

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: USIA_Media_Reaction (USIA_Media_Reaction/R__MR/WASHDC/USIA/GOV.USIA@notes1.usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-SEP-1997 12:10:00.00

SUBJECT: Daily Digest 9/19: CHINA'S 15TH PARTY CONGRESS

TO: Kristen E. Panerali (Kristen E. Panerali@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Readers of the political tea leaves in Asia focused their attention on

China's

just-concluded 15th Party Congress in Beijing and saw signs that Jiang

Zemin

had begun "to step out from the long shadow" cast by the late Deng

Xiaoping and

had solidified "indisputable" control over the Chinese Communist Party and

the

state. Most analysts had positive assessments of the economic reforms

endorsed at the congress, which would drastically reduce the size and

number of

China's state-owned enterprises, once considered the "sacred cows" of

China's

centrally planned economy. A number of European editors, however,

worried

that the commitment to economic liberalization shown by the Chinese

leadership

would create unrest among dislocated workers. Echoing the view of a

German

paper, which described China as a "colossus...on shaky feet," Brussels's

independent Le Soir argued that the introduction of a market economy in China

has set in motion "a real revolution of minds" and worried about the potential

displacement of millions of workers "accustomed to 'the iron rice bowl.'"

Writing for New Delhi's pro-economic reforms Economic Times, an Indian pundit

likewise judged: "The reversal of the egalitarian order into a market economy

may lead to massive social upheavals if it is not tightly controlled....

The present Chinese leadership presumably does not want that to happen, especially a

t a time when the numbers of unemployed may run into a couple of hundreds of

millions." In terms of Chinese Communist Party politics, right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine called the exclusion of National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shi--the party's number-three ranking official, who is considered

one of President Jiang's main rivals--from the new lineup on the party's central committee "a tough blow. Qiao Shi was the spokesman of those who advocated moderate political reforms.... His post...will be taken over by his

strongest opponent, Li Peng...a hardliner who thinks that political reforms are

dangerous," the daily commented darkly.

Editors in Asia had mixed reviews of Hong Kong Chief Executive C. H. Tung's recent visit to the U.S. Beijing's official media proclaimed the visit a "success" that reflected the "value" and "importance" of the U.S.-China and U.S.-Special Administrative Region (SAR) relationship. Editorial opinion from Hong Kong was nearly equally divided between papers that Mr. Tung had succeeded in deepening the U.S. government's "understanding" of Hong Kong and those that contended that he had "failed" to "sell" Hong Kong's electoral changes to an American audience. Among Mr. Tung's supporters was the English-language Hong Kong Standard, which praised the chief executive for "standing up to people like (Senator Jesse) Helms." Independent Ming Pao however, said that "during his Washington visit, (Mr. Tung) acted more like an envoy sent by Beijing than a leader of Hong Kong. And this was his biggest failure."

This survey is based on 26 reports from 24 countries, August 28 - September 19.

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Tung Chee-hwa's U.S. Visit Achieved Success"

Official Communist Party People's Daily Overseas Edition (Renmin Ribao

Haiwaiban

, 9/16) declared: "The U.S. response to Tung Chee-hwa's visit indicates

that

the United States values its relationship with China and with the

China-governed Special Administrative Region.... Tung Chee-hwa's posture

of

being neither humble nor pushy impressed the world.... (According to Hong

Kong's Business Daily) the success of Tung's U.S. visit lies in the fact

that

he, without any inflated words, gave U.S. citizens a true picture of

post-handover Hong Kong."

"Sino-U.S. Relations Essential To Hong Kong"

The official English-language China Daily ran this Xinhua piece (9/12):

"(Chief Executive) Tung stated that some (U.S.) congressmen 'don't quite

understand' the issues in Hong Kong. Denying embarrassment regarding the

recent Helms resolution, Tung said, 'We in Hong Kong care very much about
de
mocracy. Democracy is not the monopoly of the United States of America,
or
any Western nation.... We go forward in our own way that is right for
Hong
Kong,' Tung declared."

"Tung Chee-hwa's Visit Shows His Confidence"

Liang Yuji filed this for the official Communist Party People's Daily
Overseas
Edition (Renmin Ribao Haiwaiban, 9/2): "The visit (of Tung Chee-hwa to
the
United States) is of great importance and a reflection of confidence in
the
future of the Special Administrative Region. There are still many
foreigners
who have the idea that Hong Kong is in a mess, has no legal system and is
living in terror after the PLA's entrance. Tung Chee-hwa's visits abroad
will
give the world a clear picture of Hong Kong as the 'Pearl of the Orient'
and
will eliminate any misunderstandings and doubts. These visits, occurring
prior
to the September International Monetary Fund meeting, are bound to have
positive results."

"West's Windy Rhetoric Maligns China"

According to the official, English-language China Daily (8/29): "Articles in the West maligning China's Tibet policy, invariably without foundation and full of windy rhetoric, cause little stir here. Every major foreign newspaper and press association has offices in Beijing. Their journalists, plus hundreds of tourists and even a few American congressmen, travel to Tibet.... So far, no one has come up with an even slightly horrible report. China is one of the few countries in the world which, throughout history, has never been sullied by religious bigotry. It welcomes any and all religious orders as long as they are run by the Chinese themselves and are free of manipulation from abroad. It is outrageous to attack China on religious grounds.... (Such) slanders will not hurt China."

HONG KONG: "Tung's U.S. Visit Great Success"

Independent Ming Pao observed (9/19): "The American consul general described Tung Chee-hwa's trip as 'extremely successful.' This contrasted sharply with his earlier comments, which brought out the political disparity between the United States and Hong Kong. This change of heart shows Mr. Tung's Washington trip yielded satisfactory results."

"U.S. Business Community's Views Are What Counts"

In the opinion of the independent Hong Kong Economic Times (9/19):

"Whether President Clinton was satisfied with Hong Kong's democratization development is not important....

"What actually matters is how the American business community reacted to Tung's visit. It is business people's confidence in Hong Kong that really will affect Hong Kong's future development."

"Tung's U.S. Trip"

According to leading, pro-PRC Ta Kung Pao (9/19): "Tung's U.S. trip

proved

that communication could help the U.S. government further its

understanding of

Hong Kong, which eventually will help the White House adjust its policy

toward

Hong Kong."

"Why Tung Failed"

Independent Ming Pao judged (9/19): "C. H. Tung failed to convince

Capitol

Hill on the electoral changes. During his Washington visit, he acted more

like

an envoy sent by Beijing than a leader of Hong Kong. And this was his

biggest

failure."

"Beijing's Image Too Bad; Tung's Salesmanship Fails"

The Hong Kong Economic Times ran this commentary (9/14): "C.H.Tung denied

he

was a salesman for Beijing, but his behavior in the United States proved

just

the opposite. There are three reasons why the U.S. government refused to

accept the electoral changes. First of all, the electoral system is too

complicated, and it takes too much to explain. Second, it is not easy to

convince people of the sharp reduction in the number of voters. Third,

Beijing

is behind it."

"Tung's U.S. Trip Fruitless"

The Hong Kong Economic Journal drew this conclusion (9/15): "Nobody would question C.H.Tung's good intentions in speaking for Hong Kong and China.

But
he should have put economic and trade issues at the top of his agenda
during

his U.S. visit.... It was all true that since the handover, business has
been

as usual.... But it is also true that next year's voters for the
legislature

have been cut from 2.7 million to 180,000. No matter how he explained it,
it

would be hard for Americans to accept the changes.... Instead of
defending the

setback, Tung should have told the White House that the new electoral
method...was a result of years' disputes between China and Britain, and
his SAR

government has no option, even though it disagreed with it."

"Tung Puts U.S. Bully In His Place"

The English-language Hong Kong Standard (9/12) editorialized: "Senator
Jesse

Helms, it appears, was not too pleased with what Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa had to say about Hong Kong.... To more knowledgeable Americans, Mr. Helms is an ignoramus more renowned for obstructing his country's foreign relations with other nations than for any constructive efforts towards world peace....

It is to Mr. Tung's credit that in his first visit to the United States, he stood up to people like Mr. Helms and told them, politely but firmly, that Hong Kong is Hong Kong and, at the end of the day, it is Hong Kong people's interests that matter.... The likes of Mr. Helms may want to see Mr. Tung cringing and groveling before the mighty United States. That is not what anyone here or in the rest of Asia wants Mr. Tung to do.... Mr. Tung's firmness has struck the right chord. He has not been as aggressive as Malaysia's Mahathir Mohammed nor as sharp as Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew in countering the attacks of the West.

Mr. Tung comes from Hong Kong, where we give people face and firmly put across our point of view without being offensive. Well done, Mr. Tung."

"Chief Executive Bested In Argument, Unable To Convince Anyone"

The independent Apple Daily (9/12) editorialized: "(Hong Kong's) chief executive admitted yesterday he failed to persuade U.S. officials of the validity of the electoral changes. But he stressed that it is up to the people in Hong Kong to decide what is important and what is necessary. Ironically, even Hong Kong people could not be sold by Mr. Tung on the whole electoral arrangement. And there is nothing we can do about it."

"High-Level Personages On Capitol Hill Are Not Dumb"

Ex-legislator Emily Lau editorialized in Sing Tao Daily News (9/10): "It was believed that C. H. Tung's long-time connection with the U.S. business community and his friendship with powerful U.S. politicians would help smooth his U.S. trip. With Hong Kong's situation of 'business as usual' two months after the handover, the White House may orally accept the story that Hong Kong is still a free international city ruled and protected by laws as before.

But
these high-level personages on Capitol Hill are not dumb. While they
warmly
welcomed C. H. Tung, they all have big question marks in their hearts
regarding
Hong Kong's future.... Of course, those Americans who only care about
commercial interests will not question C. H. Tung's stance on issues of
human
rights and democracy. Fortunately, there are numerous courageous
Americans,
such as those in the U.S. media...who dare to raise issues that embarrass
C. H.
Tung."

TAIWAN: "The New Security Triangle"

The centrist, pro-status quo China Times (9/6) held, "We can tell from
Japanese
Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's recent trip to Beijing that rebuilding
Sino-Japanese ties is still a common concern shared by Tokyo and Beijing.
Despite the fact that Japanese conservatives hoped to expand Tokyo's role
in
the Asia-Pacific region, an excessively anxious manner or a too direct
expression of (Japan's) intent would arouse panic from neighboring
countries.
The panic is not just aimed at possible revival of Japan's militarism. It
also

includes the chain reaction likely to be triggered by [the possible]

expanded

scope...covered under the U.S.-Japan defense treaty....

"Taiwan...should at least be alert for the following two points: First,

'one

China' has become the pivot of the Asia-Pacific's security order. No

country

will directly challenge this framework just in order to support Taiwan's

independence. This is something that we must recognize.... Second, we

must

not lower our guard against mainland China's nationalism.... Beijing is

highly

vigilant over any movement by Japan in the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan will

only

offer those hard-liners in Beijing a chance to attack the island, using

nationalism as an excuse, and will not benefit...if it seeks to play the

Japanese card to restrain Beijing.... The new defense developments in the

Asia-Pacific area, however, will not necessarily put Taiwan in an

unfavorable

position. After all, Taiwan is located in the bigger environment of the

Asia-Pacific area. The more stable the regional situation becomes,

Beijing's

invading Taiwan becomes less likely, and the greater chances there will be

for

peaceful interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.... Under

a

scenario where Washington and Tokyo strengthen security negotiations, and Beijing and Tokyo engage in a security dialogue (also given the trend that the United States is seeking very hard to improve its relationship with Beijing), a new security network framed by the triangular relationship between the United States, Japan and mainland China is gradually emerging."

JAPAN: "Political Leadership Required For China's Prompt Entry Into WTO"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai Shimbun declared (9/1): "An important first step symbolizing China's entry into the international community (would be) its entry into the World Trade Organization. Chinese membership in the WTO would be the culmination of its 'reform, open-door' policy adopted in 1979.

"When China is allowed to become a WTO member state, the global economy will leap forward toward true integration. The benefits of China's WTO membership are enormous for both China and the international community.... The Clinton administration should not play along with the movement in the United States

that portrays China as the embodiment of evil.... For its part, the Chinese government must put forward bolder economic liberalization plans and explain the benefits of trade liberalization to the Chinese people. In this sense, political leadership is required in both Beijing and Washington."

SINGAPORE: "Tung Faces Down U.S. Pressure"

The pro-government Business Times drew this conclusion (9/17): "By all accounts, Hong Kong's Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa acquitted himself well during his trip to the United States, in particular in facing down strong American pressure on Hong Kong's electoral process.... Mr. Tung told his U.S. hosts, including President Bill Clinton, that the pace of democracy in Hong Kong will be dictated by its six million people, not by external pressure--not even from the United States.... To be sure, in establishing a line of communication with top American leaders and yet being firm in maintaining Hong Kong's position, Mr. Tung's stock with his political masters in Beijing can only go up. This...will enhance their trust in him and in turn, give him more elbow room in governing Hong Kong and safeguarding its way of life and its

freedoms. Ultimately, that is what the United States and every other country with an interest in Hong Kong's well-being should want for Hong Kong. "

THAILAND: "Japan-China-ASEAN"

Kiatchai Pongpanit observed in sensationalistic Khao Sod (9/13): "The more powerful Japan and China have become economically, the more concerned other Asian countries are of the emergence of militarism and hegemony of these two powers.... One example that justifies this concern is...China's claim over the Spratlys.... China's behavior following the United States' withdrawal from Subic Bay in 1992 has been increasingly intimidating."

"Hashimoto Fails To Chart New Course With China"

The independent, English-language Nation's editorial observed (9/9), "The United States, which wrote Japan's post-war constitution, now wants Japan to forsake (that constitution) so Japan can take on a greater burden in policing Asia. China, on the other hand, is wary of a remilitarized Japan. Caught between the world's most powerful nation and world's most populous nation,

Japan has opted for strategic ambiguity. Given this, it is not surprising that

Hashimoto was unable to assuage Beijing that the new guidelines for the U.S.-Japanese military alliance are not meant to contain and isolate China.

China has no doubt exploited Tokyo's inability to come to terms with its war

past by pressing for more aid and investments. And Japan seems to prefer to

play along instead of confronting the ghosts of its past."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "Jiang Sweeps The Decks"

The liberal Guardian reported (9/19): "With the lockstep obedience of Leninism,

the Chinese Communist Party yesterday endorsed a blueprint for raw capitalism

and a revamped central committee that strengthens the position of President

Jiang Zemin and banishes a potential rival."

"Out Of The Shadow Of Deng"

The independent weekly Economist had this report from Beijing (9/19):

"This

was the occasion for Jiang Zemin, party boss and state president, to step out

from the long shadow cast by the late Deng Xiaoping and emphasize his command

of party and state. It will have lasting consequences for the country.

The

problem is divining what these will be. Mr. Jiang, as a rhetorician, is a masterly hedger of bets.... Mr. Jiang can handle old-style party bosses.

His

future challenges will come more from the free thinkers."

"China's Contortions"

In editorial comment (9/19), the conservative Daily Telegraph said: "The Communist Party congress which closed in Beijing yesterday has provided the

first opportunity properly to assess the direction China will take after

Deng

Xiaoping's death. The changes initiated by the late paramount leader will be

expanded to embrace state-owned enterprises.... Yet the commitment to further

economic reform finds no counterpart in political liberalization.... The problem for Beijing is that the entrepreneurial forces which Deng unleashed make the contradiction between economic flexibility and political rigidity ever harder to contain."

FRANCE: "Jiang Zemin Strengthens His Position"

Right-of-center Les Echos editorialized (9/19): "Removal of the number-three party official came as a big surprise. Jiang's position is now secured and his hold...is indisputable...signaling his desire to do away with power struggles.... He and Li Peng now have a free hand to lead a reform policy of their choosing, beginning with state-owned enterprises."

GERMANY: "Deprived Of Power"

Petra Kolonko editorialized in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine (9/19): "For those in the Chinese Communist Party who consider reforms to be more than the transition to market economy principles, the depriving of power of Parliamentary President Qiao Shi, which was initiated by the party congress, is

a tough blow. Qiao Shi was the spokesman of those who advocated moderate political reforms.... At the beginning of next year, he must leave his post, which will be taken over by his strongest opponent, Li Peng...a hardliner who thinks that political reforms are dangerous. He only hesitantly backed the policy of economic reforms. Party leader Jiang Zemin is also sending a political signal by offering Li Peng the office of parliamentary president, which has traditionally been occupied by reforms in the party leadership. This means that Jiang Zemin's future course is clear: There will be economic reforms, but no changes in the political system which some people demanded in the past few weeks. As long as Li Peng stays in office, he will also know how to prevent a reassessment of the events of 1989."

"Power In China"

Herbert Kremp editorialized on the front page of right-of-center Die Welt of Berlin (9/19): "The changes in personnel in the Chinese leadership clearly show that the incumbent of all main posts in party, state, and armed forces,

Jiang Zemin was able to stay the course: The country will continue to open itself up economically to the inside and outside. As far as politics is concerned, the party, however, will continue to preserve its absolutist leading role."

"The Money Craze"

Centrist Mitteldeutsche Zeitung of Halle argued (9/19): "Jiang took stock of China's policy. He said that China would still be too poor for socialism, which meant that the country should first

make some money. For this purpose, the party leadership wants to use all available means: In special economic zones, capitalist enterprises are to be set up--often they are in the hands of military officials or politicians.

China is in a craze to make money. The party congress showed that the politburo has increasing difficulties maintaining the claim of a socialist system of society. China's new capitalists are already waiting for the moment when politics will abolish even the last dogmas from Mao's bible."

"Jiang Zemin Prevails"

Harald Mauss filed the following front-page editorial from Beijing for centrist

Stuttgarter Zeitung (9/19): "During the party congress, Jiang Zemin made clear

that political power will continue to rest in the hands of the Communist Party. Jiang categorically rejected political reforms, democratization, and

greater freedom of the press. The party leaders also rejected a political reassessment of the bloody crushing of the democracy movement of 1989 as ousted

party leader Zhao Ziyang demanded in a letter. A spokesman said that the Chinese government made clear its viewpoint several times before. And the comrades do not really want to know whether the Chinese are satisfied with this view."

"The Courage To Change"

In the view of centrist Badische Zeitung of Freiburg (9/15): "After long hesitation, China's Communist Party has dared to jump into cold water.

The economic reforms that were implemented during Deng's era were only half-hearted. The outdated steel industry was considered a sacred cow, and en

trepreneurial daring was attributed to foreign--but not

Chinese--companies and

concentrated in some 'special zones.' But all this is to change now--a

courageous step that carries some risks. To the same degree that jobs are cut in the highly subsidized heavy industries, new jobs must be created elsewhere.

If this cushioning process fails, social unrest will be looming. For the vast country, this is a bomb that cannot be defused with slogans from Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Deng."

"A Colossus On Shaky Feet"

Left-of-center Berliner Zeitung told its readers (9/15): "China considers itself an economic, political, and military giant. But this cannot obscure the fact that the Middle Kingdom continues to be a colossus that stands on shaky feet. This is why the 15th Party Congress is determined by caution and fear. Already now, the vast empire is split into two parts--a comparably rich southern area along the coast, and the rest of the country, which looks the same as it did in the last century. This contrast has resulted in a kind of exodus to the south. According to estimates, more than 100,000,000 poor farmers are trying to move to the south to make a fortune. In addition, there

is also a growing number of people who cannot imagine a free economy under a Stalinist regime and, therefore, demand political reforms."

ITALY: "The Miracle Of 'Reformable' Communism"

Ugo Tramballi commented in leading business daily Il Sole-24 Ore (9/19):

"What

is happening in China--or perhaps has already happened--is what Gorbachev used

to dream for Russia: a perestroika, even if the Chinese are offended by this

word.... The perestroika in Beijing is being introduced by the top, without

compromises with the people. And things seem to be working.

Democracy, ignored at the congress, will follow the Chinese course. In a few

months or a few years, the party will probably decide that the Tiananmen protest was not a 'counterrevolutionary' event, but simply a mistake. Not by

the soldiers who opened fire, but by the students who put up the protest.

And

this will open a phase of gradual opening at the pace and with the language

typical of China. When this happens, the \$500 billion in foreign investment

which China is negotiating will have become invested capital.

"China, with its ferocious pragmatism brought about by decades of tragedies,

will never clarify our eternal dilemma: Whether democracy is more important

than economic stability and whether civil liberties are inseparable or independent from the liberty to get rich. These are perhaps useless concerns,

given the fact that next month Jiang Zemin will be received with the due consideration by President Clinton."

RUSSIA: "Chinese Premier Calls For Perestroika"

Ivan Shomov said in reformist Segodnya (8/29): "China's Premier Li Peng really

made a stir when he addressed a group of businessmen in Singapore. His pronouncements in favor of political reform mean that the top leadership of the

Chinese Communist Party might seriously be reviewing Mao's and Deng's 'sacred

legacy.' There is no reason to question the sincerity of those statements,

though what Chinese leaders say does not always tally with what they do."

BELGIUM: "New Dramatic Acceleration Of Economic Change"

Edouard Van Velthem wrote in independent Le Soir (9/19): "It is no longer technical reforms toward the introduction of a market economy, but a real revolution of minds that has been set in motion (in China)... (This has taken place) under the pressure of events, because the closing of inefficient state-owned enterprises was becoming increasingly more urgent every day. But the admission that unemployment is inevitable, the call for an indispensable reconversion addressed to millions of workers accustomed to 'the iron rice bowl,' and the introduction of shareholders leads--even though the term remains taboo--to accepting privatization. This is 'market Marxism,' as the Financial Times puts it. However, the risks taken by the leadership in initiating these policy changes makes (the leadership) cling even more closely to its absolute political power.... The whole process is placed under the undivided authority of the party, with a propaganda press mobilized to stimulate ideological vigilance and the population's civic sense. The objective is to build a unique socialist society, not to copy the Western model with its parliamentary democracy and its 'individualistic' approach to human rights."

NORWAY: "Capital Punishment In China"

Conservative Aftenposten commented (8/28): "The Beijing authorities show no mercy. According to Amnesty International, more people are sentenced to death and executed in China than in all other countries put together. This very extensive use of capital punishment violates Article 3 in the UN Declaration of Human Rights: 'Every person has a right to life, freedom and personal security.' The term 'every person' must also apply to Chinese citizens, regardless of social standing and political orientation."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Jiang Zemin--China's Third Paramount Leader?"

Pundit K. Subrahmanyam penned this for readers of the pro-economic reforms Economic Times (9/16): "Jiang Zemin is attempting to erode the public sector and take China towards an increasingly market-oriented economy. Though formal obeisance is paid to market socialism and socialism with Chinese characteristics, there can be no doubt about the direction in which China is moving. Socialism is to be steadily eroded to be substituted by market economy. This is as challenging an assignment, if not a more challenging one

than those undertaken by Mao and Deng in (carrying out) their social
enginee
ring in a one-party state....

"In the social and political transformation China has (yet) to undergo,
the
role of the armed forces has to be given due consideration. The People's
Liberation Army leadership has acquired a large vested interest in market
economy under controlled conditions....

"The reversal of the egalitarian order into a market economy may lead to
massive social upheavals if it is not tightly controlled.... The present
Chinese leadership presumably does not want that to happen, especially at
a
time when the numbers of unemployed may run into a couple of hundreds of
millions."

"Evil Empire Strikes Back"

Historian and sociologist Ramachandra penned this analysis for the
centrist

Telegraph (9/9): "Post-Cold War United States might be defined as a
superpower
in search of a suitable enemy. There was an adventure in Iraq, true,
followed

by a misadventure in Somalia. But many Americans do not regard a Saddam Hussein or a General Mohammad Farrah Aideed as a suitably worthy opponent.

They are in search of a big guy, a country and army with a physical and military presence that will more closely approximate their own. There can be

only one candidate.... China and the Chinese seem to represent the only serious threat to U.S. paramountcy.... Editorial writers, and not just those

on the Republican right, are urging the president...to get tough with China

over Hong Kong, over Taiwan, over trade and patents, over a hundred and one

divisions real and imagined. They want him to show Beijing who is boss....

"The U.S. is not about to go to war with China just yet, but it is fairly certain that American public opinion will go steadily more hostile towards the

Chinese. The United States has always needed an enemy 'out there,' if only to

reliably contain dissent and foster unity 'in there'. As for the Chinese, they

have made pretty clear their intentions to conquer the global marketplace, but

making war seems rather low down on their list of options."

"Plutocracy In Hong Kong"

This was the editorial view of the centrist Statesman (9/2): "What is clear from post-handover developments in Hong Kong is that there is a fair degree of consensus in the Hong Kong ruling establishment on maintaining the status quo.

The Special Administrative Region's Court of Appeal has upheld the validity of the Provisional Council...in contravention of the procedures laid down in the Basic Law, which doubles as Hong Kong's constitution. The new legislature has, moreover, annulled several bills pertaining to trade union rights which is characteristic of communist regimes all over the world.... Hong Kong's character as a sort of an economic and political asylum for refugees from the mainland is also changing. Immigrant children are to be deported; that way the parents cannot stay behind either. Despite all this, Hong Kong continues to enjoy more political and economic freedom than the mainland....

"Everything is steadily falling in line with Beijing's scheme of things....

Business is booming more than ever before, Hong Kong is in the hands of a

Beijing-sponsored plutocracy.... The democracy lobby in Hong Kong is not fighting Tung Chee-hwa or the Provisional Council, it is fighting one-party rule in Beijing, and its strength and resources may be unequal to the task....

The democrats in Hong Kong will have to figure this one out themselves."

"The Breath Of The Dragon"

The right-of-center Indian Express judged in an editorial (8/28):

"Clearly,

the spirit of Tiananmen continues to live on (within) the Great Wall of the

Chinese State. This unacceptably high number of executions, believed to be

more than that of the rest of the world's countries put together, gives a rare

insight into a society caught in a painful transition. Yes, there is an economic miracle taking place in China, but because of its inherently lop-sided nature, it is also exacting a heavy price in terms of human welfare.... When a country of 1.3 billion experiences incremental social unrest and criminalization, the consequences are truly frightening....

"The Chinese state has certainly a great deal to account for in terms of its

human rights record.

"At the same time, the double-faced nature of the Western response to it should...not be papered over.... The United States' anxiety about bringing China to book for her human rights violations seems to be dictated more by (China's) burgeoning trade profile than by any real concern for its people. Such hypocrisies unfortunately inspire similar responses.

"When a U.S.-sponsored resolution attacking China's human rights record came up at the United Nations Human Rights Commission this (past) April, it was defeated. Countries like France, Italy and Australia...evidently decided that they stood to lose too much in terms of their own trade prospects with China. Discretion, as always, is the better part of valor."

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA: "Don't Expect Apology From China On Tiananmen"

An editorial in pro-government La Prensa observed (9/19) "The Chinese Communist Party has decided it will not revise its version of the Tiananmen Square massacre which took place in June 1989.... The official pronouncement against

any revision, which was transmitted by the Minister of Justice Xiao Yang,
was
in response to a public request by the still 'exiled' Zhao Ziyang, who
believed
that 'there are no reasons to qualify the students' expressions at
Tiananmen
Square as a 'counter-revolutionary rebellion.' The boldness of Ziyang's
request does not make it less unusual--above all considering that the
party did
not stop it from being dealt with by the media. It may be suggesting, in
the
complex codes of Communist regimes, internal confrontation. But we must
not
expect an apology from the rulers. Such a degree of sincerity would be
'the
beginning of the end' of the regime."

##===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Return-path: USIA_Media_Reaction/R__MR/WASHDC/USIA/GOV.USIA@notes1.usia.gov
Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01INTRU2JYKG00EPRB@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for panerali_k@a1.eop.gov; Fri,
19 Sep 1997 12:24:33 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01INTRTZJPY000GZ1E@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
panerali_k@a1.eop.gov; Fri, 19 Sep 1997 12:24:28 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from notes1.usia.gov ([198.67.64.251])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-7 #6879)
with SMTP id <01INTRT4B2NU005AVJ@STORM.EOP.GOV> for panerali_k@a1.eop.gov;
Fri, 19 Sep 1997 12:23:46 -0400 (EDT)
Received: by notes1.usia.gov (IBM OS/2 SENDMAIL VERSION 1.3.2)
/1.0) id AA6303; Fri, 19 Sep 1997 12:21:15 -0700
Received: from USIA with "Lotus Notes Mail Gateway for SMTP" id
623199157DEB6801852565170058E378; Fri, 19 Sep 1997 12:14:45 +0000

X-Lotus-Type: Daily Digest

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPC

2BPV`Courier 10cpi|x?xxx,kx6X@8;X@ 3'

3' 3' X` hp x X XX 3'
3' 3' 3'

XX X` hp x (##Xx\ P6QyXP#

X` hp x (#%O

ddx

XxX<O

#:x2PkCXP#

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

#:2PkCP#DAILY DIGEST #XX\ P6QyP#USIA #:Z2PkCP#U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHIN
GTON DC 20547 OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTIONOO

#XP\ P6QyP#Bill Richey, Branch Chief Media Reaction (R/MR), #:x2PkCXP# #XP\

P6QyP#Richey@usia.gov, (202) 6196511 Ann Pincus,

Director, (2

02) 6196511

X` hp x (##Xn\ P6Qy&P#Friday, September 19, 1997

X` hp x (#%

CHINA'S 15TH PARTY CONGRESS: 'OUT FROM THE SHADOW' OF DENG XIAOPING

X` hp x (#Readers of the political tea leaves in Asia focused their attention
on

China's justconcluded 15th Party Congress in Beijing and saw signs that
Jian

g Zemin had begun "to step out from the long shadow" cast by the late
Deng Xiao

ping and had solidified "indisputable" control over the Chinese
Communist Party

and the state. Most analysts had positive assessments of
the economic reform

s endorsed at the congress, which would drastically reduce
the size and number

of China's stateowned enterprises, once considered the
"sacred cows" of China'

s centrally planned economy. A number of European
editors, however, worried t

hat the commitment to economic liberalization

shown by the Chinese leadership w

ould create unrest among dislocated workers.

Echoing the view of a German pape

r, which described China as a "colossus...on

shaky feet," Brussels's independ

ent Le Soir argued that the introduction of a market economy in China has set in motion "a real revolution of minds" and worried about the potential displacement of millions of workers "accustomed to 'the iron rice bowl.'" Writing for New Delhi's proeconomic reforms Economic Times, an Indian pundit likewise judged: "The reversal of the egalitarian order into a market economy may lead to massive social upheavals if it is not tightly controlled.... The present Chinese leadership presumably does not want that to happen, especially at a time when the numbers of unemployed may run into a couple of hundreds of millions." In terms of Chinese Communist Party politics, rightofcenter Frankfurter Allgemeine called the exclusion of National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shithe party's numberthree ranking official, who is considered one of President Jiang's main rivalsfrom the new lineup on the party's central committee "a tough blow. Qiao Shi was the spokesman of those who advocated moderate political reforms.... His post...will be taken over by his strongest opponent, Li Peng...a hardliner who thinks that political reforms are dangerous," the daily commented darkly.

Editors in Asia had mixed reviews of Hong Kong Chief Executive C. H. Tung's recent visit to the U.S. Beijing's official media proclaimed the visit a "success" that reflected the "value" and "importance" of the U.S.China and U.S.Special Administrative Region (SAR) relationship. Editorial opinion from Hong Kong was nearly equally divided between papers that Mr. Tung had succeeded in deepening the U.S. government's "understanding" of Hong Kong and those that contended that he had "failed" to "sell" Hong Kong's electoral changes to an American audience. Among Mr. Tung's supporters was the Englishlanguage Hong Kong Standard, which praised the chief executive for "standing up to people like (Senator Jesse) Helms." Independent Ming Pao, however, said that "during his Washington visit, (Mr. Tung) acted more like an envoy sent by Beijing than a leader of Hong Kong."

g. And this was his biggest failure."

This survey is based on 26 reports from 24 countries, August 28 - September 19.

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

Xinhua (#)
EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Tung Cheehwa's U.S. Visit Achieved Success"

Official Communist Party People's Daily Overseas Edition (Renmin Ribao Haiwaib

an, 9/16) declared: "The U.S. response to Tung Cheehwa's visit indicates that

the United States values its relationship with China and with the China governme

nt Special Administrative Region.... Tung Cheehwa's posture of being neither hu

man nor pushy impressed the world.... (According to Hong Kong's Business Dail

ly) the success of Tung's U.S. visit lies in the fact that he, without any infla

ted words, gave U.S. citizens a true picture of posthandover Hong Kong."

Xinhua (#)
"Sino-U.S. Relations Essential To Hong Kong"

The official English-language China Daily ran this Xinhua piece (9/12): "(Chie

f Executive) Tung stated that some (U.S.) congressmen 'don't quite understand'

the issues in Hong Kong. Denying embarrassment regarding the recent Helms reso

lution, Tung said, 'We in Hong Kong care very much about democracy. Democracy

is not the monopoly of the United States of America, or any Western nation...

. We go forward in our own way that is right for Hong Kong,' Tung declared."

"Tung Cheehwa's Visit Shows His Confidence"

Liang Yuji filed this for the official Communist Party People's Daily Overseas

Edition (Renmin Ribao Haiwaiban, 9/2): "The visit (of Tung Cheehwa to the Uni

ted States) is of great importance and a reflection of confidence in the futur

e of the Special Administrative Region. There are still many foreigners who have the idea that Hong Kong is in a mess, has no legal system and is living in turmoil after the PLA's entrance. Tung Cheehwa's visits abroad will give the world a clear picture of Hong Kong as the 'Pearl of the Orient' and will eliminate any misunderstandings and doubts. These visits, occurring prior to the September International Monetary Fund meeting, are bound to have positive results."

"West's Windy Rhetoric Maligns China"

Xinhua (#According to the official, Englishlanguage China Daily (8/29): "Articles in the West maligning China's Tibet policy, invariably without foundation and full of windy rhetoric, cause little stir here. Every major foreign newspaper and press association has offices in Beijing. Their journalists, plus hundreds of tourists and even a few American congressmen, travel to Tibet.... So far, no one has come up with an even slightly horrible report. China is one of the few countries in the world which, throughout history, has never been sullied by religious bigotry. It welcomes any and all religious orders as long as they are run by the Chinese themselves and are free of manipulation from abroad. It is outrageous to attack China on religious grounds.... (Such) slanders will not hurt China."

Xinhua (# HONG KONG: "Tung's U.S. Visit Great Success"

Independent Ming Pao observed (9/19): "The American consul general described Tung Cheehwa's trip as 'extremely successful.' This contrasted sharply with his earlier comments, which brought out the political disparity between the United States and Hong Kong. This change of heart shows Mr. Tung's Washington trip yielded satisfactory results."

Xinhua (# "U.S. Business Community's Views Are What Counts"

In the opinion of the independent Hong Kong Economic Times (9/19): "Whether President Clinton was satisfied with Hong Kong's democratization development is

not important....

"What actually matters is how the American business community reacted to Tung's visit. It is business people's confidence in Hong Kong that really will affect Hong Kong's future development."

"Tung's U.S. Trip"

According to leading, proPRC Ta Kung Pao (9/19): "Tung's U.S. trip proved that communication could help the U.S. government further its understanding of Hong Kong, which eventually will help the White House adjust its policy toward Hong Kong."

"Why Tung Failed"

Independent Ming Pao judged (9/19): "C. H. Tung failed to convince Capitol Hill on the electoral changes. During his Washington visit, he acted more like a man envoy sent by Beijing than a leader of Hong Kong. And this was his biggest failure."

"Beijing's Image Too Bad; Tung's Salesmanship Fails"

The Hong Kong Economic Times ran this commentary (9/14): "C.H.Tung denied he was a salesman for Beijing, but his behavior in the United States proved just the opposite. There are three reasons why the U.S. government refused to accept the electoral changes. First of all, the electoral system is too complicated, and it takes too much to explain. Second, it is not easy to convince people of the sharp reduction in the number of voters. Third, Beijing is behind it."

"Tung's U.S. Trip Fruitless"

The Hong Kong Economic Journal drew this conclusion (9/15): "Nobody would question C.H.Tung's good intentions in speaking for Hong Kong and China. But he should have put economic and trade issues at the top of his agenda during his U.S. visit.... It was all true that since the handover, business has been as usual.... But it is also true that next year's voters for the legislature have been

en cut from 2.7 million to 180,000. No matter how he explained it, it would be hard for Americans to accept the changes.... Instead of defending the setback, Tung should have told the White House that the new electoral method...was a result of years' disputes between China and Britain, and his SAR government has no option, even though it disagreed with it."

"Tung Puts U.S. Bully In His Place"

The Englishlanguage Hong Kong Standard (9/12) editorialized: "Senator Jesse Helms, it appears, was not too pleased with what Chief Executive Tung Cheehwa had to say about Hong Kong.... To more knowledgeable Americans, Mr. Helms is an ignoramus more renowned for obstructing his country's foreign relations with other nations than for any constructive efforts towards world peace.... It is to Mr. Tung's credit that in his first visit to the United States, he stood up to people like Mr. Helms and told them, politely but firmly, that Hong Kong is Hong Kong and, at the end of the day, it is Hong Kong people's interests that matter.... The likes of Mr. Helms may want to see Mr. Tung cringing and groveling before the mighty United States. That is not what anyone here or in the rest of Asia wants Mr. Tung to do.... Mr. Tung's firmness has struck the right chord. He has not been as aggressive as Malaysia's Mahathir Mohammed nor as sharp as Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew in countering the attacks of the West. Mr. Tung comes from Hong Kong, where we give people face and firmly put across our point of view without being offensive. Well done, Mr. Tung."

"Chief Executive Bested In Argument, Unable To Convince Anyone"

The independent Apple Daily (9/12) editorialized: "(Hong Kong's) chief executive admitted yesterday he failed to persuade U.S. officials of the validity of

the electoral changes. But he stressed that it is up to the people in Hong Kong to decide what is important and what is necessary. Ironically, even Hong Kong people could not be sold by Mr. Tung on the whole electoral arrangement. And there is nothing we can do about it."

"HighLevel Personages On Capitol Hill Are Not Dumb"

Exlegislator Emily Lau editorialized in Sing Tao Daily News (9/10): "It was believed that C. H. Tung's longtime connection with the U.S. business community and his friendship with powerful U.S. politicians would help smooth his U.S. trip. With Hong Kong's situation of 'business as usual' two months after the handover, the White House may orally accept the story that Hong Kong is still a free international city ruled and protected by laws as before. But these highlevel personages on Capitol Hill are not dumb. While they warmly welcomed C. H. Tung, they all have big question marks in their hearts regarding Hong Kong's future.... Of course, those Americans who only care about commercial interests will not question C. H. Tung's stance on issues of human rights and democracy. Fortunately, there are numerous courageous Americans, such as those in the U.S. media...who dare to raise issues that embarrass C. H. Tung."

TAIWAN: "The New Security Triangle"

The centrist, prostatus quo China Times (9/6) held, "We can tell from Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's recent trip to Beijing that rebuilding Sino-Japanese ties is still a common concern shared by Tokyo and Beijing. Despite the fact that Japanese conservatives hoped to expand Tokyo's role in the AsiaPacific region, an excessively anxious manner or a too direct expression of (Japan's) intent would arouse panic from neighboring countries. The panic is not just aimed at possible revival of Japan's militarism. It also includes the chain reaction likely to be triggered by [the possible] expanded scope...covered under the U.S.-Japan defense

treaty....

"Taiwan...should at least be alert for the following two points: First, 'one China' has become the pivot of the AsiaPacific's security order. No country will directly challenge this framework just in order to support Taiwan's independence. This is something that we must recognize.... Second, we must not lower our guard against mainland China's nationalism.... Beijing is highly vigilant over any movement by Japan in the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan will only offer those hardliners in Beijing a chance to attack the island, using nationalism as an excuse, and will not benefit...if it seeks to play the Japanese card to restrain Beijing.... The new defense developments in the AsiaPacific area, however, will not necessarily put Taiwan in an unfavorable position. After all, Taiwan is located in the bigger environment of the AsiaPacific area. The more stable the regional situation becomes, Beijing's invading Taiwan becomes less likely, and the greater chances there will be for peaceful interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.... Under a scenario where Washington and Tokyo strengthen security negotiations, and Beijing and Tokyo engage in a security dialogue (also given the trend that the United States is seeking very hard to improve its relationship with Beijing), a new security network framed by the triangular relationship between the United States, Japan and mainland China is gradually emerging."

JAPAN: "Political Leadership Required For China's Prompt Entry Into WTO"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai Shimbun declared (9/1): "An important first step symbolizing China's entry into the international community (would be) its entry into the World Trade Organization. Chinese membership in the WTO would be the culmination of its 'reform, open door' policy adopted in 1979."

"When China is allowed to become a WTO member state, the global economy will leap forward toward true integration. The benefits of China's WTO membership are

e enormous for both China and the international community....
The Clinton administration should not play along with the movement in the United States that portrays China as the embodiment of evil.... For its part, the Chinese government must put forward bolder economic liberalization plans and explain the benefits of trade liberalization to the Chinese people. In this sense, political leadership is required in both Beijing and Washington."

SINGAPORE: "Tung Faces Down U.S. Pressure"

The progovernment Business Times drew this conclusion (9/17): "By all accounts, Hong Kong's Chief Executive Tung Cheehwa acquitted himself well during his trip to the United States, in particular in facing down strong American pressure on Hong Kong's electoral process.... Mr. Tung told his U.S. hosts, including President Bill Clinton, that the pace of democracy in Hong Kong will be dictated by its six million people, not by external pressure not even from the United States.... To be sure, in establishing a line of communication with top American leaders and yet being firm in maintaining Hong Kong's position, Mr. Tung's stock with his political masters in Beijing can only go up. This...will enhance their trust in him and in turn, give him more elbow room in governing Hong Kong and safeguarding its way of life and its freedoms. Ultimately, that is what the United States and every other country with an interest in Hong Kong's wellbeing should want for Hong Kong. "

THAILAND: "JapanChinaASEAN"

Kiatchai Pongpanit observed in sensationalistic Khao Sod (9/13): "The more powerful Japan and China have become economically, the more concerned other Asian countries are of the emergence of militarism and hegemony of these two powers One example that justifies this concern is...China's claim over the Spratly Islands.... China's behavior following the United States' withdrawal from Subic Bay

ay in 1992 has been increasingly intimidating."

X` hp x (#

"Hashimoto Fails To Chart New Course With China"

X` hp x (#

The independent, Englishlanguage Nation's editorial observed (9/9), "The Unite

d States, which wrote Japan's postwar constitution, now wants Japan to forsake

(that consitution) so Japan can take on a greater burden in policing Asia. Ch

ina, on the other hand, is wary of a remilitarized Japan. Caught between the w

orld's most powerful nation and world's most populous nation, Japan has opted f

or strategic ambiguity. Given this, it is not surprising that Hashimoto was un

able to assuage Beijing that the new guidelines for the U.S.Japanese military a

lliance are not meant to contain and isolate China.

China has no doubt exploit

ed Tokyo's inability to come to terms with its war past by pressing for more ai

d and investments. And Japan seems to prefer to

play along instead of confront

ing the ghosts of its past."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "Jiang Sweeps The Decks"

The liberal Guardian reported (9/19): "With the lockstep obedience of Leninism

, the Chinese Communist Party yesterday endorsed a blueprint for raw capitalism

and a revamped central committee that strengthens the position of President Ji

ang Zemin and banishes a potential rival."

"Out Of The Shadow Of Deng"

The independent weekly Economist had this report from Beijing (9/19): "This w

as the occasion for Jiang Zemin, party boss and state president, to step out fr

om the long shadow cast by the late Deng Xiaoping and emphasize his command of

party and state. It will have lasting consequences for the country. The probl

em is divining what these will be. Mr. Jiang, as a rhetorician, is a

masterly
hedger of bets.... Mr. Jiang can handle oldstyle party bosses.
His future challenges will come more from the free thinkers."

"China's Contortions"

In editorial comment (9/19), the conservative Daily Telegraph said: "The Communist Party congress which closed in Beijing yesterday has provided the first opportunity properly to assess the direction China will take after Deng Xiaoping's death. The changes initiated by the late paramount leader will be expanded to embrace stateowned enterprises.... Yet the commitment to further economic reform finds no counterpart in political liberalization.... The problem for Beijing is that the entrepreneurial forces which Deng unleashed make the contradiction between economic flexibility and political rigidity ever harder to contain."

FRANCE: "Jiang Zemin Strengthens His Position"

Rightofcenter Les Echos editorialized (9/19): "Removal of the numberthree party official came as a big surprise. Jiang's position is now secured and his hold...is indisputable...signaling his desire to do away with power struggles.... He and Li Peng now have a free hand to lead a reform policy of their choosing, beginning with stateowned enterprises."

GERMANY: "Deprived Of Power"

Petra Kolonko editorialized in rightofcenter Frankfurter Allgemeine (9/19):
"For those in the Chinese Communist Party who consider reforms to be more than the transition to market economy principles, the depriving of power of Parliamentary President Qiao Shi, which was initiated by the party congress, is a tough blow. Qiao Shi was the spokesman of those who advocated moderate political reforms.... At the beginning of next year, he must leave his post, which will be taken over by his strongest opponent, Li Peng...a hardliner who thinks that political reforms are dangerous. He only hesitantly backed the

policy of economic reforms. Party leader Jiang Zemin is also sending a political signal by offering Li Peng the office of parliamentary president, which has traditionally been occupied by reforms in the party leadership. This means that Jiang Zemin's future course is clear: There will be economic reforms, but no changes in the political system which some people demanded in the past few weeks. As long as Li Peng stays in office, he will also know how to prevent a reassessment of the events of 1989."

"Power In China"

Herbert Kremp editorialized on the front page of rightofcenter Die Welt of Berlin (9/19): "The changes in personnel in the Chinese leadership clearly show that the incumbent of all main posts in party, state, and armed forces, Jiang Zemin was able to stay the course: The country will continue to open itself up economically to the inside and outside. As far as politics is concerned, the party, however, will continue to preserve its absolutist leading role."

"The Money Craze"

Centrist Mitteldeutsche Zeitung of Halle argued (9/19): "Jiang took stock of China's policy. He said that China would still be too poor for socialism, which meant that the country should first

make some money. For this purpose, the party leadership wants to use all available means: In special economic zones, capitalist enterprises are to be set up often they are in the hands of military officials or politicians. China is in a craze to make money. The party congress showed that the politburo has increasing difficulties maintaining the claim of a socialist system of society. China's new capitalists are already waiting for the moment when politics will abolish even the last dogmas from Mao's bible."

"Jiang Zemin Prevails"

Harald Mauss filed the following frontpage editorial from Beijing for centrist

Stuttgarter Zeitung (9/19): "During the party congress, Jiang Zemin made clear that political power will continue to rest in the hands of the Communist Party. Jiang categorically rejected political reforms, democratization, and greater freedom of the press. The party leaders also rejected a political reassessment of the bloody crushing of the democracy movement of 1989 as ousted party leader Zhao Ziyang demanded in a letter. A spokesman said that the Chinese government made clear its viewpoint several times before. And the comrades do not really want to know whether the Chinese are satisfied with this view."

"The Courage To Change"

In the view of centrist Badische Zeitung of Freiburg (9/15): "After long hesitation, China's Communist Party has dared to jump into cold water. The economic reforms that were implemented during Deng's era were only halfhearted. The outdated steel industry was considered a sacred cow, and entrepreneurial daring was attributed to foreign but not Chinese companies and concentrated in some 'special zones.' But all this is to change now a courageous step that carries some risks. To the same degree that jobs are cut in the highly subsidized heavy industries, new jobs must be created elsewhere. If this cushioning process fails, social unrest will be looming. For the vast country, this is a bomb that cannot be defused with slogans from Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Deng."

"A Colossus On Shaky Feet"

Leftofcenter Berliner Zeitung told its readers (9/15): "China considers itself an economic, political, and military giant. But this cannot obscure the fact that the Middle Kingdom continues to be a colossus that stands on shaky feet.

This is why the 15th Party Congress is determined by caution and fear. Already now, the vast empire is split into two parts: a comparably rich southern area

along the coast, and the rest of the country, which looks the same as it did in the last century. This contrast has resulted in a kind of exodus to the south . According to estimates, more than 100,000,000 poor farmers are trying to move to the south to make a fortune. In addition, there is also a growing number of people who cannot imagine a free economy under a Stalinist regime and, therefore, demand political reforms."

ITALY: "The Miracle Of 'Reformable' Communism"

Ugo Tramballi commented in leading business daily *Il Sole* 24 Ore (9/19): "What is happening in China or perhaps has already happened is what Gorbachev used to demand for Russia: a perestroika, even if the Chinese are offended by this word. ... The perestroika in Beijing is being introduced by the top, without compromises with the people. And things seem to be working.

Democracy, ignored at the congress, will follow the Chinese course. In a few months or a few years, the party will probably decide that the Tiananmen protest was not a 'counterrevolutionary' event, but simply a mistake. Not by the soldiers who opened fire, but by the students who put up the protest. And this will open a phase of gradual opening at the pace and with the language typical of China. When this happens, the \$500 billion in foreign investment which China is negotiating will have become invested capital.

"China, with its ferocious pragmatism brought about by decades of tragedies, will never clarify our eternal dilemma: Whether democracy is more important than economic stability and whether civil liberties are inseparable or independent from the liberty to get rich. These are perhaps useless concerns, given the fact that next month Jiang Zemin will be received with the due consideration by President Clinton."

RUSSIA: "Chinese Premier Calls For Perestroika"

Ivan Shomov said in reformist *Segodnya* (8/29): "China's Premier Li Peng

really
made a stir when he addressed a group of businessmen in Singapore.
His pronou
ncements in favor of political reform mean that the top leadership
of the Chine
se Communist Party might seriously be reviewing Mao's and Deng's
'sacred legacy
' There is no reason to question the sincerity of those
statements, though wh
at Chinese leaders say does not always tally with what
they do."

BELGIUM: "New Dramatic Acceleration Of Economic Change"

Edouard Van Velthem wrote in independent Le Soir (9/19): "It is no longer
tech
nical reforms toward the introduction of a market economy, but a real
revolutio
n of minds that has been set in motion (in China.)... (This has
taken place) u
nder the pressure of events, because the closing of inefficient
stateowned ente
rprises was becoming increasingly more urgent every day. But
the admission tha
t unemployment is inevitable, the call for an indispensable
reconversion addres
sed to millions of workers accustomed to 'the iron rice
bowl,' and the introduc
tion of shareholders leadseven though the term
remains tabooto accepting privat
ization. This is 'market Marxism,' as the
Financial Times puts it. However, t
he risks taken by the leadership in
initiating these policy changes makes (the
leadership) cling even more
closely to its absolute political power.... The wh
ole process is placed
under the undivided authority of the party, with a propag
anda press mobilized
to stimulate ideological vigilance and the population's ci
vic sense. The
objective is to build a unique socialist society, not to copy t
he Western
model with its parliamentary democracy and its 'individualistic' app
roach to
human rights."

NORWAY: "Capital Punishment In China"

Conservative Aftenposten commented (8/28): "The Beijing authorities show no
m
ercy. According to Amnesty International, more people are sentenced to death
an
d executed in China than in all other countries put together. This very

extensive use of capital punishment violates Article 3 in the UN Declaration of Human Rights: 'Every person has a right to life, freedom and personal security.' The term 'every person' must also apply to Chinese citizens, regardless of social standing and political orientation."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Jiang Zemin China's Third Paramount Leader?"

Pundit K. Subrahmanyam penned this for readers of the proeconomic reforms Economic Times (9/16): "Jiang Zemin is attempting to erode the public sector and take China towards an increasingly market-oriented economy. Though formal obedience is paid to market socialism and socialism with Chinese characteristics, there can be no doubt about the direction in which China is moving. Socialism is to be steadily eroded to be substituted by market economy. This is as challenging an assignment, if not a more challenging one than those undertaken by Mao and Deng in (carrying out) their social engineering in a one-party state....

"In the social and political transformation China has (yet) to undergo, the role of the armed forces has to be given due consideration. The People's Liberation Army leadership has acquired a large vested interest in market economy under controlled conditions....

"The reversal of the egalitarian order into a market economy may lead to massive social upheavals if it is not tightly controlled.... The present Chinese leadership presumably does not want that to happen, especially at a time when the numbers of unemployed may run into a couple of hundreds of millions."

"Evil Empire Strikes Back"

Historian and sociologist Ramachandra penned this analysis for the centrist Telegraph (9/9): "PostCold War United States might be defined as a

superpower in search of a suitable enemy. There was an adventure in Iraq, true, followed by a misadventure in Somalia. But many Americans do not regard a Saddam Hussein or a General Mohammad Farrah Aided as a suitably worthy opponent. They are in search of a big guy, a country and army with a physical and military presence that will more closely approximate their own. There can be only one candidate. ... China and the Chinese seem to represent the only serious threat to U.S. paramountcy.... Editorial writers, and not just those on the Republican right, are urging the president...to get tough with China over Hong Kong, over Taiwan, over trade and patents, over a hundred and one divisions real and imagined. They want him to show Beijing who is boss....

"The U.S. is not about to go to war with China just yet, but it is fairly certain that American public opinion will go steadily more hostile towards the Chinese. The United States has always needed an enemy 'out there,' if only to reliably contain dissent and foster unity 'in there'. As for the Chinese, they have made pretty clear their intentions to conquer the global marketplace, but making war seems rather low down on their list of options."

"Plutocracy In Hong Kong"

This was the editorial view of the centrist Statesman (9/2): "What is clear from posthandover developments in Hong Kong is that there is a fair degree of consensus in the Hong Kong ruling establishment on maintaining the status quo. The Special Administrative Region's Court of Appeal has upheld the validity of the Provisional Council...in contravention of the procedures laid down in the Basic Law, which doubles as Hong Kong's constitution. The new legislature has, moreover, annulled several bills pertaining to trade union rights which is characteristic of communist regimes all over the world.... Hong Kong's character as a sort of an economic and political asylum for refugees from the mainland is a

also changing. Immigrant children are to be deported; that way the parents cannot stay behind either. Despite all this, Hong Kong continues to enjoy more political and economic freedom than the mainland....

"Everything is steadily falling in line with Beijing's scheme of things.... Business is booming more than ever before, Hong Kong is in the hands of a Beijing sponsored plutocracy.... The democracy lobby in Hong Kong is not fighting Tung Cheehwa or the Provisional Council, it is fighting one party rule in Beijing, and its strength and resources may be unequal to the task.... The democrats in Hong Kong will have to figure this one out themselves."

"The Breath Of The Dragon"

The right of center Indian Express judged in an editorial (8/28): "Clearly, the spirit of Tiananmen continues to live on (within) the Great Wall of the Chinese State. This unacceptably high number of executions, believed to be more than that of the rest of the world's countries put together, gives a rare insight into a society caught in a painful transition. Yes, there is an economic miracle taking place in China, but because of its inherently lopsided nature, it is also exacting a heavy price in terms of human welfare.... When a country of 1.3 billion experiences incremental social unrest and criminalization, the consequences are truly frightening....

"The Chinese state has certainly a great deal to account for in terms of its human rights record.

"At the same time, the doublefaced nature of the Western response to it should...not be papered over.... The United States' anxiety about bringing China to book for her human rights violations seems to be dictated more by (China's) burgeoning trade profile than by any real concern for its people. Such hypocrisies unfortunately inspire similar responses.

"When a U.S.sponsored resolution attacking China's human rights record came up at the United Nations Human Rights Commission this (past) April, it was defeated. Countries like France, Italy and Australia...evidently decided that they stood to lose too much in terms of their own trade prospects with China. Discretion, as always, is the better part of valor."

X` hp x (#
LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA: "Don't Expect Apology From China On Tiananmen"

X` hp x (#

An editorial in progovernment La Prensa observed (9/19) "The Chinese Communist Party has decided it will not revise its version of the Tiananmen Square massacre which took place in June 1989.... The official pronouncement against any revision, which was transmitted by the Minister of Justice Xiao Yang, was in response to a public request by the still 'exiled' Zhao Ziyang, who believed that 'there are no reasons to qualify the students' expressions at Tiananmen Square as a 'counterrevolutionary rebellion.' The boldness of Ziyang's request does not make it less unusual above all considering that the party did not stop it from being dealt with by the media. It may be suggesting, in the complex codes of Communist regimes, internal confrontation. But we must not expect an apology from the rulers. Such a degree of sincerity would be 'the beginning of the end' of the regime."

X` hp x (#

#Xx\ P6QyXP#

===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: nobody (nobody@www2.whitehouse.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-OCT-1997 20:26:00.00

SUBJECT: Guest_Book_WH_WWW_MAIL

TO: guestbook (guestbook@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Remote host: pmwill1-22.csrlink.net

Remote IP address: 207.44.8.73

BROWSER: Mozilla/2.0 (compatible; MSIE 3.01; Windows 95)

[Sender information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Cynthia E. Koons

[Message information]

SUBJECT: healthcare in America

[Message content follows]

I am a registered nurse of some 22 years, most of them spent in Emergency

Rooms. I would like to point out that managed care is not the answer to

the problem, it IS a problem. It's impossible to educate the public.

Socialism in all it's forms, political,

social and that involving medical care have been proven by England and

Canada to be completely unworkable. I don't have the answers (surprise)

but I do know a little about what does and doesn't work. Healthcare is the

only business required to provide s
ervices regardless of the client's ability to pay. Who walks into a
grocery store, fills their cart and then arriving at the checkout says
"Sorry, I can't pay the bill...." He would be summarily shown the door.

Anyway, chiao, greetings and goodbye.===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IOKSC0ZHO000I98X@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed,
08 Oct 1997 20:29:35 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IOKSBX2U0000LL9D@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed, 08 Oct 1997 20:29:29 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from www2.whitehouse.gov ([198.137.240.92])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-7 #6879)
with SMTP id <01IOKSBE0OXO006J0T@STORM.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed,
08 Oct 1997 20:29:06 -0400 (EDT)
Received: by www2.whitehouse.gov (951211.SGI.8.6.12.PATCH1042/940406.SGI.AUTO)
for guestbook@oa.eop.gov id UAA12503; Wed, 08 Oct 1997 20:26:03 -0400
Apparently-to: guestbook@oa.eop.gov
Keywords: WWW-Correspondence; Guest_Book
Comments: Forwarded from White House WWW.
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: KentPekel (KentPekel@worldnet.att.net@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:22-OCT-1997 18:00:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: 1997-10-22 briefing on China

TO: Tanya E. Martin (Tanya E. Martin@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

thanks. this day has become disAt 07:43 PM 10/22/97 +0000, you wrote:

>Message Creation Date was at 22-OCT-1997 15:43:00

>

>Some of this is basic information, but since its your area of the country

...

>

>----- Forwarded by Tanya E. Martin/OPD/EOP on 10/22/97

03:43 PM

> -----

>

>

>

> SUNTUM_M @ A1

> 10/22/97 01:57:00 PM

>Record Type: Record

>

>To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

>cc:

>Subject: 1997-10-22 briefing on China

>

>

> THE WHITE HOUSE

> Office of the Press Secretary

>For Immediate Release October 22, 1997

> PRESS BRIEFING BY

> DR. HARRY HARDING AND DR. KENNETH LIEBERTHAL

> The Briefing Room

>12:20 P.M. EDT

> MS. LUZZATTO: Hello. We have a briefing today from two

>China scholars. Each of them will give brief remarks and then take

>questions for you. Kenneth Lieberthal, who is on the faculty of the

>University of Michigan at the Center for Chinese Studies will go

>first. I have bios here for people who are interested afterwards.

>And Harry Harding, who is the Dean of the Elliot School of

>International Affairs and Professor of Political Science at George

>Washington University.

> DR. LIEBERTHAL: Thank you. I'm going to direct my

>remarks broadly to some basic information about China. Harry Harding

>will then focus in more directly on what the reforms in China have
>been and some of the issues that are currently on the agenda there.
>And then we'll both be happy to take whatever questions you've got.

>

> I think if you want to understand China's leadership and
>how they approach the relationship with the U.S. and their own
>domestic issues, you have to keep some basic dimensions of China
>clearly in mind. First, in terms of size, China is the same size as
>the United States, 2 percent bigger than we are in land area. But
>its population is 4.66 times the population of the United States.
>They have over 1.2 billion people to our roughly 265 million.

>

> Beyond that, their population is not evenly distributed.
>Better than 90 percent of that population lives in the eastern half
>of the country. So you have to picture a United States with about
>1.1 billion people living east of the Mississippi River to get a
>comparable feel for population densities.

>

> Even though they have a very rigorous program, as you
>know, of birth control in place -- it's been in place for many years
>-- nevertheless their population still grows, every three years
>increases by the entire population of the state of New York, so that
>they're adding a little over 12 million people per year, net out,
>births minus deaths, every year.

>

> They have to support that population on an arable land
>base that is half as large as the U.S. arable land base, and they're

>losing arable land at roughly the rate of one percent per year,
>because the land gets plowed up in order to build highways, expand
>cities, and so on and so forth.

>

> If you look at the Chinese physical environment, because
>part of the summit will address itself to environmental issues, you
>have to keep in mind several fairly, I think, striking issues. First
>of all, in almost every major resource, China has less than the
>global per capita average availability of that resource, whether it's
>forest, grasslands, water resources -- you name it. And China is in
>the bottom half of the countries of the world on a per capita basis
>in terms of availability of those resources.

>/,

>

>

> It is fair to say that China now has a greater
>environmental crisis than any other country in the history of the
>human race at a comparable stage of economic development. There is
>no substantial body of water in China that is not polluted. China's

>/,

>

>air is highly contaminated. They face environmental problems of
>absolutely dramatic consequence. Let me just give you one or two
>examples.

>

> On the water side, China suffers from a severe water
>shortage in addition to tremendous water pollution. The water table

>in North China -- how far you have to go down before you hit water --

>drops by three feet per year. It has dropped by three feet per year

>since 1960. And so, of China's roughly 540 cities, more than 300 are

>severely water short. So the water is a desperately short resource

>in China.

>

> If you look at air pollution, just give you one number

>on that. The World Health Organization says maximum suspended

>particulate matter that is compatible with human health is 90 microns

>per cubic meter of air. If you look at China as a whole, the average

>is about 400 microns per cubic meter of air now. That reflects the

>fact that their major source of energy is coal; they don't have other

>sources of energy that are nearly adequate to meet China's needs.

>That coal adds a lot of pollution to the environment as they burn it,

>and they rely on it for 76 percent of their energy, and that is not

>going to change in the near future.

>

> And then, finally, as the Chinese look around in an era

>after the Cold War, they see that they still live in a very tough

>neighborhood. Where we have Canada, they have Russia. And if any of

>you knows what the future of Russia is, you're in better shape than I

>am or than any of the Chinese are. Instead of Mexico, they have

>Vietnam. Instead of the Gorges Bank, they have North Korea, South

>Korea and Japan. And they don't trust Japan and they are obviously

>worried about developments on the Korean Peninsula. Instead of

>worrying about the salmon run to their west, they worry about

>subversion by militant Muslim groups outside of -- coming out of

>Afghanistan or from the former Soviet Central Asia.

>

> So we look around at the end of the Cold War and say the
>world is doing very well and it's basically an economic game out
>there. They look around at the end of the Cold War and say, we still
>live in a very difficult neighborhood and we recognize the game is
>basically economic, but we've got some security concerns here that
>are really fairly substantial.

>

> So the conditions of China, in short, are tough. The
>constraints that they face are difficult and the leadership of China
>as it looks to the future always thinks in terms of the constraints,
>of the size of the population, the limits of the arable land base and
>security issues in their environment.

>

> Let me also make a couple of comments about the long
>sweep of China's modern history because that deeply affects the way
>China's leaders see their tasks and their challenges. The
>fundamental fact of the history of the last 150 years of China is
>that the industrialized countries, first in the West and then
>including Japan, use their strong increment and power based on the
>Industrial Revolution in a way that brought China from a great
>civilization to the sick man of Asia. That essentially destroyed
>Chinese imperial system that had lasted four millennia.

>

> The net result was that from 1912 to 1949, at no time
>did China have a national government that even in minimal terms was

>able to extend its reach to the entire country. That was ended only
>with the victory of the Communist Party in a civil war in 1949. From
>1912 to 1989, you cannot find a decade in China that did not witness
>large-scale civil violence by some Chinese against other Chinese over
>political issues, so that the entire 20th century, up until this
>decade for China, has been characterized by substantial levels of
>political violence domestically, regardless of the government in
>power, regardless of the period of time.

>/,

>

>

> When you take this history and these constraints into
>accounts, it seems to me the Chinese have three basic goals. One,
>obviously national unity. And the way the Chinese see national unity
>is overcoming the dismemberment of the country that was imposed on
>them by stronger powers that were more economically developed over
>the past century and more.

>

> The second goal is economic development because, in
>part, they recognize that national strength that brought them low was
>based on more rapid economic development in other countries, so they
>are determined to develop their economy, they make that their top
>priority. And it is both to stand tall among nations and also to
>improve the standard of living of their own population.

>

> And, finally, social and political stability. And that
>goal, I hope, is vivid to you after this brief review of the amount

>of domestic violence and domestic instability that's existed in China
>for the better part of this century.

>

> I want to conclude by noting simply two key tensions
>in China now. One, in foreign policy. China, for the better part of
>the better part of a century has seen itself as a victim in the
>international arena. They're the weak country dealing with the
>strong powers, strong powers that do not pay them adequate mind or
>respect their rights and their sovereignty. At the same time, one
>senses in China now a feeling that after 20 years of economic reform
>and growth, that Dean Harding is about to go over with you, that
>they're on a roll -- that as they look to the future they're going to
>be a major country.

>

> And so they're caught at kind of the intersection of
>being a victim on the one hand and a major country on the other. And
>frankly, victims preach morality, always play a weak hand, always ask
>for you to accommodate to them to make up for past wrongs. Major
>countries have broad responsibilities, shared responsibilities for
>how the region and the world fair. And the Chinese can't quite
>figure out where they are on this. Sometimes they act more as
>victim, more as major country. Sometimes it brings out the worst of
>both worlds in their foreign policy. And so I think you should keep
>that in mind as you think about how the summit will unfold.

>

> And then, finally, domestically, the Chinese are
>developing extremely rapidly. Their economy has been the fastest

>growing industrial economy in the world for nearly two decades.
>That's not a blip, that's a long-term, deep-rooted trend. But rapid
>economic development does not necessarily produce social and
>political stability. It includes massive redistribution of
>resources, huge migration, very different distribution of wealth,
>very different access to information from before and so forth.
>Bottom line is, it creates a huge amount of tension, even as it
>raises average standards of living. And so, we're looking at a
>country that is both hell-bent on rapid economic development and, at
>the same time, very worried about the fragility of the social
>infrastructure of the country as that development proceeds.

>

> With that as the broad picture, let me turn to Harry
>Harding to give you a more detailed update of the last several
>decades. Thank you.

>

> DR. HARDING: Thank you very much. As Ken has just
>mentioned, since 1978, China has embarked on an ambitious and
>sweeping program of reform. And it's this reform program that
>provides the context for the Jiang Zemin visit and, of course, the
>foundation for Sino-American relations more generally.

>

> One of the most important challenges for all of us,
>whether we're in government or in the news media or in the academy,
>is to come to a comprehensive and objective understanding of what
>this reform program in China has accomplished and where it's going.
>This understanding is hindered by the very complexity of China's

>reforms. Except for the most basic, such as China is a big country
>with a long history and a huge population, I can think of virtually
>no valid generalization about China that does not have a "but" in it
>somewhere. And the trajectory in which China is going as a result of
>its two-decade-long reform effort is not entirely clear.

>

> What have the reforms have accomplished so far -- and
>you'll see that everything I say will have that "but" in it
>somewhere. China has transformed a centrally-planned economy into a
>more market-oriented economy. But there is still considerable
>government fiscal and administrative intervention in the workings of
>that economy.

>

> There has been diversification of economic ownership,
>but still with a large and inefficient state sector, which is one of
>the biggest challenges China faces today, and with much of local
>rural industry -- the so-called township and village enterprises --
>owned and managed by local government. There have been substantial
>increases in standards of living, especially in the coastal cities
>and the suburban areas of China, but with growing inequalities and
>with substantial areas of poverty.

>

> China has experienced an unprecedented degree of
>integration into the international economy, but with continued
>barriers to imports and to incoming foreign direct investment.
>Chinese society is far freer from ideological and political controls
>than at any time since 1949, but the Chinese state still does not

>tolerate either independent political or religious organizations, or

>open challenges to ideological orthodoxy.

>

> The Chinese civil service is far better educated, more

>likely to be recruited on meritocratic criteria, but is increasingly

>corrupt and its levels of education are still not up to par. The

>Chinese political system is characterized by increasing consultation

>with affected interests and by the rule of law, but it has few

>mechanisms for ensuring its accountability to the public,

>particularly at higher levels of governance -- province and center.

>

> And finally, China is undertaking a more accommodative

>and responsible foreign policy, but it still has territorial claims

>on its neighbors and has embarked on a concerted program of military

>modernization.

>

> Now, this balance sheet makes it very inappropriate to

>portray China in simple, black or white terms. But this is precisely

>what we want to do. We've tended at different times to emphasize one

>side of this evolving balance sheet over another. In the 1980s, for

>example, many observers were too enthusiastic, in my judgment, about

>China's reforms, particularly when they stood in contrast to the

>minimal change that was then occurring in the Soviet bloc.

>

> Conversely, after 1989, many observers focused on the

>other side of the balance sheet, on the negative, and again, perhaps

>because China now seemed to be lagging behind the former Soviet Union

>and Eastern Europe. In fact, I think it's fair to say that China has
>changed far less dramatically since 1989 than American images of
>China have changed.

>

> One particular mischaracterization of the situation that
>I want to emphasize is to say, as many do, that China has seen
>economic restructuring without political reform. As I've just
>indicated, the political reforms have, in fact, been substantial. It
>is true, however, that political reform has lagged behind economic
>change, in my judgment, and that this gap has widened since the
>Tiananmen crisis of 1989.

> /,

>

>

> The 15th Party Congress that just concluded did seem to
>place a higher priority on economic reform than on political reform;
>indeed, seemed to be suggesting that the economic reforms would be so
>painful that this would not be the time for greater political
>openness. Significantly, though, although the 15th Party Congress
>did not announce any acceleration of political reform, nor any new
>initiatives in that area, nor did it reverse any of the reforms now
>underway, especially village-level elections and the rule of law.

>

> Now, what's China's trajectory from here? Again,
>complexity has its lesson, and its lesson is to please be beware of
>straight-line forecasts about the future. Those who have made such
>forecasts have so far been wrong. In the 1980s, many people thought

>that China would continue to see smooth and rapid transition toward
>market democracy. They were proven wrong at Tiananmen. On the
>aftermath of Tiananmen, many people said that China must be,
>therefore, on the verge of collapse or geographic fragmentation.
>They've been wrong. And more recently we've been told that China is
>becoming a neo-fascist state that poses a rising threat to American
>interests. I think that is also a straight-line forecast that will
>be proven to be incorrect.

>

> If I had to make any kind of a forecast, I would say
>with great caution that from a broad perspective -- Ken gave you a
>historical perspective, I'll give you a comparative perspective --
>that China's trajectory is similar to much of the rest of Asia in
>modern times. It's making progress towards a market-oriented
>economy, deeper integration into the rest of the world, a freer
>society, and more technocratic, legalistic, and consultative
>political institutions.

>

> Hopefully, like many of its neighbors, China will
>gradually begin to add more political reforms to the mix, including a
>freer press, more societal pluralism, and more accountable political
>institutions. But it is unlikely, at least in my lifetime, that
>China will resemble the United States or even South Korea or Taiwan.
>And we may still feel uncomfortable about some aspects of what China
>chooses to do.

>

> And even given that kind of guarded forecast, let me

>also say that there are many complicating factors in China that could
>throw things off track. The political elite still places significant
>constraints on political reform. The emerging middle class in China
>is more symbiotically related to the political elite than may have
>been true in the West in our history in past centuries. And above
>all, the daunting internal problems that Ken Lieberthal has mentioned
>may derail political reform.

>

> So, in short, we can hope that China will move in the
>same directions as Taiwan, South Korea, and much of Southeast Asia.
>We can certainly assist it in doing so. But, unfortunately, there
>are no guarantees, as this enormously dynamic, but very complicated
>country grapples with some of the most daunting social, economic, and
>environmental challenges we've ever seen.

>

> Q Why is he coming here?

>

> DR. HARDING: Why is he coming here?

>

> Q And also, would you call it -- it's sort of like a
>hybrid now. It's not really a communist state per se; it's
>neither-nor, and it's still trying to find itself.

>

> DR. HARDING: I'll let Ken answer the easy question,
>which is the second, about the nature of the hybrid. Let me simply
>answer the first one -- why is he coming here? I think that there
>are two questions. I think that it is the case that he has his own

>personal political agenda. This is a way of ratifying his position
>as the newly-elected head of the Chinese Communist Party, presumably
>the to-be-confirmed-President of the Chinese state after the 15th
>Party Congress. Clearly, he would like to gain political capital
>from this. That is one reason why many political leaders travel
>abroad. There is nothing new about that.

>

> I think also, to borrow a phrase from our former
>ambassador to Japan, Mike Mansfield, from the Chinese perspective,
>there is no more important relationship than that with the United
>States, bar none. China sees the importance of the United States to
>all of the problems and all of the objectives that Ken Lieberthal
>just mentioned.

>

> I think the Chinese do genuinely want a stable,
>constructive and cooperative relationship with the United States.
>The issue that we'll all be looking for and you, as closely as any of
>us, will be what Jiang Zemin is prepared to bring to the table in
>order to help build that constructive and cooperative relation.

>

> So I think he comes with both a personal agenda, but
>also with a very important national agenda.

>

> DR. LIEBERTHAL: I, frankly, don't envy you, in speaking
>to your second question, in trying to convey to the American public
>what China is all about, because the problem is the categories we use
>-- capitalist versus communist, market economy versus planned economy

>-- just simply don't happen to fit what China actually is, as your
>question so rightly suggests.

>

> The Chinese economy, for example, has moved very far
>toward a market, so it is not a planned economy in any serious sense
>of the word, but at the same time, market forces rarely dictate what
>in fact has produced the price that's actually charged for and who
>makes money. Rather, there is a kind of official interference at
>almost every level of their economy, so much so that I would term it
>a "negotiated" economy -- essentially, it's negotiations with the
>government that determine two-thirds of whether you're going to make
>profit or not.

>

> So when you talk to the American people and try to
>explain how do you talk about the Chinese economy, it's very hard to
>be realistic.

>

> At the same time, China is a country that absolutely
>insists in calling itself Socialist and continues to do a lot of
>things that have almost nothing to do with Socialism. When I talked
>to people in China a few weeks ago about the aftermath of the 15th
>Congress, they said, you know one of the most remarkable things about
>our briefings in the aftermath of Congress was, we were all told not
>to talk about ideology. I mean, be practical. Do what you've got to
>do. Think through what will work, and then you just put an
>ideological gloss on it, because you have to use some kinds of
>terminology.

>

> Perhaps nowhere is that more dramatic than in the
> decision to take on the restructuring of what Harry talked about --
> their state-owned enterprise sector which, on the whole, is a huge
> albatross for them. They're now moving to convert that as much as
> possible with some exceptions, but on the whole, to a shareholding
> system, so they'll sell shares in various forms for ownership of
> state-owned enterprises. They call that moving from state ownership
> to public ownership. Still Socialist. Well, if shareholding is
> strictly Socialist, then the biggest Socialist country in the world
> is the United States.

>

> So you've got a problem of terminology here. If the
> former Soviet Union were doing that, we would call it the biggest
> privatization in history. And so, there is a problem, I think, for
> your getting across to the American people what is really going on
> there, and the fundamental problem is, it doesn't fit our categories
> very neatly.

>

> Q What do you think the Clinton administration should
> hope to achieve? What realistic goals could they achieve
> economically, politically, militarily, human rights, during the
> course of this summit?

>

> DR. LIEBERTHAL: Let me give an initial response, and
> then ask Harry Harding to supplement it. I think most of the
> concrete achievements are, frankly, still in the process of being

>nailed down, so I'm not in a good position -- I don't think anyone is
>at this point -- to indicate exactly what is going to be achieved. I
>think there are two fundamental achievements that one should look
>for. One is whether we begin an effective process of communicating
>to the Chinese in a way that they both understand and trust, and
>therefore building our ability to cooperate with them on issues where
>we can cooperate, and listening, a more effective type of engagement
>with them, than we have been able to achieve in the past.

>

> There are various things under discussion. I'm sure
>you're as well-informed of them as any of us are. But I think the
>bottom line is, there is a lot that will be nailed down finally in
>the coming week, and so it's really not all that appropriate to try
>to second-guess that.

>

> The second issue which I think is a very big issue is
>whether this summit begins to move the U.S.-China relationship out of
>what I would term a "Tiananmen framework." There is one person
>quoted in The New York Times on Friday, characterizing the summit as,
>"Jiang Zemin's victory lap around the United States after Tiananmen."
>I think that sums up the way a lot of Americans still view China,
>that nothing has happened since Tiananmen and we should treat China
>as if Tiananmen had just occurred. Now, our politics, our China
>policy are very much tied into that issue. As long as we do that,
>we're going to deal with the gross simplifications and inability to
>deal with the realities of China that Harry Harding talked about.

>

> If this summit, with the attendant publicity, Jiang
>Zemin's trip around the U.S. and so forth, goes well it may begin to
>move the relationship on to a more complex, I would argue more
>realistic and long-term, more helpful basis for American interests.

>

> DR. HARDING: Just to add one word, I think framework is
>very, very important. Basically, in 1972 when Richard Nixon visited
>China, we established a framework for Sino-American relations that
>lasted down to 1989. It was modified, it was supplemented, but
>basically we understood that we had a very important common interest,
>and that was dealing with the ambitions of the -- now, the former
>Soviet Union.

>

> Since 1989, we've really not had an agreed-upon
>framework, either agreed upon within our society, let alone agreed
>upon with China. And in that sense, I see this summit -- maybe we
>should say, this twin summit, the exchange of summits this year and
>next -- as potentially the most important since 1972.

>

> Can we come up with a new framework that will have to
>deal with a lot more complexities than the 1972 framework did, which
>was very simple -- a common enemy. We don't have such a simple
>framework today. Can the leaders come up with something that can
>substitute for that framework in providing the basis for a
>cooperative relationship.

>

> Q To follow up with Professor Lieberthal, as you

>said, the agenda is starting to come pretty well into focus and it's
>pretty clear that both leaders are going to talk about the advantages
>of cooperation as opposed to hostility. Given that, do you see any
>way the summit could not be a success? I mean, are there scenarios
>by which this summit and the visit would be a failure?

>

> DR. LIEBERTHAL: Yes, to me there are. But to me the
>two most important elements of the summit are, first, do the two
>Presidents get a better personal feel for each other and so feel
>comfortable moving the relationship forward, knowing that the other
>one will not pull the rug out from under them. These people have met
>only briefly. They've met in kind of brief settings attached to
>other meetings, such as an APEC, as kind of side meetings, or U.N.
>General Assembly. So this will be the first time for them to really
>sit down and have a more detailed face-to-face dialogue. They're
>both politicians; they're both very good at judging other people. I
>think that's one of the big issues to come out of this. It won't be
>very visible, but it will be very important. If that goes badly,
>then clearly the summit will have not moved the relationship forward
>very well.

>

> More importantly in many ways is what I just referenced
>at the end of my remarks, which is to say the public perception of
>China. Jiang has sketched out a very ambitious trip. It starts with
>the wreath-laying in Hawaii, and then he's in Philadelphia, he's in
>Boston. He's at all kinds of places with great historical resonance
>for American history, American liberty, and American democracy. And

>he is very likely to face demonstrations and tough questioning as

>goes around, as he should.

>

> If he handles himself well in that, then I think the

>--and if you all portray him as having handled himself well, then I

>think this will move the relationship forward and the summit will be

>seen to have been a great success. If that goes very badly, if there

>is some incident or other where he doesn't handle it well and that

>really gets played up in a big way, the summit has the potential to

>move the relationship in the other direction.

>

> Q Can I just follow up on that last point? Some of

>us were being briefed over at the Chinese Embassy, and they said,

>yes, we understand the United States has the First Amendment and we

>fully expect there will be dissidents -- that's the term that they

>used -- facing him, but we're expecting the United States as the host

>government to create the proper atmosphere of cordiality. Implicit

>in that answer it seemed like they were maybe not fully prepared for

>the robustness of American political culture. What's your

>assessment?

>

> DR. LIEBERTHAL: Well, to my best knowledge, they have

>been informed every way we are able to inform them of what they

>should expect. But they come from a very different kind of political

>system and political culture, and so, inevitably, there may be some

>slippage in their understanding. I think more fundamentally than

>that, as Jiang tries to figure out how to come across well in

>America, you all have to keep in mind, he also, at the same time, has

>to come across well in China, where the standards for evaluating his

>performance, whether he maintains China's dignity and so f===== ATTACHMENT 1

=====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IP477QQZLC00QUIK@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for "Tanya E. Martin"@oa.eop.gov; Wed,
22 Oct 1997 18:01:05 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IP477G9GQO00PR6K@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for
Tanya_E._Martin@oa.eop.gov; Wed, 22 Oct 1997 18:00:57 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from mtigwc04.worldnet.att.net ([204.127.131.33])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-7 #6879)
with ESMTP id <01IP476XNSII001BXT@STORM.EOP.GOV> for
Tanya_E._Martin@oa.eop.gov; Wed, 22 Oct 1997 18:00:26 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from LOCALNAME ([12.68.64.213]) by mtigwc04.worldnet.att.net
(post.office MTA v2.0 0613) with SMTP id AAA11674 for
<Tanya_E._Martin@oa.eop.gov>; Wed, 22 Oct 1997 22:00:14 +0000

X-Sender: KentPekel@postoffice.worldnet.att.net

X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Light Version 1.5.2

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: nobody (nobody@www1.whitehouse.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-OCT-1997 15:16:00.00

SUBJECT: Guest_Book_WH_WWW_MAIL

TO: guestbook (guestbook@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Remote host: 205.132.53.175

Remote IP address: 205.132.53.175

BROWSER: Mozilla/3.01 (Win16; I)

[Sender information]

PERSONAL-NAME: James W. Luke

[Message information]

SUBJECT: child care

[Message content follows]

Mr. President,

It seems regrettable too me that your wife thinks the American people
are too stupid to find good affordable child care.

It is also upsetting to me and my wife that I go to work and she raises
our children on ONE INCOME WITH NO FEDERAL HELP>

We live a simple live with two kids two older cars one house payment and
to much debt. We will continue to raise the children we choose to bring

into the world the way we

and not the government sees fit.

Socialism has never worked and will never work because the ruling

elite is are ignorant to see

people as thinking an independant people that DO NOT want to be lead

around by the nose.

Thank You for the oppertunity to be heard.

James W. Luke===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IP5FYD6HXS00QG6C@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Thu,
23 Oct 1997 15:22:26 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IP5FY813K000NOAU@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Thu, 23 Oct 1997 15:22:20 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from www1.whitehouse.gov ([198.137.240.91])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-7 #6879)
with SMTP id <01IP5FY521Y8001MLH@STORM.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Thu,
23 Oct 1997 15:22:13 -0400 (EDT)
Received: by www1.whitehouse.gov (951211.SGI.8.6.12.PATCH1042/940406.SGI.AUTO)
for guestbook@oa.eop.gov id PAA03935; Thu, 23 Oct 1997 15:16:18 -0400
Apparently-to: guestbook@oa.eop.gov
Keywords: WWW-Correspondence; Guest_Book
Comments: Forwarded from White House WWW.
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: nobody (nobody@www2.whitehouse.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-NOV-1997 08:16:00.00

SUBJECT: Guest_Book_WH_WWW_MAIL

TO: guestbook (guestbook@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Remote host: ip75-10.ts.indy.net

Remote IP address: 199.3.75.10

BROWSER: Mozilla/3.01C-IndyNet (Win95; U)

[Sender information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Robert C. Schuth

[Message information]

SUBJECT: Liberalism

[Message content follows]

Please let liberalism die ... this country doesn't need socialism, which

leads according to it's own precept, to communisim. Thank You very much

Mr. President for letting me speak my piece. A former two-tour veteran of

Vietnam. And, a definate voter.

Thanking you again ===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IPN4X1GJGW00WR3I@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed,
05 Nov 1997 07:20:17 -0500 (EST)

Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IPN4X0VDIO00WB73@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for
guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed, 05 Nov 1997 07:20:12 -0500 (EST)

Received: from www2.whitehouse.gov ([198.137.240.92])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-7 #6879)
with SMTP id <01IPN4W9G1MG0005US@STORM.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Wed,
05 Nov 1997 07:19:36 -0500 (EST)

Received: by www2.whitehouse.gov (951211.SGL.8.6.12.PATCH1042/940406.SGL.AUTO)

for guestbook@oa.eop.gov id HAA07432; Wed, 05 Nov 1997 07:16:25 -0500

Apparently-to: guestbook@oa.eop.gov

Keywords: WWW-Correspondence; Guest_Book

Comments: Forwarded from White House WWW.

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: nobody (nobody@www1.whitehouse.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-NOV-1997 20:50:00.00

SUBJECT: Guest_Book_WH_WWW_MAIL

TO: guestbook (guestbook@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Remote host: dd43-224.dub.compuserve.com

Remote IP address: 199.174.175.224

BROWSER: Mozilla/2.0 (compatible; MSIE 3.02; Update a; Windows
95)

[Sender information]

PERSONAL-NAME: george hellinger

[Message information]

SUBJECT: taxes

[Message content follows]

reduce taxes by eliminating socialprograms. let the private sector
charities perform the work they do best. reduce our taxes so we can
support our churches. churches can easily make a dollar go significantly
farther than the government. volum\nteerism
and charity lives if the government gets their greedy hands out of our
pockets. reduce the size and scope of government. if you want socialism

go to another country.===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IPUUTUHYA800CPAT@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Mon,
10 Nov 1997 19:57:41 -0500 (EST)
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IPUUTSMPDC00V6BR@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Mon, 10 Nov 1997 19:57:37 -0500 (EST)
Received: from www1.whitehouse.gov ([198.137.240.91])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-7 #6879)
with SMTP id <01IPUUSZIB0K000UDZ@STORM.EOP.GOV> for guestbook@oa.eop.gov; Mon,
10 Nov 1997 19:57:03 -0500 (EST)
Received: by www1.whitehouse.gov (951211.SGI.8.6.12.PATCH1042/940406.SGI.AUTO)

for guestbook@oa.eop.gov id TAA07830; Mon, 10 Nov 1997 19:50:35 -0500
Apparently-to: guestbook@oa.eop.gov
Keywords: WWW-Correspondence; Guest_Book
Comments: Forwarded from White House WWW.
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: William_Richey (William_Richey/R__MR/WASHDC/USIA/GOV.USIA@notes1.usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-NOV-1997 14:34:00.00

SUBJECT: Daily Digest: U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

TO: Lori Anderson (Lori Anderson@eop [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Commentators overseas continued to weigh in with their postmortems of

Chinese

President Jiang Zemin's recently concluded U.S. tour. The overwhelming majority contended that the "historic" summit between Presidents Clinton and

Jiang had "created a sense that engaging Beijing does produce benefits," not

only for the U.S., but also for regional and global stability and economic growth in East Asia. As analysts looked toward the future, however, many questioned how long the "shared interests" of the two superpowers would serve

to unite them. A number of writers predicted problems ahead--most mentioned

the Taiwan issue as a potential "firecracker"--and agreed with Bangkok's mass-circulation Daily News that "whenever China's might approaches that of the

U.S., then things will start to get dangerous." Editors in a number of countries viewed Mr. Jiang's visit to the U.S., and that of Russian President

Boris Yeltsin to China this week and Japan's Prime Minister Hashimoto to

Moscow

in early November, as indicative of shifting global alliances. Many of these

writers urged their governments to take action so as not to be excluded from

the emerging power relationships they saw forming. On the human rights front,

some editors continued to chide the U.S.--and Harvard University, where President Jiang delivered a major speech--for "hosting" Mr. Jiang. New Delhi's

centrist Hindu, for example, pointed out that "even if China did not give the

U.S. any satisfaction on human rights...the enthusiasm of the top businessmen...for him had to be seen to be believed."

THE TAIWAN ISSUE--A number of observers in East and South Asia expressed the

hope that the U.S. and China would avoid friction in the future over the

"unpredictable" question of Taiwan. The media in Taipei was split as to how to

proceed with China in the wake of the Clinton-Jiang summit. Papers from opposing political slants, the pro-unification China News and the pro-independence Commons Daily, judged, for example, that it was time begin

political negotiations with Beijing. In order to "tame the beast [China],"

declared the China News, Taiwan "must engage China, just as the U.S. is

doing." Others discussed the pros and cons of pursuing "parallel" tracks with the U.S. and with China, or whether a "triangular" approach with the two powers should take precedence. The centrist, pro-status quo China Times argued that Taiwan should take advantage of "eased cross-Straits ties...to develop the two Washington-Beijing and Washington-Taipei parallel relationships." The pro-unification United Daily News, however, insisted: "The 'triangular' [Beijing-Washington-Taipei] relationship is...the only way for Taiwan to pursue its own interests."

SHIFTING GLOBAL ALLIANCES--Editors in Asia viewed the "successful" Clinton-Jiang summit as boding well for multilateral regional security arrangements, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum. Editorial comment from Italy, Hungary, and Poland characterized the post-Cold War world order as one that is defined not by "zones of influence" but "zones of interest." An Italian pundit perceived a new "triangle" forming--involving the U.S., China and Russia--and fretted that Europe "does not have enough weight" to turn "the triangle into a square."

This survey is based on 75 reports from 34 countries, October 31 - November 11.

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Beijing, Washington, Moscow--New Relations Among Big Powers"

Lu Jin and Lu Yunfei wrote for official Beijing Municipal Beijing Daily (Beijing Ribao, 11/10): "The recent visits between China and the two world powers, the United States and Russia, indicate that the relationships continue

to improve and expand. Another message sent by the visits is that China, the

United States and Russia are striving to re-establish relations with each other. Their shared strategic interests, sustaining the development of world

peace, and their own economy is the motive in coordinating the relationships.... Through Jiang's successful visit, the Sino-U.S. relationship

has progressed substantially in political, economic and trade areas.

Experts

point out that China and the United States, and China and Russia share many

conspicuous characteristics. These...(are): a common desire for mutual understanding in the 21st-century...cooperative engagement in economics,

trade,
and science, and seeking common ground while maintaining small
differences."

"Dialogue Mechanism Cuts Misunderstanding"

Yan Xuetong observed in official, English-language China Daily (11/8):

"The
Sino-U.S. summit in Washington laid solid groundwork for forging stable
Sino-U.S. bilateral ties. Little progress was made during the summit in
narrowing the two countries' differences over the human rights issue.

Despite
the agreement by China and the United States to conduct dialogue on human
rights at both official and unofficial levels, the issue will continue to
hamper bilateral ties for a long period."

"Strengthening Management Of Sino-U.S. Relations"

Professor Zhu Minquan, deputy director of the Center for American
Studies,
Fudan University, said in Shanghai Municipal Government Propaganda
Department-controlled Wenhui Bao (11/5), "One of great achievements of
President Jiang Zemin's state visit to the United States is the
establishment
of a mechanism for high-level dialogue and consultation between China and
the
United States against a background of a strategic orientation for

Sino-U.S.

relations in the...21st century.... The establishment of such a channel

will

not only materially reduce the incidence of friction and disputes between

China

and the United States, but will also create conditions for the timely and

appropriate settlement of differences once they have appeared. At the

same

time, it will limit and reduce the impact of these differences on the

overall

Sino-U.S. relationship so as to ensure the stability of Sino-U.S.

relations as

well as to promote the stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the

entire

world."

"New Chapter In History Of Sino-U.S. Relationship"

Liu Jiang and Li Hongqi wrote in intellectually-oriented Guangming Daily (

Guangming Ribao, 11/4): "The historic visit signals a Sino-U.S.

relationship

that has entered a new stage.... The most significant achievement is that

the

two nations are focusing on the future and have reached a consensus in

terms of

developing future bilateral relations. Through comprehensive

communication and

engagement, mutual understanding between the two peoples has been enhanced."

"New Chapter In Sino-U.S. Ties"

The words of Li Zheng Xin and Wong Xiang were carried in official Chinese Youth

Party China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnianbao, 11/4): "After years of debate,

Americans have finally reached a consensus on the issue of 'constructive engagement' with China in the future. In the future, the minority of ultra

American conservatives and extreme liberals will continue to disturb the bilateral bond. While bent on improving the ties with China, President Clinton

will also be restrained by these special interest groups.

"Despite this, the developing Sino-U.S. relationship will not be changed by any negative American or international forces."

"Pushing Forward Economic And Trade Cooperation"

State Council Economic Daily (Jingji Ribao) ran this observation (11/4) by Hu

Houfa, Yan Hengyuan and Zhang Zhinian: "The strong desire of American industrial and business interests to develop bilateral ties, economic and

trade ties in particular, has deeply impressed us.... The two countries.
..should devote more effort to further promote economic and trade
cooperation,
thus benefitting the people of both nations."

HONG KONG: "China Bashing"

The independent, English-language South China Morning Post insisted
(11/8):

"The succession of anti-China bills passed by the U.S. House of
Representatives

yesterday stand virtually no chance of becoming law. They are unlikely to
be

approved by the Senate and, if they are, will almost certainly be vetoed
by Pre

sident Clinton.... As Republicans jockey for position ahead of the next
presidential election, there is a real danger they will use the China
issue to

bash the administration.... If Mr. Clinton wants to be remembered for
building

better ties across the Pacific, he should stand firm against their
rhetoric."

"New Sino-U.S.-Russian Interactive Relations"

According to an editorial in independent Ming Pao Daily News (11/10): "It
is

believed that Beijing will attach more importance to the partnership with Moscow [than with the U.S.] The so-called Sino-U.S. strategic partnership is only an illusion, pursued by Beijing, which wants to be on an equal footing with the world's number-one nation. In comparison, the interests of Beijing and Russia seem to coincide more.... Nevertheless, there are also difficulties if Beijing really wants to further develop its relations with Russia, since they have to talk about their real interests.... The only thing (Mr. Yeltsin) wanted was money."

"Huge Benefits From Jiang Trip"

The independent, English-language Hong Kong Standard's editorial maintained (11/5), "Nothing better illustrates the American media's ignorance about China and the Chinese people than their current outcry against arrangements made by the State Department for President Jiang Zemin to pose for photographs with the Liberty Bell and other symbols of the American heritage.... The American media, ceaselessly campaigning for change in China, are unable to grasp

the

idea that, to influence the leaders in Beijing, the United States must

first

establish good relations with China. This is not wishful thinking. In the

years since Mao Tse-tung those American ideas, views and values considered

beneficial to China have been allowed to 'infiltrate' the country when

Sino-U.S. relations have been good. When relations have soured, the

gates

have slammed shut on all things Western, regardless of their intrinsic

worth."

"Jiang's Successful U.S. Visit"

An editorial in independent Sing Tao Daily News held (11/5), "All in all,

Chinese President Jiang Zemin's U.S. visit was successful and smooth.

Despite

the fact that demonstrations and questions followed Jiang wherever he

went, he

did his best to face matters and resolve them. None of the demonstrations

affected Jiang's itinerary or the atmosphere of the visit. It was

different

from the Chinese leader [Premier Li Peng] who visited Europe last year,

who had

to leave by the back door and cancel his itinerary. This point alone

shows

that the Chinese leadership has made great progress on this trip."

"Jiang's Successful Image Building"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Times pointed out in an editorial (11/4):

"One visit, of course, cannot change the negative impression the United States

has of China and Chinese leaders. It can at least be considered an essential

step. If things continue to go down this path, [we can be] optimistic about the future."

"Taking The Sting Out Of Freedom Of Speech"

According to the independent Ming Pao Daily News (11/4): "We believe that the

different voices which emerged during this eight-day visit were enough to let

Jiang Zemin understand that freedom of speech is nothing horrible. It is also

not terrible for a state leader to be criticized and questioned. Allowing these voices to speak freely will not curb the high-speed development of a country's economy and technology. It is, on the contrary, very helpful.

U.S. President Clinton claimed that he had encountered much more criticism and

demonstrations than Jiang Zemin did without it weakening his status. We hope that these experiences will be conducive to the Chinese authorities taking more open and forgiving actions."

"Each Takes What He Needs From 'June 4' Comment"

In editorial comment, centrist Express News maintained (11/4): "After Jiang Zemin admitted that the work of the government might have some shortcomings and that it might even have made some mistakes, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen gave some explanations. He said that Jiang's speech at Harvard University did not refer to 'June 4' (Tiananmen), but was just a general statement about the work of the government. This explanation means that the Chinese government has reached a final conclusion about the 'June 4' incident, and it will not change.... Qian Qichen's interpretation is necessary for Beijing. So people with different opinions about 'June 4' may take what they want, either from Jiang Zemin's...comment or from Qian Qichen's interpretation. If 'June 4' is someday redressed, there is no doubt that Jiang Zemin's speech at Harvard

University will be taken as what started it."

"Qian Qichen's Clarification"

A Sing Pao Daily News editorial noted (11/4): "Beijing's official adjective for 'June 4' has changed from 'anti-government rebellion' to 'political disturbance'. This subtle change is worth pondering. A more 'neutral' and moderate adjective lets one think that the top level in Beijing wants to take it lightly and let it fade from people's memory. It also wants the people to adopt a positive attitude about the future."

TAIWAN: "A Question Of Balance"

The conservative, pro-unification, English-language China News, in comment by

Richard R. Vuylsteke, senior editor of The Free China Review, wondered (11/2)

"Is Taiwan being shoved to the margin in the triangular relationship?...

Not surprisingly, local post-summit assessments have focused on the need to strengthen Taiwan's business attractiveness, improve cross-Straits relations, and continue countering Beijing's attempts to isolate the island

internationally.... The best way to guarantee U.S. support in the future is

for the government and people of Taiwan to strengthen their democratic institutions and their commitment to a free society."

"Post-Summit Strategies"

The centrist, pro-status quo China Times asked (10/31): "To develop parallel

relationships [Washington-Beijing and Washington-Taipei], we...must first stabilize cross-Straits ties.

"If cross-Straits ties deteriorate, and Beijing continues to improve ties with

Washington, it would be questionable whether the parallel relationship between

Taipei and Washington could ever continue.... Taiwan's priority tasks are:

First, to strengthen the substantial relationship with Washington via all channels and contacts.... Second, we should improve our ties with Beijing now,

when (Beijing) is full of confidence and not ready to fight. We should take

advantage of the eased cross-Straits ties now to develop the two

Washington-Beijing and Washington-Taipei parallel relationships."

"Time To Talk Realpolitik On China"

Managing editor Anthony Lawrance argued in the conservative, pro-unification

China News (10/31): "If [the Taipei government] hopes to tame the beast [China], it must engage China, just as the United States is doing. But the

longer it waits, the longer China has to cast its spell on international television audiences. Once the preliminaries are over, once the niceties have

been dispensed with and it comes time to address the 'Big Question of Sovereignty,' Taiwan cannot afford to be in a position of weakness. But most

importantly, the government must realize that it cannot afford to rely on its

friends. It has been let down so many times in the past, why should now be any different?"

"U.S. Will Certainly Force Taipei To Negotiate With Beijing"

Sun Yang-ming opined in the conservative, pro-unification United Daily News

(11/3): "In the past, the United States used the Taiwan card to curb Communist

China [in order to achieve] Asia-Pacific stability. However, now (the United

States) has [revised its position] to include Communist China in the security framework for Asia-Pacific and global stability. Under this framework, the United States will certainly force Taipei to negotiate with Beijing."

"Now Is The Right Time To Start Political Negotiations With Beijing"

An editorial in the liberal, pro-independence Commons Daily judged (11/3): "In the wake of the Clinton-Jiang meeting...it is very unlikely that China will use military force...(and) pressure for China to abide by international rules will get stronger. Therefore, we should take this opportunity to start political negotiations with China! Though it is 'more difficult to seek peace than to go to war,' we still should make efforts in this direction as our domestic and international situation keep changing."

"Clinton Still Does Not Know Taiwan Very Well"

Under the above headline, the liberal, pro-independence Taiwan Daily insisted (10/31): "Clinton yesterday encouraged the two sides (China and Taiwan)

to

conduct high-level dialogues.... This subtle change of position toward

Taiwan

puts the blame on Taiwan for the current stalemate of Taiwan-China

relations.... The problem does not lie in Taiwan's refusal to have a

dialogue,

but in the Chinese government's insistence on the outdated concept of

sovereignty. Taiwan should make clear to the United States that it is

Beijing

rather than Taiwan that should be held responsible for the deadlock of

bilateral relations."

"Watch Out For Clinton's Remarks On One China Policy And Taiwan"

Commenting on President Clinton's 10/24 China policy speech, the

conservative,

pro-unification United Daily News told its readers (10/30): "As far as

Taiwan's interests are concerned, the 'triangular'

[Beijing-Washington-Taipei]

relationship is not only a reality that cannot be eliminated, it is also

the

only way for Taiwan to pursue its own interests. Developing so-called

'parallel lines' (Washington-Beijing and Washington-Taipei) may mean that

Washington will only care about its relationship with Beijing--excluding

Taiwan.... Taipei's goal should be to prevent itself from being excluded

from

the 'triangle' and endeavor to maintain the equality and stability of the

'triangle' in order to keep it from being slanted or distorted....

"Taiwan should contemplate how it can work as a 'bridge' for the international community to lead Beijing to move toward democracy and greater openness."

SOUTH KOREA: "Four Nations' Diplomatic Strategies And Korean Peninsula"

According to conservative Segye Ilbo (11/6), "The United States is continuing to strengthen its stance as the only superpower by alternately 'pulling' and 'pushing' Japan, China and Russia. China, with its improved relationship with the United States, is making smooth progress on issues like the economy and Taiwan.... Japan also is doing all it can to prepare itself for the new century through practical diplomacy with the United States, China and Russia.... We wonder what Korea's diplomatic goals are, and in which direction we are moving. All the presidential candidates are busy vilifying one another at a time when Korea should be paying attention to building a strong base for reunification of the peninsula."

"U.S., China Compete For Hegemony"

Conservative Segye Ilbo held (11/4): "The summit demonstrated that the United States and China will be the predominate world powers during the first quarter of the next century.... Korea should maintain its current military cooperation with the United States while building a security cooperation system with China as well. It will be in Korea's interest to construct a strong security cooperation system with China."

INDONESIA: "U.S., China Opt For Stable Ties"

The leading, independent Jakarta Post, in op-ed commentary by Rizal Sukma, held (11/7): "It is hoped that the fresh commitment from Washington and Beijing to improve their relationship will also contribute significantly to an improvement of relations between Beijing and Tokyo. The strategic partnership between China and the United States will also contribute positively to the ongoing regional efforts to create a more predictable regional order in the Asia-Pacific region. The current multilateral security process initiated by

the ASEAN Regional Forum, for instance, would benefit greatly from stable U.S.-Sino relations.... What is important is that both Washington and Beijing agreed not to let differences--such as the questions of Taiwan and human rights--inhibit greater opportunities for cooperation."

"China Admits Tiananmen An Error?"

Ruling Golkar party's Suara Karya held (11/4): "President Jiang caused a stir

on the last day of his U.S. visit when he indirectly referred to the Tiananmen

massacre as an error.... If he was sincere, he should release pro-democracy

activists such as Wang Dan and others who were at Tiananmen. Next, he should

take a stand against Prime Minister Li Peng, who was directly involved in the

massacre. Indeed, Jiang has taken some positive steps, including inviting

three religious leaders to visit China to observe the human rights situation

firsthand. If Jiang continues to display this sort of courage, he will deserve

to be called a great man of China after Mao and Deng."

PHILIPPINES: "Border Pact Good For World Peace"

Columnist Ricardo Malay wrote in the independent Manila Chronicle

(11/12):

"Visiting Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Chinese counterpart,

Jiang

Zemin, signed a declaration in Beijing laying to rest wrangles over their

4,300-km. frontier. It is ironic that the two former bastions of

socialism

have begun an earnest process of reconciliation only after turning their

backs

on the ideology that catapulted them to nationhood and leadership in the

revolutionary world.... Marxism was supposed to cement in place a

community of

nations bound together by proletarian internationalism.... The border

agreement signed in Beijing frees the energies of the two countries to

concentrate on the task of building their economies, rather than on

military

concerns. To the world at large, that is a welcome development."

"Jiang's Accomplishments"

J.A. de la Cruz wrote in his column in independent Malaya (11/8):

"Everybody

but the most virulent anti-China critic is agreed that the U.S. trip of

Chinese President Jiang Zemin was a success.... There is no question that

Jiang's trip lifted the curtain of bias and prejudice which has

characterized

the Western attitude towards the Middle Kingdom."

"Shame On Harvard"

Liberal Today declared (11/4): "Chinese President Jiang Zemin did not admit to anything at Harvard University. He did not acknowledge having made any particular mistakes. He made the vacuous admission that everybody makes mistakes, and may have implied--but did not say outright--the party might have erred.... What to do, then, with Oriental thugs? The Cambridge demonstrators who denounced Harvard for hosting Jiang were right. It was wrong of Harvard to dignify this thug with a speaking occasion.... If a brutal dictatorship like the Chinese must at least be talked to respectfully, it need not be flattered. And by no means should it be dignified with a speaking engagement at Harvard, America's most distinguished place of learning."

"Revitalizing Sino-American Relations"

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Blas Ople wrote in the leading, conservative Manila Bulletin (11/4): "Both ASEAN and Japan, which share common values and interests, ought not to be frozen into (an)...acceptance of a

downgraded priority for ASEAN in the wake of the new U.S.-China rapprochement.... Southeast Asia has a claim to equal attention and respect from the U.S. president. The diplomatic spadework must be done to get Clinton to visit Manila or Jakarta on his way to Beijing."

SINGAPORE: "New Impetus For U.S.' China Policy?"

The pro-government Business Times judged (11/5): "Chinese President Jiang Zemin's just-concluded visit to the United States may have produced colorful television images and catchy newsbites but there were no diplomatic breakthroughs in Sino-American relations. Despite the noises made by the China-bashers, Mr. Jiang's visit did provide new momentum to Mr. Clinton's policy towards China by creating a sense that engaging Beijing does produce benefits to U.S. interests. Mr. Clinton should now build on the success of the trip and mobilize wider support for his China policy. The debate between the two camps in Washington will surely continue. The outcome, aside from determining the direction of Sino-American relationship, could also ultimately also affect economic growth in East Asia."

THAILAND: "The Future Of U.S.-China Relations"

Trairat Soontornprapat commented in mass-circulation Daily News (11/8):

"It remains to be seen how long and peacefully these two giants will be able to share their mutual interests.... So long as China inches slowly toward becoming a superpower, conflicts of interest will be minimal and so will the hostility. But whenever China's might approaches that of the United States, then things will start to get dangerous."

"China's Jiang Consolidates His Position"

The independent, English-language Nation editorialized (11/2), "Despite major differences between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President Bill Clinton on human rights and freedom of religion, Jiang's trip to the United States represents a triumph for the world's most populous nation in its effort to integrate with the rest of the world and a step towards international acceptance of his leadership....

"To be fair, the visit also benefitted Clinton, who has made engagement with China a key goal of his second term. Despite their differences over human

rights, Clinton underscored the importance of U.S. engagement with the Chinese."

VIETNAM: "U.S.-China relations"

Vietnamese army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, published by the Communist Party

Central Committee's Military Commission and the National Defense Ministry,

remarked (11/3): "Although the bilateral agreements the United States and China have achieved are considerable, the dossier of their relationship is packed with many difficult issues, the most sensitive of which remain human

rights and democracy. Washington has not yet given up its preachy attitude

about 'human rights.'... The way the United States plays its 'human rights'

card with China as well as a number of other countries shows this is not a

transient policy, but a long-term one.... It is not yet possible to say definitively that the Sino-American relationship has become truly stable....

The underlying cause of this 'sometimes hot, sometimes cold' relationship is

that the two superpowers are pursuing different strategic ends by very different means."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "When Jiang And His Money Spoke"

Inder Malhotra, columnist for the centrist Hindu, wrote (11/9): "If China did

not give the United States any satisfaction on human rights, it seems to have

received some assurances from America about Taiwan.... Chinese money talks

loudly. During Mr. Jiang's visit, the enthusiasm of the top businessmen of the

U.S. for him had to be seen to be believed."

"Eagle Eye, Dragon Fire"

Calcutta's centrist Telegraph ran this assessment by assistant editor

Pramit

Pal Chaudhuri (11/7): "Some are calling last week's meeting between Jiang

Zemin and Bill Clinton the millennium summit. It wasn't really. The summit

was more show than stuff. But no one questions that this bilateral linkage

will have more influence on the way the world fares in the next century than

any other.... The big crease on the foreheads of the two countries is the fear

of some real fireworks between them. And the largest cracker of all is Taiwan.

... In other words, the peace of East Asia is balanced precariously on the edge of something as unpredictable and obscure as Taiwanese nationalism."

"A Major Gain For Washington"

An analysis in the centrist Pioneer by foreign editor V. Sudarshan pointed out

(11/6): "Perhaps the most important development in terms of the security alliance in Asia-Pacific is the Chinese decision to abide by the guidelines

laid down by the nuclear suppliers group. There is an element of constructive

engagement here that is worth observing for implications this may have for India.... By engaging China on this aspect over more than a decade, the United

States has now been able to draw China into a system that introduces a new element of accountability into Chinese nuclear postures. This is a major gain for Washington."

"Yankee Noodle"

Calcutta's centrist Telegraph stressed (11/1): "In terms of substance, the

[Clinton-Jiang] meeting...fell short of expectations.... The most glaring difference between the two--one that brought them to the brink of military confrontation last year--is the question of Taiwan. A conflict over the independent status of this island state could plunge all of East Asia into war. Both sides avoided addressing this during the summit....

"But India has every reason to support the dialogue between the Pacific's two great powers.... Until Beijing believes it gets the sort of global status and security it wants, it will pursue policies that help breed instability. Selling missiles to Pakistan is just one such means.... If the present summit is not followed by other meetings, and if these do not generate an understanding of sorts between the two countries, South Asia and the world in general will be that much more unsafe a place."

"Friendship In Lieu Of Hostility"

An editorial in Calcutta's independent, centrist Ananda Bazar Patrika stressed

(11/1): "(The Clinton-Jiang summit) proves once again that in international relations there is no permanent enemy or friend, there are only permanent interests.... One may ask which of the two countries will gain more out of

this exchange. Apparently both will gain equally."

PAKISTAN: "A Boost To Sino-American Relations"

The Karachi-based, independent, national Dawn held (11/1): "The foundation of a constructive strategic partnership (with China) President Clinton has been talking about has been laid. Although the Chinese leader has made no major concessions, he has managed to persuade his host to lift the ban on the sale of nuclear technology to China.... Leaving aside the shaded areas of a fuller relationship, (this) change in the tone and quality of relations between Beijing and Washington will have a significant impact on world politics."

"What Promises Did China Make To U.S.?"

This editorial note ran in second largest, Urdu-language Nawa-e-Waqt (11/2):

"According to the American media, the Chinese President Jiang Zemin has promised that China will not extend nuclear assistance to an unstable area.

China has acknowledged Iran as one such country, but has not specifically identified any other country in the Muslim world, such as Pakistan....

While

it is not expected that China will abandon its longtime friends for a country that has always been its enemy...if the United States really made headway on these points, it must be viewed as a major U.S. achievement.... Of course, it is always possible that all this is just a U.S. media gimmick, because media in the United States is manipulated by Jews who could never stomach Muslim countries--such as Iran and Pakistan--acquiring nuclear knowhow. We await the Chinese clarification on these news reports."

BANGLADESH: "New Era In Sino-U.S. Relations"

In the view of the independent, English-language Daily Star (11/1): "The United States of America and the People's Republic of China, two giants in the residual multipolar global matrix of power following the breakup of the Soviet Union, have come close to each other in a historic renewal of contact occasioned by the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Washington.... Whether or not the latest bonhomie has rewritten the history of Sino-U.S. ties,

one has to wait and watch. The best way to ensure this, though, would be to

have improved people-to-people contacts on a sustained basis. Meanwhile, the hardened inimical countries may do well to take a cue from the new cooperative spirit shown by the United States and China, what with their baggage of historical differences."

NEPAL: "New Directions In U.S.-China Relations"

Independent Kantipur put forth this editorial view (11/9): "It would not be an exaggeration to say that after Jiang's U.S. visit, a new dimension has been added to U.S.-China relations... Both are conscious of each other's interests; both understand each others' circumstances, thinking and capacity.... Direct talks and interactions between leaders can make it easy to control situations that could lead to misunderstandings."

"New Hope"

Pro-left Arpan declared (10/31): "President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States to renew bilateral relations has raised new hope for the world.... Both sides are trying to come closer together and reach an understanding by

forgetting the bitter experiences of the past."

SRI LANKA: "China's Triumph"

Newton Seneviratne pointed out in a commentary in Sinhala-language,

independent Ravaya (11/9): "The Chinese president visit to the United States

is a triumph for China from (China's) point of view.... Though the United States had great differences with China on human rights, Taiwan and Tibet, it

has seen the economic potential of China and embraced it with greed."

"U.S. Watches China"

Sinhala-language, independent Sunday Lankadeepa ran this observation

(11/9) by

Mohan Samaranayake: "The United States believes that China will replace the

position held by the Soviet Union (and) will monitor the internal conflicts

within China with great interest.... The Communist Party in China, which will

decide its destiny, could also decide for Asia."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "U.S. Tour Polishes Jiang's Sullied Image"

The conservative Times noted in a report from Beijing (11/5): "A beaming President Jiang Zemin flew back to Beijing from a controversial visit to the United States yesterday, having apparently achieved his aim of boosting his image as a world statesman while giving away little on vital issues.... Diplomats say the president, with the advantages of the trip to the United States, and a new and better personal relationship with President Clinton, has built on earlier gains he made this year after taking over the helm on the death of Deng Xiaoping."

GERMANY: "Jiang's Slippery Empty Phrases"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich carried this editorial (11/4): "Did the Chinese president, for the first time, admit of having made 'mistakes' when the democracy movement was crushed in 1989? No, he did not.... Jiang...in general, conceded to having made 'mistakes in his work'--in the best tradition of Confucian and Maoist self-criticism.... But the incident reveals one thing: Tiananmen is still haunting the Chinese leaders. Until they have not

made a clean sweep of it, they will never enjoy the respect in the world of which they are dreaming."

"PR Attempts Fizzle"

Johnny Erling noted in an editorial in right-of-center Die Welt of Berlin (11/4): "China's media presented the Chinese a manipulated view of the state visit. The Chinese public did not learn anything about protests and disputes about human rights. The media did not even show pictures of Jiang's relaxed attitude. This turned out to be a well-trained exercise in public relations, whose purpose it was to capture American hearts. But...Jiang's efforts were in vain, because he had nothing really new to report."

ITALY: "U.S.-Russia-China Triangle Leaves Europe On The Margins"

Franco Venturini penned this commentary for leading, centrist Corriere della Sera (11/5): "The triangle game, inaugurated by Nixon 25 years ago...is once again fashionable and could be with us into the next century...."

"Clinton's United States and Zemin's China have discovered the full extent of their common interests. Russia is responding by opening toward Japan, and using Tokyo as a way to remain hooked to the American-Chinese wagon. Deja vu?

Not exactly. Compared to the time of confrontation between blocs, the new element is the enormous stakes and the fluidity of the global economy....

This triangle is much more complex (and, fortunately, less conflictual)....

Europe is striving to transform the triangle into a square, but (Europe) does not yet have the political weight needed to be part of the game."

BELGIUM: "Clinton-Jiang Summit--U.S. Congress' Revenge"

Washington correspondent Yves Laudy reported in conservative Catholic La Libre

Belgique (11/10): "China's President Jiang Zemin had hardly returned to Beijing after his summit with Bill Clinton when the House of Representatives

began to vote on a number of bills expressing its reprobation toward China.... Mr. Jiang did not help by comparing China's presence in Tibet to the liberation of slaves in the United States."

"Red Carpet For Jiang Upon Return Home"

Independent Catholic De Standaard observed (11/5): "China's authorities termed (President Jiang's) trip 'a great success.'... (But) Jiang's visit has not yielded any genuine solutions. Human rights, Taiwan's status and trade remain points of friction between both nations. But, Jiang obtained what he wanted for internal use: treatment as a world leader."

CANADA: "The Dragon Sheathes Its Claws"

Montreal's liberal, French-language Le Devoir said (11/4): "Chinese President Jiang Zemin will have effectively borrowed from our politicians the technique of mixed messages and a constant smile.... It is around the thorny theme of human rights that Jiang obviously did the better dance.... If he suddenly gave signs of remorse concerning Tiananmen, it is because doing so has the double merit of not carrying any real political cost in the short term while allowing him to pour a semblance of balm on American public opinion.... Muzzled by

the

obligation to promote American financial interests, Mr. Clinton has found himself against his will in the role of a promoter."

"Nuclear Worries"

World affairs columnist Stephen Handelman wrote in the liberal Toronto Star

(11/2): "North America's failing nuclear power industry is about to be reproduced in China. Of all the (meagre) results from last week's

U.S.-China

summit, this is likely to be the most far reaching--and troubling. It's

troubling whether you are for or against nuclear power, because hardly any

real thought, not to mention any decent cost-benefit analyses, appears to have

gone into the nuclear rush to the East. The only motivating factor, at least

from the Western end, is money. Lots of it.... The way seems clear for the

United States to enter what is now shaping up as an epic struggle for a piece

of the 21st-century's biggest energy market. And that's where the problems

begin."

HUNGARY: "Clinton And Jiang"

Second-largest Nepszava ran this op-ed piece (11/10): "China, for the first time in its history, signed an international document on human rights. This step, however, does not mean a turnaround in a single day, which was also clear from the...exchanges between Clinton and Jiang when they met the press. That dialogue, which reflected their ideological differences, did not simply end at that press conference. Who knows how long it will continue?"

"The Bear And The Dragon"

Conservative, centrist Magyar Nemzet carried this op-ed piece (11/10) on the Russian-Chinese summit: "According to some Russian opinions, the Kremlin is now trying to balance the (NATO) enlargement process and the hegemonist ambitions of the United States by opening up to the East. Others attribute the close link between Moscow and Beijing to their mutual push for exporting and purchasing modern arms.... How long can this...cooperation between

Moscow

and Beijing last, many ask. They are both annoyed over the global lead of the

United States and would much like to see a multipolar world instead. But it is

a well-based concern of the Russians that the current strategic partnership

with the Chinese means an increasing dependence on China, and an anti-West and

anti-American attitude can't be a strategy either, since both markets expect

significant investments from those regions."

"Chinese Christmas"

Influential Magyar Hrlap judged (11/4): "Christmas has come too early for

Chinese leader Jiang Zemin, since he has gotten everything he wanted from Bill

Clinton, critics say. What is true on the other hand: None of them had high

hopes for the summit. Let's not beat around the bush: Jiang and Clinton have

cut a give-and-get deal.... American giants, like Westinghouse or GM, have

been ready to jump into the vast Chinese market and to compete for the deal for

40 to 50...(nuclear) power plants accounting for some \$60 billion, or \$2 billion per year. It is now a fact that this market is developing quite fast in China, while it is dying in the United States. The official guest, however, enjoyed talking so much that he managed to talk about nothing for more than 90 minutes."

POLAND: "Call Me Jiang"

Center-left Zycie Warszawy featured this commentary (11/5) by Kazimierz Pytko:

"Is it pure coincidence or a remarkable diplomatic achievement? For the first time in history, the leaders of the biggest superpowers of the 'yellow' and 'white' worlds held [separate] summit meetings at the same time. When the Chinese president was trying on an American hat, the Japanese prime minister could be seen fishing in a Russian river.... Having looked closely at each other, the leaders of the new G-4 (the United States, China, Japan and Russia) presumably came to the conviction that nothing can be changed [on the world scene.]... The language has changed, though. There are no longer 'zones of

influence,' but 'zones of interest.' 'Peaceful coexistence' has been replaced by 'constructive engagement,' and 'comrade' or 'mister' are more and more often replaced by a less formal form of address, like 'my friend.' It is only a matter of time before we hear a voice from Beijing (saying), 'Call me Jiang!'"

"Jiang Zemin's U.S. Visit Accomplished Everything He Planned"

Tomasz Deptula filed from New York for economic Prawo i Gospodarka

(11/4): "In

spite of numerous protests accompanying the visit of the communist superpower's

leader, the fundamental goal of the visit was achieved--the normalization of

bilateral U.S.-China relations. What is more, Zemin presented himself to the

American people not as a 'monster' co-responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre, but as a statesman using fairly good English and possessing a quick wit."

RUSSIA: "U.S. Has Few Reasons To Rejoice"

Arkady Orlov of RIA Novosti reported from Washington for reformist writers'

weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta (# 45, 11/5): "The (Jiang Zemin) visit was a success, but the United States has few reasons to rejoice. The visit seems to have helped improve relations between the two leaders, but the differences remain 'fundamental' and there is no telling how China and America are going to overcome them."

"Russia's Supporting Role"

Stanislav Kondrashov remarked in reformist Izvestia (11/5): "In the next century's Asia-Pacific region, Russia will have a supporting role, compared to those of the three key players--the United States, China and Japan. But a backup player has his advantages, as the main players can't do without his aid."

SERBIA-MONTENEGRO: "Jiang Woos Business Community"

Independent, centrist Danas carried this commentary (11/3) by special Washington correspondent Goroana Logar: "Met with salvos, artillery salutes and noisy mass protests, China's President Jiang Zemin cheerfully toured America, taking full advantage of the fact that business centers of power rule life in the United States. Except for President Clinton, his enchanted

hosts

were the heads of the most powerful corporations with the latest high technologies, who sell satellites, nuclear reactors, or such trifles as cellular phones, computers or Internet to China.... The old-new standards are pragmatism, largeness and wisdom. Everything lies in big numbers and--changes."

SPAIN: "And Now, Russia And China"

Liberal El Pais noted (11/11): "Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin have a common ambition: Both seek recognition of the countries they rule as great powers in a multipolar world order. . . . None [of the recent diplomatic activity by either Russia or China] should be seen as unfriendly towards the United States, [although] both leaders seek more stable relations between them [as a counterweight to] what they see as excessive unipolarity [exercised by] the United States. They still have a long way to go, but their efforts are important in the establishment of multipolar diplomacy."

MIDDLE EAST

EGYPT: "Islamic Countries Should Get Used To Self-Reliance"

Amer Abdel Moneim, a contributor to Islamist-leaning, opposition Al Shaab, asserted (11/4): "The Sino-American rapprochement comes in the context of a U.S. policy to influence Russia...China and North Korea, with the aim of (preventing)...Middle Eastern countries, especially Iran, from obtaining nuclear technology and developing their weapons programs. Obviously this rapprochement is not in the interest of Islamic countries...which should start depending on themselves in defending their interests."

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ARGENTINA: "China Arrives In U.S."

An editorial in leading Clarin read (11/6): "The tour which brought Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Washington and New York clearly outlines the present situation of world power: In it, the United States and China emerge as players of a new kind of bipolarism between two great superpowers at the end of the century.... This explains the determination of the U.S. administration to receive the Chinese leader with great pomp, leaving behind any memories of the Tiananmen episode or pressure regarding the oppressive situation in Tibet

or

restrictions in the recently incorporated Hong Kong.... In Washington,

Clinton

and Jiang Zemin played a strong key in this new concert, like two

directors of

the same orchestra, with different scores but converging strategic goals."

"Elephants Clash"

Commenting on the joint press conference with Presidents Clinton and

Jiang,

pro-government La Prensa's international analyst Julio Barboza wrote

(11/6):

"These were strong words for a presidential meeting, said in front of the

press. But, in spite of this, the relationship between the two countries

will

probably continue improving. The pressure of businessmen, who see their

European and Japanese competitors doing very good business in China, is

almost

irresistible and will possibly exceed that of the human rights and other

similar lobbies. So it would be irresponsible for those who are

conducting the

foreign relations of two countries with such power, to let those

differences

overshadow the need for a civilized relationship."

"The Chinese Issue"

An editorial in pro-government La Prensa pointed out (11/5):

"International

relations are...ruled by reality and not by ideals or hopeful wishes.

Negotiating with Beijing is, therefore, a sour grape that has to be swallowed

by the biggest world power. A quarter of the world population with a growing

purchasing power is, for sure, an irresistible temptation for any capitalist.

Even if he is a Democrat."

BRAZIL: "Incoherence"

Brasilia's pro-government Correio Braziliense had this to say (11/4):

"The

visit of China's President Jiang Zemin to the United States is one of the most

important contemporary diplomatic happenings.... One cannot but praise the

closer relationship and see it as a positive development for the world.

However, one cannot also but highlight the contrast this creates in relation to

another country...of lesser economic and geopolitical importance...Cuba.

The arguments used by the United States to support Cuba's estrangement from the continental [community]...are all present to a more pronounced degree in China. To invoke them in relation to one (country) and discount them in relation to the other shows an insincere intent.... Let us hope that the visit of China's president will stimulate a review of this sectarian policy of American diplomacy."

CHILE: "Strategic Association Between China And U.S."

Influential, centrist La Epoca had this editorial view (11/1): "The introduction of the term 'strategic' seems to imply the possibility of a qualitative change in the relationship between both superpowers (the United States and China.) It not only suggests the presence of shared military views and nuclear arms negotiations, but also shows that both countries are moving toward developing a reciprocal, long-term relationship on a wide range of matters in which there is agreement or near agreement.... The human rights issue...seems to be the only matter in which there remain 'great differences,' although in fact, its importance seems to have decreased.... The possible alliance that seems to be taking shape between the United States and China

could become a powerful element of peace in international relations, as well as for economic development, which could have important global significance."

"Rays Of Hope"

Mass-appeal Las Ultimas Noticias told its readers (11/2): "The president of the most powerful nation met with his Chinese counterpart.... It is good that, despite significant differences between the two systems, there is discussion to find common solutions for the problems of the world. Let's hear it for understanding through dialogue."

ECUADOR: "U.S.-China: Pros And Cons"

Leading, centrist El Comercio declared (10/31): "U.S.-China contacts, despite their shortcomings, have broad political-economical significance, and will weigh in many different forms in the upcoming century. No doubt about it."

HONDURAS: "The Other Communism"

Liberal, pro-government La Tribuna made this point (11/5): "For American politicians, there is more than one form of communism. There is that of Castro, which they wrangle against daily...and Chinese communism, with which one can do important and significant business.... At the same time, however, China, has an anti-human rights history that scandalizes American politicians.... In any case, the visit has been a good lesson for all of us in Latin America. It illustrates the new world trend based not so much on principles as economic interests. It also demonstrates the inconsistencies of U.S. policy, which, when it wants to protect its economic interests, has a huge capacity to overlook damage done to human rights principles."

PERU: "Jiang Zemin In U.S."

According to center-left, business daily Gestion (11/2): "(President Clinton's) remarks about how China could have advanced in the world with a different policy on human rights might have been uncomfortable for Jiang Zemin. It is evident that the commercial opportunities that each country represents for the other is the strongest stimulus.... Now it is the United States' turn to explain to the world its good attitude toward China and

its

hardness towards other regimes--what is called by many people the double standard of U.S. diplomacy."

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: "Can't Ignore China"

In the view of the conservative Guardian (11/3): "China is evolving into a significant economic and political world power.... Nevertheless the concern in certain quarters about the abuse of human rights is a valid issue. While it is desirable that demands for the end of human rights abuses must be maintained, it should also be realized that open trade, mutual understanding and prosperity can stimulate conditions favorable to the growth of healthy human rights policies. China's importance on the world stage at the present time cannot be ignored. What is required is mutual trust between the two countries. The summit has given hope for the establishment of that trust and it ought to be cemented not only by further summits, but by constant contact between the people."

URUGUAY: "Times Change"

Top-selling, conservative El Pais ran this editorial comment (11/1):

"Jiang's

presence in the United States confirms Clinton's realistic (new) posture,

in

contrast to the idealistic policy held until 1994. Like their European

counterparts, American business firms should be the first ones to

benefit

from this decision, which establishes cooperation between both countries.

Priority subjects in this relationship seem to be trade and security, not

human rights and freedom, an area in which China has shown no sign of

change. This was made apparent by the guest list for the official dinner

held

at the White House in honor of Jiang, at which many seats were occupied by

representatives of American multinationals and human rights activists were

conspicuously absent. "

##===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Return-path: William_Richey/R__MR/WASHDC/USIA/GOV.USIA@notes1.usia.gov

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)

id <01IPXDFJZO8G00YTV3@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for anderson_l@a1.eop.gov; Wed,
12 Nov 1997 15:12:11 -0500 (EST)

Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)

by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IPXDEZCFV400YDWR@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for
anderson_l@a1.eop.gov; Wed, 12 Nov 1997 15:11:59 -0500 (EST)

Received: from notes1.usia.gov ([198.67.64.251])

by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-7 #6879)

with SMTP id <01IPXDERJ9WO0012V1@STORM.EOP.GOV> for anderson_l@a1.eop.gov;
Wed, 12 Nov 1997 15:11:32 -0500 (EST)

Received: by notes1.usia.gov (IBM OS/2 SENDMAIL VERSION 1.3.2)

/1.0) id AA0068; Wed, 12 Nov 1997 15:08:36 -0800

Received: from USIA with "Lotus Notes Mail Gateway for SMTP" id

1C6D68FC5BCFD8EC8525654D00507F2A; Wed, 12 Nov 1997 14:55:08 +0000

X-Lotus-Type: Daily Digest

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPC

2BPV`Courier 10cpi|x?xxx,kx6X@8;X@ 3'

3' 3' X` hp x X XX 3'
3' 3' 3'

XX X` hp x (##Xx\ P6QyXP#

X` hp x (#%O

ddx

XxX<O

#:x2PkCXP#

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

#:2PkCP#DAILY DIGEST #XX\ P6QyP#USIA #:Z2PkCP#U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHIN
GTON DC 20547 OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTIONOO

#XP\ P6QyP#Bill Richey, Branch Chief Media Reaction (R/MR), #:x2PkCXP# #XP\

P6QyP#Richey@usia.gov, (202) 6196511 Ann Pincus,

Director, (2

02) 6196511

X` hp x (##Xn\ P6Qy&P#Wednesday, November 12, 1997

X` hp x (#%

U.S.CHINA RELATIONS: WHAT NOW FOR TAIWAN, GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER?

Commentators overseas continued to weigh in with their postmortems of Chinese
President Jiang Zemin's recently concluded U.S. tour. The overwhelming
majorit

y contended that the "historic" summit between Presidents Clinton and
Jiang had

"created a sense that engaging Beijing does produce benefits," not
only for th

e U.S., but also for regional and global stability and economic
growth in East

Asia. As analysts looked toward the future, however, many
questioned how long

the "shared interests" of the two superpowers would serve
to unite them. A nu

mber of writers predicted problems aheadmost mentioned
the Taiwan issue as a po

tential "firecracker"and agreed with Bangkok's
masscirculation Daily News that

"whenever China's might approaches that of
the U.S., then things will start to

get dangerous." Editors in a number of
countries viewed Mr. Jiang's visit to

the U.S., and that of Russian President
Boris Yeltsin to China this week and Ja

pan's Prime Minister Hashimoto to

Moscow in early November, as indicative of shifting global alliances. Many of these writers urged their governments to take action so as not to be excluded from the emerging power relationships they saw forming. On the human rights front, some editors continued to chide the U.S. and Harvard University, where President Jiang delivered a major speech for "hosting" Mr. Jiang. New Delhi's centrist Hindu, for example, pointed out that "even if China did not give the U.S. any satisfaction on human rights...the enthusiasm of the top businessmen...for him had to be seen to be believed."

X' hp x (#
X' hp x (#THE TAIWAN ISSUEA number of observers in East and South Asia expressed the hope that the U.S. and China would avoid friction in the future over the "unpredictable" question of Taiwan. The media in Taipei was split as to how to proceed with China in the wake of the ClintonJiang summit. Papers from opposing political slants, the proindependence China News and the United Daily, judged, for example, that it was time begin political negotiations with Beijing. In order to "tame the beast [China]," declared the China News, Taiwan "must engage China, just as the U.S. is doing." Others discussed the pros and cons of pursuing "parallel" tracks with the U.S. and with China, or whether a "triangular" approach with the two powers should take precedence. The centrist, prostatus quo China Times argued that Taiwan should take advantage of "established crossStraits ties...to develop the two WashingtonBeijing and WashingtonTaipei parallel relationships." The proindependence United Daily News, however, insisted: "The 'triangular' [BeijingWashingtonTaipei] relationship is...the only way for Taiwan to pursue its own interests."

SHIFTING GLOBAL ALLIANCES
Editors in Asia viewed the "successful" ClintonJiang summit as boding well for multilateral regional security arrangements, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum. Editorial comment from Italy, Hungary, and Poland characterized the postCold War world order as one that is defined not by "zones of

influence" but "zones of interest." An Italian pundit perceived a new "triangle" forming involving the U.S., China and Russia and fretted that Europe "does not have enough weight" to turn "the triangle into a square."

This survey is based on 75 reports from 34 countries, October 31 - November 11.

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

Xinhua (#

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Beijing, Washington, Moscow New Relations Among Big Powers"

Lu Jin and Lu Yunfei wrote for official Beijing Municipal Beijing Daily (Beijing Ribao, 11/10): "The recent visits between China and the two world powers, the United States and Russia, indicate that the relationships continue to improve and expand. Another message sent by the visits is that China, the United States and Russia are striving to reestablish relations with each other. Their shared strategic interests, sustaining the development of world peace, and their own economy is the motive in coordinating the relationships.... Through Jiang's successful visit, the Sino-U.S. relationship has progressed substantially in political, economic and trade areas. Experts point out that China and the United States, and China and Russia share many conspicuous characteristics. These ...(are): a common desire for mutual understanding in the 21st century...cooperative engagement in economics, trade, and science, and seeking common ground while maintaining small differences."

"Dialogue Mechanism Cuts Misunderstanding"

Yan Xuetong observed in official, English-language China Daily (11/8): "The Sino-U.S. summit in Washington laid solid groundwork for forging stable bilateral ties. Little progress was made during the summit in narrowing the two countries' differences over the human rights issue. Despite the agreement by China and the United States to conduct dialogue on human rights at both official

al and unofficial levels, the issue will continue to hamper bilateral ties for a long period."

"Strengthening Management Of SinoU.S. Relations"

Professor Zhu Minquan, deputy director of the Center for American Studies, Fudan University, said in Shanghai Municipal Government Propaganda Department controlled Wenhui Bao (11/5), "One of great achievements of President Jiang Zemin's state visit to the United States is the establishment of a mechanism for high level dialogue and consultation between China and the United States against a background of a strategic orientation for SinoU.S. relations in the...21st century.... The establishment of such a channel will not only materially reduce the incidence of friction and disputes between China and the United States, but will also create conditions for the timely and appropriate settlement of differences once they have appeared. At the same time, it will limit and reduce the impact of these differences on the overall SinoU.S. relationship so as to ensure the stability of SinoU.S. relations as well as to promote the stability of the AsiaPacific region and the entire world."

"New Chapter In History Of SinoU.S. Relationship"

Liu Jiang and Li Hongqi wrote in intellectually oriented Guangming Daily (Guangming Ribao, 11/4): "The historic visit signals a SinoU.S. relationship that has entered a new stage.... The most significant achievement is that the two nations are focusing on the future and have reached a consensus in terms of developing future bilateral relations. Through comprehensive communication and engagement, mutual understanding between the two peoples has been enhanced."

"New Chapter In SinoU.S. Ties"

The words of Li Zheng Xin and Wong Xiang were carried in official Chinese Youth Party China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnianbao, 11/4): "After years of debate

, Americans have finally reached a consensus on the issue of 'constructive engagement' with China in the future. In the future, the minority of ultra American conservatives and extreme liberals will continue to disturb the bilateral bond. While bent on improving the ties with China, President Clinton will also be restrained by these special interest groups.

"Despite this, the developing SinoU.S. relationship will not be changed by any negative American or international forces."

"Pushing Forward Economic And Trade Cooperation"

State Council Economic Daily (Jingji Ribao) ran this observation (11/4) by Hu Houfa, Yan Hengyuan and Zhang Zhinian: "The strong desire of American industrial and business interests to develop bilateral ties, economic and trade ties in particular, has deeply impressed us.... The two countries...should devote more effort to further promote economic and trade cooperation, thus benefitting the people of both nations."

Xinhua (# HONG KONG: "China Bashing"

The independent, Englishlanguage South China Morning Post insisted (11/8): "The succession of antiChina bills passed by the U.S. House of Representatives yesterday stand virtually no chance of becoming law. They are unlikely to be approved by the Senate and, if they are, will almost certainly be vetoed by President Clinton.... As Republicans jockey for position ahead of the next presidential election, there is a real danger they will use the China issue to bash the administration.... If Mr. Clinton wants to be remembered for building better ties across the Pacific, he should stand firm against their rhetoric."

Xinhua (#

"New SinoU.S.Russian Interactive Relations"

According to an editorial in independent Ming Pao Daily News (11/10): "It is believed that Beijing will attach more importance to the partnership with Moscow [than with the U.S.] The so-called SinoU.S. strategic partnership is only an illusion, pursued by Beijing, which wants to be on an equal footing

with the world's number one nation. In comparison, the interests of Beijing and Russia seem to coincide more.... Nevertheless, there are also difficulties if Beijing really wants to further develop its relations with Russia, since they have to talk about their real interests.... The only thing (Mr. Yeltsin) wanted was money."

"Huge Benefits From Jiang Trip"

The independent, Englishlanguage Hong Kong Standard's editorial maintained (11/5), "Nothing better illustrates the American media's ignorance about China and the Chinese people than their current outcry against arrangements made by the State Department for President Jiang Zemin to pose for photographs with the Liberty Bell and other symbols of the American heritage.... The American media, ceaselessly campaigning for change in China, are unable to grasp the idea that, to influence the leaders in Beijing, the United States must first establish good relations with China. This is not wishful thinking. In the years since Mao Tse-tung those American ideas, views and values considered beneficial to China have been allowed to 'infiltrate' the country when SinoU.S. relations have been good. When relations have soured, the gates have slammed shut on all things Western, regardless of their intrinsic worth."

"Jiang's Successful U.S. Visit"

An editorial in independent Sing Tao Daily News held (11/5), "All in all, China's President Jiang Zemin's U.S. visit was successful and smooth. Despite the fact that demonstrations and questions followed Jiang wherever he went, he did his best to face matters and resolve them. None of the demonstrations affected Jiang's itinerary or the atmosphere of the visit. It was different from the Chinese leader [Premier Li Peng] who visited Europe last year, who had to leave by the back door and cancel his itinerary. This point alone shows that the Chi

nese leadership has made great progress on this trip."

"Jiang's Successful Image Building"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Times pointed out in an editorial (11/4): "One visit, of course, cannot change the negative impression the United States has of China and Chinese leaders. It can at least be considered an essential step. If things continue to go down this path, [we can be] optimistic about the future."

"Taking The Sting Out Of Freedom Of Speech"

According to the independent Ming Pao Daily News (11/4): "We believe that the different voices which emerged during this eightday visit were enough to let Jiang Zemin understand that freedom of speech is nothing horrible. It is also not terrible for a state leader to be criticized and questioned. Allowing these voices to speak freely will not curb the highspeed development of a country's economy and technology. It is, on the contrary, very helpful. U.S. President Clinton claimed that he had encountered much more criticism and demonstrations than Jiang Zemin did without it weakening his status. We hope that these experiences will be conducive to the Chinese authorities taking more open and forgiving actions."

"Each Takes What He Needs From 'June 4' Comment"

In editorial comment, centrist Express News maintained (11/4): "After Jiang Zemin admitted that the work of the government might have some shortcomings and that it might even have made some mistakes, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen gave some explanations. He said that Jiang's speech at Harvard University did not refer to 'June 4' (Tiananmen), but was just a general statement about the work of the government. This explanation means that the Chinese government has reached a final conclusion about the 'June 4' incident, and it will not change.... Q

ian Qichen's interpretation is necessary for Beijing.
So people with different
opinions about 'June 4' may take what they want,
either from Jiang Zemin's...c
omment or from Qian Qichen's interpretation. If
'June 4' is someday redressed,
there is no doubt that Jiang Zemin's speech at
Harvard University will be take
n as what started it."

"Qian Qichen's Clarification"

A Sing Pao Daily News editorial noted (11/4): "Beijing's official adjective
f
or 'June 4' has changed from 'antigovernment rebellion' to 'political
disturban
ce'. This subtle change is worth pondering. A more 'neutral' and
moderate adj
ective lets one think that the top level in Beijing wants to take
it lightly an
d let it fade from people's memory. It also wants the people to
adopt a positi
ve attitude about the future."

TAIWAN: "A Question Of Balance"

The conservative, prounification, Englishlanguage China News, in comment by
R
ichard R. Vuylsteke, senior editor of The Free China Review, wondered (11/2)
"
Is Taiwan being shoved to the margin in the triangular relationship?... Not
su
rprisingly, local postsummit assessments have focused on the need to
strengthen
Taiwan's business attractiveness, improve crossStraits relations,
and continue
countering Beijing's attempts to isolate the island
internationally.... The b
est way to guarantee U.S. support in the future is
for the government and peop
le of Taiwan to strengthen their democratic
institutions and their commitment t
o a free society."

"PostSummit Strategies"

X` hp x (#
X` hp x (#The centrist, prostatus quo China Times asked (10/31): "To develop
parallel
relationships [WashingtonBeijing and WashingtonTaipei], we...must fir
st
stabilize crossStraits ties.

"If crossStraits ties deteriorate, and Beijing continues to improve ties

with Washington, it would be questionable whether the parallel relationship between Taipei and Washington could ever continue.... Taiwan's priority tasks are: First, to strengthen the substantial relationship with Washington via all channels and contacts.... Second, we should improve our ties with Beijing now, when (Beijing) is full of confidence and not ready to fight. We should take advantage of the eased crossStraits ties now to develop the two WashingtonBeijing and WashingtonTaipei parallel relationships."

"Time To Talk Realpolitik On China"

Managing editor Anthony Lawrance argued in the conservative, pronounification China News (10/31): "If [the Taipei government] hopes to tame the beast [China], it must engage China, just as the United States is doing. But the longer it waits, the longer China has to cast its spell on international television audiences. Once the preliminaries are over, once the niceties have been dispensed with and it comes time to address the 'Big Question of Sovereignty,' Taiwan cannot afford to be in a position of weakness. But most importantly, the government must realize that it cannot afford to rely on its friends. It has been let down so many times in the past, why should now be any different?"

"U.S. Will Certainly Force Taipei To Negotiate With Beijing"

Sun Yangming opined in the conservative, pronounification United Daily News (11/3): "In the past, the United States used the Taiwan card to curb Communist China [in order to achieve] AsiaPacific stability. However, now (the United States) has [revised its position] to include Communist China in the security framework for AsiaPacific and global stability. Under this framework, the United States will certainly force Taipei to negotiate with Beijing."

"Now Is The Right Time To Start Political Negotiations With Beijing"

An editorial in the liberal, proindependence Commons Daily judged (11/3):

"In the wake of the ClintonJiang meeting...it is very unlikely that China will use military force...(and) pressure for China to abide by international rules will get stronger. Therefore, we should take this opportunity to start political negotiations with China! Though it is 'more difficult to seek peace than to go to war,' we still should make efforts in this direction as our domestic and international situation keep changing."

"Clinton Still Does Not Know Taiwan Very Well"

Under the above headline, the liberal, proindependence Taiwan Daily insisted (10/31): "Clinton yesterday encouraged the two sides (China and Taiwan) to conduct highlevel dialogues.... This subtle change of position toward Taiwan puts the blame on Taiwan for the current stalemate of TaiwanChina relations.... The problem does not lie in Taiwan's refusal to have a dialogue, but in the Chinese government's insistence on the outdated concept of sovereignty. Taiwan should make clear to the United States that it is Beijing rather than Taiwan that should be held responsible for the deadlock of bilateral relations."

X' hp x (# "Watch Out For Clinton's Remarks On One China Policy And Taiwan"

X' hp x (#Commenting on President Clinton's 10/24 China policy speech, the conservative, pronunification United Daily News told its readers (10/30): "As far as Taiwan's interests are concerned, the 'triangular' [BeijingWashingtonTaipei] relationship is not only a reality that cannot be eliminated, it is also the only way for Taiwan to pursue its own interests. Developing so-called 'parallel lines' (WashingtonBeijing and WashingtonTaipei) may mean that Washington will only care about its relationship with Beijingexcluding Taiwan.... Taipei's goal should be to prevent itself from being excluded from the 'triangle' and endeavor to maintain the equality and stability of the 'triangle' in order to keep it from being slanted or distorted....

"Taiwan should contemplate how it can work as a 'bridge' for the international community to lead Beijing to move toward democracy and greater openness."

X` hp x (#

SOUTH KOREA: "Four Nations' Diplomatic Strategies And Korean Peninsula"

X` hp x (#

According to conservative Segye Ilbo (11/6), "The United States is continuing

to strengthen its stance as the only superpower by alternately 'pulling' and

pushing' Japan, China and Russia. China, with its improved relationship with t

he United States, is making smooth progress on issues like the economy and Taiw

an.... Japan also is doing all it can to prepare itself for the new century t

hrough practical diplomacy with the United States, China and Russia.... We won

der what Korea's diplomatic goals are, and in which direction we are moving. A

ll the presidential candidates are busy vilifying

one another at a time when Ko

rea should be paying attention to building a

strong base for reunification of t

he peninsula."

X` hp x (#

"U.S., China Compete For Hegemony"

Conservative Segye Ilbo held (11/4): "The summit demonstrated that the United

States and China will be the predominate world powers during the first quarte

r of the next century.... Korea should maintain its current military cooperati

on with the United States while building a security cooperation system with Chi

na as well. It will be in Korea's interest to

construct a strong security coop

eration system with China."

X` hp x (# INDONESIA: "U.S., China Opt For Stable Ties"

X` hp x (#

The leading, independent Jakarta Post, in oped commentary by Rizal Sukma, held

(11/7): "It is hoped that the fresh commitment from Washington and Beijing t

o improve their relationship will also contribute significantly to an improvem

ent of relations between Beijing and Tokyo. The strategic partnership between

China and the United States will also contribute positively to the ongoing re

gional efforts to create a more predictable regional order in the AsiaPacific region. The current multilateral security process initiated by the ASEAN Regional Forum, for instance, would benefit greatly from stable U.S.Sino relations.. .. What is important is that both Washington and Beijing agreed not to let differences such as the questions of Taiwan and human rights inhibit greater opportunities for cooperation."

"China Admits Tiananmen An Error?"

Ruling Golkar party's Suara Karya held (11/4): "President Jiang caused a stir on the last day of his U.S. visit when he indirectly referred to the Tiananmen massacre as an error.... If he was sincere, he should release prodemocracy activists such as Wang Dan and others who were at Tiananmen. Next, he should take a stand against Prime Minister Li Peng, who was directly involved in the massacre. Indeed, Jiang has taken some positive steps, including inviting three religious leaders to visit China to observe the human rights situation firsthand. . If Jiang continues to display this sort of courage, he will deserve to be called a great man of China after Mao and Deng."

PHILIPPINES: "Border Pact Good For World Peace"

Columnist Ricardo Malay wrote in the independent Manila Chronicle (11/12): "Visiting Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, signed a declaration in Beijing laying to rest wrangles over their 4,300km frontier. It is ironic that the two former bastions of socialism have begun an earnest process of reconciliation only after turning their backs on the ideology that catapulted them to nationhood and leadership in the revolutionary world.... Marxism was supposed to cement in place a community of nations bound together by proletarian internationalism.... The border agreement signed in Beijing frees the energies of the two countries to concentrate on the task of building their economies, rather than on

military concerns. To the world at large, that is a welcome development."

"Jiang's Accomplishments"

J.A. de la Cruz wrote in his column in independent Malaya (11/8): "Everybody but the most virulent antiChina critic is agreed that the U.S. trip of Chinese

President Jiang Zemin was a success.... There is no question that Jiang's trip lifted the curtain of bias and prejudice which has characterized the Western attitude towards the Middle Kingdom."

"Shame On Harvard"

Liberal Today declared (11/4): "Chinese President Jiang Zemin did not admit to anything at Harvard University. He did not acknowledge having made any particular mistakes. He made the vacuous admission that everybody makes mistakes, and may have implied but did not say outright the party might have erred.... What to do, then, with Oriental thugs? The Cambridge demonstrators who denounced Harvard for hosting Jiang were right. It was wrong of Harvard to dignify this thug with a speaking occasion.... If a brutal dictatorship like the Chinese must at least be talked to respectfully, it need not be flattered. And by no means should it be dignified with a speaking engagement at Harvard, America's most distinguished place of learning."

"Revitalizing SinoAmerican Relations"

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Blas Ople wrote in the leading, conservative Manila Bulletin (11/4): "Both ASEAN and Japan, which share common values and interests, ought not to be frozen into (an)...acceptance of a downgraded priority for ASEAN in the wake of the new U.S.China rapprochement.... Southeast Asia has a claim to equal attention and respect from the U.S. president. The diplomatic spadework must be done to get Clinton to visit Manila or Jakarta on his way to Beijing."

X hp x (# SINGAPORE: "New Impetus For U.S.' China Policy?"

X' hp x (#The progovernment Business Times judged (11/5): "Chinese President Jiang Zemin's justconcluded visit to the United States may have produced colorful television images and catchy newsbites but there were no diplomatic breakthroughs in SinoAmerican relations. Despite the noises made by the Chinabashers, Mr. Jiang's visit did provide new momentum to Mr. Clinton's policy towards China by creating a sense that engaging Beijing does produce benefits to U.S. interests. Mr. Clinton should now build on the success of the trip and mobilize wider support for his China policy. The debate between the two camps in Washington will surely continue. The outcome, aside from determining the direction of SinoAmerican relationship, could also ultimately also affect economic growth in East Asia."

THAILAND: "The Future Of U.S.China Relations"

Trairat Soontornprapat commented in masscirculation Daily News (11/8): "It remains to be seen how long and peacefully these two giants will be able to share their mutual interests.... So long as China inches slowly toward becoming a superpower, conflicts of interest will be minimal and so will the hostility. But whenever China's might approaches that of the United States, then things will start to get dangerous."

"China's Jiang Consolidates His Position"

The independent, Englishlanguage Nation editorialized (11/2), "Despite major differences between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President Bill Clinton on human rights and freedom of religion, Jiang's trip to the United States represents a triumph for the world's most populous nation in its effort to integrate with the rest of the world and a step towards international acceptance of his leadership....

"To be fair, the visit also benefitted Clinton, who has made engagement with China a key goal of his second term. Despite their differences over human

rights
, Clinton underscored the importance of U.S. engagement with the Chinese."

VIETNAM: "U.S.China relations"

X` hp x (#

Vietnamese army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, published by the Communist Party Central Committee's Military Commission and the National Defense Ministry,

rem
arked (11/3): "Although the bilateral agreements the United States and China h

ave achieved are considerable, the dossier of their relationship is packed with

many difficult issues, the most sensitive of which remain human rights and dem

ocracy. Washington has not yet given up its preachy attitude about 'human rig

hts.'... The way the United States plays its 'human rights' card with China as

well as a number of other countries shows this is not a transient policy, but

a longterm one.... It is not yet possible to say definitively that the SinoAm

erican relationship has become truly stable....

The underlying cause of this

'sometimes hot, sometimes cold' relationship is

that the two superpowers are p

ursuing different strategic ends by very different means."

SOUTH ASIA

X` hp x (#

INDIA: "When Jiang And His Money Spoke"

Inder Malhotra, columnist for the centrist Hindu, wrote (11/9): "If China did

not give the United States any satisfaction on human rights, it seems to have

received some assurances from America about Taiwan.... Chinese money talks lou

dly. During Mr. Jiang's visit, the enthusiasm of the top businessmen of the U.

S. for him had to be seen to be believed."

"Eagle Eye, Dragon Fire"

Calcutta's centrist Telegraph ran this assessment by assistant editor Pramit P

al Chaudhuri (11/7): "Some are calling last week's meeting between Jiang Zemin

and Bill Clinton the millennium summit. It wasn't really. The summit was mor

e show than stuff. But no one questions that this bilateral linkage will have

more influence on the way the world fares in the next century than any other...

. The big crease on the foreheads of the two countries is the fear of some real fireworks between them. And the largest cracker of all is Taiwan.... In other words, the peace of East Asia is balanced precariously on the edge of something as unpredictable and obscure as Taiwanese nationalism."

"A Major Gain For Washington"

An analysis in the centrist Pioneer by foreign editor V. Sudarshan pointed out (11/6): "Perhaps the most important development in terms of the security alliance in Asia-Pacific is the Chinese decision to abide by the guidelines laid down by the nuclear suppliers group. There is an element of constructive engagement here that is worth observing for implications this may have for India.... By engaging China on this aspect over more than a decade, the United States has now been able to draw China into a system that introduces a new element of accountability into Chinese nuclear postures. This is a major gain for Washington."

"Yankee Noodle"

Calcutta's centrist Telegraph stressed (11/1): "In terms of substance, the [Clinton-Jiang] meeting...fell short of expectations.... The most glaring difference between the two one that brought them to the brink of military confrontation last year is the question of Taiwan. A conflict over the independent status of this island state could plunge all of East Asia into war. Both sides avoided addressing this during the summit....

"But India has every reason to support the dialogue between the Pacific's two great powers.... Until Beijing believes it gets the sort of global status and security it wants, it will pursue policies that help breed instability. Selling missiles to Pakistan is just one such means.... If the present summit is not followed by other meetings, and if these do not generate an

understanding of so
rts between the two countries, South Asia and the world in
general will be that
much more unsafe a place."

"Friendship In Lieu Of Hostility"

An editorial in Calcutta's independent, centrist Ananda Bazar Patrika
stressed
(11/1): "(The ClintonJiang summit) proves once again that in
international re
lations there is no permanent enemy or friend, there are only
permanent interes
ts.... One may ask which of the two countries will gain
more out of this excha
nge. Apparently both will gain equally."

PAKISTAN: "A Boost To SinoAmerican Relations"

The Karachibased, independent, national Dawn held (11/1): "The foundation
of
a constructive strategic partnership (with China) President Clinton has
been ta
lking about has been laid. Although the Chinese leader has made no
major conce
ssions, he has managed to persuade his host to lift the ban on the
sale of nucl
ear technology to China.... Leaving aside the shaded areas of a
fuller relatio
nship, (this) change in the tone and quality of relations
between Beijing and W
ashington will have a significant impact on world
politics."

"What Promises Did China Make To U.S.?"

This editorial note ran in second largest, Urdulanguage NawaeWaqt (11/2):
"Ac
cording to the American media, the Chinese President Jiang Zemin has
promised t
hat China will not extend nuclear assistance to an unstable area.
China has ac
knowledged Iran as one such country, but has not specifically
identified any ot
her country in the Muslim world, such as Pakistan.... While
it is not expected
that China will abandon its longtime friends for a country
that has always bee
n its enemy...if the United States really made headway on
these points, it must
be viewed as a major U.S. achievement.... Of course,
it is always possible th
at all this is just a U.S. media gimmick, because
media in the United States is

manipulated by Jews who could never stomach Muslim countries such as Iran and Pakistan acquiring nuclear knowhow. We await the Chinese clarification on these news reports."

BANGLADESH: "New Era In SinoU.S. Relations"

In the view of the independent, English language Daily Star (11/1): "The United States of America and the People's Republic of China, two giants in the residual multipolar global matrix of power following the breakup of the Soviet Union, have come close to each other in a historic renewal of contact occasioned by the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Washington.... Whether or not the latest bonhomie has rewritten the history of SinoU.S. ties, one has to wait a while and watch. The best way to ensure this, though, would be to have improved people-to-people contacts on a sustained basis. Meanwhile, the hardened inimical countries may do well to take a cue from the new cooperative spirit shown by the United States and China, what with their baggage of historical differences."

NEPAL: "New Directions In U.S.China Relations"

Independent Kantipur put forth this editorial view (11/9): "It would not be an exaggeration to say that after Jiang's U.S. visit, a new dimension has been added to U.S.China relations... Both are conscious of each other's interests; both understand each others' circumstances, thinking and capacity.... Direct talks and interactions between leaders can make it easy to control situations that could lead to misunderstandings."

"New Hope"

X` hp x (#

Proleft Arpan declared (10/31): "President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States to renew bilateral relations has raised new hope for the world.... Both sides are trying to come closer together and reach an understanding by forgetting the bitter experiences of the past." X` hp x (#

SRI LANKA: "China's Triumph"

Newton Seneviratne pointed out in a commentary in Sinhala language, independent

Ravaya (11/9): "The Chinese president visit to the United States is a triumph for China from (China's) point of view.... Though the United States had great differences with China on human rights, Taiwan and Tibet, it has seen the economic potential of China and embraced it with greed."

"U.S. Watches China"

Sinhala language, independent Sunday Lankadeepa ran this observation (11/9) by

Mohan Samaranayake: "The United States believes that China will replace the position held by the Soviet Union (and) will monitor the internal conflicts within China with great interest.... The Communist Party in China, which will decide its destiny, could also decide for Asia."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "U.S. Tour Polishes Jiang's Sullied Image"

The conservative Times noted in a report from Beijing (11/5): "A beaming President Jiang Zemin flew back to Beijing from a controversial visit to the United States yesterday, having apparently achieved his aim of boosting his image as a world statesman while giving away little on vital issues.... Diplomats say that the president, with the advantages of the trip to the United States, and a new and better personal relationship with President Clinton, has built on earlier gains he made this year after taking over the helm on the death of Deng Xiaoping."

GERMANY: "Jiang's Slippery Empty Phrases"

Xinhua (#Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich carried this editorial (11/4): "Did the Chinese president, for the first time, admit of having made 'mistakes' when the democracy movement was crushed in 1989? No, he did not.... Jiang Jia...in general, conceded to having made 'mistakes in his work' in the

best tradition of Confucian and Maoist selfcriticism.... But the incident reveals one thing: Tiananmen is still haunting the Chinese leaders. Until they have not made a clean sweep of it, they will never enjoy the respect in the world of which they are dreaming."

X` hp x (#
"PR Attempts Fizzle"

Johnny Erling noted in an editorial in rightofcenter Die Welt of Berlin (11/4): "China's media presented the Chinese a manipulated view of the state visit. The Chinese public did not learn anything about protests and disputes about human rights. The media did not even show pictures of Jiang's relaxed attitude. This turned out to be a welltrained exercise in public relations, whose purpose it was to capture American hearts. But...Jiang's efforts were in vain, because he had nothing really new to report."

ITALY: "U.S.RussiaChina Triangle Leaves Europe On The Margins"

X` hp x (#

Franco Venturini penned this commentary for leading, centrist Corriere della Sera (11/5): "The triangle game, inaugurated by Nixon 25 years ago...is once again fashionable and could be with us into the next century....

"Clinton's United States and Zemin's China have discovered the full extent of their common interests. Russia is responding by opening toward Japan, and using Tokyo as a way to remain hooked to the AmericanChinese wagon. Deja vu? Not exactly. Compared to the time of confrontation between blocs, the new element is the enormous stakes and the fluidity of the global economy.... This triangle is much more complex (and, fortunately, less conflictual).... Europe is striving to transform the triangle into a square, but (Europe) does not yet have the political weight needed to be part of the game."

X` hp x (# BELGIUM: "ClintonJiang SummitU.S. Congress' Revenge"

X` hp x (#

Washington correspondent Yves Laudy reported in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (11/10): "China's President Jiang Zemin had hardly returned

to Beiji
ng after his summit with Bill Clinton when the House of
Representatives began t
o vote on a number of bills expressing its reprobation
toward China.... Mr. J
iang did not help by comparing China's presence in
Tibet to the liberation of s
laves in the United States."

"Red Carpet For Jiang Upon Return Home"
X` hp x (#
Independent Catholic De Standaard observed (11/5): "China's authorities
terme
d (President Jiang's) trip 'a great success.'... (But) Jiang's visit
has not
yielded any genuine solutions. Human rights, Taiwan's status and
trade remain
points of friction between both nations. But, Jiang obtained
what he wanted fo
r internal use: treatment as a world leader."

CANADA: "The Dragon Sheathes Its Claws"

Montreal's liberal, Frenchlanguage Le Devoir said (11/4): "Chinese
President
Jiang Zemin will have effectively borrowed from our politicians the
technique o
f mixed messages and a constant smile.... It is around the thorny
theme of hum
an rights that Jiang obviously did the better dance.... If he
suddenly gave si
gns of remorse concerning Tiananmen, it is because doing so
has the double meri
t of not carrying any real political cost in the short
term while allowing him
to pour a semblance of balm on American public
opinion.... Muzzled by the obli
gation to promote American financial
interests, Mr. Clinton has found himself a
gainst his will in the role of a
promoter."

"Nuclear Worries"

World affairs columnist Stephen Handelman wrote in the liberal Toronto Star
(1
1/2): "North America's failing nuclear power industry is about to be
reproduc
ed in China. Of all the (meagre) results from last week's U.S.China
summit, th
is is likely to be the most far reachingand troubling. It's
troubling whether
you are for or against nuclear power, because hardly any
real thought, not to

mention any decent costbenefit analyses, appears to have gone into the nuclear rush to the East. The only motivating factor, at least from the Western end, is money. Lots of it.... The way seems clear for the United States to enter what is now shaping up as an epic struggle for a piece of the 21stcentury's biggest energy market. And that's where the problems begin."

HUNGARY: "Clinton And Jiang"

Secondlargest Nepszava ran this oped piece (11/10): "China, for the first time in its history, signed an international document on human rights. This step, however, does not mean a turnaround in a single day, which was also clear from the...exchanges between Clinton and Jiang when they met the press. That dialogue, which reflected their ideological differences, did not simply end at that press conference. Who knows how long it will continue?"

"The Bear And The Dragon"

Conservative, centrist Magyar Nemzet carried this oped piece (11/10) on the RussianChinese summit: "According to some Russian opinions, the Kremlin is now trying to balance the (NATO) enlargement process and the hegemonist ambitions of the United States by opening up to the East. Others attribute the close link between Moscow and Beijing to their mutual push for exporting and purchasing modern arms.... How long can this...cooperation between Moscow and Beijing last, many ask. They are both annoyed over the global lead of the United States and would much like to see a multipolar world instead. But it is a wellbased concern of the Russians that the current strategic partnership with the Chinese means an increasing dependence on China, and an antiWest and antiAmerican attitude can't be a strategy either, since both markets expect significant investments from those regions."

"Chinese Christmas"

X' hp x (#

X' hp x (#Influential Magyar H1rlap judged (11/4): "Christmas has come too ea
rly for

Chinese leader Jiang Zemin, since he has gotten everything he wanted fr
om

Bill Clinton, critics say. What is true on the other hand: None of them ha
d

high hopes for the summit. Let's not beat around the bush: Jiang and Clinton

have cut a giveandget deal.... American giants, like Westinghouse or GM,
have

been ready to jump into the vast Chinese market and to compete for the
deal fo

r 40 to 50...(nuclear) power plants accounting for some \$60 billion,
or \$2 bill

ion per year. It is now a fact that this market is developing

quite fast in Ch

ina, while it is dying in the United States. The official

guest, however, enj

oyed talking so much that he managed to talk about nothing

for more then 90 min

utes."

POLAND: "Call Me Jiang"

Centerleft Zycie Warszawy featured this commentary (11/5) by Kazimierz
Pytko:

"Is it pure coincidence or a remarkable diplomatic achievement? For
the firs

t time in history, the leaders of the biggest superpowers of the

'yellow' and '

white' worlds held [separate] summit meetings at the same time.

When the Chine

se president was trying on an American hat, the Japanese prime
minister could

be seen fishing in a Russian river.... Having looked closely
at each other, t

he leaders of the new G4 (the United States, China, Japan
and Russia) presumabl

y came to the conviction that nothing can be changed [on
the world scene.]...

The language has changed, though. There are no longer

'zones of influence,' bu

t 'zones of interest.' 'Peaceful coexistence' has

been replaced by 'constructi

ve engagement,' and 'comrade' or 'mister' are

more and more often replaced by a

less formal form of address, like 'my

friend.' It is only a matter of time be

fore we hear a voice from Beijing

(saying), 'Call me Jiang!'"

"Jiang Zemin's U.S. Visit Accomplished Everything He Planned"

Tomasz Deptula filed from New York for economic Prawo i Gospodarka (11/4):
"In spite of numerous protests accompanying the visit of the communist superpower's leader, the fundamental goal of the visit was achieved: the normalization of bilateral U.S.-China relations. What is more, Zemin presented himself to the American people not as a 'monster' coresponsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre, but as a statesman using fairly good English and possessing a quick wit."

RUSSIA: "U.S. Has Few Reasons To Rejoice"

Arkady Orlov of RIA Novosti reported from Washington for reformist writers' weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta (# 45, 11/5): "The (Jiang Zemin) visit was a success, but the United States has few reasons to rejoice. The visit seemed to have helped improve relations between the two leaders, but the differences remain 'fundamental' and there is no telling how China and America are going to overcome them."

"Russia's Supporting Role"

Stanislav Kondrashov remarked in reformist Izvestia (11/5): "In the next century's Asia-Pacific region, Russia will have a supporting role, compared to those of the three key players: the United States, China and Japan. But as a backup player he has his advantages, as the main players can't do without his aid."

SERBIA/MONTENEGRO: "Jiang Woos Business Community"

Independent, centrist Danas carried this commentary (11/3) by special Washington correspondent Goroana Logar: "Met with salvos, artillery salutes and noisy mass protests, China's President Jiang Zemin cheerfully toured America, taking full advantage of the fact that business centers of power rule life in the United States. Except for President Clinton, his enchanted hosts were the heads of the most powerful corporations with the latest high technologies, who sell satellites, nuclear reactors, or such trifles as

cellular phones, computers or Internet to China.... The oldnew standards are pragmatism, largeness and wisdom. Everything lies in big numbers and changes."

SPAIN: "And Now, Russia And China"

Liberal El Pais noted (11/11): "Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin have a common ambition: Both seek recognition of the countries they rule as great powers in a multipolar world order. . . . None [of the recent diplomatic activity by either Russia or China] should be seen as unfriendly towards the United States, [although] both leaders seek more stable relations between them [as a counterweight to] what they see as excessive unipolarity [exercised by] the United States. They still have a long way to go, but their efforts are important in the establishment of multipolar diplomacy."

MIDDLE EAST

EGYPT: "Islamic Countries Should Get Used To SelfReliance"

Amer Abdel Moneim, a contributor to Islamistleaning, opposition Al Shaab, asserted (11/4): "The SinoAmerican rapprochement comes in the context of a U.S. policy to influence Russia...China and North Korea, with the aim of (preventing)...Middle Eastern countries, especially Iran, from obtaining nuclear technology and developing their weapons programs. Obviously this rapprochement is not in the interest of Islamic countries...which should start depending on themselves in defending their interests."

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ARGENTINA: "China Arrives In U.S."

An editorial in leading Clarin read (11/6): "The tour which brought Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Washington and New York clearly outlines the present situation of world power: In it, the United States and China emerge as players of a new kind of bipolarism between two great superpowers at the end of the century"

ury.... This explains the determination of the U.S. administration to receive the Chinese leader with great pomp, leaving behind any memories of the Tiananmen episode or pressure regarding the oppressive situation in Tibet or restrictions in the recently incorporated Hong Kong.... In Washington, Clinton and Jiang Zemin played a strong key in this new concert, like two directors of the same orchestra, with different scores but converging strategic goals."

"Elephants Clash"

Commenting on the joint press conference with Presidents Clinton and Jiang, pro-government La Prensa's international analyst Julio Barboza wrote (11/6): "The words were strong for a presidential meeting, said in front of the press. But, in spite of this, the relationship between the two countries will probably continue improving. The pressure of businessmen, who see their European and Japanese competitors doing very good business in China, is almost irresistible and will possibly exceed that of the human rights and other similar lobbies. So it would be irresponsible for those who are conducting the foreign relations of two countries with such power, to let those differences overshadow the need for a civilized relationship."

"The Chinese Issue"

An editorial in pro-government La Prensa pointed out (11/5): "International relations are...ruled by reality and not by ideals or hopeful wishes. Negotiating with Beijing is, therefore, a sour grape that has to be swallowed by the biggest world power. A quarter of the world population with a growing purchasing power is, for sure, an irresistible temptation for any capitalist. Even if he is a Democrat."

BRAZIL: "Incoherence"

Brasilia's progovernment Correio Braziliense had this to say (11/4): "The visit of China's President Jiang Zemin to the United States is one of the most important contemporary diplomatic happenings.... One cannot but praise the closer relationship and see it as a positive development for the world. However, one cannot also but highlight the contrast this creates in relation to another country...of lesser economic and geopolitical importance...Cuba. The arguments used by the United States to support Cuba's estrangement from the continental [community]...are all present to a more pronounced degree in China. To invoke them in relation to one (country) and discount them in relation to the other shows an insincere intent.... Let us hope that the visit of China's president will stimulate a review of this sectarian policy of American diplomacy."

X' hp x (# CHILE: "Strategic Association Between China And U.S."

Influential, centrist La Epoca had this editorial view (11/1): "The introduction of the term 'strategic' seems to imply the possibility of a qualitative change in the relationship between both superpowers (the United States and China.)

It not only suggests the presence of shared military views and nuclear arms negotiations, but also shows that both countries are moving toward developing a reciprocal, longterm relationship on a wide range of matters in which there is agreement or near agreement.... The human rights issue...seems to be the only matter in which there remain 'great differences,' although in fact, its importance seems to have decreased.... The possible alliance that seems to be taking shape between the United States and China could become a powerful element of peace in international relations, as well as for economic development, which could have important global significance."

X' hp x (#
"Rays Of Hope"

Massappeal Las Ultimas Noticias told its readers (11/2): "The president of the

the most powerful nation met with his Chinese counterpart.... It is good that, despite significant differences between the two systems, there is discussion to find common solutions for the problems of the world. Let's hear it for understanding through dialogue."

X` hp x (#
X` hp x (#

ECUADOR: "U.S.China: Pros And Cons"

Leading, centrist El Comercio declared (10/31): "U.S.China contacts, despite their shortcomings, have broad politiceconomical significance, and will weigh in many different forms in the upcoming century. No doubt about it."

X` hp x (#

HONDURAS: "The Other Communism"

Liberal, progovernment La Tribuna made this point (11/5): "For American politicians, there is more than one form of communism. There is that of Castro, which they wrangle against daily...and Chinese communism, with which one can do important and significant business.... At the same time, however, China, has a n antihuman rights history that scandalizes American politicians.... In any case, the visit has been a good lesson for all of us in Latin America. It illustrates the new world trend based not so much on principles as economic interests. It also demonstrates the inconsistencies of U.S. policy, which, when it wants to protect its economic interests, has a huge capacity to overlook damage done to human rights principles."

X` hp x (# PERU: "Jiang Zemin In U.S."

According to centerleft, business daily Gestion (11/2): "(President Clinton's) remarks about how China could have advanced in the world with a different policy on human rights might have been uncomfortable for Jiang Zemin. It is evident that the commercial opportunities that each country represents for the other is the strongest stimulus.... Now it is the United

States' turn to explain to
the world its good attitude toward China and its
hardness towards other regime
what is called by many people the double
standard of U.S. diplomacy."
X` hp x (#
X` hp x (# TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: "Can't Ignore China"

In the view of the conservative Guardian (11/3): "China is evolving into a
significant economic and political world power.... Nevertheless the concern
in certain quarters about the abuse of human rights is a valid issue. While
it is desirable that demands for the end of human rights abuses must be
maintained, it should also be realized that open trade, mutual understanding
and prosperity can stimulate conditions favorable to the growth of healthy
human rights policies. China's importance on the world stage at the present
time cannot be ignored. What is required is mutual trust between the two
countries. The summit has given hope for the establishment of that trust and
it ought to be cemented not only by further summits, but by constant contact
between the people."
X` hp x (#
X` hp x (# URUGUAY: "Times Change"

Topselling, conservative El Pais ran this editorial comment (11/1):
"Jiang's presence in the United States confirms Clinton's realistic (new)
posture, in contrast to the idealistic policy held until 1994. Like their
European counterparts, American business firms should be the first ones to
benefit from this decision, which establishes cooperation between both
countries. Priority subjects in this relationship seem to be trade and
security, not human rights and freedom, an area in which China has shown no
sign of change. This was made apparent by the guest list for the official
dinner held at the White House in honor of Jiang, at which many seats were
occupied by representatives of American multinationals and human rights
activists were conspicuously absent. "

X` hp x (#%#Xx\ P6QyXP#

===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: rwockner (rwockner@netcom.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-NOV-1997 02:57:00.00

SUBJECT: NC5386: Russian sex TV

TO: Richard Socarides (Richard Socarides@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stuart D. Rosenstein (Stuart D. Rosenstein@eop [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

* Reprint rights for this copyrighted news article must be obtained *

* ---> by you <--- from the originating news organization. *

The New York Times INTERNATIONAL, Thursday, November 13, 1997

Mother Russia Meets Dr. Kinsey on TV Talk Show

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

MOSCOW -- In a garish yellow and purple television studio, Vladislav, 19, was discussing his frustration over still being a virgin.

He told the studio audience how outraged his mother became when he tried to explain to her some of the more intimate aspects of the problem. "But in my opinion," he said defiantly, "there should be no secrets in the family."

Or, so it would seem, in the country.

"About It" is a Russian talk show about sex. And the only coy thing about the show is its title. Guests openly and explicitly discuss their sexual habits and concerns, including frigidity, group sex, sadomasochism, oral sex and masturbation, topics that until very recently were never discussed publicly at all.

American-style talk shows and trash TV are not new in Russia. One network offers a weekly late-night program on which, for example, viewers are shown graphic close-up videotapes of surgery. But never before has there been such an open, and single-minded, discussion of sex.

"About It" is a reflection of deep changes in Russian society, but it is also a vivid example of how Russian television is stepping ahead of cultural trends in a race to produce Western-style programming.

The weekly late-night talk show is the talk of Russia, mainly because its frank discussion and jazzy, irreverent style -- and black female host -- are innovations in a culture that has not yet completely shaken off seven decades of Soviet puritanism.

For one thing, the freedom that flourishes on the set does not always flow beyond the studio. At least two participants were dismissed from their jobs after appearing on "About It." One was a secretary who talked about masturbation. The other was a hairdresser at a fancy Moscow salon

who discussed his bisexuality.

Russia has become far more sexually permissive since Communism and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, but silence and ignorance are still deeply engrained.

Russians use condoms only half as frequently as Americans during casual sex, a recent survey found. By their own admission, Russian male respondents were among the worst lovers in the world, considering their own satisfaction the most important factor in bed.

Abortion remains one of the most common methods of birth control in Russia. An AIDS epidemic is sweeping the country. Syphilis rates in Russia are 100 times as high as those in Europe.

"We don't have a culture of going to psychologists, therapists or support groups," said the show's host, Yelena Khanga. "We don't have counselors or sex education in schools. Basically, the choice is to tell a friend -- and there are things you cannot confide to anyone, or just cry into your pillow."

She added, "This is the first time ordinary people have a chance to really talk about uncomfortable issues."

Ms. Khanga, 35, is also a breakthrough on Russian television. A former reporter at The Moscow News, Ms. Khanga is the granddaughter of a black American Communist who fled segregation in the 1930s with his Polish-born

wife to build socialism in the Soviet Union. Their daughter, Khanga's mother, married an African studying in Moscow.

Ms. Khanga wrote a book, "Soul to Soul," about her experiences growing up black in the Soviet intelligentsia in a family history. She now lives in New York City and was studying for a master's at the New York University School of Social Work when she was recruited for the job.

"It's an exotic program, and we needed an exotic host," said Leonid Parfyonov, the executive producer of NTV, Russia's largest privately owned network. He said he figured that blacks had a stronger sexual image in Russia, but added that he was motivated mostly by social justice.

"A Russian black girl has never been seen on television," he said. "I believe in cosmopolitanism -- showing that not all Russians are blue-eyed and blond."

But when Ms. Khanga arrived for rehearsals, the show's stylist took her to be fitted for blue contact lenses and a blond wig. "We didn't want to go with an Angela Davis, Afro-American style," Parfyonov said. "We had to make a step toward the viewers."

Ms. Khanga balked at the contact lenses, but went along with the blond wig. She admits that she had grave doubts about doing a show about sex.

"I have Russian friends who come up to me and say, 'How could you?'" she said.

She took a leave from NYU but still lives in New York, commuting once every two months to tape shows in advance. She explained that she had been swayed by Parfyonov's persistence and her own sense of how intolerant and closed Russian society remained. She said her own family was no exception to the Russian tradition of reticence. When her mother first heard about the show, she called and said, "Why didn't you tell me it was about sex?"

Ms. Khanga said that after she retorted, "How come you didn't tell me about sex 15 years ago?" her mother replied, "Who knew you would ever need it?"

A panel of experts takes part in each show, but Ms. Khanga admits that she has no background as a sex therapist. On the air, she once looked baffled when a guest explained that she preferred to have sex "Amazon-style."

The producer hissed the explanation -- woman on top -- into her earpiece.

Dressed demurely in a black suit and white pearls when she arrived for a recent taping, Ms. Khanga gamely got into costume, donning her wig and a tight gold jacket and black minidress with a plunging neckline to tape a show about sex appeal. Her tone on the set, though, is cheerful but sober.

"I don't want all that confessional stuff or the shouting and insults you can see on American shows," she explained. She says she makes a point

to promote safe sex on every program.

There have been many complaints from viewers. One man recently threatened to sue the station because he felt the discussion on sadomasochism was an "insult to Russian manhood." But it is the program's lighthearted, show-biz approach to sex that appeals to those who volunteer to take part.

"I liked the show right away," said Ruslan Musyenko, 22, a salesman who had volunteered to be in the studio audience. "People speak openly, but in a funny, cheerful way." Like most other guests and studio audience members, he called in after seeing a recruitment ad after the show.

"I'm not afraid of being on the show," Musyenko said. "We always had sex in Russia, but nobody ever talked about it."

Copyright 1997 The New York Times

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IPZECYJF4000WV02@PMDF.EOP.GOV>; Fri, 14 Nov 1997 01:59:52 -0500 (EST)
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01IPZECXFRN400V1FF@PMDF.EOP.GOV>; Fri,
14 Nov 1997 01:59:50 -0500 (EST)
Received: from netcom12.netcom.com ([192.100.81.124])
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-7 #6879)
with ESMTP id <01IPZEC9ALNS0019D5@STORM.EOP.GOV>; Fri,
14 Nov 1997 01:59:19 -0500 (EST)
Received: (from rwockner@localhost)
by netcom12.netcom.com (8.8.5-r-beta/8.8.5/(NETCOM v1.02)) id WAA27805; Thu,
13 Nov 1997 22:57:41 -0800 (PST)
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====