers dazzling opportunities to improve life on Earth. Experiments done on our space shuttle have shown that life-saving medicines can be manufactured in space with four times the purity of the same medicines on Earth. And they can be made over 400 times more rapidly, so 1 month's production of medicines in space yields as much as 30 years' production on the ground.

We also look forward to being able to manufacture large crystals of exceptional purity in space. These crystals are the basis of the semiconductor chips which run modern computers. By manufacturing them in zero gravity, we can make new strides toward producing larger, faster computers, the so-called supercomputers, and ultimately reduce the cost of computer manufacturing. We look forward to exploring with China the possibilities of cooperating in the development of space on behalf of all our fellow citizens.

In the humanities and social sciences, hundreds of American and Chinese scholars have visited each others' countries to teach and study subjects ranging from law and economics to poetry and history. For our part, we welcome this new Pacific tide. Let it roll peacefully on, carrying a two-way flow of people and ideas that can break down barriers of suspicion and mistrust, and build up bonds of cooperation and shared optimism.

The future is ours to build. Surmounting the risks and the fears of some may be diffi-

cult, but I'm convinced the challenge is worth it. The greatest victories come when people dare to be great, when they summon their spirits to brave the unknown and go forward together to reach a greater good.

So often, we see individual actions of courage and love in everyday life that give us faith to believe in ourselves and hope for a better future. In 1981 a bright, young American student, John Zeidman, came here to study China and to seek new friends. He was a boy of great heart and enthusiasm, and riding his bicycle on Beijing's streets, conversing and camping with artists and students, he fell in love with your country. Tragically, he was struck ill on his 20th birthday and later died. But his tragedy brought forth new life.

John's family and friends have established a Chinese studies program at the Sidwell Friends School in Washington. Hundreds have contributed, and the program now attracts young people from public and private schools and serves as a model for other schools all across America. Earlier this year, Premier Zhao visited the school. This summer the entire class will come to China as his guests to meet their student contemporaries.

From the great grief of one boy's death came a seed. And from that seed has grown a tree of understanding, a tree that now blossoms with the beauty of friendship and cooperation. If our people could go forward in this same spirit, planting not one tree, but millions, and then tending each so it may grow sturdy and tall—then the dream of a single youth might grow into the golden dreams of all mankind.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the auditorium at the Great Hall of the People. Zhou Peiyuan, a Chinese scientist, hosted the event, which was attended by Chinese citizens who either have been involved in the various aspects of U.S.-China cooperation directly related to China's modernization program or who study Sino-U.S. relations.

Toast at a Welcoming Banquet Hosted by Premier Zhao Ziyang of China in Beijing

April 27, 1984

Premier Zhao, ladies and gentlemen, since we arrived yesterday, the graciousness with which we have been received has been truly heartwarming. A Chinese proverb best describes my feelings: "When the visitor arrives, it is as if returning home."

Having already known Premier Zhao, one of the purposes of my visit was to make new friends. But I find, especially after meeting President Li and General Secretary Hu, that instead of making friends, I am among friends.

Mr. Premier, this has been a stimulating day. Much was accomplished, not the least of which was the renewal of the personal rapport we established during your memorable visit to the United States. Your visit permitted you to judge for yourself the intentions of the American people. I hope the good will you experienced, just as I enjoyed from your people today, confirmed to you that our citizens want our countries to work in harmony.

The American and Chinese Governments have responded to that wish in a series of formal communiques which set forth the fundamental principles of our relationship—the 1972 Shanghai communique, the January 1, 1979, communique establishing diplomatic relations, and the August 17, 1982, communique negotiated by my administration.

Mr. Premier, by any accounting the cooperation between China and the United States already has been a boon to our people. We have both gained. In the last few years, two-way trade has taken off. There has been a veritable explosion of stu-

dent, science, business, and tourist exchanges between our peoples. Joint business ventures which profit all concerned are multiplying.

We would be less than candid if we minimized the significance of the benefits we each receive from our good relations. Standing together, we can expand the trade and commercial ties that increase the quality of life in both countries. Standing together, we can further peace and security. Great nations, if adversaries, cannot draw from each other's strength.

The commitment to stand as friends has been made. The promise is solid. The challenges that remain, however, will take both patience and mutual understanding. I have suggested and, with your permission, say again this evening: Let us use as our guide the principle of *hu jing hu hui*—mutual respect, mutual benefit. This principle has within it both dignity and fairness.

Another source from which to draw is our knowlege of each other, a well of familiarity which increases in depth with every passing day.

We are each working hard to learn more about the delicate and detailed workings of the other's system—ours with its complex legal procedures based on the separation of powers, and yours with its own intricate patterns. Insights into why and how decisions are made can help both of us appreciate our agreements and accept in good faith our disagreements.

From what we see, Premier Zhao, my countrymen are enthused by what is happening in China. Your modernization program, an ambitious undertaking, makes our future relationship even more promising. You are striving to quadruple your production by the year 2000, and the eyes of the world are watching as you progress on this peaceful and productive course. The American people wish you success and offer you our cooperation in this great endeavor.

Americans, more than others, admire those who set great goals and strive to improve their lot. When that first American merchant ship set sail for China 200 years ago, our Forefathers were citizens of a weak republic living in an unexplored and undeveloped land. We Americans are proud of our accomplishments in these last 200 years, just as you are rightfully proud of the enormous contributions Chinese civilization has made to mankind.

As China moves forward to modernize and develop its economy, the United States is eager to join in a cooperative effort to share the American capabilities that helped turn our country from a vast wilderness into an industrial giant. Those American capabilities flow from the creative enterprise our society encourages. Our progress is based on what we have found to work. If it did not work, the American people, who are pragmatic by nature, would likely have abandoned it long ago.

China today, I understand, is taking its own practical approach. By increasing incentives and decentralizing decision-making, you are promoting innovation, creativity, and a better ability to adapt to local conditions. The responsibility system in agriculture has spurred increases in food production throughout China, and the special economic zones are providing dramatic examples of how incentives can raise productivity and offer bountiful opportunities for a better life.

In your drive for modernization, you have our best wishes. If you ask our advice, we can only answer with truth as we see it. But let me assure you, we want you to succeed. Having 1 billion people—nearly a quarter of mankind—healthy, well fed, clothed, and housed, educated, and given the opportunity for a higher standard of living, is in the interest of good and decent people everywhere. It is certainly in the interest of the American people, who wish to trade and be friends with the Chinese people.

Premier Zhao, as we're all well aware, our cooperation is based on more than simply the desire to improve our economies. Today the peace of the world is threatened by a major power that is focusing its resources and energies not on economic progress but, instead, on military power.

The shift in military might of the last decade has made trust and friendship between us even more vital. I know it is your desire, and that of the United States as well, that peace be preserved. We seek to better

the quality of life of our people, and that can be done only in a peaceful environment. War is the great destroyer of all the hopes of mankind.

To preserve the peace and protect our own sovereignty and independence, we stand together in opposing expansionism and hegemony. We stand together in support of the independence of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both of us seek to promote peace and reconciliation through dialog between South and North on the Korean Peninsula. Both of us seek the early independence of Namibia and an end to outside interference in the affairs of southern Africa. Although our prescriptions for getting there are quite different, we share a common desire for a resolution of the turmoil in the Middle East and Central America. Both of us seek an end to the use of chemical weapons and agree on the necessity of reducing nuclear arms.

A strong China, dedicated to peace, clearly is in the best interest of international stability and in the best interest of the United States. A robust and enduring friendship will bolster the security of both our countries without compromising the independence of either. It will be the trust between us that will keep us and the world at peace. In this, let us be of the same mind. And as a saying from "The Book of Changes" goes, "If two people are of the same mind, their sharpness can cut through metal."

It is the hope and prayer of the American people that someday there will no longer be a need for our nation to use any of its resources to produce weapons of any kind. The Chinese and American people are now showing the world by our example that there is a better way than hatred and violence.

Many of us in this room have seen much history in our lifetime. My own lifetime spans one-third of the history of the American Republic. Over the many years that God has permitted me to live, I have observed the changing nature of the relationship between our two countries.

At times, our feelings toward each other were hostile and negative. Today, we have the opportunity to keep our countries on a path of genuine good will that will reap rewards for generations to come. Let us not shy from the task. It will not be easy; yet, let us move forward so that someday when the young people of our countries reach a ripe old age, they will look back, and there will be no memory of a time when there was anything else but friendship and good feelings between the Chinese and American people. That is a gift we can give to them.

In our shared spirit of friendship, peace, and cooperation, I am delighted to note that both President Li and General Secretary Hu have accepted our invitation to visit the United States. We look forward to reciprocating the warm hospitality that we've been shown in your beautiful country.

And in that same spirit, permit me, Premier Zhao, to propose a toast. To your health, Mr. Premier, to the health of President and Mrs. Li who so graciously acted as our hosts yesterday, to the health of Chairman Deng, General Secretary Hu, and the other distinguished Chinese citizens it is my privilege to meet this week, and to the friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

Note: The President spoke at 7:23 p.m. in the Banquet Hall at the Great Hall of the People in response to a toast by Premier Zhao.

Statement by Principal Deputy Press Secretary Speakes on the Broadcast of the President's Remarks to Chinese Leaders
April 28, 1984

On Thursday we were informed by the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Chinese Central Television would carry the President's Friday

speech to Chinese leaders in full in a taped program in prime-time evening television Friday night. Late in the day Friday, Mr. Qi Huaiyuan, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, advised me that portions of the speech dealing with the Soviet Union would not be broadcast.

Last night we learned that the broadcast also omitted several other segments of the speech, including key passages dealing with the President's view of values that Americans cherish, including religion and democracy. We had made it clear to the Chinese Government prior to the trip that we hoped for an opportunity for the President to communicate with the Chinese people on the American approach to world affairs, its bases in our system, and the goals we seek in our relationship with the People's Republic.

The Chinese Government, which controls information in the country, has given the President extensive news coverage; certainly more than we would consider likely for most foreign leaders visiting the United States. The decision to delete material from the President's speech from the Chinese television broadcast and from other Chinese news media is an internal matter for the Chinese to decide, and we understand that. We, nevertheless, regret the fact that statements by the President which would have given the Chinese people a better understanding of our country and its people were not included in Chinese media coverage of the speech.

Interview With Representatives of Chinese Central Television in Beijing, China

April 28, 1984

Q. Mr. President, this year marks the bicentennial of the beginning of Sino-U.S. contacts and the fifth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. Mr. President, this visit at this time is, therefore, of exceptional significance. This is your first visit to China. Would you please, Mr. President, tell us your impression of the visit?

The President. Well, thank you, and may I say how pleased I am to visit your great and historic country. As a boy going to school in a small town in our Midwest, I used to dream of coming here. In those days China seemed a million miles away, and today modern jet travel gives us the privilege of seeing China, meeting your hard-working people and learning more about the progress that you're making, and visiting the many treasures of your civilization—one of the oldest in the world.

Permit me first to thank you on behalf of Nancy and myself for the warmth of your welcome. We journey to your country to make friends, but already you've made us feel that we are among friends, and you have touched our hearts. Our only regret is our visit will be so brief. It's a little like, as a Tang Dynasty poet once wrote, "looking at the flowers while riding on horseback." But I mentioned at the Great Hall yesterday that you have another saying from the book of Han that describes how Nancy and I feel: "To see a thing once is better than hearing about it a hundred times."

Our visit this year marks the 200th anniversary since the first American merchant ship called at a Chinese port. Two hundred years for your civilization seems like the blink of an eye, but for Americans they span the entire history of our Republic. Yes, your country is old while ours is young, and, yes, we speak different languages, have different customs, and our governments hold different political beliefs. But I believe if you could look beyond labels and into the homes and hearts of our people, you'd find they share many basic values, values with your own—values like the dignity of work, the importance of opportunity, the love and strength of family, reverence for elders, the dream of leaving a better life for our chil-

dren and our children's children, and finally our simple, heartfelt desire to be friends and to live together in peace.

Americans are people of peace. It's important you know that. We pose no threat to China or any nation. We have no troops massed on your borders. We occupy no lands. After World War II, we were the only undamaged industrial power, the only nation to harness the atom, and the only people with the power to conquer the world. But we didn't conquer anybody. We used our power to write a new chapter in history by helping rebuild the war-ravaged economies of both friends and foes. We love peace, and we cherish freedom, because we've learned time and again in place after place that economic growth and human progress make their greatest strides when people are secure and free to think, speak, worship, choose their own way, and reach for the stars.

We admire the progress your government has made in opening China's economy to the world and in providing more opportunities for your people to better their lives. And we've told your leaders that as the world's leading economy, the United States welcomes the chance to walk by China's side, sharing our technology and encouraging a greater flow of people, products, and ideas between our two countries.

Like China, the United States is a Pacific nation. A prosperous future is being built in the Pacific, and we're now your nation's third largest trading partner. We're working together to improve industrial, technological cooperation, increased trade and investment, and expand educational and cultural exchanges.

Let us resolve that communication, not confrontation, and commerce, not conflict, will always govern Chinese-American relations. If we do, there is no limit to the progress we can make by going forward hand in hand—*xieshou bingjin* [walk together hand in hand].

And now I'd be delighted to answer any more of your questions.

Q. Mr. President, the Chinese public expect that your visit will give an impetus to the steady and the sustained growth of Sino-U.S. relations. In your view, what concrete steps the Chinese and American sides should take to promote the further development of Sino-U.S. relations?

The President. Well, we've taken a number already. The progress that we have made with regard to trade agreements, that we're discussing right now with regard to protecting your people and ours against double taxation. We have arrived at an agreement on nuclear cooperation for peaceful energy, and at the same time we have agreed to prevent as much as we can by ourselves nuclear proliferation of weapons to other countries.

But we've had, I believe, five members of our Cabinet here in the last several months meeting with their counterparts in your government, working out everything from commerce and trade relations. Our Secretary of Defense has been here, our Secretary of State. We're discussing energy problems.

So, we'll continue along that path, finding all these areas of agreement and cooperation. And, as I say, we've made great progress already.

Q. Mr. President, both you and the Chinese leaders have expressed the desire for further development of Sino-U.S. relations. Everyone knows that the issue of Taiwan is a major obstacle to the development of our bilateral relations. It is also an important matter affecting the national feelings of 1 billion Chinese people. Could you please tell us how the United States intends to gradually remove this obstacle?

The President. Well, we believe that this is a problem of Chinese people on both sides of the straits to work out for themselves. It is true that we have a long historical relationship, a friendship with the people on Taiwan. We believe that the solution when it comes should be peaceful, and we do not believe that we should involve ourselves in this internal affair.

Our position, however, has been with the utmost sincerity. We want to go forward with friendship for the people of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, we don't believe that it would be right to cast aside longtime old friends in order to make new friends. But we will do anything we can to encourage the peaceful solution of this problem by the peoples of China.

Q. Mr. President, there is a great potential for Sino-U.S. economic cooperation. What measures the U.S. Government is prepared to adopt to promote further economic and technological cooperation between the two countries?

The President. Well, I believe I answered that in part on your previous question here. We are going forward. We have made great strides in providing high technology information and high technology itself in trade with the People's Republic of China, and we have an agricultural agreement now with regard to our grain sales to you. But we also have worked out agreements covering other forms of trade.

There are still some leftover prohibitions in some of our own laws, but we are working with the Congress—our own Congress—to eliminate those and have made great progress with that. And so, again, it's a case of continuing on the path that has already been started.

Q. For the last question, Mr. President, we would like to invite you to speak about your—perhaps your prediction for the prospects for the growth of Sino-U.S. relations in the future.

The President. Well, I am very optimistic about this growth of the relations that have already been started. And I think in my two previous questions—or your two previous questions—I left out one of the most important things that should be mentioned, and that is the development of relations in education, the exchange of students.

Just before I left the United States to come here, I met with a group of your students who are attending our colleges in the United States. There are some 12,000 in all, and we, at the same time, are looking forward to an exchange—our own students coming here. Of course, we also have a visitation in which roughly a hundred thousand of our people visit your country now with great interest and enjoyment.

So, this, I think, is one of the great things for the future, as our young people get to know each other. I have always said that our troubles begin when people are talking *about* each other instead of *to* each other. And if we can have our young people talking to each other, I'm very optimistic about the future.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President, for your accepting my interview.

The President. Well, it has been a great pleasure. I've enjoyed it. Thank you.

Note: The interview began at 9:14 a.m. in the Garden Room at the Diaoyutai State Guest House. It was taped for later use on Chinese television.

Remarks at a Reception for Members of the American Community in Beijing, China

April 28, 1984

And they thought I couldn't erase the deficit. [*Laughter*] Well, thank all of you for a very warm welcome. Nancy and I are delighted to be with you this evening. We've come to Beijing to strengthen America's ties, as you know, with China, something that each one of you has been doing very well already.

Now, about this honorary presidency: I greet it with mixed emotions—[*laughter*]—because once about 25 years after I'd gotten out of my alma mater, they had me back at commencement and gave me an honorary degree. And on that occasion, a sense of guilt that I'd been nursing for 25 years rose up and almost choked me, because I'd figured the first one they gave me was honorary. [*Laughter*] Now, if it's this easy, where will you all be along about next November? [*Laughter*]

Well, I'm sure that sometimes life as an American in Beijing can present challenges. But whatever difficulties you may face here, each of you is making history.

For more than two decades, as you know, the United States and China had no rela-

tions whatsoever. And then in 1972, President Nixon's trip to China and the Shanghai Communique broke that long silence. Our relationship since that time has been a force for peace in the world and will continue to serve that end. But at the same time, China and the United States recognize that we have many other areas of mutual interest, particularly since 1978, when Chinese leaders decided to foster the growth of the Chinese economy and open more to the West.

Since then, we've expanded our cultural exchanges. Last year, 150,000 Americans, as you probably know better than I do, visited China, and today more than 10,000 Chinese students are studying in the United States. And I had the pleasure of meeting with a small group of those just before coming here, and they were fine young people.

Just as significant, we've begun to form new economic bonds. Today more than a hundred American firms have offices in Beijing, and the Bank of China has an office in Manhattan. Just a few years ago, both would have been unthinkable.

Our visit here is intended to demonstrate the maturing of U.S.-China relations through four American administrations, and I think it's doing just that. Thursday, I met President Li; Friday, I had meetings with Premier Zhao and General Secretary Hu. And earlier today, I had extensive discussions with Chairman Deng.

While respecting the differences between us, the Chinese leaders and I have agreed to focus on all that unites us—our determination to resist foreign threats, the fundamental desire of our people to earn their livings and raise their families in prosperity and peace. The Chinese have made it clear that they want to multiply the economic ties between us. And we, in turn, have sought ways to promote the equitable export of high technology to China and work to promote more Chinese-American joint ventures.

When I return to the Great Hall on Monday morning, we'll have important new agreements to sign. And when I leave this country on Tuesday, the U.S.-China partnership will be stronger than ever.

Each of you is playing a vital role in this new and historic relationship. The diplomats among you are seeking new areas of agreement between our two countries and implementing the many agreements that we've already made. And those of you in business are making possible the export of raw materials and manufactures from China to America and the shipment to China of many American goods including products of our technology.

Many business people are involved in joint ventures like this dazzling new hotel. The expansion of these commercial ties is due in no small part to the efforts of the National Council for U.S.-China Trade.

Those of you who are teachers or students are helping the Chinese to understand not just the strength and prosperity of the United States but the open and peace-loving character of the American people. Day by day, each of you is helping to build a firm friendship between the most prosperous nation and the most populous nation on Earth. On behalf of all Americans, believe me, I thank you.

Now, I know that many of you haven't been home in some time, so I thought you'd like to hear that it's beautiful springtime in America. The magnolias are out in Washington. The azaleas are in full bloom in California. Of course, you know that that doesn't mean all that it sounds like, because those of us who are Californians know the truth of a statement made by the great comic, Joe Friscoe, once. Joe said that "California is the only place in the world," he said, "where you can fall asleep under a rosebush in full bloom and freeze to death." [*Laughter*]

Well, earlier this month, I threw out the first ball at the opening game of the Orioles in Baltimore. Then the Orioles lost the game. [*Laughter*] Since then, I haven't had any offers to turn pro. [*Laughter*]

The economy is still expanding briskly with leading indicators showing the expansion is here to stay. And polls tell us the national mood is the brightest that it's been in 5 years. Americans this springtime are proud of themselves, their jobs, and their country, and they're facing the future with confidence and courage.

So, as you go about your work here in this great city, you can rest assured that folks back in the States are doing just fine. And

you can take pride in the knowledge that, although you're far from home, you're advancing the causes of world peace and international prosperity that are so close to your country's heart.

Before I leave, I just have to tell you a little incident. You all know, of course, about the Grenada rescue mission. And, incidentally, to those who have been trying to call it something ulterior like an invasion or something else, we had the great thrill—Nancy and I—of having several hundred of those medical students from Grenada who were rescued by our Armed Forces at the South Lawn of the White House and some of the first returnees among the troops of all four branches who were part of that rescue mission there.

And it would have put a lump in your throat to see these young people—and many of them frankly telling you that they were from an era where they didn't look with kindliness on the uniform; they didn't take to it. But they couldn't keep their hands off those youngsters their own age there on the South Lawn, and they would come hug them, come back and tell us, "They saved our lives" and all.

Well, some days later, I got a message from the Armed Forces Journal in the Pentagon. They'd received a letter from a young marine pilot of a Cobra helicopter who had been at Grenada and then went on to Beirut. And after he got there, he wrote back to the Armed Forces Journal. And he said that every story that he read in the press about that incident, in every story, they said Grenada produces more nutmeg than any other spot on Earth. And he decided it appeared so often, it was a code. And he was going to break the code.

So, he wrote back to say he had broken the code. He said Grenada does produce more nutmeg than any other spot on Earth. The Soviets and the Cubans are trying to take Grenada. He said, "You can't have good eggnog without nutmeg." [*Laughter*] And he said, "You can't have Christmas without eggnog. So, the Soviets and the Cubans were out to steal Christmas." [*Laughter*] And his sixth and final point was, he said, "We stopped them." [*Laughter*]

I know that we have to move on here, but this has been most wonderful, and I thank you very much for the honor that you've done me and for giving me the seal. And now, just as soon as I find out from the Treasury, I'll settle some other problems—[*laughter*]—that have been bothering us.

Thank you all very much, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. in the atrium at the Great Wall Hotel. Attending the reception were members of the American Club, a group of Americans living in China. The President was introduced by William Clarke, president of the club, who presented the President with a chop bearing the official American Club seal.

The President's opening comment regarding the deficit was in response to Mr. Clarke's remark that the President could issue orders and have access to the club's treasury with the chop.

Toast at a Dinner Honoring Premier Zhao Ziyang of China in Beijing

April 28, 1984

Premier Zhao, ladies and gentlemen, Nancy and I are delighted to welcome you here tonight. We hope to return in at least a small way the kind hospitality that has been extended to us since we set foot in this magnificent city.

For Americans, Mr. Premier, the very mention of China holds a sense of allure. It conjures up images of the Yangtze River alive with traditional *fanchuan* [sailboat] and modern steamers, with the wide deserts of the north, of the bamboo forests in the southwest that are home to pandas, golden monkeys, and so many other animals

native only to China, of the rich, productive fields and farmlands of the east, and of the huge cities like Beijing and Shanghai.

All these provide a sharp contrast with America and remind us of China's sweep and vitality. Yet what strikes us most, perhaps, is the sense of China's history. Chinese records date back 3,500 years. Kingdoms rose and fell in China long before we in the West saw the rise and fall of Rome. And your people were creating and building architectural wonders more than a thousand years before Christopher Columbus discovered America.

By contrast, Mr. Premier, it was barely four centuries ago that the first European settlers landed on our eastern coast. These hardy men and women and those who followed them came from virtually every nation in Europe. They felled trees, planted crops, built towns, and established legislatures. Later, many thousands came from China and joined the pioneers who were establishing farms and towns in the American West.

I have to interject here and think if they had only come earlier and the earliest had come from across the Pacific instead of the Atlantic, the Capitol would now be in California. [*Laughter*]

But together these diverse peoples built a great and free nation. Today that nation represents a powerful force for peace in the world and is leading a technological revolution that ranges from tiny microchips to voyages through the vastness of space.

Our national experience has instilled in all Americans certain fundamental beliefs. It has taught us that for a nation to prosper there must be peace, and that for men and women to work together, they must respect each other's rights. And just as these beliefs guide our dealings with one another, they've guided us from the first in our dealings with other nations.

Just over a century ago, Ulysses S. Grant, then a former President, came to China and described America's foreign policy goals to the Chinese leaders of that time. "We believe," he said, "that fair play, consideration for the rights of others, and respect for international law will always command the respect of nations and lead to peace. I know of no other consideration that enters into our foreign relations."

Well, the policy that President Grant described then remains our policy now. For nearly four decades, the United States and her allies have kept the peace in Europe. Throughout the world, the United States is supporting the causes of national self-determination and economic progress. And in the interest of peace for our children and our children's children, we're working to achieve an equitable and balanced reduction of nuclear arms.

Our aims and commitments are fully consistent with the sovereignty, independence, and economic development of all nations, including China. We seek no expansion but the expansion of good will and opportunity; no victory but the victory of peace.

China and the United States, Mr. Premier, differ markedly in their values, forms of government, and economic systems. To ignore or understate our differences would be to do an injustice to both. But we both believe that despite our differences our people are united in their desire to resist foreign threats, raise their families in prosperity and peace, and go as far in this life as their intelligence and imagination might take them. We hold more than enough in common to provide firm ground on which we can work together for the benefit of both.

In the 12 years since the long silence between our nations was broken by the signing of the Shanghai Communique, China and America have begun a productive partnership. Our cooperation has helped to provide a counterbalance to aggressive world forces. In recent years, we have formed new and important bonds in other fields as well, expanding our cultural and academic exchanges.

One figure tells a big part of the story. Just 5 years ago, there were no more than a handful of Chinese and Americans studying in each other's countries. Since then, several hundred American scholars have come to China, and more than 10,000 Chinese students have gone to America. These students are forming the ties of friendship and understanding on which the future of our relationship depends.

At the same time, our two nations have

begun economic exchanges that are growing in importance every day. Today China exports tons of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured goods to the United States each year. America in turn supplies China with grain, transportation equipment, and scientific instruments, and the United States is helping China to acquire the capital and technology so vital to a growing economy. Already, some of the many joint Chinese-American business ventures have begun to bear fruit. This magnificent hotel is the outcome of just such a joint venture.

As our relationship has matured, Mr. Premier, both our nations have undergone important changes. In the past 12 years, we in the United States have had four Presidential administrations. Each has worked steadfastly to improve the Chinese-American friendship. Here in China, you, too, have had changes in leadership. But you, too, have remained firmly committed to the friendship between our nations. We in the United States are particularly pleased by the new emphasis on economic development. We congratulate you, Mr. Premier, and the other Chinese leaders who have worked so diligently and boldly to improve the lives of the Chinese people. We recognize that it took courage to set these policies in place. And you have our pledge to give you our full cooperation as you modernize your nation's economy.

To view China and the United States as immense lands a world apart is to see one aspect of the truth. But in this century, there's another view that is even more meaningful. It is the view of a small green and blue ball spinning in the darkness of space—a sight that has so deeply moved all who have seen it. That view is a view of the future, for it shows one planet, our planet, where all nations seem as close neighbors. Our two nations, Mr. Premier, are firmly committed to that future.

So, ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast. To your health, Mr. Premier; to the health of President Li, General Secretary Hu, Chairman Deng, and the other Chinese leaders I've been privileged to meet; and to the everlasting friendship of the Chinese and American people.

And if I say the final word that I was going to say, with the glass that I will hold in my hand—I'm afraid we can't do it. I was going to say *gan bei* [bottoms up]. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 9:28 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Great Wall Hotel.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Trip to China
April 28, 1984

My fellow Americans:

I'm sure you've heard that Nancy and I are traveling a long way from home this week. We've already flown more than 9,000 miles, stopping off in the beautiful islands of Hawaii to visit the citizens of our 50th State; and then across the International Dateline to Guam, where the rays of each sunrise first touch the Stars and Stripes; and then on to our primary destination, China, one of the world's oldest civilizations and a country of great importance in today's Pacific community of nations.

This is our second trip to Asia in the last 6 months. It demonstrates our awareness of America's responsibility as a Pacific leader in the search for regional security and economic well-being. The stability and prosperity of this region are of crucial importance to the United States. The nations comprising the Pacific Basin represent our fastest growing trading markets. Many say that the 21st century will be the century of the Pacific.

Our relations with China have continued to develop through the last four administrations, ever since President Nixon made his historic journey here in 1972. In 1978 the Chinese leadership decided to chart a new course for their country, permitting more

economic freedom for the people in an effort to modernize their economy. Not surprisingly, the results have been positive.

Today China's efforts to modernize, foster the spirit of enterprise, open its doors to the West, and expand areas of mutual cooperation while opposing Soviet aggression make it a nation of increasing importance to America and to prospects for peace and prosperity in the Pacific.

When Nancy and I arrived in Beijing, we were touched by the friendly hospitality of the Chinese people, and we've been delighted to see the sweeping vistas, the bustling activity, and the many hallmarks of history in this great, old city.

In Beijing, narrow residential streets, traditional one-story houses, and treasures like the Forbidden City, a former Imperial Palace, first erected in 1420, are interspersed with modern highrises and wide avenues. The streets are normally filled with people riding bicycles. All of you who like bikeriding would love Beijing.

From the first moment, our schedule has been fully packed. I've already had extensive meetings with the Chinese leaders—President Li, Prime Minister Zhao, General Secretary Hu, and Chairman Deng. I had the honor of addressing a large group of Chinese and American leaders in science and industry in the Great Hall of the People, and I've spoken to the people of China over Chinese television.

We've also squeezed in some side trips—first, to the magnificent Great Wall, built by the Chinese more than 2,000 years ago to protect their country from outside invaders; and tomorrow, to the ancient city of Xi'an, an archeological treasure considered the cradle of Chinese civilization and located in a fertile plain near the Yellow River.

In all of our meetings and appearances, I've stressed one overriding point—different as to our two forms of government—different as they may be, the common interests that bind our two peoples are even greater. Namely, our determination to build a better life and to resist aggressors who violate the rights of law-abiding nations and endanger world peace.

When people have the opportunity to communicate, cooperate, and engage in commerce, they can often produce astonishing results. We've already agreed to cooperate more closely in the areas of trade, technology, investment, and exchange of scientific and managerial expertise. And we've reached an important agreement on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic development.

Our last stop in China will be Shanghai, a center of culture and commerce. We plan to visit the Shanghai Foxboro Company, where Americans and Chinese are making high technology equipment to help advance China's industries. And I'll also visit with the students at Fudan University and speak to them about the meaning of America, the challenges our people face, and the dreams we share.

We can learn much from the rich history of China and from the wisdom and character of her people. And I've told the Chinese that Americans are people of peace, filled with the spirit of innovation and a passion for progress to make tomorrow better than today.

Our two nations are poised to take an historic step forward on the path of peaceful cooperation and economic development. I'm confident that our trip will be a significant success, resulting in a stronger U.S.-China relationship than before. For Americans, this will mean more jobs and a better chance for a peaceful world.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President recorded his address at the Diaoyutai State Guest House on Saturday, April 28, Beijing time, for broadcast on Saturday, April 28, in the United States.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release, which was released by the Office of the Press Secretary in Beijing on April 29.

Remarks at a Signing Ceremony for Four United States-China Agreements
April 30, 1984

Thank you, Premier Zhao.

The developing relationship between China and the United States has been one of the principal events of postwar diplomacy. And today we're taking further steps to broaden and strengthen the ties based on shared principles of mutual respect and mutual benefit. We're concluding new accords that will facilitate trade and investment, enhance the exchange of people and ideas between our countries, expand the prospects for cooperation in developing China's nuclear energy capability, and help address China's critical need for developing skilled managers.

First, we're signing a tax agreement that will make it easier for Chinese and American firms to engage in trade and cooperate in joint ventures. With this agreement, private investors in professional exchanges can make a stronger contribution to Chinese development and to the benefit of both of our nations.

We're also signing the implementing accord for the Cultural Agreement between the United States and China. Our visit has reinforced our appreciation for Chinese hospitality and for China's ancient and honorable culture. I'm delighted that now millions of other Americans will be able to see the artistic and cultural achievements of the Chinese people.

This accord will open my own country's rich heritage to the Chinese people. And under the terms of the agreement, an exhibit from the Brooklyn Museum of Art is just now opening here in Beijing. We're pleased that many Chinese people will be able to see more American art and culture and learn more about our people and our country.

Ambassador Richard Kennedy and State Science and Technology Commissioner Jia Weiwen are initialing the text of an agreement, as the Premier told us, for cooperation between the United States and China in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. We congratulate the negotiators for their hard work and diligence. This agreement will permit American firms and experts to help China meet the ambitious energy goals of its modernization program. Our agreement is based on our shared desire to prevent the proliferation of nuclear explosives in the world. And it brings a new dimension of peaceful cooperation to our relationship.

Finally, we are signing a protocol which extends the successful Dalien Program and creates a special new 3-year course in management.

The Chinese people are known to Americans as people of admirable patience and endless courtesy. Throughout our stay here, we have seen both of those virtues. Let us hope that as contacts grow between the Chinese and American people, each of us will continue to learn about the other, and this important, new friendship of ours will mature and prosper.

Note: The President spoke at 9:03 a.m. in the Western Hall at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, China.

Premier Zhao Ziyang also made remarks.

Text of the United States-China Accord for Cultural Exchange
April 30, 1984

Implementing Accord for Cultural Exchange in 1984 and 1985 Under the Cultural Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Peo-

could to support the Taiwan government. America's position regarding his country's status was changing. The U.S. delegation had worked hard to get a "Dual Representation" policy through the General Assembly, but in the end it was a different kind of "Dual Representation" policy—Washington's ambivalence on the question of recognizing Beijing—that had undercut the case we tried to make to save Taiwan.

In the summer of 1971, Henry Kissinger had made the secret visit to Beijing that first signaled the change in U.S. policy. Then, not long before the debate on Taiwan's status in the General Assembly, Washington announced that President Nixon would visit China in 1972.

The news was seen in the White House and State Department as a historic breakthrough. But at the operational level of U.S. policy in the U.N., we were asking neutral nations to stand firm against Beijing, while softening our own policy toward Mao's regime.

Despite my personal feelings about Taiwan's expulsion, the long-range wisdom of having the People's Republic of China in the U.N. and of opening diplomatic contacts with Beijing was obvious. I understood what the President and Henry Kissinger were trying to accomplish. What was harder to understand was Henry's telling me he was "disappointed" by the final outcome of the Taiwan vote. So was I. But given the fact that we were saying one thing in New York and doing another in Washington, that outcome was inevitable.

The delegation from the People's Republic of China arrived in New York City in their drab gray Mao jackets* on November 11. It

* Actually, "Sun" jackets, after Sun Yat-sen, the father of modern China. A few years later, when I was U.S. envoy to Beijing, I made some mention of "Mao jackets" and was corrected by a Chinese, who quickly informed me that Sun, not Mao, was the first to wear them. The fact that both the Taiwan government and Beijing government claimed Sun as the founder of their movements points up the complexity of Chinese politics and the danger of trying to jump to easy conclusions about Chinese policy and intentions at any given time.

was my first direct exposure to the Communist Chinese. I was in for some geopolitical surprises.

It came as no surprise when the P.R.C.'s Deputy Foreign Minister, Qiao Guanhua, denounced the United States in his first formal address to the U.N. General Assembly. But while knowing that the two Communist powers had serious differences, I didn't appreciate the antagonism the Chinese felt toward the Russians, until he spent an equal amount of time denouncing the Soviet Union. A cartoon appeared in the next day's paper showing Malik and me at our desks, grimacing while Qiao dumped a bucket of rice over both our heads.

Qiao's speech was only the beginning of my education into the true state of Chinese-Soviet relations, however. The real surprise—that they merely disliked us, but despised the Russians—came when China's U.N. ambassador, Huang Hua, attended his first informal session of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The session took place at the apartment of the French ambassador, Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet. Huang Hua and I had already met in one of those carefully planned scenarios laid out by State Department protocol experts. Because the United States didn't formally recognize the Beijing government, my meeting with representatives of the P.R.C. would have to appear casual, not preplanned.

I seated myself in the U.N. delegate's lounge, at a place where Qiao Guanhua and Huang Hua would have to pass on their way in. Then, as they came by, I rose, extended my hand, and introduced myself—cordially but not effusively.

They each shook my hand, cordially but not effusively. The "spontaneous" introductions over, we went our ways; but it was important that the Chinese ambassador and I talk to each other occasionally, because our two countries, despite having no formal diplomatic relations, had areas of common interest.

Now Kosciusko-Morizet, having greeted Huang Hua at the door of his apartment, was ushering him into the living room,

where Sir Colin Crowe, Yakov Malik, and I were waiting. Huang was introduced to Sir Colin, shook his hand, then to me, and shook my hand. Then Malik held out his hand. I saw Huang Hua put his hand forward; but on hearing the words "Soviet ambassador," he jerked it back, pivoted, and walked away.

The insult couldn't have been more calculated. Huang knew before he came that Malik would be there. He was giving the Russian a strong taste of the medicine Malik liked to dish out on meeting newcomers—except that the Chinese weren't merely probing to see how far they could push the Russians. I realized Huang's act was a deliberate, open display to the other major powers that the Chinese considered Soviet "hegemony"—even more than American "imperialism"—the greatest threat to their country's security.

Malik, his hand extended in midair, turned a livid shade of purple. It was as if Huang had struck him with the back of his hand. At that moment—it couldn't have been more than a few seconds, though it seemed longer—the tension in the room was impossible to describe. Not a word, just heavy breathing. Then our French host, in full flap, moved rapidly toward the dining room, waving and calling out, *"Allons, allons,* let's begin the meeting."

The five of us took our places at the table—the two Communist ambassadors seated a safe distance from each other—and we went on to have a relatively civil discussion. But years later, when I was sent to Beijing as U.S. envoy, the impact of that meeting stayed with me.

The last time an ambassador had refused to shake hands with a Soviet diplomat had been when Henry Cabot Lodge turned away from Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky in the 1950s, at the height of American-Russian Cold War tensions. What I learned in the French ambassador's living room was that no matter what the state of détente between the United States and the Soviets, there was another Cold War taking place in the world—one between the world's two biggest Communist powers.

BEIJING*/*1975*

After only a month on the job, I was facing my first major diplomatic challenge as chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Mao's China: Henry Kissinger was coming to town.

1989
1975
14 yrs. ago

In the mid-1970s, if you were a member of the Ford administration and uttered the word "China," you knew that wherever he was at the moment—Cairo, Jerusalem, Paris—Henry Kissinger's antennae would quiver. China was Henry's private diplomatic domain, the scene of his greatest diplomatic exploit.

Four years had passed since Kissinger's surprise trip to Beijing, the first step in President Nixon's historic China initiative. Nixon was gone, but his Secretary of State was still guiding U.S. foreign policy in general and China policy in particular.

I quickly learned that after taking over David Bruce's job as United States envoy to the People's Republic.

The appointment came when President Ford invited me to the Oval Office to talk about what role I might play in his new administration. The first role I'd been considered for—Vice President—had gone to Nelson Rockefeller. Before announcing his choice of Rockefeller, Ford had phoned to give me the news. At that time, he mentioned our getting together as soon as possible to "discuss the future."

The future. As far as Barbara and I were concerned, the best

* Called Peking at the time Barbara and I were there, but to avoid confusion contemporary spelling of Chinese proper names is used here.

"future" we could imagine was one that took us as far as possible from the immediate past. Serving as Republican National Committee chairman during the last months of the Nixon administration had been a political nightmare. Much as we liked Washington, this seemed a perfect time to get away from the city, if the right job offer came along.

When I visited the Oval Office, the President thanked me for the service I'd given the party as RNC chairman, then mentioned the fact that two key diplomatic posts were about to open up. Ambassador to Great Britain and Ambassador to France.

But I had something else in mind. David Bruce was planning to leave his post as head of the U.S. Liaison Office (USLO) in China. Given a choice, I told the President, that was the job I wanted.

Ford finished tamping his pipe, then looked up. "China?" he said, obviously surprised.

I repeated: China—if and when it was available.

Barbara and I had talked it over. We'd come to a decision much like the one we made in 1948. Back then we decided not to do the traditional thing, but to head for the West. We now agreed that if the President gave me a choice of overseas assignments, the thing to do was head for the Far East. An important, coveted post like London or Paris would be good for the résumé, but Beijing was a challenge, a journey into the unknown. A new China was emerging, and the relationship between the United States and the People's Republic would be crucial in the years to come, not just in terms of Asian but of worldwide American policy.

The United States didn't maintain formal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic at the time, so my appointment wouldn't need Senate confirmation.* But it would need Henry's cooperation, because nothing in the U.S. Government that touched on China passed without his inspection and approval.

Henry was so apprehensive about the possibility of "leaks" concerning the Sino-American relationship that the State Depart-

* Because I'd been ambassador to the United Nations I carried the title "ambassador" to China.

ment and National Security Council briefings for my new job were conducted in a lock-and-key atmosphere.

Some of the most important papers I needed to know about—fundamental documents like Nixon's conversations with Mao that led to the Shanghai Communique of 1972—were closely held by Henry's staff. So closely held that I could read them only inside the private office of Richard Solomon, senior staff member of the National Security Council and one of our top China experts.

Kissinger's academic specialty was European, not Asian, affairs, but he viewed United States–China relations in a context of global strategy and security. The word was out that China policy was to be handled only by him and his closest aides: Solomon; Philip Habib, then Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and Winston Lord, director of the State Department's Foreign Planning staff.

Henry assured me before I left for China that I'd be kept fully informed by him and his staff on everything that transpired between the United States and China. Most of the action along this front came not in Beijing but Washington, where he met frequently with Ambassador Huang Zhen, my counterpart in the Chinese Liaison Office. I'd learn, as had David Bruce, that it took a bureaucratic battle with the State Department to get any information about the Secretary's private talks with the Chinese.

My briefings ended in mid-September, 1974, and Barbara and I headed toward our new assignment, with a new member of the family in the airplane hold, C. Fred Bush.

C. Fred was named after our Midland, and later Houston, friend, C. Fred Chambers. When Barbara had asked Ambassador Huang whether it would be all right to bring our new family dog with us to Beijing, we got our first hint of the culture shock we were about to meet in our new assignment.

"A dog?" said Huang, nodding. "Yes, of course, bring him." Then: "He isn't a *sleeve* dog, is he?" This, we learned, is the Chinese expression for the small pekinese that the old Manchu mandarins used to carry in their sleeves. Pre-Revolutionary "sleeve dogs" weren't appreciated in Mao's China.

C. Fred passed that test, but after our arrival in China he turned out to be something of a culture shock to the Chinese. Dogs have been a rarity in China, ever since the People's Republic began a canine extermination program after the civil war of the 1940s to check the spread of disease. When we'd take Fred for walks, some Chinese were confused, pointing to him and saying, *"Mao!"*, the Chinese word for cat. Others were simply curious, and a few were terrified. Practically the first sentence Barbara learned to say in Chinese was "Don't worry, he's only a little dog and he doesn't bite."

Not that dogs are entirely unacceptable in modern China. At a dinner we attended shortly after our arrival, an item was described on the official menu as "fragrant meat." After we came home and showed the menu to a staff member familiar with Chinese culture, he explained that what we'd just eaten was "the upper lip of a wild dog."

The Kissinger visit was coming after a month of settling into my new post and getting acquainted with the thirty-member USLO staff, headed by John Holdridge, deputy chief of mission. John, a onetime college athlete who stood well over six feet, was an impressive presence at diplomatic functions. He was a China scholar who later became U.S. ambassador to Singapore, then Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. Other top-level staff members included Don Anderson, our expert in Chinese political affairs, the head of our economic section—first Herbert Horowitz, later Bill Thomas and my executive assistant, Jennifer Fitzgerald.

Anderson's job had to be one of the most frustrating diplomatic assignments in the U.S. foreign service. He was supposed to figure out what was going on politically in a country with a centuries-old tradition of secrecy in government. Don and his deputies searched for the slightest clue that some Chinese leader was rising or falling in status. They were experts in the protocol of Chinese leadership. *Was some leader not mentioned in a news story about the dedication of a new building in his city of birth? Was a Chinese deputy minister sent to an international conference, instead of his boss? Why hasn't so-and-so been heard from in over three months? Who's up, who's down?*

Being briefed by Don and his political section on the subtlety of Chinese politics, I couldn't help thinking what a field day Evans and Novak, Sam Donaldson, and other American political pundits would have if they could cover Beijing the way they cover Washington.

After getting to know the USLO staff, my next assignment had been to start meeting some of the Chinese leaders Don Anderson's department told me about. The first high-ranking Chinese official I called on was one I'd known from my days at the U.N.—Qiao Guanhua.

Qiao was then the vice minister of foreign affairs who'd led the first People's Republic delegation to the U.N. in 1972. He'd introduced his country to the world body with a speech that impartially ripped into the United States and Soviet Union. He was the figure shown in the following day's newspaper cartoon, emptying a rice bowl over both my head and Yakov Malik's.

That was Qiao the tough diplomat. Later, I found out there was a Qiao the quiet diplomat, who was interested in pursuing his country's policy of improved relations with the United States. We got to know each other over informal dinners.

Qiao, who had since risen to become Foreign Minister, remembered those U.N. days when I made my first official call on him as head of the U.S. Liaison Office. Not long after that, he hosted a family-style dinner for Barbara and me. Political experts in other foreign embassies in Beijing, particularly the Soviet embassy, probably took note and started drawing conclusions. No doubt Qiao had that in mind when he planned the dinner

Educated in Germany, Qiao spoke excellent English. He was married to Zhang Hanzhi, a high-level official at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, a brilliant, attractive woman who wore a Western-style hairdo, unusual in Mao's China. Unlike many other Chinese leaders, Qiao was at ease when he talked to foreigners. He could be gracious, but also blunt, and was frequently compared to Premier Zhou Enlai.

Later, both Qiao and his wife would lose power for a combination of reasons. He sided with the anti-Deng faction during a

period of upheaval. She was too close to Jiang Ging, Mao's wife and later a leader of the "Gang of Four." When the "Gang" was purged in the autumn of 1976 and Deng returned to power, Qiao and his wife went the way of all Chinese leaders who back the wrong faction.

But when I arrived in Beijing two years earlier, in the autumn of 1974, Qiao was a rising power in China, a man Western diplomats wanted to see and talk to because of his own brilliance and frankness.

We discussed Kissinger's coming visit, and I could tell by the way Qiao talked about Henry that the Chinese held the American Secretary of State in high esteem. From what I gathered, the Chinese leaders felt that Henry had a better understanding of them—and the Russians—than any other top-level Western diplomat. When the huge blue-and-white Kissinger jet bearing the Seal of the United States touched down, the Beijing airport couldn't have been more crowded if the President of the United States himself had been arriving.

For a split second, when the door to the jet opened, I thought it was the President who'd arrived. The first people off the plane were Henry's security men. I stopped counting after half a dozen.

"So many," commented Nancy Tang, the official Chinese Government interpreter, as the Kissinger Secret Service team fanned out across the tarmac. The number did seem excessive in a country so tightly controlled that the American Secretary of State's security was virtually guaranteed by his hosts.

Now Henry himself was climbing down the plane ramp, accompanied by his wife Nancy and his two children, David and Elizabeth. There were warm greetings at planeside, after which the Kissinger party climbed into an official black car and moved off, in a cloud of dust, to the government guesthouses on the eastern outskirts of Beijing.

Literally in a cloud of dust. For all Beijing's historic grandeur, a month there had reminded Barbara and me of life on East Seventh Street in Odessa, Texas, in 1948. Like Odessa, the Chinese capital lies in the center of a great plain. Unpaved side streets make for

limited visibility when the winds kick up. C. Fred's color had already been altered from bright natural gold to dull gray. I had a cold—if not actually triggered by dust, then aggravated by it.

We arrived at the guesthouses where the Kissingers were staying. Henry was in an expansive mood, trading pleasantries with his Chinese hosts. I'd seen him like this on other occasions. Whenever he was center stage, the Secretary seemed to come alive, like a political candidate working a crowd back home.

To save commuting time—traveling through and around the million bicycles that operated between the USLO and the Kissingers' quarters—Barbara and I were temporarily staying at a nearby guesthouse. One of our Chinese hosts pointedly reminded us that we'd been assigned quarters in Guest House 18, the same quarters President Nixon had stayed in during his first visit to China, in February 1972.

The guesthouses were comfortable, though not lavish. Like most hostelries in China, they came provisioned with everything a foreign traveler might need: pens, ink, writing paper, bathrobes, slippers, cosmetics, even toothbrushes and toothpaste. In the lull before our first official function, Barbara sat down to write a letter home. When she'd finished addressing the envelope and got ready to apply the Chinese stamps—which seldom come with glue on the back side—she looked around, then commented, "Everything's here but the glue."

There were only two other people in the room at the time: John Holdridge and I. The next day a bottle of glue was in place on the desk.

The Kissinger visit included top-level talks with Vice Premier Deng and Foreign Minister Qiao, meetings that gave me a rare opportunity to pick up information about the latest developments in Sino-American relations. Information, I'd come to realize after four weeks on the job, was hard to come by for an ambassador to China.

It wasn't my problem alone—the fact that Henry's staff in

Washington was reluctant to share what they knew. That was true, but other diplomats in Beijing proved to be equally hungry for facts, speculation, even rumors about what was going on. A veil of secrecy surrounded diplomatic life in China, and after Kissinger left, my appointment book was filled with visits from other ambassadors scrambling for any inside information they could get.

According to one theory held by the ambassador from Nepal, there were certain advantages to being a new envoy to Beijing. A fresh perspective, he said. "I've been here ten years," he remarked, "and I think I actually know less about the Chinese than when I arrived."

Foreign ambassadors soon learned that Chinese diplomacy transforms the cryptic phrase into an art form. Send in a request to see a high-level Chinese official and you may be rejected in one of three ways—all polite.

First, you might be told that such a meeting was "not convenient." That meant, you would see the official when hell freezes over.

Second, your request might be accepted "in principle." That meant, don't hold your breath.

Third, you might be told such a meeting was "possible, but it might take a while." Since Chinese measure time differently than impatient Westerners, "a while" might mean anything from five to twenty years.

Like other ambassadors stationed in Beijing, I soon discovered that there was more than one kind of Chinese Wall. It was impossible to pick up a phone and ask a Chinese official for a meeting to discuss some international issue. The rule was: Don't call us, we'll call you.

The Wall got particularly frustrating at times for someone who had arrived in China eager to learn about the country and its people. If diplomacy means anything at all, it's establishing contact. But the Chinese bureaucracy saw it differently.

Not long after our arrival in Beijing, for example, a team of medical experts arrived from the United States. The team was interested in the tropical disease bilharzia, or snail fever. Since the

disease was prevalent in China, anything the experts learned about it was bound to help the Chinese. So it seemed to me as U.S. ambassador.

The Chinese greeted members of the delegation warmly. They gave them the full treatment of special sightseeing tours and succulent banquets. Days passed, with the American experts sightseeing and gaining weight from eating well. But the purpose of their visit had hit a snag. They could see the Great Wall and the Forbidden City but not the one thing in China they'd come to see. Only after numerous requests—and finally complaints—did the Chinese bureaucracy break down and permit the Americans to examine their native snails.

As far as the Chinese were concerned, foreign visitors were in their country to learn only what their hosts wanted them to learn. Their usual technique was simply to limit visitors' access to information; but there was a Potemkin village variation reserved for special visitors like the Kissingers.

Toward the end of the Kissinger family's five-day visit, a trip was arranged to the city of Suzhou, a place famous for its embroideries, located halfway between Beijing and Shanghai. We all took off from Beijing airport in two British-built Trident jets furnished by our hosts. Lynn Pascoe of the USLO had been to the city only a week before, escorting a group of American university presidents. He reported that it was as cluttered with bicycle and truck traffic as Beijing.

But not on the day we came to Suzhou with the Kissingers. As we drove down empty streets, there were no vehicles, no pedestrians. Under similar circumstances, Bill Buckley, visiting China with a group of journalists, asked his guide where all the people were. "The what?" asked the guide. "The people," replied Bill. "You know, as in *People's* Republic of China."

As the Kissingers and Bushes drove down the main boulevards of Suzhou, I could see masses of people huddled on side streets, held back by barricades. Whatever the Chinese Government's reason for clearing the streets during our visit, it was an

eerie, even frightening demonstration of how a totalitarian government can control its population.

The Potemkin variation came at one of Suzhou's parks, where we saw a group of small children playing, laughing, and singing in what was obviously a well-rehearsed, choreographed scene. Our suspicions were confirmed when, after we returned to our cars, the park suddenly fell silent. The scene was over; the kids had done their duty for Chairman Mao.*

Two days later the Kissingers were flying back to Washington and life around the USLO compound returned to normal. Under my predecessor David Bruce, that meant acting simply as a United States observer and point of contact on the Beijing diplomatic scene. He felt that the lack of formal relations between the United States and the People's Republic called for a low-key operation.

Kissinger obviously agreed. When Henry heard I'd turned down the ambassador's posts in London and Paris in order to go to Beijing, he was baffled. "There'll be some substantive work from time to time," he said, outlining my duties as chief of the USLO, "but for the most part you'll be bored beyond belief."

Considering the strictures that Chinese authorities put on the diplomatic community, that might have proven true under "normal" conditions. But after examining the job's limits and potential, I set out to redefine what "normal" conditions would be around the USLO.

The compound itself, located in a section of Beijing set aside for embassies, is built in a style reminiscent of Southern California architecture in the 1920s: Sunset Boulevard—one part Spanish, one part Oriental. Two green-uniformed soldiers of the People's Liberation Army stood guard at the gate.

* It was only the first of many such scenes Barbara and I were to witness during our stay in China. Regimentation and dogma permeate the Chinese educational system. On one trip to a provincial school, we were guests at a kids' performance featuring songs like "I'm Longing to Grow a Pair of Industrial Hands" and "I Want to Hurry and Grow Up So I Can Fight for the Revolution." Popular adult songs while we were in Beijing—a period when Mao's wife was in charge of cultural affairs—were "Baritone Solo to Be Loaded with Friendship and Carried Abroad by Sailors in Chinese-Made Ships" and "The Red Sunshine Lighted Up the Platform Around the Steel Furnace." Fortunately for the Chinese, cultural restrictions were relaxed after the fall of the Gang of Four. They can now balance their ideological diet with music from other parts of the world. And their talented artists are enjoying more freedom.

Inside the compound is a small consular building and next to that the residence of the chief of the mission. The house itself is open and well lighted, with reception and dining rooms on the ground floor. Our private quarters were upstairs.

There was a six-member house staff—two cooks, two attendants, two cleaning women. The head of the staff was Mr. Wong, a young man in his twenties, pleasant but with a rigid sense of order. Our head cook, Mr. Sun, was a culinary artist, said to be one of the best in Beijing. Other embassies weren't as lucky. One ambassador's wife constantly complained to the Chinese protocol office about how poor their cook was. Eventually the Chinese got around to removing him—but not happily. They didn't send a replacement for weeks, leaving the ambassador's wife to do her own cooking.

For transportation, the chief of mission was provided a Chrysler sedan, and at first Barbara and I used it. But within a month I took my first step in breaking the mold on what was expected from a U.S. envoy to Beijing. Not a major diplomatic move, but one that would help prove Henry wrong in his prediction that my new job would be boring.

When in China, I figured, why not travel as the Chinese do? By the time my mother arrived for a Christmas holiday visit, Mr. Wong had informed me that among his friends Barbara and I were known as "Busher, who ride the bicycle, just as the Chinese do."

Christmas of 1974 was the first time since Barbara and I had married that we'd spent the holiday apart. She'd gone back home to be with the children, who were still in school. But I didn't have to spend Christmas alone. My mother and an aunt, Marjorie Clement, had come to visit. After church we bicycled around the embassy district, paying a call on the British ambassador, Ted Youde.

We also called Washington, where Barbara and the kids had gathered for Christmas. Jeb had made Phi Beta Kappa, Neil was getting good grades, Marvin was gearing up for the basketball season.

On Christmas night Mr. Sun outdid himself with his first

Western holiday meal: turkey, cranberry sauce, the trimmings; however, instead of a pumpkin or pecan pie dessert, he prepared a spectacular Chinese specialty called Beijing Dust: a light pastry with a mountain of whipped cream, topped by ground chestnuts (the "dust").

But the main part of the day was spent underground. During the Kissinger visit, when Henry and I visited Vice Premier Deng, he'd asked whether I'd had an opportunity to see "the caves." When I said no, a special Christmas Day tour was arranged.

"The caves" were the tunnels beneath Beijing. To get there, I met a cadre from the People's Liberation Army and a neighborhood commune at a specified intersection. They led me to a nearby clothing store. In the store we approached some racks that concealed a button. When the button was pushed, a trap door slid open. We walked down about twenty-five feet, through a honeycomb of tunnels, and through what appeared to be large rooms. There were also lavatories, and though there was no sign of a ventilation system, my hosts assured me there was good air and drainage—and space enough to house thousands of people in this one neighborhood.

What I was seeing were underground bomb shelters—civil defense "caves" the Chinese were digging in every major city. "Dig tunnels deep," Chairman Mao had instructed, "store grain everywhere." Why? In the event, I was told, that the Soviet Union ever decided to wage war against China with nuclear weapons rather than by conventional means.

After my visit to "the caves" was over, I thanked my guides and bicycled back to the compound. When Mother asked how I enjoyed the tour, I told her what I'd seen. Her comment was that it was an odd Christmas gift: an invitation to visit a bomb shelter on a day dedicated to the spirit of peace on earth.

By that time, however, I'd been in China long enough to know that my hosts left little to chance or accident in dealing with foreigners. The Chinese were out to make a point—that they are vigilant against the Soviets, and ready for any turn of world events, even the worst.

I agreed with Mother that arranging the tour for Christmas Day was odd timing. But it was timing guaranteed to make my visit to "the caves" one I wouldn't soon forget.

There was an incidental note about that Christmas that left me shaking my head as to whether, like the ambassador from Nepal, I'd end up feeling that the more you learn about the Chinese, the less you really understand them.

Before leaving Beijing, Mother told Mr. Wong, the chief of our house staff, how much she and Aunt Marge appreciated what had been done to make their visit comfortable. In the spirit of the season, she offered him and members of his staff small gifts, explaining that was the custom of our country. When Wong said, "No, thank you," Mother persisted, feeling he was just being modest. But he still refused, and nothing could budge him.

The reason, a member of my USLO staff explained, was that in Mao's China, taking a gratuity of any kind for doing one's job is considered bourgeois—or worse. It would have been risky for Wong to accept the gifts. Under the strict revolutionary dogma that governs Chinese life, he would have felt compelled to stand up at a so-called "self-criticism" session in his neighborhood and confess that he had accepted a gift from foreigners.

When it was explained to me, I nodded as if I understood. But I really didn't—at least not completely. It turned out there was a way around the no-gift rule. So long as our houseguests specified that the items were "to help you in your work," Wong and the others would accept them—which was the way the impasse between Eastern and Western, Communist and capitalist custom was solved during our time in China. Or so we thought.*

* When our stay in China ended, as we prepared to return to the United States and a new assignment, Mr. Wong suddenly appeared one day, bearing gifts—every gift that the house staff had received from every guest we'd had.

"Why?" I asked. Mr. Wong explained: the gifts had been given "to help us in our work" in the Bush household. But now there would be no Bush household in Beijing, in which case, he told me with perfect Chinese logic, there was no more reason to keep them.

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While "the Bushers" bicycling around town was one way to break out of the diplomatic cocoon of Beijing's foreign embassy district, it still didn't solve the problem of being isolated from contact with Chinese government officials. Other members of the diplomatic corps at least met these officials at various receptions held in honor of each country's national holiday. Some Chinese government representative and his coterie would always show up at these open-house social events.

David Bruce hadn't attended these receptions. He strictly defined his role in terms of being U.S. liaison to the Chinese Government, not a full-fledged diplomatic representative. However, I thought that in bypassing these events we were missing an opportunity to make our presence felt in Beijing, and adopted a policy of accepting national holiday invitations.

The first invitation we accepted was from the Algerian embassy. There was a flurry of animated conversation around the room when we walked in with the Holdridges. Americans at a diplomatic reception at Beijing! But things soon returned to normal. The diplomatic ice had been broken; from then on, our appearance at these events was considered routine.

Henry Kissinger didn't think much of my policy of being an active liaison officer. "It doesn't matter whether they like you or not," he once told me. I disagreed. My purpose wasn't to win popularity contests in Beijing but to get to know the Chinese—and to get them to know Americans—at a personal level. Henry, of all people, knew the value of personal relationships in world affairs. It was his warm relationship with Anwar Sadat that helped break down barriers of distrust in the Middle East.

But there was one period during our stay in China that had me second-guessing myself as to whether David Bruce wasn't right in staying away from diplomatic events. That came in the spring of 1975, as the military situation for the United States and our South Vietnamese ally deteriorated. This turn of events seemed to

sharpen the anti-American instincts not only of our country's adversaries in the world, but of some of our friends as well. Whenever I walked past groups of diplomats, I could sense their hostility and, in some cases, satisfaction that America's policy in Southeast Asia was failing.

The worst of these days was April 30, the eve of Beijing's May Day celebration. Barbara and I were at the Netherlands embassy, at a reception commemorating the birthday of Queen Juliana. As the guests gathered, word was spreading that Saigon had fallen. Ordinarily the atmosphere at these events was restrained, but that night the room was charged with anticipation. Then, suddenly, the representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, about half a dozen in all, rushed from the room. Cheers went up in the street outside.

Barbara and I stayed until the end of the reception, then returned to the U.S. compound to the sound of firecrackers going off throughout Beijing. The next day, May Day, revolutionary music played through loudspeakers in the streets. The music continued for several days, celebrating not only May Day but the "Vietnam people's victory." Display cases outside the Vietnamese embassy carried photographs of U.S. leaders—though interestingly enough, not Nixon or Kissinger, but former President Johnson and his Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara.

It was a difficult time for the small contingent of Americans inside the People's Republic of China. Knowing that, some of my colleagues from friendly nations approached me to underscore how important it was for the United States not to abandon its commitments in the Far East, especially in South Korea. The most interesting of these comments came not from the representative of a Western ally but a high Chinese official some weeks later. Speaking in a tone that suggested his remarks were authorized, he told me, "The United States has a useful role to play in Asia."

The Chinese can be oblique in their diplomatic relations, but at times they say exactly what they mean. What the official was telling me was that regardless of our opposing interests in Vietnam,

we had a common interest in dealing with the Russians. We could be "useful" to each other.

Four of our five children were with us during the summer of 1975. The fifth, our second oldest son Jeb, then twenty-two, and his wife Columba, had to stay in Houston, where Jeb held a job with the Texas Commerce Bank. But George was there, at age twenty-nine just out of Harvard Business School and about to go into the oil business in Texas; along with Neil, twenty, an undergraduate at Tulane; Marvin, nineteen, about to enter the University of Virginia; and Dorothy, who celebrated her birthday that August 18, 1975, in a special way. She was christened at our church in Beijing.

The ceremony was overdue, but for good reason. Over the years we kept trying to get the entire family—grandparents, uncles, aunts—together for it, but were never able to bring the reunion off. Finally, Doro had reached age sixteen, and it was clear that we'd waited long enough. The occasion would be unique in itself, something she'd always remember—being christened in China by not one but three Chinese Christian clergymen, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Baptist, in the church used by the Beijing diplomatic community.

Because Dorothy's godparents—my sister Nancy Ellis; Betsy Heminway's husband, Spike; and our family friend from Houston, Mildred Kerr—couldn't be present, her brother Marvin acted as their surrogate.

In the ceremony itself, questions and answers concerning Dorothy's faith had to be translated by a militant atheist interpreter, who didn't seem too happy about repeating the religious terms. Nevertheless the ceremony went off without any major problem, and when it was concluded the ministers told Dorothy she was now a lifelong member of their small church in a Communist land where, they said, "we will love you and always miss you."

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Henry was back. The Secretary of State arrived October 19, this time with a high-priority agenda. He was in Beijing to lay the groundwork for President Ford's official visit to China later in the year. As always, the Secretary's schedule was hectic—three long meetings with Vice Premier Deng in two days to work out the details of a communique that would be issued after the President and Chairman Mao met.

Not that anyone could program what two of the most powerful leaders in the world would say in their meetings. Only that when chiefs of state sit down to talk, the common practice is to have an outline, if not the text, of their conclusions already prepared, before the visiting leader arrives. This defines the agenda of the talks and minimizes the risk of misunderstandings on major issues.

On the Chinese side, Foreign Minister Qiao sat in on the Kissinger-Deng talks; on the American side, the Secretary's staff, plus Assistant Secretary Phil Habib, and I. I'd met Deng several times before. He was the ascending power in China, likely to succeed to the top position after Mao and Zhou were gone. An incessant chain smoker and tea drinker, he was a man who projected himself as a grassroots rural man-of-the-people, a rough-hewn soldier from Szechuan Province in Southwest China.

Deng had the ability to balance toughness and affability in perfect proportions in his meetings with foreign leaders, but his mood during his sessions with Kissinger was notably tipped toward aggressive, tough talk. His complaint—incredible as it might sound—was that the United States was showing weakness in the face of the Soviet threat to world peace. Except for the difference in language, I might have been listening to a speech by Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Deng, like Mao and other Chinese leaders, was concerned about the direction taken by the U.S. policy of détente with the Soviets. He charged that American policy toward the Russians was similar to British and French policy toward Hitler at Munich in

1938—a policy of "appeasement," said Deng. Kissinger bridled, but kept his poise. "A country that spends $110 billion for defense cannot be said to be pursuing the spirit of Munich," replied the Secretary. "Let me remind you that we were resisting Soviet expansionism when you two were allies, for your own reasons."

It was a sharp exchange, a good example of why presidential summits need to be advanced through preliminary discussions. Finally, with the air cleared concerning U.S.-Chinese differences, Kissinger said, "I do not feel that the President's visit should give the impression that our countries are quarreling." Deng agreed. "There is still time for further concrete discussion," he said.

The big unanswered question of the Kissinger advance trip, however, was whether he'd be invited to visit the Chairman. The Chinese approached his question, as always, in a circuitous way.

During lunch on October 21, Vice Foreign Minister Wang Hairong pointedly mentioned that former British Prime Minister Edward Heath had seen Mao during a recent visit. Wang, who was Mao's grandniece, added that Heath had specifically requested the meeting. Kissinger got the message. "If this is an official inquiry as to whether I would like to meet with the Chairman," he said, "the answer is yes."

A few hours later, Kissinger was in his third and final meeting with Deng and Qiao at the Great Hall of the People, when I saw Deng handed a paper with a few large Chinese characters on it. Deng read the message, then interrupted the discussion to announce, "You will meet with the Chairman at six-thirty."

Mao lived in a secluded enclave for high-ranking officials not far from the Great Hall of the People. We entered through an elaborate gate, drove past a lake and through several courtyards before pulling up to the house. A Chinese television crew was waiting. They followed us through several rooms of the villa, right into Mao's sitting room.

Mao, then eighty-one, was sitting in an armchair. He was helped to his feet by two women attendants. This was my first

meeting with the Chairman since coming to China, and I was shocked by his physical condition, observed from a distance. When he opened his mouth to greet Kissinger—who had been ushered in first, in order of rank—only guttural noises emerged.

I was ushered in next. At closer range, the Chairman's physical appearance seemed to improve. He was tall, tanned, and still fairly husky, with a strong handclasp. He was wearing a well-tailored suit of the style that bears his name, brown socks, and a pair of black slippers with white rubber soles, the kind worn by millions of ordinary Chinese.

Kissinger asked him how he was feeling. Mao pointed to his head. "This part works well," he said, "I can eat and sleep. These parts"—he tapped his legs—"these parts do not work well. They are not strong when I walk. I also have some trouble with my lungs." He paused. "In a word, I am not well." Then he added, smiling, "I am a showcase for visitors."

I was seated to the left of Kissinger, who was seated to Mao's left. Glancing around the room, I saw that it had built-in TV lights along one wall. There was a book of calligraphy on the table in front of us. Across the room were several tables with medical tubes of some sort and a small oxygen tank.

Mao was in a philosophical mood. "I am going to heaven soon," he said, words that were stunning when spoken by the leader of the world's biggest Communist country. "I have already received an invitation from God."

"Don't accept it soon," replied Kissinger with a smile.

Mao, unable to speak coherently, was laboriously writing out characters on a pad of paper, to make himself understood. He'd write; then the two women at his side would leap to their feet, study the words, and try to make sense out of what he was trying to say. "I accept the orders of the Doctor," Mao wrote. It was a pun on the title the Chinese used when referring to Henry Kissinger, Ph.D.

Henry nodded, then changed the tenor of the talk. "I attach great significance to our relationship," he said. Mao responded by holding up a fist and the little finger of his other hand. "You are

this," he said, pointing to the fist, "and we are that." He held up his finger. "You have the atomic bomb and we don't." Since China had had nuclear weapons for over a decade, Mao apparently meant that the United States was stronger militarily.

"But China says that military strength is not the only thing," Kissinger said. "And we have common opponents."

Mao wrote his reply; then one of his assistants held it up for us to see. It was written in English: YES.

There was an exchange between the Chairman and the Secretary on the subject of Taiwan. Mao said the issue would be resolved in time, possibly in "a hundred" or even "several hundred" years. The Chinese use such expressions, I'd concluded, to impress foreigners with the fact that their history dates back several thousand years. They see time and their own cultural patience as allies in dealing with impatient Westerners.

Like Deng and most other leaders of the revolution, Mao had a rustic background and often used Chinese barnyard expressions in the normal course of diplomatic conversation; as when, on another topic, he described a particular problem in U.S.-Chinese relations as no more important than a "fang go pi," which one of his women assistants dutifully translated as "a dog fart."

That was one even Harry Truman didn't have in his barnyard vocabulary.

As the meeting went on, Mao seemed to become stronger, more alert. He gestured frequently, moved his head from side to side and appeared stimulated by the conversation. And he continued to refer to the Almighty, once remarking, "God blesses you, not us. God does not like us because I am a militant warlord, also a Communist. No, he doesn't like me. He likes you three." He nodded toward Kissinger, Winston Lord, and me.

The meeting was coming to a close when Mao drew Winston and me into the conversation. "This ambassador," he said, gesturing toward me, "is in a plight. Why don't you come visit?"

"I would be honored," I replied, "but I'm afraid you're very busy."

"Oh, I'm not busy," Mao said. "I don't look after internal

affairs. I only read the international news. You should really come visit."

I saw Mao once again, for the second and last time, when President Ford made his state visit to Beijing five weeks later. By then, my new assignment as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, had been announced. Talking to USLO staff experts after the Kissinger meeting, I mentioned what he'd said about coming to visit and said that I might just try to take him up on it. Their impression was that the Chairman was just being diplomatic, so I didn't follow up. A year later, however—after Mao had died—Barbara and I visited China, and I mentioned the Chairman's remark to a Chinese government official.

"You should have followed your instinct," he told me. "I can assure you the Chairman would never have made such an invitation unless he meant it."

LANGLEY, VIRGINIA/*1976*

TO: AMBASSADOR BUSH

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER NOVEMBER 1, 1975

THE PRESIDENT IS PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SOME MAJOR PERSONNEL SHIFTS ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3, AT 7:30 P.M., WASHINGTON TIME. AMONG THOSE SHIFTS WILL BE THE TRANSFER OF BILL COLBY FROM CIA.

THE PRESIDENT ASKS THAT YOU CONSENT TO HIS NOMINATING YOU AS THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

THE PRESIDENT FEELS YOUR APPOINTMENT TO BE GREATLY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND VERY MUCH HOPES THAT YOU WILL ACCEPT. YOUR DEDICATION TO NATIONAL SERVICE HAS BEEN UNREMITTING, AND I JOIN THE PRESIDENT IN HOPING THAT YOU WILL ACCEPT THIS NEW CHALLENGE IN THE SERVICE OF YOUR COUNTRY. . . .

"It is all very shocking," the young Chinese guide told a British journalist after word of my appointment as Director of the CIA became known in Beijing. "Mr. Bush has been here a year, and before that he was at the United Nations. And to think he's been a spy all along!"

The guide's shock was only a little less than my own after I received Henry's cable. Director of the CIA? I handed the wire to Barbara and from the expression on her face knew we shared the

same thought: New York, 1973. In Yogi Berra's phrase, it was déjà vu all over again.

Watergate was the problem then, with President Nixon calling me to Camp David to ask that I become Chairman of the Republican National Committee to handle the political mess spilling over from the west wing. Now I was being asked to leave another diplomatic post we both enjoyed, to return to Washington and take charge of an agency battered by a decade of hostile Congressional investigations, exposés, and charges that ran from lawbreaking to simple incompetence.

I reread the opening line of Henry's cable:

THE PRESIDENT IS PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SOME MAJOR PERSONNEL SHIFTS . . .

Then the last line:

REGRETTABLY, WE HAVE ONLY THE MOST LIMITED TIME BEFORE THE ANNOUNCEMENT, AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE A MOST URGENT RESPONSE.

There was no point cabling for further information—answers to questions like WHO'S GOING WHERE, HENRY? OR WHAT'S GOING ON? Like the language of diplomacy, the language of politics has its nuance. The tone of the Secretary's wire suggested that they wanted a quick reply, no questions asked.

Colby was leaving. Wholesale changes were underway. Would I take the CIA, *yes* or *no?*

The key words were THE PRESIDENT ASKS. Barbara read the cable, handed it back, and said, "I remember Camp David." That's all. Just "I remember Camp David."

What she specifically remembered about my trip to Camp David in 1973 was that she hadn't wanted me to take the national committee job. But when I returned that night, she knew, even before I'd taken off my coat, what had happened. The President had asked, and as long as what he'd asked me to do wasn't illegal or immoral, and I felt I could handle the job, there was only one answer I could give. Now, two years later, she knew there was only one answer I could give this President. We'd soon be leaving Beijing for Washington.

Barbara had grown fond of China in our thirteen months there, throwing herself into the study of Chinese history, art, and architecture. She also had another, more personal concern about our leaving to return to Washington. She was worried about the effect the change of jobs would have on our kids. We both still remembered the Watergate days, the grief they'd taken from some of their classmates at school. If that was bad, what would life in Washington be like for the children of the head of the CIA?

For that matter, what would the future in Washington hold for the head of the CIA himself? Once past the impact of Henry's cable on our personal lives, I had two instinctive reactions to what it meant professionally.

First, politics was still my first interest. In the best of times the CIA job wouldn't be considered a springboard to higher office, if only because the director of the agency has to be nonpolitical. Anyone who took the job, would have to give up any and all political activity. As far as future prospects for elective office were concerned, the CIA was marked DEAD END.

(Could *that* be what was happening? Bury Bush at the CIA? George, living in the byzantine political atmosphere of a Communist capital is starting to get to you. The idea that anyone in Washington—not the President or Henry, but somebody else—might have that in mind was absurd. . . . But how did Henry once put it? "Even paranoids," he told a reporter, "have real enemies.")

My second reaction was concern over what it might mean diplomatically. For over a year, I'd worked—*we'd* worked, because Barbara had put as much into the job as I had—to develop a climate of mutual respect and friendship between China and the United States, a people-to-people approach that could transcend ideological divisions. In a low-key, informal way, we'd made progress breaking down some of the barriers of suspicion and distrust that existed between our two countries. What would the Chinese government think? That Bush the diplomat had been Bush the spy all along?

When I expressed this fear to a friendly Western diplomat, he reassured me with a story about another "CIA ambassador," Rich-

ard Helms: A reception took place in Tehran the evening in 1973 when Helms's nomination to be U.S. ambassador to Iran was announced. The Soviet ambassador, himself a veteran of the KGB, walked up to an Iranian government official and asked, "Well, Mr. Minister, what do you think about the Americans naming their number one spy ambassador to your country?" Taking a sip of champagne (this was pre-Khomeini Iran), the pro-Western Iranian replied, "Well, your Excellency, I think it is better than what the Soviet Union did. They sent us their number ten spy."

My friend's optimistic view of how the Chinese would react to my becoming CIA director was close to the mark. However suspicious the Chinese might be about U.S. intentions, their distrust of the Russians is greater. When word of my appointment reached Beijing, Chinese officials, far from being appalled, were openly pleased. As one of them confided, they felt they'd spent a year "teaching" me their views on the Soviet threat and now, as America's chief intelligence officer, I'd be able to "teach" them to the President.

In fact, when President Ford visited China one month later—before Barbara and I had left—Chairman Mao greeted me with the remark, "You've been promoted," then told the President, "We hate to see him go."

But the most significant indication that the Chinese weren't upset by my appointment came when Vice Premier Deng invited us to a private luncheon where he assured me I'd always be welcome in China—then smiling—"even as head of the CIA."*

So my concern about the diplomatic repercussions of Henry's cable proved 180 degrees off course. In the long run, that would also be true of its effect on my political future. But in the immediate weeks and months ahead that was by no means clear. After a round of farewell functions, Barbara and I left Beijing with mixed feelings: warm memories of our thirteen months in China, but glad to be going home; satisfied with the job we'd done, but looking down what apeared to be a political dead-end street.

* Two years later, we did return on a private visit. By then, Deng was running the government.

in lobby. No bubble in embassy so we "talk" by holding up signs, figuring the place is bugged. Sign held up saying AFGHAN . . . "Oh yes, that situation is no better, no worse." . . . We don't get close to discussing sensitive matters, but using the signs still seems like a good idea . . . On the reviewing stand [later] you see them all, the old and new leaders . . . Gorbachev, a new one; Romanof a new one . . .

The visit with Chernenko . . . He seems more robust than he appeared standing out in the cold. Smiled now and then, but can't say he was friendly. All in all, the President's decision not to come was the right one . . .

Saipan/China. En route to Beijing in mid-October 1985, we visited Saipan, bringing back memories of the last time I'd been there. Sitting in the governor's house, looking out toward the blue-green ocean, I could visualize the fleet—my carrier, the U.S.S. *Jacinto* and the battleships in the distance, shelling the high ground—while my squadron covered the landing at the beaches.

It had been the summer of 1944. I remembered the puffs of smoke, the scene on the beaches as we came in close to strafe enemy positions, somehow not feeling the battle, not the way they felt it down there on the beaches.

There were the stories told later about the Japanese families that threw themselves off the cliff at the end of the island, because they'd been told the Americans were going to murder them all. And even after that, of Japanese soldiers who went into the jungle and dug in, even though their country had surrendered. It was hard to believe there'd been a war on that beautiful, peaceful island forty-one years before and that I'd been part of it.

Four days later we were in Beijing, where I saw change of a different kind. As envoy to China ten years before, I used to wonder if China would ever really modernize. Now there were government officials, who'd been in Mao jackets in the 1970s, dressed in three-piece suits, driving Mercedes touring cars instead of their Red Flag autos.

There were other changes, more significant. Deng now talks

about Taiwan differently. He says the island can keep its own government, as well as economic and military system, and talks about "one China, two systems." But some things don't change and I guess never will. He still works his way through several packs a day, smoking (I counted) eight cigarettes in the one hour twenty minutes we talked.

They put us up at the Guest House, the same suite used by President Reagan when he visited. On our last night there was a small dinner—small for formal state dinners, about thirty guests in all—of creamed snail soup, Beijing duck wrapped in seeded biscuits, beef, California wine. The Chinese adapt. Li Xianien was host. He got things off by saying this would be an evening of "true friendship—no speeches. All those speeches at dinners sound the same. They're tiresome." I said, "I couldn't agree more, thank you very much," and tore up my speech. It was all relaxed, probably the best formal dinner I've ever attended.

Different, all very different from the way it had been only ten years before. There were only thirty people in the U.S. liaison office then. Now there are three hundred in the U.S. embassy, recognition of the importance of our relationship to China, now and for the future.

El Salvador. The idea was to stop over on my way home from the inauguration of President Raúl Alfonsin in Buenos Aires. I told our ambassador in San Salvador, Tom Pickering, that I'd do it, and the stopover turned out to be one of those visits that stays with you years later.

El Salvador was trying to combat a guerrilla movement clearly sponsored by its Communist neighbor, Nicaragua. To survive, the Salvadoran government needed U.S. aid. But the country's death squads—extremists who'd murdered Archbishop Romero and four American churchwomen in 1981, then two U.S. labor advisers in 1981—were jeopardizing our ability to get support funds through Congress.

My job was to tell President Alvaro Magana and senior Salvadoran leaders (including the man who would be elected to succeed Magana, José Napoleon Duarte), and most important of all, the

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FROM/LOCATION
1. ROSEMARY GALLANT

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
International Trade Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

FAX NO. TO USE

OPB NO.: 377-4453
OJ NO.: 377-0469
IEP NO.: 377-5444

Date: 2/21/89
Time: 3:40

FROM

NAME: Rosemary Gallant TEL. NO.: 377-3932
OFFICE SYMBOL/NUMBER: ITA/IEP/OPH FAX NO.:
DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

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TO

NAME: Stephanie Blessey TEL. NO.: X7750
OFFICE SYMBOL/NUMBER: Rm 111 FAX NO.: ~~395-5222~~ 395-5221 3911

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Table 3.--U.S. trade data
Flow: Total exports
Type: F.a.s. value
Partner: China
(Thousands of dollars)

Time period / Ag/Nonag commodity	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	January-November 1987	January-November 1988
Total all commodities.....	2,173,133	3,004,030	3,851,738	3,105,403	3,488,357	3,893,962	4,476,628
0--Agricultural.....	546,446	614,768	149,425	65,984	369,542	352,191	610,907
1--Non-agricultural.....	1,626,687	2,389,261	3,702,313	3,039,419	3,118,815	2,741,770	3,865,722

Note: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

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Table 1.--U.S. trade data
Flow: General imports
Type: C.i.f. value
Partner: China
(Thousands of dollars)

Time period / Ag/Nonag commodity	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	January-November 1987	January-November 1988
Total all commodities.....	2,476,774	3,381,157	4,224,242	5,240,517	6,910,501	6,428,199	8,398,194
0--Agricultural.....	189,190	213,354	221,291	224,447	269,445	248,439	285,743
1--Non-agricultural.....	2,287,584	3,167,803	4,002,951	5,016,071	6,641,056	6,179,760	8,112,451

Note: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

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lent warlord (*tuchun*) era was followed by the emergence of the Kuomintang and the subsequent division of the Kuomintang into Nationalist and Communist factions. In March 1927, after Chiang Kai-shek marched on Shanghai, the Third Marine Brigade under Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler arrived to help protect the International Settlement. Butler left the Fourth Marine Regiment at Shanghai and proceeded to Tientsin with the rest of his brigade, including the Sixth Marine Regiment, remaining there until January 1929.

The ebb and flow of Sino-Japanese hostilities beginning in 1931 caused further deployments of U.S. troops to China. In 1932 the Thirty-first U.S. Infantry Regiment joined the Fourth Marines in Shanghai. Again in 1937 the marines in Shanghai were brought up to brigade strength with the arrival of the Sixth Marines. In December 1937 the U.S. gunboat *Panay* was sunk in the Yangtze by Japanese air attack. In 1938 the Sixth Marines departed, as did the Fifteenth U.S. Infantry from Tientsin. The Fourth Marines left Shanghai in late November 1941 for the Philippines and were eventually captured at Corregidor.

The China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater was created in January 1942 with Chiang Kai-shek as commander in chief and Lt. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell as his chief of staff. After the bitter retreat from Burma, Stilwell proposed a thirty-division Chinese Nationalist force for a fresh Burma campaign in the spring of 1943. Chiang was more attracted to the air strategy proposed by Maj. Gen. Claire L. Chennault, who earlier had organized the American Volunteer Corps ("Flying Tigers"). With the entry of the United States into World War II, Chennault had been given command of the U.S. China Air Task Force, which later became the Fourteenth Air Force. In May 1944, B-29's were deployed to Chinese airfields from which they could reach Manchuria, Korea, and Japan itself. The Japanese reacted with a sixteen-division offensive that overran most of the airfields, causing the B-29's to be withdrawn to India. Chiang asked for Stilwell's recall. The CBI was split into two theaters—China and India-Burma—and Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer was sent out to replace Stilwell in China.

China's disappointing contribution to the war was in large part the result of Chiang's deliberate policy of conserving his strength for what he foresaw as a life-and-death struggle with the Chinese Communists, who had effectively used the war years to consolidate their position in North China. With the end of the war, the 55,000-man Third Marine Amphibious Corps was sent to North China to disarm and repatriate the Japanese and also—although assistance to the Nationalists in a civil war was not to be direct—to hold the northern cities and to keep open the coal mines and rail lines until Nationalist forces could be deployed northward. Meanwhile, Soviet forces had occupied Manchuria and turned over key ports and cities to the Chinese Communists. In January 1946, Gen. George C. Marshall arrived to arbitrate between the Nationalists and Communists. There was a short-lived truce, but by July 1946 it was obvious that Marshall had failed in his objective of achieving peaceful unification of China.

The size of the U.S. Marine occupation force in China was progressively reduced until by the spring of 1949 just two battalions were left. These were garrisoning the port facilities at Tsingtao that were used by the U.S. Seventh Fleet, successor to the Asiatic Fleet. By then the Nationalists had been defeated in the decisive winter battle of Hwai-Hai. By the end of June, the last marine and naval forces had left Tsingtao. The new government of the People's Republic of China was formally installed at Peking on Oct. 1, 1949.

[B. M. Frank and H. I. Shaw, Jr., "North China Marines," *Victory and Occupation;* H. D. Perry, *The Panay Incident;* C. Romanus and R. Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China, Stilwell's Command Problems,* and *Time Runs Out in CBI;* B. W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945.*]

EDWIN H. SIMMONS

CHINA, U.S. RELATIONS WITH. Over the last two centuries American attitudes toward China have ranged from attitudes of profound respect, avuncular concern, and affection in the early 19th century all the way to uncompromising hostility during the first two decades of the Communist regime on the mainland.

In 1789, the year George Washington was inaugurated as president of the United States, fifteen American vessels were carrying on trade with China. American images of China at that time were deeply colored by the Marco Polo story. When the *Empress of China* sailed into Canton Harbor (1784), Cathay was seen by Americans as a great, ancient, and exotic culture devoted to the arts and sciences. Early American writings about China are permeated with a feeling of profound respect and admiration. That the Chinese had invented such things as paper, gunpowder, and the compass and had great sages and philosophers was known to the founders of the American republic.

Philip Smith
Empress of China

Naval History Library
Capt. Booth
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China toast #1

Toast by President Bush at Welcoming Banquet

Beijing

February 25, 1989

President Yang, distinguished guests.

Barbara and I are delighted to be returning once again to China. It's been fourteen years since we made our home here and during that time, we've paid your fascinating country several visits. And, each time we come, I say to Barbara: "Just look at that skyline! Just look how the neighborhood has changed!"

But the changes in China have gone far beyond new buildings of steel and stone. The daily life of the Chinese people has been transformed as well. Thanks to your reforms -- courageous reforms, and I don't minimize the difficulties -- the Chinese people now have more opportunities to express themselves and to make important decisions in their personal and professional lives.

We have a saying in the West that "Rome was not built in a day." Clearly, accomplishing any major task worthy of a great nation takes time, perseverance, and hard work.

Our two governments have much work to do. But I would say this: we can rely on the solid relationship we have established with each other, a relationship based on correct domestic and foreign policies that have made this progress possible.

You know, experience is a great teacher. My experience of China since the mid-seventies gives me confidence that we will succeed in building a better future for our children and grandchildren -- a future of peace, and hope, and plenty.

Let me talk a moment more about that experience. In 1975, when Barbara and I first arrived in Beijing, our two countries were in the early phases of reestablishing contact after almost a quarter of a century of estrangement and hostility. The going was tough. But we found a common basis for overcoming our differences. You can find it in the principles of the historic Shanghai Communique, signed seventeen years ago this coming Tuesday. Those principles remain valid today and by following them, our relationship can weather the test of time in the future, just as it has in the past.

Look at our economic progress together. Our economic relationship has grown from near zero to a two way trade of 14 billion dollars. And it's true in education as well. Tens of thousands of Chinese students are now studying in U.S. institutions of higher learning, just as thousands of U.S. scholars have studied and taught in the farthest corners of China.

Our program of scientific and technological exchanges now is intense and broad-ranging. We have an active program of military cooperation that is forging ties of friendship between our defense establishments.

And, we have found ways to address without rancor the particularly sensitive issue which we call Taiwan. In the three joint communiques that form the basis of U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China, the United States has consistently affirmed that our policy is based on this bedrock principle: there is but one China, and its integrity must be respected. Our adherence to this principle also reflects our conviction that the deeply rooted differences that remain on both sides of the Taiwan Strait can best be resolved peacefully within a one China framework.

There has been some encouraging progress achieved on both sides of the Taiwan Strait over the last few years. The expanded family contacts, easier travel, indirect trade, and other forms of peaceful interchange -- all this helps and it would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. And why has it happened? Above all because this progress reflects the common roots, traditions and interests of those directly involved -- the Chinese people themselves. This change for the better has enabled the Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to turn their remarkable energies to more constructive tasks -- economic development and improving the quality of life.

All of these trends are consistent with America's longstanding interest in a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question. Our policies will continue to foster further progress on both sides of the Strait by the Chinese people themselves.

Let me sum it all up. We have the foundation and the desire to build our bilateral relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China still further. The house of peace we are building together is both solid enough and flexible enough to meet the challenges and the opportunities of a changing world. I want to say a few words now about one of those areas of the wider world on which we found much to agree -- our respective relations with the Soviet Union. We are pleased that improved relations between China and the Soviet Union can contribute to the search for peace in Cambodia and stability in Korea. I hope this is part of a larger pattern of reduced global tensions. That would be in the interest of China, of the Soviet Union, of the United States, of East Asia, and of the world.

But let's be clear about the origin of some of these hopeful signs of change. The process of improving Sino-American relations begun in the 1970s helped to launch the world toward a better way of doing things -- of using negotiations rather than force to resolve serious international differences.

Together, and individually, the United States and China have helped to set the pace for peaceful and productive change around the world. In country after country, we see nations decentralizing their economies, opening up to international commerce and increasing the role of market forces. The reforms in China embarked upon ten years ago under Deng Xiaoping's farsighted leadership have fostered a decade of impressive domestic growth and a remarkable expansion of U.S.-China trade.

Together, and individually, China and the United States have opposed policies of intimidation and domination by others. Let us expand our cooperation in this area.

The INF Treaty, with its provision for elimination of intermediate range missiles from Asia, exemplifies American determination to do so. For our part, as we press forward in the arms reduction process with the Soviet Union, the United States will not lose sight of the dangers posed to other countries by the proliferation of deadly technologies, particularly those in regions of the world marked by conflict and tension. I have in mind nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and the means for their delivery. I don't want to see ever again the sight of a mother helpless to ward of the winds of death from chemical warfare. America's goal is not to deny countries the means to insure their own security. Our goal is a safer world.

As nuclear powers and permanent members of the UN Security Council with a special responsibility for preserving world peace, China and the United States owe it to mankind to work together. Let us free the world from the specter of conflicts fought with such weapons -- wars which could cause destruction on an unimaginable scale, especially among civilian populations.

It's a big job and a tough job. But experience should give us both strength and wisdom. Just as we were able to transform relations between China and the United States, so the two of us, working separately and together, can help transform the world. We have the vision of nations living as peaceful neighbors, where right, not might, will rule international relations. I look forward to a flourishing Sino-American relationship in the years to come, to the benefit of both our countries, of the region, and of the world.

Over the years, the expansion of U.S.-China relations has been a source of deep personal satisfaction to Barbara and myself. We spent some of the happiest moments of our lives here. And I believe we did our little bit to confirm the clarity and coherence of the strategic vision which drew us together in the first place.

Now that vision is in our hands, yours and mine. Let us all be worthy of it.

And so, let me ask you all to join me and Barbara in a toast:

--to the health of President Yang;

--to the health of Chairman Deng, general Secretary Zhao, and Premier Li;

to Barbara's and my dear close friends here tonight;

and to Sino-American friendship.

Ganbei!