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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, MASS, CH
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH WAN LI

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Paul Blackburn, Senior Reviewer

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. SECRETARY BAKER AND VISITING PRC NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WAN LI AGREED MAY 22 THAT THE SINO-US RELATIONSHIP WAS GOING VERY WELL. DISCUSSING THE CURRENT UNREST IN CHINA, WAN SAID THAT RESTORATION OF STABILITY WAS NECESSARY TO PERMIT BOTH THE CONTINUATION OF CHINA'S POLICIES OF REFORM AND OPENING OUTWARD AND THE POSITIVE ACTION WHICH
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THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WANTED TO TAKE ON ISSUES RAISED BY THE STUDENTS, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSEMBLY AND DEMOCRATIZATION. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PATRIOTIC STUDENTS WANTED TO AVOID BLOODSHED AND EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DO SO, BUT IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE GIVEN THAT A TINY HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WANTED TO OVERTHROW DENG XIAOPING AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT VIOLENCE WOULD HAVE AN IMPACT ON SINO-US RELATIONS. RESPONDING TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION, WAN SAID THAT ZHAO ZIYANG CONTINUED AT WORK.

3. THE SECRETARY CONVEYED US CONCERN OVER TIBETAN HUMAN

RIGHTS AND BALLISTIC MISSILE PROLIFERATION. WAN GAVE A TEXTBOOK REPLY ON TIBET, ASSERTING CHINESE RESPECT FOR TIBETAN CULTURE AND AUTONOMY WHILE OPPOSING TIBETAN SEPARATISM. ON MISSILE PROLIFERATION, VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ZHU QIZHEN RECALLED DENG XIAOPING'S PRESENTATION TO THEN-SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CARLUCCI AND STATED THAT CHINA PRACTICED A PRUDENT AND RESPONSIBLE POLICY BUT HAD NOT ADHERED TO THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME. END SUMMARY.

4. BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS PLEASED WITH THE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE US-CHINA RELATIONSHIP OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO CHINA AND WAN LI'S VISIT TO THE US WERE SOLID EVIDENCE OF THE IMPROVING RELATIONSHIP.

5. CURRENT SITUATION. THE US WAS WATCHING WITH EXTREME INTEREST WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA TODAY, THE SECRETARY CONTINUED. HE WANTED THE CHAIRMAN TO KNOW WHAT WE HAD BEEN SAYING PUBLICLY OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE DAYS. ON SECRET

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SATURDAY HE HAD SAID THE US SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE FREEDOMS OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, AND ASSOCIATION EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD INCLUDING CHINA. AT THE SAME TIME HE HAD SAID THAT INSTABILITY IN CHINA WAS NOT IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE US AND THAT WE HOPED THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND AVOID VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED. THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID THE SAME THING YESTERDAY AND ADDED THAT WE WELCOMED CHINA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS OF THE PAST DECADE. WE HOPED THE TREND TOWARD REFORM AND POLITICAL TOLERANCE WOULD CONTINUE, BECAUSE WE THOUGHT A SETBACK WOULD HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION IN THE US. THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE SECRETARY CONTINUED. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT NEXT MONTH'S NPC SESSION WOULD AMONG OTHER THINGS CONSIDER A NEW PRESS FREEDOM LAW. WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO HAVE THE CHAIRMAN'S ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN CHINA.

6. WAN ANSWERED THAT BOTH TODAY'S MEETING AND THEIR FEBRUARY LUNCH HOSTED BY DENG SHOWED THAT THE PRC-US RELATIONSHIP HAD BEEN DEVELOPING WELL. THE PRESENT UNREST IN CHINA WAS THE BIGGEST SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC. IN THE PAST DECADE, ESPECIALLY AFTER DENG'S ENUNCIATION OF THE POLICY OF OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, CHINA HAD WITNESSED GREAT DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATE

COUNCIL. DENG SAID THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE REFORM AND OPENNESS POLICIES WAS TO DEVELOP THE CHINESE ECONOMY, FOR WHICH WERE NEEDED A PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND UNITY AND STABILITY AT HOME. RECENTLY INTERNATIONAL

TENSION HAD BEEN GREATLY ALLEVIATED, INASMUCH AS THE CHINESE AND SOVIET LEADERS HAD SETTLED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TO GUIDE THEIR RELATIONSHIP. DOMESTICALLY, CHINA HAD HAD UNITY AND STABILITY AND
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CONSEQUENTLY HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ECONOMIC REFORM.

7. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD ADOPTED MEASURES TO STOP THE CURRENT UNFORTUNATE UNREST IN ORDER TO RESTORE STABILITY AND UNITY SO THAT CHINA COULD CONTINUE OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, WAN CONTINUED. THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION STIPULATED FREE SPEECH, ASSOCIATION, AND ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS DEMOCRACY, BUT THESE REQUIRED ORDER, WHICH THE PRESENT DISTURBANCES HAD INTERFERED WITH. DEMOCRACY MUST BE COMBINED WITH A LEGAL SYSTEM. THE PRESENT UNREST HAS CAUSED DISORDER AND DISRUPTED THE LIFE OF THE NORMAL PEOPLE. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WANTED TO ACT POSITIVELY TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES RAISED BY THE STUDENTS -- DEMOCRACY, CLEAN GOVERNMENT, AN END TO CORRUPTION AMONG OFFICIALS -- BUT CHANGE REQUIRED A LEGAL SYSTEM AND GOOD PUBLIC ORDER. NO PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED IN A CONTEXT OF UNREST. UNDER THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION, THE STATE COUNCIL HAD THE RIGHT TO DECLARE MARTIAL LAW, WHICH IT HAD DONE.

8. HOPEFULLY BOTH SIDES WOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND THERE WOULD BE NO VIOLENCE OR BLOODSHED. HOWEVER, WAN ADDED, A TINY MINORITY OF PEOPLE WANTED TO OVERTHROW THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY THAT BLOODSHED COULD NOT BE AVOIDED. SOME THINGS WERE UNAVOIDABLE, INDEPENDENT OF MAN'S WILL. DENG HAD SAID THAT WITHIN THE ENVIRONMENT OF STABILITY AND UNITY CHINA SHOULD STRENGTHEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM AND GRADUALLY STRENGTHEN ITS LEGAL SYSTEM. THAT WAS THE CHINESE GOAL.

9. JUST NOW THE SECRETARY HAD SAID THAT INSTABILITY WAS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE US, WAN CONTINUED. IT WAS NOT
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IN CHINA'S INTEREST EITHER. THE HANDFUL OF PEOPLE GIVING RISE TO THE UNREST WERE SAYING "DOWN WITH DENG XIAOPING", WERE POINTING A SPEARHEAD AT DENG, THE INITIATOR OF REFORM AND THE OPEN POLICY, AND AT MAJOR DECISIONMAKERS IN THE PARTY. WHAT THE HANDFUL WERE ADVOCATING COULD BY NO MEANS BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN. LI PENG, DENG, AND YANG SHANGKUN HAD ALL BEEN ELECTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE

CHINESE CONSTITUTION. ASKING FOR THEIR DOWNFALL WAS SUBVERSIVE AND NOT PERMITTED BY THE CONSTITUTION. MARTIAL LAW HAD BEEN DECLARED IN BEIJING. IN THE NEXT

ONE OR TWO DAYS, GIVEN RESTRAINT, THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. HOWEVER, ONE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF UNFORTUNATE INCIDENTS. AT THE SAME TIME, ALL KINDS OF MEANS SHOULD BE UTILIZED TO PREVENT BLOODSHED. ONCE UNITY AND STABILITY AGAIN PREVAILED, CHINA WOULD CONTINUE WITH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM AND THE OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THESE DECISIONS WERE ALL WITHIN THE REALM OF CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH WAS IN LINE WITH CHINESE REALITIES; ACTUALLY THE TOPIC HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE FEBRUARY MEETING BETWEEN DENG AND PRESIDENT BUSH.

10. THE SECRETARY THANKED THE CHAIRMAN FOR THE READOUT AND ASKED FOR ANY INFORMATION ABOUT ZHAO ZIYANG'S SITUATION. WAN REPLIED THAT ZHAO CONTINUED TO "PRESIDE OVER HIS WORK." TO THE LAUGHTER OF HIS COLLEAGUES, HE ADDED DISMISSIVELY THAT ONE HEARD ALL KIND OF RUMORS, EVEN THAT DENG HAD LEFT BEIJING.

11. TIBET AND MISSILE PROLIFERATION. THE SECRETARY REITERATED THAT HE THOUGHT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US WAS VERY GOOD AND IMPROVING. WE UNDERSTOOD AND RESPECTED THAT CERTAIN MATTERS FELL WITHIN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA. YET HE WANTED TO MENTION CERTAIN MATTERS, AS HE HAD IN HIS BEIJING MEETING WITH
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FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN, BECAUSE THEY IMPACTED ON OUR ABILITY TO PROGRESS IN SINO-US RELATIONS. THE FIRST MATTER WAS THAT OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIBET, A MATTER OF CONCERN FOR MANY IN THE US. WE RECEIVED MANY QUESTIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS FROM CONGRESS ON THIS SUBJECT; IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO BE ABLE TO REASSURE CONGRESS THAT ATTENTION WAS BEING GIVEN THIS QUESTION IN CHINA. THE SECOND SUBJECT WAS BALLISTIC MISSILE PROLIFERATION; OUR GOVERNMENTS HAD HAD PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT, BUT THE SECRETARY WANTED TO REITERATE THAT IT WAS A MATTER OF SOME CONCERN. LASTLY, THE SECRETARY SAID, WHILE WE RESPECTED MATTERS THAT WERE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA, HE WANTED TO STRESS IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE WAY THE CONCERN THE PRESIDENT AND HE HAD FOR THE SITUATION THAT EXISTED IN CHINA TODAY. THE FACT THAT RESTRAINT WAS EXERCISED ON BOTH SIDES WAS VERY FORTUNATE. WE WOULD DEPLORE A SITUATION THAT CALLED FOR VIOLENCE OR A VIOLENT REACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE WE BELIEVED THAT WOULD HAVE A VERY DETRIMENTAL EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION IN THE US.

12. WAN RESPONDED THAT CHINA HIGHLY RESPECTED TIBETAN RELIGION, BELIEFS, CULTURE, TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, WAY OF LIFE, AND REGIONAL AUTONOMY. SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN 1959, THE TIBETANS HAD ENJOYED DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM TO AN EXTENT NEVER WITNESSED BEFORE. HOWEVER, A SMALL NUMBER OF SEPARATISTS WANTED TO

SEVER TIBET FROM THE REST OF CHINA, WHILE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WANTED TO MAINTAIN UNITY AND PUBLIC ORDER. CHINA HAD ACTED TO SAFEGUARD THE PERSONS AND PROPERTY OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE AS IT HAD BEEN VERY NECESSARY. CHINA HOPED THE US ADMINISTRATION WOULD "WORK ON THE SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE" WHO HELD DIFFERENT VIEWS AND WOULD
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PREVENT THE OCCURRENCE OF ANY INCIDENT WHICH WOULD HURT THE FEELINGS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

13. CHAIRMAN WAN ASKED VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ZHU QIZHEN TO RESPOND TO SECRETARY BAKER'S COMMENT ON MISSILE PROLIFERATION. THE TWO SIDES HAD DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION MANY TIMES, ZHU SAID; PARTICULARLY NOTABLE WERE THE ZHAO ZIYANG DISCUSSION WITH THEN-SECRETARY SHULTZ AND THE DENG PRESENTATION OF THE CHINESE POSITION TO THEN-SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CARLUCCI. IN SHORT, SAID ZHU, CHINA TOOK A PRUDENT AND RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE ON THE QUESTION OF MISSILE PROLIFERATION. OF COURSE THE US SIDE WAS WELL AWARE THAT CHINA HAD NEVER UNDERTAKEN ANY COMMITMENT UNDER THE AGREEMENT ON MISSILE PROLIFERATION TECHNOLOGY ENTERED INTO BY SEVEN WESTERN NATIONS.

14. RESPONDING TO THE SECRETARY'S COMMENTS ON THE CURRENT UNREST IN CHINA, WAN STATED THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD APPROACH IT IN LIGHT OF THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AND WOULD TRY TO RESTORE UNITY AND STABILITY IN ORDER TO RETURN TO THE POLICY OF EXPANDING CHINA'S OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THE SPECIFIC MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TO RESTORE ORDER WERE MATTERS OF CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. CHINA HAD TAKEN NOTE OF THE CONCERN OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD ABOUT THE HANDLING OF EVENTS THERE. SECRETARY BAKER REPLIED THAT WE APPLAUDED THE GOVERNMENT'S RESTRAINT. WE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT FOR SINO-US RELATIONS WERE RESTRAINT TO GIVE WAY TO VIOLENT MEASURES. EARLIER I REMARKED, SAID WAN, THAT THE LARGE NUMBER OF PATRIOTIC STUDENTS DO NOT WANT TO SEE VIOLENCE AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WISHES TO AVOID VIOLENCE, BUT THERE IS A SMALL MINORITY OF PEOPLE TRYING TO INCITE UNREST.

15. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH A DISCUSSION OF HOW TO RESPOND TO QUERIES BY THE PRESS, PARTICULARLY IN THE
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STATE DEPARTMENT LOBBY WHEN THE SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN EXITED THE BUILDING. THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT EACH WOULD CONVEY ITS OWN VIEWS AS IT WISHED BUT WOULD REFRAIN FROM CHARACTERIZING THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER SIDE.

12. PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING WERE: US--SECRETARY

BAKER, UNDER SECRETARY KIMMITT, COUNSELOR ZOELLICK,
SPOKESPERSON TUTWILER, PRINCIPAL DEPUTY S/P BURNS, EAP
ACTING A/S CLARK, EAP ACTING DAS WILLIAMS, EAP A/S
DESIGNATE SOLOMON, EAP EUSER, INTERPRETER CHANG;
PRC--CHAIRMAN WAN LI, CAO ZHI (NPC), ZHU QIZHEN (MFA), GU
MING (NPC), AMB. HAN XU, SHI GUOBAO (NPC), ZHANG HUSHENG
(NPC), ZHANG YIJUN (MFA), WANG SHUNSHENG (NPC), YANG
JIECHI (MFA), XIE CHANGXIAN (MFA). BAKER

SECRET

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