

FOIA MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 190				
Document ID: 9402365				
Stack: v	Row: 44	Section: 2	Shelf: 11	Position: 3

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9402365
RECEIVED: 29 MAR 94 08

TO: LAKE

FROM: SUETTINGER
ROTH

DOC DATE: 03 APR 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CHINA P R
HUMAN RIGHTS

BURMA
MFN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES CARTER

ACTION: SEE 9403487 FOR FINAL ACTION

DUE DATE: 01 APR 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ROTH

LOGREF: 9403487

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 2 OF 2

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UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9402365

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 ROTH
002 LAKE
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 94032908 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
Z 94050515 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIG
X 94101817 SEE 9403487 FOR FINAL ACTION

UNCLASSIFIED

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 2365
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG MB A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<i>W</i> Reed	<u>1</u>	<u>JWR</u>	_____
Kenney	_____	_____	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>N- see 3487.</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	<u>for final action</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

cc: WI

4 MAY 94 9:15

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

disks requested 5/4

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 3, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: STANLEY O. ROTH *SR*
FROM: ROBERT L. SUETTINGER *RS*
SUBJECT: Letter to President Carter *RA*

Attached at Tab I is a Memorandum for the President asking him to sign the letter at Tab A from President Jimmy Carter, who wrote expressing his concerns about the MFN decision. He recounts some of the Chinese reactions to Secretary Christopher's visit, which were passed along to him informally through channels he does not describe.

President Carter adds his voice to those recommending that MFN status for China not be revoked this year.

Concurrences by: Richard A. Clarke *RA*
Morton Halperin *MH*
Sandra Kristoff *SK*
Michael Punke *MP*
Eric Schwartz *ES*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum for the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letter to President Carter from the President
Tab B Incoming Correspondence from President Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Letter to President Carter

Purpose

To reply to a letter from President Carter, who wrote you to pass along some informal reaction to Secretary Christopher's visit that he received from the Chinese through his own private channels. He also urges you to give the Chinese a face-saving way out of the human rights dilemma without revoking MFN.

Background

President Carter has remained in contact with the Chinese leadership, both through infrequent visits to China, where he is well-received, and informally through channels he hints at but does not describe in detail. His contacts are probably people within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or retired officials who support the "opening to the outside" approach that China has taken over the last decade. They are clearly anxious about the aftereffects of Secretary Christopher's visit, and have personalized and softened the official line in their communication with President Carter. There is nothing particularly new or surprising in his letter, but it is part of an effort to communicate with you "off-line." President Carter's own views are sympathetic to their position.

Your reply thanks President Carter for his letter, conveys your understanding of the views of his correspondents, and reiterates your commitment to finding a solution to this problem that is in both nations' long-term interest.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to President Jimmy Carter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Carter
Tab B Correspondence from President Carter

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear President Carter:

Thank you for your sincere and insightful letter of March 18 about the upcoming decision on China's Most Favored Nation trade status. As you know, I value your views on many subjects, and the obvious esteem and trust the Chinese have for you makes your letter that much more important.

Secretary Christopher's trip--and especially the negative press coverage--clearly raised a lot of concerns in China as well as the United States. But although the atmospherics were bad, the trip did achieve some positive results. We actually moved somewhat closer on some of the human rights questions that we raised in the Executive Order of last year, and both sides now understand the other's position much more clearly. I'm not at all pessimistic about prospects for resolving this issue satisfactorily before the June deadline.

I am finding some of the same problems you experienced in convincing other countries of the sincerity of Americans' commitment to human rights. I understand the importance of face-saving gestures and methods in dealing with the Chinese on sensitive topics, and we are now preparing an end-game strategy for achieving our goals in a low-key, non-confrontational way. I hope I can count on your continuing advice and support as we work our way through this problem.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
The Carter Center
1 Copenhill
Atlanta, GA 30307

Please
Staff
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 03/22/94

TO: NSC

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

A copy of this letter from
Jimmy Carter has been forwarded
to the President.

Please prepare a response for
the President to sign and
return to my office.

Thanks.



2365

JIMMY CARTER

March 18, 1994

To President Bill Clinton

As you may know, the Chinese stay in close touch with me, considering me to be a special friend because of my decision in 1978 to establish diplomatic relations between our two countries. In more recent years, The Carter Center has completed some significant projects in China, dealing with education and health care. Without being presumptuous, I believe that on some occasions I understand their seemingly peculiar reaction to events. In a proper way, they have often honored suggestions I have made to them, including some influence in Burma toward peace talks and a change in their position to permit the establishment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights at the U.N.

They have been in touch with me since the recent visit by Secretary Christopher to Beijing. Their technique is strictly to honor the proprieties of diplomacy and to disavow back channels, but to seek alternate ways to communicate their views. Recognizing this, just let me share with you my own personal views.

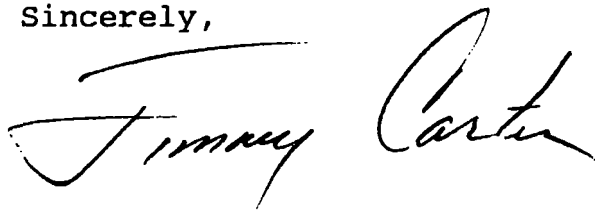
The Chinese are very eager to resolve differences with the United States, but feel that they have been put in an untenable situation. The stream of public condemnations from top American officials is much more discomfiting to them than would be the case with lesser nations or perhaps Western nations. Justifiably or not, they still consider themselves to be the Middle Kingdom, struggling to make carefully considered steps to open up their previously closed society. In making what I consider to be major progress toward a free market system, they feel that they cannot afford to let this rapidly evolving trend to economic freedom endanger the stability of their political system. Within the bounds of this constraint, they have made progress on political rights.

Also, the Chinese and most other Third World countries have a different definition of human rights from ours, emphasizing the right to shelter, food, health care, employment, and an education. They recognize our emphasis on freedom to speak, worship, etc. as important, but not dominant. By their measurement (not mine), the treatment of dissidents since the Tienanmen Square disaster has been relatively benevolent, and their total approach to societal freedom should have been acknowledged by the United States.

They deeply resent the annual berating of their policies and its repetitive tying to MFN. What seems to have been most disturbing to them was Christopher's criticisms of China from Australia and other foreign countries, and the unauthorized visit by Assistant Secretary Shattuck with one of the dissidents. Their temporary detainment and questioning of dissidents and their negative reaction to the Secretary's visit was, to me, predictable and in some ways inevitable. They cannot be cast in the role of an insignificant power or a lackey of the United States, forced publicly to modify their policies in order to gain some economic advantage. They don't understand why our nation's top officials deal with these sensitive matters in a public way that inhibits or almost prohibits private talks that can succeed.

I realize that you know all of this, and that you and Secretary Christopher have the situation in hand without my intrusion. However, I believe it will be a tragedy if we continue down the path of public confrontation. There are few people who are more committed to human rights than I am, but I believe that these rights in China are much more likely to suffer if we force Chinese leaders into a corner and do not work out privately a way for them to save face and for us to meet the demands of my American human rights friends and partners. The decision you make this year on trade with China may well be irreversible, and a great loss to American business and also to ordinary Chinese citizens.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

cc: Secretary Christopher

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: CARTER, JIMMY

DOC DATE: 18 MAR 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CHINA P R
HUMAN RIGHTS

BURMA
MFN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM JIMMY CARTER RE CHINA RELATIONS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 01 APR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: ROTH

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

ROTH

FOR CONCURRENCE

CLARKE
HALPERIN
KRISTOFF
PUNKE
SCHWARTZ

FOR INFO

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
HAMMONDS
ITOH
KRECZKO
ROSNER

COMMENTS: PREPARE RESPONSE FOR PRES SIGNATURE

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1