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TELEGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 2763

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O P 090630Z OCT 76
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6533
USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY
AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 4 PEKING 2047

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CH, TW, US, OREP (MANSFIELD, MIKE)
SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF MANSFIELD/GLENN TALK WITH
VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG

REF: PEKING 2041

ACTION REQUESTED: PER PARAGRAPH 3.

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE NEARLY VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF DISCUSSIONS
SENATORS MANSFIELD AND GLENN HAD WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER
WANG HAI-JUNG ON OCTOBER 7 (REFTEL). THIS
TRANSCRIPT HAS NOT YET BEEN CLEARED BY THE SENATORS.

2. MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

BETWEEN SENATOR MANSFIELD,
SENATOR GLENN, AND WANG HAI-JUNG,
VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ON OCTOBER 7, 1976

ALSO PRESENT ON AMERICAN SIDE WERE:
MRS MANSFIELD

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES *TD 9/27/02*
BY *HR*, NARA, DATE *2/5/03*



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MRS GLENN
MR AND MRS DEAN, USLO
MR FRANCIS R. VALEO, SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
MR NORVILL JONES, CONSULTANT, SENATE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN RELATIONS
MR CHARLES GELLNER, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
MRS SALPEE SAHAGIAN, ADMINISTRATIVE
ASSISTANT TO SENATOR MANSFIELD
MISS KATHERINE PROSSER, SECRETARY TO SENATOR GLENN
DR THOMAS LOWE, PHYSICIAN
MR VICTOR H. DIKEOS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

THE CHINESE SIDE INCLUDED:

CHOU PEI-YUAN, CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG), DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AMERICAS AND
OCEANIA DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MADAME KANG, TAI-SHA, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS (CPIFA)
MR FAN, KUO-HSIANG, CPIFA

MME WANG: LET ME WELCOME SEN. AND MRS. MANSFIELD,
SEN. AND MRS. GLENN, AND ALL OF YOU.

SEN. MANSFIELD: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. I RECALL WHEN WE
FIRST MET DURING MY VISIT HERE IN 1972. I WOULD LIKE TO
EXPRESS MY CONDOLENCES TO YOU ON THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN
MAO TSE-TUNG. LET ME ALSO EXPRESS MY THANKS TO MME KANG
AND ALL OF THE SHEPHERDS WHO GUIDED US ON OUR JOURNEYS
THROUGH CHINA.

MME WANG: YOU ARE AN OLD FRIEND.

SEN. MANSFIELD: ALSO I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS
MY THANKS TO DR. CHOU PEI-YUAN AND TO NANCY TANG FOR THEIR HELP.

MME WANG: YOU ARE AN OLD FRIEND OF OURS AND MANY OF
THE CHINESE HERE TODAY ARE OLD FRIENDS OF YOURS.

SEN. MANSFIELD: IT IS LIKE A HOMECOMING.

TANG, WEN-SHENG: THEY CALL YOU CHINESE MIKE.



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MME WANG: YOU HAVE TRAVELED IN SINKIANG AND KWANGTUNG AND I HOPE THAT MADAME KANG DIDN'T MAKE YOU TOO TIRED. YOU ARE OUR GUEST AND YOU HAVE TRAVELED A LONG WAY TO VISIT US. AFTER TWO YEARS YOU HAVE RETURNED TO VISIT SINKIANG AND KWANGTUNG. WHAT IS YOUR IMPRESSION OF THESE PLACES.

SEN. MANSFIELD: I WAS VERY IMPRESSED. THIS WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO SINKIANG. I FOUND CALM, COMPETENT PEOPLE IN SINKIANG, INCLUDING THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES. SINKIANG REMINDS MR. DIKEOS AND MYSELF OF OUR OWN STATE OF MONTANA. THE TOPOGRAPHY AND PEOPLE AND PRODUCE ARE COMPARABLE EXCEPT FOR SINKIANG'S PEANUT CROP. I WAS ASTOUNDED WITH THE PROGRESS IN KWANGTUNG. I NOTICED THE VAST INCREASE IN TRAFFIC IN PEKING AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE. THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF PROGRESS. YOU HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN ACHIEVING STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. THERE IS A LONG WAY STILL TO GO. WE HAVE HAD A VERY HEARTENING EXPERIENCE. WE WERE WELL RECEIVED EVERYWHERE. WE LEARNED A LOT MORE THAN WE KNEW.

MME WANG: ALL THIS PROGRESS HAS BEEN SCORED UNDER THE CORRECT LEADERSHIP OF CHAIRMAN MAO, BY IMPLEMENTING THE CORRECT LINES OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND BY THE GUIDANCE AND BRILLIANCE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S THOUGHT. OF COURSE WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED IS NOT ENOUGH. IN THE DAYS AHEAD, INHERITING THE BEQUEST OF CHAIRMAN MAO, WE WILL CONTINUE THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE AND MARCH ALONG THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY COURSE CHARTED BY CHAIRMAN MAO, TO WIN AND TO STRIVE FOR GREATER PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENTS. THE WHOLE PARTY, ARMY AND PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY ARE DEEPLY GRIEVED AT THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO. WE ARE DETERMINED TO TURN GRIEF INTO STRENGTH AND TO RESPOND TO THE CALL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, TO RALLY MORE CLOSELY AROUND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE BRILLIANT THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG WILL ALWAYS CONTINUE TO GUIDE US. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MARCH ALONG THE COURSE CHARTED BY HIM AND WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER OUR GREAT LEADER.



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AFFAIRS QUARTERLY" WRITTEN BY NIXON BEFORE NIXON BECAME PRESIDENT AND ON THE BASIS OF THAT ARTICLE THIS RELATIONSHIP HAD BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT. THIS IS EVIDENCE OF THE FORESIGHT OF CHAIRMAN MAO IN SEEKING NORMALIZATION BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. (AT THIS POINT THE INTERPRETER WAS WEeping AND WAS NOT TRANSLATING SENATOR MANSFIELD'S WORDS EXACTLY.)

MME WANG: THAT IS TRUE.

SEN. MANSFIELD: MADAME VICE MINISTER, HOW DO YOU THINK RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHAPE UP AT THIS TIME?

MME WANG: MAY I KNOW YOUR OBSERVATIONS AND VIEWS ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES?

SEN. MANSFIELD: I BELIEVE THEY ARE PROGRESSING, PERHAPS NOT AS FAST AS THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA OR WE WOULD DESIRE. THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE STATES UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THERE ARE NOT TWO CHINAS BUT ONE CHINA. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IS NOT AS FAST AS SOME OF US WOULD LIKE BUT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AND WILL BE MADE. AFTER THE ELECTION PRESIDENT FORD OR MR. CARTER WILL BE ABLE, ON THE BASIS OF A NEW FOUR-YEAR TERM, TO GIVE THE KIND OF ATTENTION AND CONSIDERATION TO CHINA-U.S. RELATIONS WHICH HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE LATELY BECAUSE OF FACTORS YOU UNDERSTAND, INCLUDING THE SHORTNESS OF PRESIDENT FORD'S TERM AFTER NIXON'S RESIGNATION, THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WHICH BEGAN ONE YEAR AGO AND THE ELECTION WHICH ON NOVEMBER 2ND WILL DECIDE WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT ON JANUARY 20, 1976.

MME WANG: ON THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY VIEWS ALSO. IN HIS REPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CHOU EN-LAI POINTED OUT THAT PROVIDED BOTH PARTIES ABIDE BY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS CAN BE IMPROVED AND THIS POINT WAS ALSO MENTIONED BY SENATOR MANSFIELD A FEW MINUTES AGO. ON THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION I AM SURE THAT





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OF COURSE, WHEN WE SHALL LIBERATE TAIWAN IS OUR OWN INTERNAL AFFAIR AND NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE. THIS STAND OF OURS HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR TO MANY OF OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS.

SEN. MANSFIELD: WELL, I WOULDN'T DISAGREE ABOUT WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT WHAT THE CHINESE POSITION IS. IT HAS BEEN REITERATED MANY TIMES. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD WHEN CHOU EN-LAI AND NIXON SIGNED THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND IT WAS ANTICIPATED THEN, AND STILL IS, THAT WHEN THE JOINING OF TAIWAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TAKES PLACE THAT WILL BE BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

AS WE ALL KNOW, THERE HAVE BEEN UPS AND DOWNS ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION. AS FAR AS TROOP WITHDRAWALS ARE CONCERNED, THERE HAS BEEN A REDUCTION FROM OVER 10,000 TO LESS THAN 2,000. AS FAR AS THE JAPANESE FORMULA IS CONCERNED, THAT WAS STATED IN THE LAST VISIT IN 1974. I'M SURE, VICE MINISTER WANG, YOU RECOGNIZE THAT ON OUR PART THERE ARE A LOT OF KNOTS TO BE UNTIED. THAT WILL TAKE A LITTLE TIME. IN THEIR HISTORY, THE CHINESE HAVE BEEN NOTED FOR THEIR PATIENCE AND FOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF PRACTICAL SITUATIONS, AND I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE THAT IT WILL TAKE MORE TIME TO UNTANGLE THESE KNOTS BEFORE WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR GOAL OF NORMALIZATION. FURTHERMORE, UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION THE PRESIDENT RATHER THAN THE

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CONGRESS MUST DO THIS. PRESIDENT FORD IN HONOLULU LAST YEAR STATED THAT THE US GOAL WAS "FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA."

MME WANG: IF THIS QUESTION IS NOT SOLVED AND IF IT IS PROLONGED THEN THE RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT ON THE SIDE OF CHINA, BUT ON THE SIDE OF THE UNITED STATES.



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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6535
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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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EXDIS

SEN. MANSFIELD: I'VE INDICATED THAT THERE ARE MANY KNOTS TO UNTIE AND THAT IT WILL TAKE TIME.

MME WANG: I THINK WE HAVE BEEN PATIENT ENOUGH. WE HAVE WAITED FOR MORE THAN 27 YEARS NOW.

SEN. MANSFIELD: THAT IS A LONG TIME, BUT PRESIDENT NIXON VISITED CHINA LESS THAN FIVE YEARS AGO AND THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION AS WELL AS THE OVER 20-YEAR SPAN.

MME WANG: ON THIS ISSUE WE FEEL THAT IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT OWES US A DEBT AND IT IS NOT US WHO OWES THE US A DEBT.

SEN. MANSFIELD: WELL, I THINK IT'S UP TO THE UNITED STATES TO FULFILL ITS PART OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

MME WANG: WELL, WE HAVE A SAYING THAT IT IS UP TO THE DOERS TO UNDO THE KNOW.

SEN. MANSFIELD: AGAIN, ALL I CAN COUNSEL IS PATIENCE. IT HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT YEAR FOR US AND FOR YOU. THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS SIGNED WITH GOOD FAITH ON BOTH SIDES AND THERE IS ONLY A STUMBLING BLOCK ON THE ROAD TO FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.





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YOU MENTIONED THE JAPANESE FORMULA. UNDER THAT FORMULA, JAPAN WITHDREW ITS RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AND ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING. UNDER THAT FORMULA, JAPAN CONTINUED TO TRADE WITH TAIWAN AND ITS TRADE WITH TAIWAN IS NOW LARGER THAN EVER BEFORE. UNDER THE JAPANESE FORMULA, YOU DO HAVE A FORMULA FOR SUBTERFUGE BECAUSE JAPAN HAS BENEFITTED TREMENDOUSLY. THERE ARE TRADE ORGANIZATIONS IN TOKYO AND TAIPEI. THIS IS A SUBTERFUGE BECAUSE THE JAPANESE ORGANIZATION IN TAIWAN IS HEADED BY A FORMER JAPANESE AMBASSADOR AND I ASSUME THERE ARE FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL IN THE TAIWAN ORGANIZATION IN TOKYO. SO EVEN JAPAN HAS ITS INS AND OUTS AND HAS NOT CUT THE KNOW COMPLETELY. THIS JAPANESE FORMULA IS NO CLEARCUT SEPARATION OF RELATIONS WHICH CHINA APPARENTLY WANTS IN ALL ASPECTS OF US RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN.

THAT IS THE BIG OBSTACLE THAT CONFRONTS BOTH OF US BEFORE FULL NORMALIZATION CAN BE ACHIEVED. YOUR POSITION IS CLEARCUT ALL THE WAY THROUGH. I'M SURE YOU RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY WHICH CONFRONTS US, BUT ARE THERE ANY OTHER AREAS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WHICH YOU THINK ARE OF SIGNIFICANCE?

MME WANG: (INITIALLY, THE INTERPRETER MIS-TRANSLATED SENATOR MANSFIELD'S QUESTION AND MADAM WANG THOUGHT THAT HE WAS STILL REFERRING TO TAIWAN. TANG WENSHENG CORRECTED THE INTERPRETER.) WELL, AS TO OUR PRINCIPLED STAND ON TAIWAN, WE HAVE STATED IT TIME AND AGAIN AND WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR, AND THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE. AS FOR OTHER DIFFERENCES, YOU MIGHT ASK PRESIDENT FORD OR SECRETARY KISSINGER.

SEN. MANSFIELD: YOUR STAND ON TAIWAN IS CLEAR TO ALL, BUT WHAT OTHER PROBLEMS ARE THERE BETWEEN US?

MME WANG: MAY I KNOW WHAT IS YOUR VIEW?

SEN. MANSFIELD: I AM ASKING THE QUESTION.

MME WANG: WILL WE BECOME FOOTBALL PLAYERS PASSING THE BALL BACK AND FORTH? PERHAPS I CAN PLAY FULLBACK.

SEN. MANSFIELD: PERHAPS I CAN ANSWER MY OWN QUESTION.



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MME WANG: WELL, I FEEL, UNDER THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS, THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES COULD ONLY BE WHAT IT IS AT THE MOMENT.

SEN. MANSFIELD: I TAKE IT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TAIWAN, THEY ARE SATISFACTORY?

MME WANG: WELL, IN THE PRESENT WORLD OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARE MANY COMMON POINTS. TAIWAN IS A SMALL POINT. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES ARE IN COMPARISON BIG ISSUES.

SEN. MANSFIELD: THERE ARE WORLD ISSUES AND THE CHINESE POSITION AS LEADER OF THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS IS WELL KNOWN, AS IS CHINESE SYMPATHY WITH UNDER-DEVELOPED NATIONS.

AS FAR AS THE QUESTION OF SINO-US TRADE IS CONCERNED, AFTER PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TRADE INITIALLY WAS HEAVILY IN OUR FAVOR, BUT THIS SITUATION IS NOT ALLEVIATED AND THE TRADE BALANCE IS EVENING OUT.

WHILE WE WERE IN SINKIANG, CHINA EXPLODED ANOTHER NUCLEAR DEVICE. THIS IS EVIDENCE OF GREAT PROGRESS, BUT CHINA'S POSITION IS NOT IN FAVOR OF CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. CHINA, HOWEVER, IS IN FAVOR OF COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. THIS COULD BE A CONTRADICTION. CHINA IS ALSO IN FAVOR OF NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I ALSO AGREE WITH THIS STAND AND I DON'T BELIEVE IN FIRST STRIKES.

IN OIL, OUR IMPORTS CONSTITUTE APPROXIMATELY 50PCT OF OUR ANNUAL REQUIREMENTS AND A GREAT DEAL IS WASTED. YOU, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN OIL. I ASSUME YOU HAVE TREMENDOUS RESERVES, PARTICULARLY IN OFFSHORE OIL RESOURCES AND ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND IN THE POHAI GULF. YOU COULD BE AN OIL EXPORTING NATION IF YOU DESIRED.

THERE ARE MANY THINGS IN CHINA'S FAVOR. YOU ARE SELF-RELIANT IN DEVELOPING YOUR OWN RESOURCES TO FILL YOUR OWN NEEDS. YOU REFUSED OUTSIDE HELP AFTER THE TIANSHAN EARTHQUAKE AND THIS WAS TO CHINA'S CREDIT. I WISH OTHER COUNTRIES COULD BE AS SELF-RELIANT.

FRANKLY, I KNOW OF NO MAJOR DIFFERENCES OUTSIDE OF TAIWAN. I DON'T THINK PRESIDENT FORD WOULD HAVE ASKED ME TO UNDERTAKE THIS MISSION AND GIVEN ME A LETTER WHICH I SENT TO YOUR LIAISON OFFICE IN WASH-

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INGTON, NOR WOULD THERE BE SO MANY EXCHANGES OF CONGRESSMEN AND SCHOLARS UNLESS IT WAS THE DESIRE OF BOTH SIDES TO OBTAIN DIFFERENCE S AND REACH MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IN ALL AREAS.

MME WANG: WE, INDEED, BELONG TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD, BUT WE ARE NOT ITS LEADER AND WE DO NOT SEEK LEADERSHIP. CHAIRMAN MAO TEACHES US NOT TO SEEK HEGEMONY AND WE MUST ACT RESOLUTELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS OF CHAIRMAN MAO.

SEN. MANSFIELD: SOMETIMES YOU DON'T SEEK LEADERSHIP BUT IT IS THRUST UPON YOU.

MME WANG: YOU HAVE VISITED JAPAN LATELY. MAY I HAVE YOUR OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN JAPAN AND ON JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY?

SEN. MANSFIELD: JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IS TIED TO THE UNITED STATES, AS YOU KNOW. AS LONG AS THAT TIE EXISTS, YOU WON'T HAVE A RESURGENCE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN. ON THE DOMESTIC SIDE, PRIME MINISTER MIKI

IN CONVENTION HIS LEADER
COMMON GOALS. JAPAN IS A SHARP POINT. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES ARE
THE SAME HERE. IN THE WIDE WORLD ONE AND COOPERATION WITH

EXCHANGE
SEN. MANSFIELD: I AM HERE WITH THE EXCHANGE OF JAPAN. AREA THE

OF THIS IS IN THE HOUSE
SAYS ON RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES. COULD ONE
WILL BECOME HERE. I WANT TO OPEN THE WIDE AREA OF RELATIONS AND

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The seal of the United States Department of State is centered at the top of the document. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched atop a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it. Two small stars flank the central emblem.

TELEGRAM

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REPUTATION FOR BEING VERY PRACTICAL AND CHAIRMAN MAO WAS A VERY PRACTICAL MAN WHEN HE SAID THAT THE MAJOR PROBLEMS SHOULD BE FACED NOW AND THAT MINOR PROBLEMS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH LATER. IT WOULD APPEAR TO ME THAT TAIWAN SHOULD ALSO BE LOOKED AT IN THE CONTEXT OF MAJOR AND MINOR PROBLEMS. I UNDERSTAND THE TIES OF PEOPLE AND LAND THAT MAKE THIS A VERY AGGRAVATING PROBLEM FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. IT IS A PROBLEM THAT MUST BE RESOLVED. TAIWAN IS NOT A THREAT TO MAINLAND CHINA BUT MORE A THORN IN ITS SIDE THAT MUST BE RESOLVED AT SOME DUTURE TIME. I SAY THAT IT IS ONLY A THORN IN THE SIDE BECAUSE IT MUST SEEM THAT THERE IS A GUN AT CHINA'S HEAD WITH ONE MILLION SOVIET TROOPS ON CHINA'S BORDER. IN THIS MATTER OF RUSSIA, IT SEEMS THAT WE HAVE A COMMON CONCERN THAT UNITES OUR COUNTRIES. I AGREE COMPLETELY THAT TAIWAN SHOULD BE RESOLVED, BUT THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIA IS A REAL THREAT TO CHINA WHILE TAIWAN IS NOT. WOULD YOU CARE TO COMMENT?

MME WANG: THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IS VERY CLEAR. IT STATED EXPLICITLY THAT TAIWAN IS A PROVINCE OF CHINA AND THAT IT IS AN INALIENABLE PART OF CHINA. AS TO WHEN AND HOW WE WILL LIBERATE TAIWAN, THAT IS OUR OWN AFFAIR AND, SINCE IT IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR, NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE. AS TO THE QUESTION OF THE THREAT TO CHINA BY THE SOVIET UNION BEING THDMAJOR THREAT AGAINST CHINA, I DON'T VIEW THE QUESTION IN THAT WAY. IT IS TRUE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A THREAT TO CHINA, BUT ITS THREAT IS MAINLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. THE UNITED STATES HAS MANY AREAS OF INTEREST TO DEREND IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD AND THE SOVIET UNION IS OUT FOR WORLD HEGEMONY AND SUCH A SITUATION CAN NEVER BE CHANGED.

THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN IN COMPARISON TO WORLD ISSUES IS A MINOR ISSUE. WORLD ISSUES ARE MAJOR. UNDER THE PRESENT SITUATION, WE SHARE MANY COMMON POINTS AND WE MUST FACE OUR COMMON RASCAL (WANG PA TAN).

IN THE WEST AND IN THE UNITED STATES THERE IS AN APPEASEMENT THINKING TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS VERY DANGEROUS.

SEN. MANSFIELD: DO YOU MEAN DETENTE?

MME WANG: YES.

SEN. MANSFIELD: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF US TROOPS BEING STATIONED IN





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KOREA, OKINAWA AND THE PHILIPPINES?

MME WANG: IT HAS BEEN OUR CONSISTENT STAND TO OPPOSE THE STATIONING OF TROOPS OR CONSTRUCTION OF MILITARY BASES ON ANY COUNTRY BY ANOTHER COUNTRY. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY SOLDIERS STATIONED ABROAD.

SEN. MANSFIELD: WHAT ABOUT NATO, WOULD CHINA APPROVE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM WESTERN EUROPE?

MME WANG: THIS IS YOUR OWN AFFAIR AND WE HAVE NO SUGGESTIONS TO OFFER

AT THIS POINT MADAME WANG SUGGESTED THAT EVERYONE CALL IT A DAY AND SAID THAT PROFESSOR CHOU PEI-YUAN WOULD LIKE TO INVITE EVERYONE TO DINNER AS AN EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP, SENTIMENT AND GOOD FEELING. SHE ALSO MENTIONED THAT ON SATURDAY A VICE PREMIER (NAME UNSPECIFIED) WOULD LIKE TO MEET AND HAVE A TALK WITH SENATOR MANSFIELD AND HIS GROUP. SHE MENTIONED THAT IF THERE WERE ANY OTHER QUESTIONS, THEY COULD BE RAISED WITH THE VICE PREMIER.

IN THE GENERAL DISCUSSION WHEN EVERYONE WAS TAKING THEIR LEAVE, MADEAME WANG SAID TO SENATOR MANSFIELD THAT WE DO NOT SEEK TO HIDE OUR VIEWS JUST BECAUSE OUR SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE DIFFERENT.

3. FOR USUN: PLEASE PASS THIS MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR GATES UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK.
DEAN



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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6557
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 3837

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 446
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 807
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1551

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 7 PEKING 2072

EXDIS
HONG KONG PLEASE PASS TO SENATOR MANSFIELD
E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR CH TW US OREP (MANSFIELD, MIKE)
SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF MANSFIELD/GLENN TALK WITH VICE PREMIER
LI HSIEN-NIEN
REF: PEKING 2050
THIS IS AN UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION.
SENATOR MANSFIELD DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE
IT BEFORE HE LEFT PEKING.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
BETWEEN SENATOR MANSFIELD,
SENATOR GLENN, AND LI HSIEN-NIEN,
VICE PREMIER
OCTOBER 9, 1976 BETWEEN
3:50 P.M. AND 5:50 P.M.

ALSO PRESENT WERE:

MRS. MANSFIELD
MRS. GLENN
MR. AND MRS. DEAN
MR. FRANCIS R. VALEO, SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
MR. NORVILL JONES, CONSULTANT, SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS
MR. CHARLES GELLNER, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
MRS. SALPEE SAHAGIAN, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO SENATOR MANSFIELD
MISS KATHERINE PROSSER, SECRETARY TO SENATOR GLENN
DR. THOMAS LONE, PHYSICIAN
MR. VICTOR H. DIKEOS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT OF STATE
THE CHINESE SIDE INCLUDED:

***** WMSR COMMENT *****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, ROOMAN, JANKA

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES *TD 9/27/02*
BY *HR*, NARA, DATE *2/5/03*



WANG HAI-JUNG, VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CHOU PEI-YUAN, CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
NANCY TANG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MADAME KANG

MR. FAN, AND

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLES INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MR LI: WELCOME TO YOU AND TO YOUR FRIENDS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. WE ARE VERY PLEASED

TO BE HERE AND TO SEE THE NEW PROGRESS THAT HAS OCCURRED

IN CHINA. PLEASE ALLOW ME TO EXPRESS MY CONDOLENCES AND

THOSE OF MRS MANSFIELD, SENATOR AND MRS GLENN AND

OUR ENTIRE PARTY AT THE PASSING OF CHAIRMAN MAO.

MR LI: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOU ARE AN OLD FRIEND.

HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU VISITED CHINA?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THREE TIMES SINCE LIBERATION

MR. LI: AND BEFORE LIBERATION?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THREE TIMES ALSO.

MR. LI: YOU ARE AN OLD FRIEND INDEED. WHAT PLACES HAVE YOU VISITED?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE WERE FORTUNATE TO VISIT

SINKIANG AND KWANGTUN. WE HAVE BEEN TO PEKING THREE

TIMES ON THIS JOURNEY. WE ALSO WENT TO NANKING AND

WE WILL LEAVE FROM SHANGHAI.

MR LI: SO YOU ONLY HAVE TIBET LEFT TO SEE.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: AND INNER MONGOLIA.

MR LI: YOUR FRIEND DR SCHLESINGER WENT TO TIBET AND

ALSO TO SINKIANG.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: HE ALSO WENT TO KWEILIN. FRANK VALEO

SERVED IN KWEILIN DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR. HE

WAS A SERGEANT THEN.

MR LI: WHAT YEAR WAS THAT.

MR VALEO: IN 1944.

MR LI: THAT WAS TOWARD THE END OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE

WAR. PERSONALLY I CEASED FIGHTING AFTER 1949. I DID NOT

FIGHT IN THE KOREAN WAR AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: YOU WERE IN THE LONG MARCH ALSO.

MR LI: YES. I FOUGHT FROM 1938 TO 1949. THAT WAS

A LONG TIME, OR RATHER I SHOULD SAY BEGINNING IN 1927.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE WERE VERY MUCH IMPRESSED WITH

THE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN CHINA SINCE OUR FIRST VISIT.

THE MECHANIZATION OF FARMS, THE USE OF TRACTORS,

MORE TRUCKS AND THE TREMENDOUS NUMBER OF BICYCLES

ARE VERY IMPRESSIVE. YOU ARE EVEN APPROACHING A

TRAFFIC PROBLEM IN PEKING.

MR LI: WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS AND WE HAVE MADE

SOME SUCCESS ACTING UNDER THE GREAT LEADERSHIP OF

CHAIRMAN MAO. STILL WE ARE NOT SATISFIED. COMPARED

WITH YOUR SITUATION WE ARE A COMPARATIVELY BACKWARD

AND STILL AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY.

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SENATOR MANSFIELD: BUT THAT IS NOT A PROPER STANDARD OF COMPARISON. IF YOU COMPARE YOUR DEVELOPMENT JUST FROM 1949 YOU HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS.

MR LI: I AGREE BUT IN ONE ASPECT WE ARE MORE ADVANCED -- THE SIZE OF OUR POPULATION.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: HOW BIG DO YOU ESTIMATE THE SIZE OF YOUR POPULATION?

MR LI: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY (BU CHIH TAO).

SENATOR MANSFIELD: OUR BUREAU OF THE CENSUS IN A RECENT PUBLICATION ESTIMATES THAT CHINA HAS 943,000,000 PEOPLE. DON'T ASK ME HOW THEY ARRIVED AT THAT FIGURE BECAUSE I DON'T KNOW.

MR LI: (LAUGHS)

SENATOR MANSFIELD: IT MAY BE YOUR FIGURE FOR ALL I KNOW.

MR LI: WE SAY WE HAVE 800,000,000 PEOPLE BUT OUR MINISTRY OF COMMERCE SAYS WE HAVE 900,000,000 BUT THEY HAVE TO SUPPLY FOOD TO THE PEOPLE AND THEY ALWAYS EXAGGERATE. WE ARE TRYING TO CONTROL THE GROWTH OF OUR POPULATION.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: EXCEPT YOUR MINORITIES.

MR LI: YES. IT IS NOT EASY. SOME PEOPLE DON'T LISTEN. IN THE CITIES THEY HEED MORE, LIKE THOSE SEATED HERE HEED MORE. IT IS A VERY TROUBLESOME ISSUE AND TAKES A LOT OF WORK.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: A LOT OF LAND IS NEEDED TO PRODUCE FOOD FOR SUCH A LARGE POPULATION.

MR LI: IN CHINA YOU KNOW THE INFLUENCE OF CONFUCIUS ON PEOPLE'S THINKING IS GREAT. CONFUCIUS IN EFFECT SAID THE MORE CHILDREN THE BETTER. THIS IS A CONCEPT THAT MUST BE CRITICIZED. IN RECENT YEARS THE POPULATION HAS BEEN SLOWED.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6558
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 446
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 808
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1652

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 2 OF 7 PEKING 2072

EXDIS
 HONG KONG PLEASE PASS TO SENATOR HANSFIELD
 SENATOR HANSFIELD: THE VICE PREMIER IS NOTED FOR
 HIS ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL KNOWLEDGE. I UNDERSTAND
 THAT THE NEW FIVE YEAR PLAN PROJECTED FOR CHINA IS
 NOW BEING IMPLEMENTED. CAN YOU GIVE US SOME
 INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT THE PLAN ENVISAGES?
 MR. LI: YOU ARE LAUDING ME TOO HIGHLY.
 SENATOR HANSFIELD: I DON'T THINK SO.
 MR. LI: WE HAVE DRAWN UP ANOTHER FIVE YEAR PLAN.
 THE GENERAL CONCEPT IS TO MAKE FURTHER ECONOMIC
 DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY. UNDER THE GUIDANCE
 OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE AND OF THE
 BASIC LINE OF GRASPING CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE
 KEY LINK AND FOLLOWING CHOU EN-LAI'S REPORT TO THE
 FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLES CONGRESS (ON INDUSTRY,
 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY) WE BASE OURSELVES ON
 SELF-RELIANCE AND ARE SELF-RELIANT IN THE MAIN.
 WE FULLY RELY ON THE WORKING CLASS AND THE
 POOR AND MIDDLE PEASANTS AND THE WORKING INTELLECTUALS
 OF OUR COUNTRY.
 WE CANNOT DO LIKE THE SOVIET UNION, GOING AROUND
 THE WORLD BEGGING AID AND INCURRING DEBTS. WE
 BELIEVE IN SELF-RELIANCE AND THE CONCEPT OF SELF-RELIANCE
 IS NOT NEW. DURING THE WAR TIME THE CHAIRMAN LONG AGO
 ADVOCATED SELF-RELIANCE. AT THAT TIME WE HAD NO
 ORDNANCE FACTORIES, NO MONEY. WHAT WE RELIED UPON
 WAS THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE. ONCE THAT
 ENTHUSIASM IS AROUSED, THE STRENGTH AND POWER OF THE

***** WWSR COMMENT *****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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PEOPLE KNOW NO LIMITS. THAT CALLS FOR SOME HARD LIVING CONDITIONS FOR OUR PEOPLE. WE WILL IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION. BUT THE STANDARD OF LIVING HAS NOT IMPROVED SO MUCH BECAUSE IN OUR FINANCIAL BUDGET, OUR INCOME AND OUR SPENDING MUST BALANCE. BECAUSE IF THERE IS IMBALANCE WE WOULD HAVE TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF MONEY PRINTED AND IT IS NOT GOOD TO CIRCULATE TOO LARGE AN AMOUNT OF MONEY. THIS WOULD AFFECT THE STABILITY OF PRICES. OUR POLICY IS TO ORGANIZE OUR ECONOMY WITH PRIORITY GIVEN TO AGRICULTURE FIRST AND THEN TO LIGHT INDUSTRY AND THEN TO HEAVY INDUSTRY. AGRICULTURE MUST BE DEVELOPED FIRST BECAUSE PEOPLE MUST EAT AND THEY MUST HAVE CLOTHES TO WEAR. WE STRESS HAVING SUFFICIENT FOOD. AS FOR THE QUALITY OF THE FOOD, I CANNOT SAY IT IS AT THE PRESENT TIME VERY HIGH. WE STRESS SUFFICIENT CLOTHING. WE STRESS KEEPING WARM ENOUGH BUT WE BT NOT STRESS EVERYONE BEING DRESSED UP IN A FANCY WAY. SOME OF OUR COMRADES ESPECIALLY OUR WOMEN COULD AFFORD TO DRESS MORE PRETTILY BUT THEY DON'T SEEM TO WANT TO DO SO. I THINK THAT IS A GOOD THING. FOR INSTANCE AS FOR THE CHINESE LADIES HERE TODAY NO ONE TELLS THEM THAT THEY MUST WEAR A CERTAIN UNIFORM. SENATOR MANSFIELD: BUT THEY LIKE TO BE IN STYLE AND ARE IN STYLE, JUST AS WE ARE. MR LI: OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY IS VERY COMPLEX MATTER. YOU KNOW OF COURSE OURS IS A PLANNED ECONOMY. SOMETIMES WE COMMIT MISTAKES. WHEN WE SEE WE HAVE COMMITTED A MISTAKE WE CORRECT IT. LOOKING AT THE GENERAL SITUATION WE SEE THAT THE SPIRITS OF OUR PEOPLE ARE HIGH. YOU HAVE PUT IT CORRECTLY WHEN YOU SAID WE SHOULD COMPARE OUR PROGRESS WITH THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK TIMES. THEN WE HAD MANY FAMINES WITH SEVERAL MILLION DYING A YEAR. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ELIMINATE THESE FAMINES. BUT WE HAVE CAPITALIST ELEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY. AS FOR THOSE SOCIALIST IMPERIALISTS, THEY DO NOT ADMIT THEY HAVE BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS OR A CAPITALIST CLASS. WE ADMIT THAT WE DO HAVE THEM. THERE ARE OLD BOURGEOIS AND THERE ARE NEW ONES. THE SOVIET UNION SAYS IT HAS NO BOURGEOIS. AS IT SEE IT BREZHNEV IS THE CHIEF BOURGEOIS. THERE ARE THOSE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WHO ARE FEARFUL THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS WILL CHANGE WITH THE PASSING OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND THEY SEEM MORTALLY AFRAID THAT THIS WILL HAPPEN. WE HAVE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN IDEOLOGY AND ESPECIALLY ON THE

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QUESTION OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. WE
HAVE BEEN DEBATING FOR SO MANY YEARS BECAUSE THEY
HAVE REVISED THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM. THAT
IS WHY WE CALL THEM REVISIONISTS.

AS FOR STATE RELATIONS (WITH THE SOVIET UNION)

WE ARE WILLING TO MAINTAIN STATE RELATIONS ON THE
BASIS OF THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
WHEN CHAIRMAN MAO PASSED AWAY THEY TRIED TO SEND
A CONDOLENCE MESSAGE FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPSU. WE REJECTED THEIR MESSAGE AS YOU
PROBABLY KNOW.

SENATOR HANSFIELD: YES.

MR. LI: WE WILL NOT AGREE TO BE A PARTY TO A SHAM
COMMUNIST PARTY SENDING A MESSAGE TO A GENUINE
COMMUNIST PARTY. THE LINE WE FOLLOW IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 447
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 809
REENKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1653

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 3 OF 7 PEKING 2072

EXDIS

HAS BEEN LAID DOWN BY CHAIRMAN MAO AND WE WILL
RESOLUTELY CARRY IT OUT.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: AND THE UNITED STATES?

MR LI: THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, SHALL WE MOVE A
STEP FURTHER? THAT IS YOUR BUSINESS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE CAN DISCUSS IT.

MR LI: WELL I SUGGEST THE DISCUSSION WOULD BE AROUND

THE TAIWAN ISSUE AND NOTHING BUT THE TAIWAN ISSUE.

YOU ALSO MADE CLEAR IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE THAT

YOU AGREE THAT ALL CHINESE ON EITHER SIDE OF

THE STRAITS AGREE THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA AND THAT

IS THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

MANSFIELD: THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS ENTERED INTO WITH

GOOD FAITH WHEN IT WAS SIGNED BY CHOU EN-LAI AND NIXON,

BUT WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT A NUMBER OF EVENTS, INCLUDING

ONE OF EXTRAORDINARY SIGNIFICANCE, WATERGATE, HAVE INTER-

VENED AND HAVE PLAYED A MOST IMPORTANT PART IN OUR DOMESTIC

SITUATION. THIS IN TURN IS RELATED TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

THESE EVENTS DIVERTED OUR INTEREST FROM IMPORTANT MATTERS

IN FOREIGN POLICY TO A MOST IMPORTANT MATTER AFFECTING THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS FINALLY

SETTLED THROUGH THE RESIGNATION OF NIXON AND THE SELECTION

OF PRESIDENT FORD BY CONGRESS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE 25TH

AMENDMENT. PRESIDENT FORD HAS ONLY HAD A COMPARATIVELY

SHORT TIME IN OFFICE BEFORE BEING ENGAGED IN A POLITICAL

CAMPAIGN WHICH IS TO BE SETTLED ON NOVEMBER 2. WE MUST

THEM WAIT UNTIL JANUARY 20, 1977, FOR THE INAUGURATION OF

EITHER PRESIDENT FORD, WHO WOULD BE ELECTED FOR THE FIRST

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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TIME, OR OF GOVERNOR CARTER. THEN THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A FOUR YEAR SPAN TO CONCENTRATE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES. THIS IS IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE LAST FEW YEARS WHEN WE HAD THE TURMOIL OF THE WATERGATE AFFAIR WHICH SHOOK THE UNITED STATES. I THINK THESE FACTORS SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND. YOU WILL RECALL AFTER PRESIDENT FORD VISITED THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA LAST YEAR HE MADE A STATEMENT IN HONOLULU EMPHASIZING HIS GOAL OF FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I THINK PRESIDENT FORD HAS THE INTERESTS OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN US AT HEART AND, IF GOVERNOR CARTER IS ELECTED, HE WILL FOLLOW THE SAME PROCESS. OUR POLICY IS SET. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE IF A REPUBLICAN OR A DEMOCRAT IS ELECTED-- THE POLICY WILL REMAIN.

~~PRESIDENT FORD~~ WOULD NOT HAVE ASKED ME TO UNDERTAKE THIS JOURNEY UNLESS HE WAS VERY INTERESTED IN MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS CALLED FOR IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. A COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO ME HAS BEEN SENT TO THE PRO LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON. I WOULD HOPE THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE WOULD UNDERSTAND THESE FACTORS AND RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE MANY KNOTS TO UNTIE. IT IS EASY TO TIE A KNOT, BUT NOT AS EASY TO UNTIE ONE. I WOULD HOPE THE WORD "PATIENCE" WOULD BE USED IN COMPREHENDING AND UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AT THIS TIME.

LI: KNOTS ARE ALSO EASY TO UNTIE. IT ONLY CALLS FOR THE SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR TROOPS AND THE ABROGATION OF THE TREATY.

MANSFIELD: WE UNDERSTAND THE JAPANESE FORMULA, BUT KNOTS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME BECOME HARDER AND THEY ARE NOT EASY TO UNTIE, AND THEY TAKE TIME.

LI: AND I MAY ADD ONE POINT. AS TO HOW THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS TO SETTLE THE TAIWAN ISSUE, BY FORCE OR BY PEACEFUL MEANS, IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR AND WE DON'T WANT INTERFERENCE FROM FOREIGNERS. PATIENCE IS POSSIBLE. AS FAR AS I KNOW, OUR VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE WERE DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, PRESIDENT FORD, SECRETARY KISSINGER AND MANY AMERICANS. I THINK OUR VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN.

MANSFIELD: YES, THEY ARE VERY WELL KNOWN.

LI: YOU TALKS ABOUT PATIENCE. IT IS A POSSIBILITY. WE HAVE TIME ENOUGH.

MANSFIELD: MR. VICE PREMIER, YOU MENTIONED YOUR DIFFICULTY WITH THE SOVIET UNION BASED ON IDEOLOGY, BUT ISN'T ANOTHER FACT TO BE CONSIDERED. ARE THERE NOT TERRITORIAL ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED?

LI: THAT BELONGS TO THE REALM OF STATE RELATIONS.

MANSFIELD: BUT HAS NOTHING BEEN DONE DURING THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS TO HELP CORRECT THE SITUATION?

LI: WE HAVE HAD NEGOTIATIONS ON BORDER ISSUES FOR SEVEN

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YEARS NOW AND THERE HAS NOT BEEN MUCH PROGRESS YET.

MSNASIFLE: IT IS STILL A BONE OF CONTENTION.

LI: OF COURSE, IT IS A MATTER OF CONTENTION AND SOMETIMES ACUTE CONTENTION.

MANSFIELD: MAY I SAY WE WERE VERY IMPRESSED BY THE PEOPLE OF SINKIANG. THEY WERE CALM AND UNWORRIED AND GAVE US THE FEELING THAT THEY WERE SURE OF THEMSELVES AND WERE PREPARED FOR ANY EVENTUALITY WHICH MIGHT OCCUR.

LI: OF WHAT USE IS IT TO WORRY DAY IN AND DAY OUT? IF IT
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 448
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 810
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1554

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 4 OF 7 PEKING 2872

EXDIS
 IS GOING TO RAIN AND IF SOMEONE IS GOING TO HARRY YOUR
 MOTHER, WHAT CAN YOU DO? YOU JUST HAVE TO HARDEN YOUR
 HEARTS. ACCORDING TO THE CHAIRMAN'S TEACHING, WE WILL
 NOT ATTACK IF WE ARE NOT ATTACKED, BUT IF WE ARE ATTACKED
 WE WILL CERTAINLY COUNTERATTACK. FIGHTING IS JUST SUCH A
 THING. YOU HAVE TO FIGHT WHETHER YOU'RE AFRAID OR NOT.
 IT'S BETTER TO GET A GOOD SLEEP AND THEN FIGHT AGAIN WHEN ONE
 IS MORE RESTED. WE HAVE HAD THAT EXPERIENCE IN THE LONG
 PERIODS OF WAR. GO HOME, GO TO BED, REST UP, PREPARE TO
 FIGHT ANOTHER TIME. WHEN YOU'VE HAD A GOOD SLEEP YOUR
 MIND IS CLEAR AND YOU CAN FIND A NEW WAY. AT THE UTMOST,
 ONE WILL ONLY LOSE A FEW MORE PEOPLE. YOU PROBABLY DON'T
 AGREE BECAUSE YOU ABHOR PEOPLE DYING. BUT IF PEOPLE ARE
 GOING TO BULLY YOU, INVADE YOUR COUNTRY AND MAKE YOU LIVE
 LIKE SLAVES, IT IS BETTER TO DIE.

MANSFIELD: I DO NOT DISAGREE THAT PEOPLE MUST REACT IF
 THEY ARE INVADED.

LI: AS I SEE IT, SOME PEOPLE SAY THE SOVIETS HAVE ONE
 MILLION TROOPS DIRECTED AGAINST OUR TERRITORY. BUT THEY ARE
 NOT JUST IN OUR AREA, THEY ARE DIRECTED AGAINST AFGHANISTAN
 AND TURKEY AS WELL. THIS IS A LONG LINE AND TO FIGHT WITH
 SUCH PUNY FORCES ALONG SUCH AN EXTENDED LINE IS NOT EASY.
 THE SOVIETS ARE OUT AFTER THREE TARGETS IN THE EAST.

OTHE
 FIRST IS THE UNITED STATES, THE SECOND IS JAPAN AND THE
 THIRD IS CHINA. BUT THEIR STRESS IS STILL IN EUROPE. YOU
 MIGHT NOT AGREE, BUT I FEEL THE MAIN THRUST OF SOVIET
 REVISIONISM IS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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MANSFIELD: WOULD YOU SAY THE UNITED STATES IS WISE TO MAINTAIN 145,000 MILITARY PERSONNEL IN WESTERN EUROPE AND IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES?

LI: THAT IS YOUR BUSINESS. IT SEEMS WE HAVE A QUESTION HERE. WE BELIEVE EUROPE SHOULD BECOME STRONGER. IT IS TOO SOFT, TOO DISPERSED. IN THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS, EUROPE CANNOT LEAVE THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED STATES CANNOT LEAVE EUROPE. THAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

MANSFIELD: OUR MOST IMPORTANT TREATY IS IN EUROPE. I AGREE THAT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD DO MORE IN ITS OWN DEFENSE AND I HAVE BEEN ADVOCATING THIS FOR YEARS. BUT THEY ARE LOATH TO DO SO. HOW DO YOU GET THEM TO ACT IN THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS IS A QUESTION NOT EASY TO SOLVE. THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES IN THE SOUTHEAST SECTOR OF NATO, IN ITALY, AND IN PORTUGAL ON THE SOUTHWEST PLANK. BUT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THEMSELVES MUST DO SOMETHING TO HELP THEMSELVES. WE CANNOT DO IT ALONG.

LI: BUT IT SEEMS YOU CAN DO SOMETHING.

MANSFIELD: WHAT?

LI: GIVE ADVICE (LAUGH).

MANSFIELD: WE HAVE GIVEN TOO MUCH ADVICE TO TOO MANY PEOPLE ALREADY. THESE NATIONS ARE SOVEREIGN STATES AND SHOULD MAKE UP THEIR OWN MINDS.

LI: IT SEEMS TO US THAT RECENTLY MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE USING THEIR MINDS. FOR INSTANCE, THERE ARE SOME WELL KNOWN EUROPEAN FIGURES WHO HAVE SAID THAT THE MAIN THRUST OF THE SOVIET UNION IS TOWARD THE FAR EAST. NOW THEY THINK THAT THE MAIN THRUST IS TOWARDS EUROPE. IT SEEMS THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE HAS UNDERGONE SOME CHANGE.

YOU HAVE MR. SONNENFELDT IN THE UNITED STATES DO YOU NOT?

MANSFIELD: IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

LI: HE SEEMS TO HAVE A MUNICH DOCTRINE.

MANSFIELD: NO ONE HERE SUPPORTS IT.

LI: WHAT ABOUT DR. KISSINGER?

MANSFIELD: I THINK HE BACKED AWAY FROM IT, TOO. MR. SONNENFELDT HAS EXPLAINED HIS VIEWS SINCE THE SPEECH HE GAVE TO A MEETING OF AMBASSADORS SOME MONTHS AGO.

LI: IT SEEMS TO ME HE HAS BEEN CRITICIZED.

MANSFIELD: A BIT.

LI: HIS IS AN APPEASEMENT POLICY. A MUNICH LINE OF THINKING.

MANSFIELD: SOME PEOPLE CALL IT THAT. THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT AND WE SEE IT, TOO, AS MUNICH THINKING. GETTING BACK TO ADVICE. PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER BOTH TRIED TO GIVE ADVICE TO GREECE AND TURKEY, BT

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 811
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1635

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EXDIS

BUT GREECE THOUGHT WE WERE HELPING TURKEY AND TURKEY
THOUGHT WE WERE HELPING GREECE. IT WAS A DIFFICULT
SITUATION.

LI: WHAT IS NEEDED IS A FRIENDLY AND EQUAL APPROACH.
MANSFIELD: EQUALITY IS THE KEY WORD BETWEEN NATIONS AND
PEOPLE.

LI: BETWEEN PEOPLE IT MAY BE. DO YOU THINK CAPITALISTS
ARE FRIENDLY TO WORKERS? WE ARE NOT FRIENDLY TO CAPITALISTS.
MANSFIELD: EVERYONE IN THE US IS FRIENDLY TO WORKERS.

LI: THAT MAY NOT BE SO.

MANSFIELD: ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF MY DELEGATION HERE ARE
WORKERS. I STARTED OUT WORKING IN A MINE. SENATOR GLENN
STARTED OUT WORKING, AS DID THE OTHERS. YOU THINK YOUR
SYSTEM IS GOOD EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE AS GOOD AS YOU
WOULD LIKE IT TO BE. WE, TOO, THINK THE SAME ABOUT OUR
SYSTEM. DIFFERENCES OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY DO NOT PREVENT
PEOPLE FROM BECOMING FRIENDS.

LI: I AGREE WE SHOULD MAINTAIN FRIENDSHIP. THAT IS POSSIBLE.
OUR SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE DIFFERENT, YET WE HAVE MUCH COMMON
GROUND. THE MOST COMMON POINT BETWEEN US IS THAT WE MUST
BOTH DEAL WITH SOCIAL IMPERIALISM, AS CHAIRMAN MAO SAID.
THE POLAR BEAR HAS WILD AMBITION AND IS TRYING TO EXPAND
EVERYWHERE. IT IS EXTREMELY ODD THAT WHEN PEOPLE SPEAK OF
SOCIAL IMPERIALISM THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE MORTALLY AFRAID
OF IT. ACTUALLY, IF YOU ANALYZE CAREFULLY ONE FINDS THAT
SINCE IT IS AN EXPANSIONIST SOCIAL IMPERIALIST POWER
IT WILL PLACE ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF AN ENEMY OF THE
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

*****WNSR COMMENT*****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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MANSFIELD: WE LIKE PANDA BEARS.

LI: EXTERNALLY IT PLACES ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. WITHIN ITS OWN COUNTRY, SINCE CAPITALISM HAS BEEN RESTORED, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE IS VERY TENSE. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONALITIES. AS FOR THE ECONOMY, THEY DON'T SEEM TO HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT. SOMEONE HAS SAID THEY SOW GRAIN IN THE SOVIET UNION AND REAP IT IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THEY DID GET THE BEST OF US AND THEY SOLD GRAIN BACK TO US AT HIGHER PRICES. THAT CAPITALIST PUBLICATION THE WALL STREET JOURNAL HAD AN ARTICLE SAYING THAT THIS WAS SO.

MR LI: THEY HAVE WILD AMBITIONS, WITHOUT THE STRENGTH TO MEET THESE AMBITIONS. THEY ARE A PAPER TIGER. THEY ARE SULLIES; THEY ARE WEAK AND THEY FEAR STRENGTH. SO WE SHOULD TOUGHEN UP A BIT. I HAVE MET A NUMBER OF JAPANESE FRIENDS AND MY ADVICE TO THEM WAS TO TOUGHEN UP A BIT. DID THEIR FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA TALK WITH YOU? HIS WAS NOT A GOOD SPEECH.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: IT WAS HIS STATEMENT, NOT MINE.

MR LI: YES, I KNOW.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: MIYAZAWA IS NO LONGER FOREIGN MINISTER.

MR LI: YES, THERE IS A NEW FOREIGN MINISTER. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: I AGREE.

MR LI: WE HAVE SAID MANY TIMES WITH REGARD TO JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS THE UNITED STATES COMES FIRST AND CHINA SECOND.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THAT IS AN EXCELLENT OBSERVATION. WE ARE TIED TO JAPAN THROUGH OUR MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. THIS MEANS THAT THEIR ARMED FORCES WILL NOT INCREASE AND WILL NOT CREATE A THREAT TO ASIA AS THEY DID IN BY-GONE DAYS WHICH CHINA REMEMBERS ALL TOO VIVIDLY.

MR LI: THERE ARE THOSE IN JAPAN WHO WANT TO REVIVE MILITARISM BUT CIRCUMSTANCES ARE NOW DIFFERENT THAN THEY WERE BEFORE.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: MUCH DIFFERENT.

MR. LI: FOR INSTANCE, JAPAN WANTS TO DEVELOP ITS DEFENSE FORCES TO DEFEND ITS OWN COUNTRY. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF THIS, BUT IF JAPAN WANTED TO DEVELOP ITS FORCES TO EXPAND ABROAD WE ARE NOT IN FAVOR.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: I DOUBT THAT THEY WILL

MR LI: AT PRESENT.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: JAPAN'S ATTITUDE HAS CHANGED.

MR LI: YES, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME CHANGES.

MR LI: AS FOR THE GENERAL TREND OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD OUR VIEW, WHICH WAS THE CHAIRMAN'S CONSISTENT

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VIEW, IS THAT THERE IS GREAT DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN AND THE SITUATION IS EXCELLENT. YOUR DR SCHLESINGER AGREES TO THE FIRST PHRASE BUT NOT TO THE SECOND.
SENATOR MANSFIELD: THERE ARE MANY POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT.

MR LI: THAT IS COMPLETELY ALLOWABLE. THE DISORDER IS AMONGST THE HEGEMONISTS WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND THE AWARENESS OF THE PEOPLE IS RISING DAILY AND WHAT IS NOT EXCELLENT IN THAT? ONE MUST NOT JUST SEE THE MINOR POINTS. TAKE ANGOLA. THE SOVIET UNION PUSHED CUBA INTO ANGOLA TO CREATE CHAOS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: RIGHT.

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DE RUHJPG #2872/6 2878700
O R 130430Z OCT 76
FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6562
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 3842

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 458
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 812
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1656

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 6 OF 7 PEKING 2872

EXDIS

MR LI: YOU SEEM TO BE WORKING WITH THE AFRICAN NATIONS
NOW.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE ARE TRYING TO AND WE HOPE TO HELP
SOUTHERN AFRICA BEFORE SOMETHING ERUPTS.

MR. LI: SUPPORT THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THEY THE AFRICANS
WILL BE HAPPY.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THAT IS WHAT KISSINGER IS TRYING TO
ACHIEVE BUT THERE ARE MANY OBSTACLES.

MR. LI: OF COURSE ROADS ARE NOT ALWAYS ARROW STRAIGHT.
THEY ARE ALWAYS TORTUOUS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: THE STRAIGHTEST DISTANCE, AS SENATOR
BLENN WOULD INDICATE TO YOU, IS NOT ALWAYS A STRAIGHT LINE.

MR. LI: YOU ARE RIGHT, VERY RIGHT. ANYWAY, THERE IS ONE
THING IN THE WORLD THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTS AND THAT
IS EXPANSION; AND YOU HAVE INTERESTS YOU WANT TO PROTECT.
IT IS NOT EASY TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE'LL SEE

MR. LI: I RECALL YOU HAVE DISCUSSED THE WESTERN PACIFIC
AND YOU HAVE ASKED HOW WE SEE THE ISSUE OF YOUR MILITARY
FORCES STATIONED THERE. WE BELIEVE IT IS NOT A GOOD THING
TO HAVE FORCES ON FOREIGN SOIL. IT SEEMS YOUR SITUATION
IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC ALSO IS A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT
YOU HAVE INTERESTS THERE TO PROTECT. AS TO HOW YOU GO
ABOUT IT IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: I APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS.

MR. LI: AS FOR KOREA, I SHOULD THINK YOU WOULD DO A HELL
OF A LOT OF GOOD TO GET THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND OUT
AND TO WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS. THIS WOULD BE BOTH AN

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HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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AFFIRMATIVE AND POSITIVE ACTION AND WOULD ALLOW NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN PROBLEMS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WOULD CHINA JOIN THE UNITED STATES IN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT? EITHER BY FREE ELECTIONS OR BY SOME OTHER MEANS TO BRING ABOUT THE SITUATION THAT CHINA DESIRES.

MR. LI: I HAVEN'T STUDIED THAT ISSUE VERY MUCH. BUT OUR VIEW OF THE KOREAN ISSUE IS THAT IT IS UP TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE THEMSELVES. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE KOREAN PEOPLE SHOULD SOLVE THE ISSUE THROUGH CONTACTS AND DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THEIR TWO SIDES.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: I AGREE.

MR. LI: HOW CAN WE DO OTHERWISE AND INTERFERE?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WELL, WHAT WOULD YOU ADVISE.

MR. LI: FIRST, WITHDRAW YOUR TROOPS AND DO AWAY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: I'LL PASS ALONG YOUR VIEWS.

MR. LI: THIS DISCUSSION HAS BEEN BETWEEN YOU AND ME, AND WHETHER YOU WANT TO PASS IT ON IS UP TO YOU.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: PASSING IT ON IS ONE MEANS OF PASSING THE BUCK.

MR. LI: OUR CONVERSATION IS FOR OLD FRIENDS AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: YES, BUT SERIOUSLY, I WILL PASS IT ON TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

MR. LI: I THINK OUR RELATIONS SHOULD BECOME FRIENDLIER STEP BY STEP, BUT SOMETIMES IN OUR NEWSPAPERS AND AT THE UNITED NATIONS WE FIRE A FEW CANNONS -- BUT THESE CANNONS ARE EMPTY.

HAVE YOU READ FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA'S SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: YES, I HAVE A COPY AND I'VE READ IT WITH INTEREST.

MR. LI: HAVE YOU ALSO READ THE MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, THE STATE COUNCIL, AND THE MILITARY COMMISSION TO THE WHOLE NATION, AND THE SPEECH MADE BY PREMIER HUA AT THE MEMORIAL MEETING?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: YES, I HAVE A COPY OF THE FIRST, BUT NOT THE SECOND. (MR. LI INSTRUCTED HIS AIDES TO OBTAIN A COPY FOR SEN. MANSFIELD).

MR. LI: WE ARE TO CARRY ON THE CUASE LEFT BEHIND BY CHAIRMAN MAO AND TO CARRY OUT HIS REVOLUTIONARY LINE WHICH MEANS OUR INTERNAL AND OUR FOREIGN POLICIES WILL NOT CHANGE.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: MAY I SAY THAT THIS HAS BEEN A YEAR OF GREAT TRAGEDY WITH THE PASSING AWAY OF CHOU EN-LAI, CHU TE, AND CHAIRMAN MAO, AS WELL AS THE TANGSHAN EARTH-

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QUAKE.

MR. LI: THESE HAVE BEEN GREAT LOSSES. THEY WERE ALL OLD COMRADES OF ADVANCED AGE AND HAD BEEN ILL FOR A LONG TIME AND IT WAS A NATURAL INEVITABLE DEVELOPMENT THAT WE WERE UNABLE TO STOP.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, LED BY PREMIER HUA WHO HAS SUCCEEDED CHAIRMAN MAO, WE ARE CONFIDENT WE CAN MANAGE OUR COUNTRY. ALL DIFFICULTIES CAN BE SURMOUNTED. WE HAVE CONFIDENCE BECAUSE WE HAVE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHTS AND CHAIRMAN MAO LIVES FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: MAY I CALL ON SENATOR GLENN TO ASK A QUESTION?

SENATOR GLENN: I HAVE BEEN MUCH IMPRESSED WITH THE BREADTH OF THE CONVERSATION. EARLY IN THE CONVERSATION THE VICE PREMIER STRESSED THE POSITION OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY. THAT MUST BE A FIRST OBJECTIVE FOR ALL COUNTRIES. BEYOND THAT MUCH DEPENDS ON SOURCES OF FUEL AND ENERGY. GEOLOGISTS SAY THAT CHINA HAS LARGE POTENTIAL OIL DEPOSITS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF FUEL RESOURCES IS A KEY FACTOR NOT ONLY IN CHINA BUT ALSO IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL NATIONS IN THE WORLD. IT IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE NEXT GENERATION.

MR. LI: WE HAVE ENOUGH OIL TO USE NOW. OF COURSE WE STILL HAVE TO DEVELOP IT. THE PRINCIPLE BY WHICH WE DEVELOP IS SELF-RELIANCE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5563
 AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 3843

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 551
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 813
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1657

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EXDIS
 SENATOR GLENN: THAT CAN BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN CHINA'S
 RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. HOW WILL CHINA
 USE THIS RESOURCE IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE? ARE THERE
 PLANS TO MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION?
 MR LI: OF COURSE OUR SUBJECTIVE WILL IS TO DEVELOPE
 THIS RESOURCE AS PRICKLY AS POSSIBLE. AS FOR THE
 INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS THIS IS A QUESTION OF NECESSITY
 AND POSSIBILITY. WE ARE WILLING TO DEVELOP FRIENDLY
 CONTACTS UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF SELF-RELIANCE AND
 ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF NECESSITY AND POSSIBILITY.
 THERE ARE SOME THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHO INVITE FOREIGN INVESTMENT
 AND GO IN FOR MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS TO TAP THEIR
 OIL RESOURCES. WE DO NOT INTEND TO GO IN THAT DIRECTION.
 AS FOR COMMERCIAL CONTACTS ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND
 IN THE LIGHT OF NECESSITY AND POSSIBILITY WE ARE WILLING
 TO DEVELOP SUCH CONTACTS. BUT IN TRADE WE IMPORT MORE FROM
 YOU THAN YOU FROM US; BUT WE ARE NOT IN GREAT HASTE.
 SENATOR GLENN: IN FLYING OVER THE VAST REGIONS OF CHINA ONE CAN
 SEE THAT IT IS SUCH A VAST COUNTRY THAT I DO NOT KNOW IF THE CHINESE
 KNOW HOW MANY RESOURCES THEY HAVE.
 MR LI: INDEED THERE ARE LOTS OF RESOURCES WE DO NOT
 KNOW WE HAVE, BUT WE WILL FIND OUT EVENTUALLY.
 SENATOR GLENN: YOU HAVE VAST RESOURCES WHICH WILL HELP
 KEEP YOU SELF-RELIANT.
 MR LI: WE ALSO EXPORT A LITTLE. FOR INSTANCE, WE EXPORT
 A LITTLE OIL.
 SENATOR GLENN: I THINK CHINA COULD BECOME A LARGE EXPORTER
 OF ENERGY TO THE WORLD.

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, JANKA

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MR LI: THAT WORD "LARGE" IS NO VERY RELIABLE.
 SENATOR GLENN: WE HAVE HERE A WORLD-RENOWNED SCIENTIST,
 WHO COULD ADVISE US, DR. CHOU PEI-YUAN.
 SENATOR MANSFIELD: DURING MY VISIT IN 1972 I LEARNED THAT
 CHINA'S TRADE FOR 1971 OF 2.3 BILLION IN EXPORTS AND 2.1
 BILLION IN IMPORTS ALMOST BALANCED. THEN CHINA BOUGHT
 LARGE AMOUNTS OF GRAIN, SOME AIRPLANES FROM THE UNITED
 STATES AND SOME MACHINERY IMPORTS FROM JAPAN RESULTING
 IN AN IMBALANCE IN TRADE. THIS HAS BEEN CORRECTED TO
 SOME EXTENT, BUT WHAT IS THE BALANCE NOW?
 MR LI: OUR TRADE IS BASICALLY BALANCED AT THE PRESENT
 TIME.

SENATOR MANSFIELD: IS IT YOUR POLICY TO KEEP YOUR
 IMPORTS EQUAL TO YOUR EXPORTS?
 MR LI: GENERALLY THAT IS SO.
 SENATOR MANSFIELD: THAT AVOIDS INDEBTEDNESS. WE KNOW
 THAT IT DOES NOT FEEL GOOD TO BE IN DEBT.
 MR LI: WE INCURRED SOVIET DEBTS AND WITH INTEREST.
 THEY ALSO SAID IT WAS SELFLESS. THEY FORCED DOWN THE PRICE
 OF OUR EXPORTS TO THEM AND RAISED THE PRICE OF THEIR
 EXPORTS TO US. IS THAT SELFLESS?

SENATOR MANSFIELD: WHAT IS THE BALANCE OF SINO-SOVIET
 TRADE?
 MR. LI: THEY ARE IN DEBT TO US, BUT IT IS NOT A VERY
 LARGE DEBT. THE DEBT WE INCURRED FROM THE SOVIET UNION
 WAS INCURRED TO HELP KOREA AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION WHEN
 WE FOUGHT YOU. WE BOUGHT AMMUNITION FROM THE SOVIETS
 AND WE ALSO BORROWED FROM THEM.
 SENATOR MANSFIELD: YOU USED TO HAVE A LARGE TRADE WITH
 THE SOVIET UNION.
 MR. LI: INDEED.
 SENATOR MANSFIELD: MOST OF YOUR TRADE HAS NOW SHIFTED TO
 OTHER AREAS.

MR. LI: EIGHTY TO 90 PERCENT OF OUR TRADE NOW GOES TO
 SECOND AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES AND TO YOURSELVES. THE
 SOVIET UNION IS NOT VERY HAPPY.
 SENATOR MANSFIELD: WE ARE.
 VICE PREMIER LI THEN ASKED SENATOR MANSFIELD WHICH
 COUNTRIES HE WAS GOING TO VISIT NEXT AND THEN SUGGESTED
 THAT THE MEETING BE CONCLUDED. HE STATED ONCE AGAIN
 THAT THE INTERVIEW WAS NOT FOR PUBLICATION, THAT HE HAD
 SPOKEN VERY CANDIDLY, AND THAT "DEVIANT TALK, SO DEVIANT
 THAT OTHERS DON'T UNDERSTAND YOU IS VERY TASTELESS."
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