

COPY TO LEAVE IF NECESSARY
(Many different pts. to ponder)

TALKING POINTS FOR HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO
ON SITUATION IN CHINA AND FUTURE OF US-PRC RELATIONS
FOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE IN LOS ANGELES

-MANY OF US IN CONGRESS WATCHED WITH GREAT EXCITEMENT THE EVENTS THAT UNFOLDED IN CHINA STARTING ON APRIL 15TH. THIS WAS A SIGNIFICANT, HISTORICAL MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY MOBILIZING MILLIONS OF CHINESE IN BEIJING AND SCORES OF OTHER CHINESE CITIES.

-EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT WAS THE DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION THAT MATERIALIZED LIKE MAGIC AND GIVE THE MOVEMENT REMARKABLE STAYING POWER AND TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY. THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE PEACEFUL, DISCIPLINED, AND REASONABLE IN THEIR OBJECTIVES.

-WHAT WERE THEIR OBJECTIVES? DESPITE SOME WHO QUESTION WHETHER DEMOCRACY WAS TRULY THE GOAL OF THE TIAN AN MEN SQUARE MOVEMENT, I BELIEVE IT WAS. TRUE, MANY STUDENTS AND WORKERS ADMITTED THAT THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT DEMOCRACY WAS, "BUT WE WANT MORE OF IT."

-THEY WERE NOT DIRECTLY CHALLENGING THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S POWER OR THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM. THEY WEREN'T CALLING FOR THE OVER-THROW OF THE P.R.C. GOVERNMENT. THEY WERE ADVOCATING REFORMS--FREEDOM OF PRESS, EXPRESSION, ASSOCIATION. THEY WERE RALLYING AGAINST CORRUPTION AND INEFFICIENCIES IN THE SYSTEM. EVEN PARTY MEMBERS WERE INVOLVED.

-BUT, THESE FREEDOMS THEMSELVES ARE AN INDIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S RULE & POWER. COMMUNIST SYSTEMS, BY NATURE, ARE TOTALITARIAN AND MAINTAIN CONTROL BY DENYING FREEDOM AND DICTATING

WHAT THE PEOPLE "SHOULD WANT" AND "SHOULD DO". THE PARTY MAKES THE CHOICES. THE HARDLINERS IN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT EQUATED, PERHAPS VERY CORRECTLY, THAT FREEDOM=LOSS OF COMMUNIST PARTY POWER AND MOVED WITH GREAT FORCE AND VIOLENCE TO ELIMINATE THIS PERCEIVED "THREAT".

-THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE MURDER AND INCARCERATION OF THOUSANDS OF DEMONSTRATORS DURING THE ATTACK ON TIAN AN MEN SQUARE AND THE SUBSEQUENT SHAM ARRESTS, TRIALS, AND PURGES. WE SHOULDN'T BE SURPRISED BY THESE ACTIONS. SINCE SEIZING POWER IN CHINA IN 1949 THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT HAS USED FEAR AND VIOLENCE TO ENFORCE ITS WILL. OVER THE PAST 50 YEARS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS--SOME CLAIM MILLIONS--OF CHINESE HAVE PERISHED FOR "POLITICAL" REASONS.

-UNLIKE IN THE PAST, THIS DRAMA WAS PLAYED OUT BEFORE AN ATTENTIVE GLOBAL AUDIENCE. CLEARLY AMERICAN MEDIA WITH ITS MINI-CAMS AND MOBILE SATELLITE DISHES BROUGHT EVENTS INTO THE WORLD'S LIVING ROOMS. EVEN WHEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO CONTROL/CENSOR THE MEDIA MODERN TECHNOLOGY (SATELLITE FEEDS) CIRCUMVENTED ANTIQUATED CHINESE CONTROLS.

-PERHAPS IF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD BROKEN UP THE DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE FIRST DAY OR SO THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT WOULDN'T HAVE CAUGHT OUR ATTENTION. (there were incidents in the past--"open air" editorials, small protests that made the news but didn't attract real, focused global attention). BUT THEY DIDN'T AND OVER A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME WE JOINED IN SOLIDARITY WITH THEM. LIKE THEM, WE WERE ASTONISHED/SHOCKED WHEN PLA SOLDIERS KILLED THESE PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS IN COLD BLOOD. WE WATCHED WITH FURTHER DISBELIEF WHEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT--MIMICKING GEORGE ORWELL'S MINISTRY OF

TRUTH--DENIED THE MASSACRE EVER OCCURRED!

-OUR RESPONSE, I BELIEVE, WAS PROPERLY MEASURED. SOME HAVE CRITICIZED PRESIDENT BUSH FOR NOT BEING FORCEFUL ENOUGH, SOON ENOUGH. I THINK HE WAS WISE TO COME OUT AND EXPRESS OUR OUTRAGE AND TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT--EMBARGOING ARMS SALES AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER. THE MILITARY SANCTIONS HAVE THE ADDED BENEFIT OF ATTACKING THE "HARD-LINERS" WHO ARE DEPENDENT ON THE MILITARY AND WHO HAVE MADE MODERNIZATION OF CHINESE OBSOLETE MILITARY MACHINE A TOP PRIORITY. THAT MODERNIZATION IS DEPENDENT ON WESTERN--ESPECIALLY AMERICAN--TECHNOLOGY, NOW DENIED AS A RESULT OF THEIR OWN ACTIONS.

-CONGRESS, IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BILL, DID CODIFY INTO STATUTORY LANGUAGE PRESIDENT BUSH'S SANCTIONS AND ADDED A FEW OF ITS OWN--BARRING THE SALE OF CRIME CONTROL EQUIPMENT AND SUSPENDING NEW FUNDING FOR CHINA PROJECTS BY THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION (OPIC) AND THE TRADE & DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. WE POSTPONED ANY DECISIONS ON CHINESE LENDING FROM INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. CONGRESS ALSO TOOK ACTION TO PROTECT CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE USA.

WHY WAS THE PRESIDENT CAUTIOUS AND WHY HASN'T HE OR CONGRESS ENACTED TOUGHER SANCTIONS?

1) DURING THE CHAOS OF THE FIRST WEEK OF JUNE THERE WERE MANY REPORTS & RUMORS OF "IN-FIGHTING" WITHIN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. THERE WERE REPORTS OF DIFFERENT ARMY DIVISIONS POSITIONING THEMSELVES AGAINST ONE ANOTHER. COMMUNIST CHINA AND ITS LEADERSHIP HAS A HISTORY OF BECOMING MORE CHAOTIC, NOT UNITED, DURING INTERNAL CRISES. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN? WHO WOULD WIN? WOULD FIGHTING AND CIVIL WAR

ERUPT? WOULD THE POPULATION ERUPT INTO MASS REVOLT?

2) WE DO HAVE STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN CHINA. PRESIDENT NIXON WROTE AN INTERESTING ARTICLE WHICH I HAVE A COPY OF HERE THAT DETAILS THESE INTERESTS.

CHINA IS A NUCLEAR POWER AND A REGIONAL SUPER POWER. CHINA IS A BALANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND LOOMS OVER SOUTHEAST ASIA. WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP AS REPULSIVE AS IT MAY BE. IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO HELP MAINTAIN THE BALANCE AMONG CHINA, JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION--THAT MEAN'S CONTINUED DEALING WITH CHINA, ALBEIT IN A LESS FRIENDLY AND MUCH MORE RESERVED WAY.

3) SPEAKING IN "ONE VOICE" IS IMPORTANT. U.S. SUPPORT FOR PLURALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN CHINA MUST BE MADE THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. IN THAT SENSE, THE BREADTH OF CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF SANCTIONS IS AS IMPORTANT POLITICALLY AS THE SANCTIONS THEMSELVES. FOR EXAMPLE, AN ATTEMPT IN CONGRESS TO SUSPEND MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS FOR CHINA WOULD CAUSE DEEP DIVISION AND MIGHT BE EVENTUALLY DEFEATED. THAT WOULD SEND THE OPPOSITE MESSAGE TO CHINA THAN THE ONE THAT WAS INTENDED.

4) THE EXODUS OF THE MAJORITY OF WESTERN BUSINESSMEN AND TECHNICAL CONSULTANTS SERVED AS A FORM OF INDIRECT, NON-GOVERNMENTAL SANCTIONS. THESE EXPERT'S DEPARTURE CRIPPLED MANY OF CHINA'S INDUSTRIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVED IN MODERNIZATION AND GENERATION OF MUCH NEEDED EXPORT EARNINGS. SOME OF THOSE WHO LEFT HAVE RETURNED, BUT MANY ARE STILL AWAY.

BUT, IF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION DOES NOT IMPROVE, FURTHER SANCTIONS WILL GAIN POPULARITY, ESPECIALLY IN CONGRESS.

OUR SANCTIONS WILL BE INEFFECTIVE IF EUROPEAN ALLIES (WHO ARE CHINA'S ALTERNATE SOURCE) DO NOT UPHOLD THEM. CHINA STILL WANTS MODERNIZATION AND ECONOMIC REFORM. STANDING FIRM AND UNITED ON SANCTIONS CAN HELP PROMPT CHANGE AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE MILITARY REALLY NEEDS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY FOR MODERNIZATION. THERE CAN BE NO REAL REFORM WITHOUT THE APPROVAL/NON-OPPOSITION FROM THE MILITARY. MILITARY NEEDS PRESSURE/A REASON TO ALLOW THE REFORM.

-EVENTS IN CHINA AND OUR REACTIONS CAN & SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF "THE IMPLICATIONS OF REFORMS IN THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM".

-THE REFORM PROCESS IN CHINA BEGAN--LIKE IT IS BEGINNING TODAY IN THE SOVIET UNION--AS ECONOMIC REFORM, THE NEED TO MODERNIZE THE SYSTEM AND MAKE IT WORK. CLEARLY, THE ORTHODOX, STALINIST COMMUNIST METHOD WAS TURNING INTO ECONOMIC SUICIDE. SO, CHINA OPENED UP (CAUTIOUSLY) TO THE WEST. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE RESURFACED. MATERIAL PROSPERITY CONTINUED TO INCREASE.

-THE SUCCESS OF THE INITIAL REFORMS INDICATE GREATER REFORMS WILL LEAD TO GREATER PROGRESS & PROSPERITY. (as the snowball rolls down the hill it gets bigger and bigger)

-ECONOMIC REFORMS AND PROGRESS NATURALLY SPUR CALLS FOR MORE POLITICAL FREEDOMS, MORE INPUT INTO DECISION MAKING, MORE DEMANDS FOR CHOICES AND THE FREEDOM TO MAKE CHOICES.