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NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CH, US
SUBJECT: SEN. SCOTT MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO

1. SUMMARY. SENATOR SCOTT'S PERSISTENCE IN PESSING CHINESE ON TAIWAN ISSUE, AND VICE PREMIER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S APPARENT MISCONSTRUAL OF A REMARK BY THE SENATOR, PRODUCED A RETORT BY CHANG THAT THE PLA WOULD CUT THE "TAIWAN MOOSE" OFF THE NECK OF THE U.S. IF THE U.S. DIDN'T TAKE IT OFF. CHANG ALSO VOLUNTEERED COMMENT ON RECENT PRC MILITARY EXERCISES IN FUKIEN, END SUMMARY.

2. THE TAIWAN ISSUE WAS THE FOCAL POINT OF A TWO HOUR DISCUSSION HELD THIS AFTERNOON (JULY 13) AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE BY SENATOR SCOTT AND VICE PREMIER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO. OBVIOUSLY PRIMED IN ADVANCE (THE SUBJECT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT LENGTH IN YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN SENATOR SCOTT AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO), CHANG EMPLOYED TOUGH AND UNCOMPROMISING LANGUAGE TO DRIVE HOME HIS CENTRAL POINT: THE CHINESE ARMY IS PREPARED TO SOLVE THE TAIWAN QUESTION BY FORCE.

3. CHANG DEVELOPED THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENT:
--CHINA CANNOT CONSIDER ITSELF UNIFIED UNTIL TAIWAN IS "LIBERATED."
--CHINA IS CURRENTLY MAKING PREPARATIONS. NOTING THIS, CHANG SAID TO SCOTT: "THIS IS NO MILITARY SECRET. THE SENATOR SURELY KNOWS THAT IN RECENT DAYS IN FUKIEN WE HAVE CONDUCTED SMALL-SCALE MILITARY

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 State Dept Review
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02
BY HR, NARA, DATE: 2/7/03

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EXERCISES. TAIWAN IS VERY NERVOUS."

--THE "LIBERATION" OF TAIWAN IS CHINA'S DOMESTIC AFFAIR IN WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE NO RIGHT TO INTERFERE.

--CHINA'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE HAD TAUGHT IT THAT "PEACEFUL LIBERATION" IS AN IMPOSSIBILITY AND THAT IT WAS "MORE RELIABLE" TO SETTLE SUCH QUESTIONS AS TAIWAN "THROUGH WARFARE."

4. MUCH -- BUT NOT ALL -- OF CHANG'S SHARPNESS APPARENTLY STEMMED FROM SCOTT'S EXPRESSED VIEW THAT "WE WILL ALL TAKE GREAT SATISFACTION IN AN ULTIMATE PEACEFUL SOLUTION." CHANG ASKED SCOTT WHETHER "ULTIMATE PEACEFUL SOLUTION" REFERRED TO US-CHINA RELATIONS OR TO "RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE CHIANG CHING-KUO REGIME IN TAIWAN." SCOTT'S REPLY "I SPOKE OF THE US AND CHINA" WAS TAKEN BY CHANG AS A THREAT; CHANG STATED "I DON'T UNDERSTAND. DO YOU THINK CHINA AND THE US SHOULD FIGHT A WAR OVER TAIWAN? TAIWAN IS TOTALLY A DOMESTIC ISSUE."

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--"YOU DIDN'T HANDLE ANGOLA VERY BEAUTIFULLY."

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MR 01-162, #37; Dt. Ltr 11/5/02

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By del NARA Date 12/6/02

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR CH US
SUBJECT: CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S REMARKS ON TAIWAN



REF: (A) PEKING 1282, (B) PEKING 1283, (C) PEKING 1278
(D) PEKING 1284

1. VICE PREMIER AND POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S REMARKS TO SENATOR SCOTT JULY 13 CONCERNING THE TAIWAN ISSUE (REFTELS A AND B) ARE AMONG THE TOUGHEST MADE BY A PRC LEADER TO A U.S. OFFICIAL SINCE NORMALIZATION BEGAN. INDEED THEY MAY BE THE TOUGHEST FOR THEIR EMPHASIS ON MARTIAL RATHER THAN PEACEFUL MEANS OF RESOLVING THIS ISSUE, AND FOR BEING COUPLED WITH EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO PRC "PREPARATION" AND "SMALL-SCALE EXERCISES" ON THE FUKIEN FRONT. WE KNOW FROM WASHINGTON AND TAIPEI REPORTING THAT THESE REFERENCES HAVE SOME BASIS IN FACT THOUGH WE DON'T THINK THEY POINT TO ANY PRESENT THREAT TO ROC FORCES.
2. RELATIVE TOUGHNESS IS A QUESTION THE DEPARTMENT CAN JUDGE BETTER THAN WE; THERE FOLLOW SOME OTHER COMMENTS ON THE EXCHANGE.
3. CHANG--AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO, WHO THE DAY BEFORE HAD COMMENTED MORE MILDLY BUT STILL TESTILY (REFTELS C AND D)--MIGHT POSSIBLY NOT HAVE ADDRESSED TAIWAN-RELATED ISSUES IF NOT CONFRONTED WITH THEM. AT LEAST CHANG TOOK CARE TO GIVE THAT

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IMPRESSION. THOUGH CLEARLY PRIMED TO FIRE AWAY, CHANG TWICE NOTED THAT IT WAS SCOTT WHO HAD RAISED THE TAIWAN QUESTION. HE SAID THAT THE PRC'S POSITION WAS VERY CLEAR AND UNCHANGED. AND IN FINALLY TURNING OFF THE DISCUSSION AFTER AN EARLIER UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO DO SO HE REAFFIRMED STANDARD PRC POSITION ABOUT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE (WE SHOULD BOTH CONTINUE TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT) AND ABOUT OUR HAVING POINTS IN COMMON IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

4. BUT THESE MITIGATING FACTORS PALE A GOOD BIT AGAINST THE FACT THAT WE NOW HAVE ONE OF THE REMAINING THREE OR FOUR ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE AND THE PLA'S TOP POLITICAL COMMISSAR ON RECORD WITH A POSITION THAT GIVES NO HINT WHATEVER OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE PRC'S CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION AND THAT EXPLICITLY (HOWEVER UNREALISTICALLY FOR SOME YEARS YET) THREATENS A MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE TAIWAN PROBLEM IF WE FAIL TO MEET THOSE TERMS.

5. WHY? IT IS NONCEIVABLE, BUT ONLY JUST, THAT SOME FEATURES OF THE SENATOR'S STYLE OR DETAILS OF HIS PHRASING PROMPTED CHANG TO EXCEED HIS BRIEF, OR ELSE THAT CHANG FAILED TO REALIZE THE PROVOCATIVENESS OF SOME OF HIS OWN PHRASING. BUT CHANG IMPRESSED US AS A COLD, CALCULATING AND SKILLFUL DEBATER. REGRETFULLY, WE BELIEVE THAT CHANG KNEW JUST WHAT HE WAS SAYING AND THAT HE PROBABLY HAD WHATEVER PRIOR CLEARANCE HE NEEDED WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP FOR WHAT HE SAID. HE DISPLAYED DETAILED AWARENESS OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S SCOTT-CHIAO MEETING AT WHICH THE TAIWAN ISSUE FIGURED PROMINENTLY. HE MAY HAVE HAD INTELLIGENCE THAT THE VISITORS WERE STILL KEEN TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT. IN SUM, WE THINK HE EXPECTED THE OPPORTUNITY AND USED IT IN A CALCULATED MANNER, TO DISPEL OR AT LEAST JAR TOO-COMPLACENT AMERICAN ASSUMPTIONS THAT THE STATUS QUO IN TAIWAN IS ACCEPTABLE TO PEKING INTO THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. THIS INTERPRETATION LEAVES A GOOD DEAL UNEXPLAINED, BUT FROM THE CHINESE STANDPOINT, RECENT TAIWAN-RELATED DEVELOPMENTS ALL SEEM TO POINT IN THE SAME DIRECTION--A HARDENING OF THE U.S. POSITION AND A CONSOLIDATION OF THE TAIWAN STATUS QUO. THESE DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE:

--THE JELLING OF AMERICAN EDITORIAL OPINION IN THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS AND INFLUENTIAL PAPERS BEHIND THE NEED TO NORMALIZE

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WITH THE PRC WHILE PRESERVING A RELATIONSHIP WITH TAIWAN. THE PIECES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST AMONG OTHERS STRESSED THAT TAIWAN SHOULD NOT BE "ABANDONED."

--PRESS REPORTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN IN SUPPORT OF PARTICIPATION BY TAIWAN'S ATHLETES IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

--PRESS REPORTS OF THE MANSFIELD-MIYAZAWA TALKS IN TOKYO (AVAILABLE IN PEKING AT THE TIME OF YESTERDAY'S MEETING) HIGHLIGHTED JAPANESE "SATISFACTION" AT THE CURRENT US-PRC-TAIWAN RELATIONSHIP.

--ATTENDANCE BY SOME 40 AMERICAN SCHOLARS AT THE "FIFTH SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON MAINLAND AFFAIRS" HELD IN TAIPEI FROM JUNE 9-13, AND THE PUBLICITY GIVEN SOME OF THE VIEWS STATED THERE.

SENATOR SCOTT'S ARGUMENT TO CHIAO THE DAY BEFORE THAT FURTHER "CONDITIONING" OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WAS A PREREQUISITE FOR AMERICAN MOVEMENT TOWARD NORMALIZATION COULD HAVE REINFORCED THE CHINESE IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. IS FOOT-DRAGGING.
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*Mr. Scofield
The White House* 4



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STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *TD 9/27/02*
BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/7/03

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E.O. 11652: XGDS3
TAGS: PFOR, CH, US
SUBJECT: VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF MEETING BETWEEN SENATOR SCOTT AND
VICE PREMIER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO

TIME: 3:15 PM TO 5:15 PM TUESDAY, JULY 13, 1976
PLACE: SINKIANG ROOM, GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE

PARTICIPANTS:

- 1) CHINESE:
 - CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, VICE PREMIER
 - SHIH YEN-HUA, INTERPRETER
 - CHOU PEI-YUAN, VICE PRESIDENT, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA)
 - WANG HAI-JUNG, VICE FOREIGN MINISTER
 - TANG WEN-SHENG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AMERICAN AND OCEANIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, FOREIGN MINISTRY
 - FAN KUO-HSIANG, DEPUTY DIVISION CHIEF, CPIFA
 - CHENG WAN-CHEN, STAFF, CPIFA
- 3 NOTETAKERS

- 2) AMERICAN:
 - SENATOR SCOTT
 - AMBASSADOR GATES
 - ROBERT BARNETT, DIRECTOR, ASIA SOCIETY
 - RICHARD QUICK, ADMINISTRATIVE ASST TO SEN. SCOTT

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CHARLES W. FREEMAN JR, DEPT OF STATE
DONALD KEYSER, USLO (NOTETAKER)

RECORD OF CONVERSATION:

CHANG CHUN-CHIAO: I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS THE SECOND TIME YOU HAVE COME TO CHINA.

SENATOR SCOTT: YES, THIS IS MY SECOND TRIP TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

CHANG: LAST TIME I HAD NO CHANCE TO MEET YOU.

SCOTT: THAT IS MY MISFORTUNE. I HAVE MET YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER. MY MEETINGS WITH YOUR DISTINGUISHED PRIME MINISTER, MR. CHOU EN-LAI, WERE VERY USEFUL. SENATOR MANSFIELD AND I WERE VERY HAPPY TO HAVE HAD THAT OPPORTUNITY.

CHANG: PREMIER CHOU IS ALREADY DEAD. WE ALL REMEMBER HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-US RELATIONS.

SCOTT: OUR PARTY (MISCONSTRUED BY INTERPRETER AS REPUBLICAN PARTY) WANTS TO EXTEND CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF YOUR MR. CHU TEH.

CHANG: THANK YOU. IT HAS BEEN SEVERAL YEARS SINCE 1972 -- YOUR FIRST VISIT TO CHINA. YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TO OTHER PARTS OF CHINA. HAVE YOU SEEN ANY CHANGES IN PEKING?

SCOTT: YES, CHANGES WHICH HAVE BEEN TO THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE. THERE HAS BEEN IMPROVEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION. I HAVE SEEN A COMMON DEDICATION TO YOUR SYSTEM OF SOCIETY. THERE ALSO SEEMS TO BE MORE AWARENESS OF VISITS FROM WESTERNERS. WE FEEL THAT WE ARE RECOGNIZED NOW. WE HAVE ALL BEEN MOVED BY THE CORDIALITY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. WE ARE TOLD THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE GREAT PROGRESS IN HEALTH AND EDUCATION. I'M ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN EDUCATION, ALTHOUGH THAT IS NOT MY SPECIALTY. I'M A LAWYER. I WAS TWICE

A TEACHER, ONCE IN THE US AND ONCE IN ENGLAND. I WAS THEREFORE VERY INTERESTED IN AND PAID MUCH ATTENTION TO YOUR TEACHING AT PEKING

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UNIVERSITY WHICH WE HAVE VISITED. OUR VISIT TO YOUR EXCAVATIONS TODAY HAS ALSO GIVEN US A NEW AWARENESS. WE WERE VERY IMPRESSED BY OUR VISIT TODAY TO A MAY 7 CADRE SCHOOL.

CHANG: DID IT LOOK LIKE A CONCENTRATION CAMP? (SMILING)

SCOTT: NO, EVERYONE SEEMED BUSY AND HAPPY.

CHANG: THIS IS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT MEASURES TAKEN BY THE CHINESE SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

SCOTT: WE ASKED IF ALL WERE VOLUNTEERS AND THEY SAID YES. WE WERE SHOWN THE KIND OF WORK THEY DID IN BUILDING AND IN CULTIVATING CROPS. YOU GROW BIGGER SQUASH THAN OURS.

CHANG: YES. SO THE MAY 7 CADRE SCHOOL IS DOING VERY WELL. THE LAST TIME YOU CAME TO CHINA WE WERE CRITICIZING LIN PIAO. NOW WE ARE CRITICIZING TENG DURING YOUR SECOND VISIT. SO YOU SEE THAT WE LIKE TO STRUGGLE.

SCOTT: YOU HAVE YOUR CRITICISMS AND WE HAVE OURS (LAUGHTER) -- THIS IS PART OF OUR TWO DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.

CHANG: THERE IS GREAT DISORDER EVERYWHERE.

SCOTT: YES, THERE IS ALWAYS GREAT DISORDER EVERYWHERE EVEN THOUGH THE PEOPLE PRAY FOR THE MANDATE OF HEAVEN.

CHANG: THIS IS BECAUSE OF CONTRADICTIONS.

SCOTT: REGARDING YOUR EARLIER QUESTION, I HAVE SEEN A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF YOUR ARTS AND CRAFTS, THERE APPEAR TO BE EVEN MORE THAN FOUR YEARS AGO IN YOUR STORES.

CHANG: YES, THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUICK DEVELOPMENT IN THIS FIELD.

SCOTT: IN AMERICA WE ARE GREAT ADMIRERS OF CHINESE CRAFTSMANSHIP AND

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WORKS OF ART. I WAS INTERESTED IN THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF THE TOMBS OF CHIN SHIH HUANG, WHICH IS CERTAINLY ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DISCOVERIES SINCE THE 1946 OPENING OF TUTANKAMEN'S TOMB.

CHANG: THE TOMB OF CHIN SHIH HUANG HAS NOT YET BEEN EXCAVATED. THE EXCAVATIONS ARE FROM AROUND THE TOMB.

SCOTT: THEN THERE MUST BE EVEN MORE MARVELOUS DISCOVERIES TO COME.

CHANG: SENATOR SCOTT IS QUITE AN EXPERT ON ASIAN CULTURAL RELICS.

SCOTT: TO BE CALLED AN EXPERT IS ONLY TO KNOW A LITTLE MORE THAN SOMEONE ELSE. FOR MANY YEARS I'VE STUDIED CHINESE HISTORY. I KNOW ABOUT YANG KUEI-FEI. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY INSTANCES OF STRUGGLE, DISRUPTION, AND DIVISIVENESS WITHIN YOUR COUNTRY. STRUGGLE ALWAYS CONTINUES.

CHANG: YES, YOU ARE RIGHT. YANG KUEI-FEI MADE NO HISTORIC CONTRIBUTIONS BUT CHIN SHIH HUANG MADE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS IN HISTORY.

SCOTT: YES, SHE (YANG KUEI-FEI) WAS AS FULL OF TROUBLE AS CALORIES. HE (CHIN SHIH HUANG) WAS KNOWN AS THE GREAT UNIFIER OF CHINA, RIGHT?

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CHANG: THE UNITY OF CHINA HAS NEVER BEEN AS CONSOLIDATED AS IT IS NOW
AT PRESENT ONLY TAIWAN IS NOT LIBERATED -- SO WE CAN'T SAY THAT
CHINA IS TOTALLY UNIFIED.

SCOTT: BUT WITH 800 MILLION PEOPLE, I'M SURE THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY
ACHIEVED MUCH DEVELOPMENT. YOU MUST FEEL VERY PROUD AT TAKING
SO MANY PEOPLE AND UNIFYING THEM.

WE ARE PRESENTLY IN A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY UNTIL NOVEMBER BECAUSE
OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. BUT AS THE NEW YORK TIMES SAID
EDITORIALLY ONLY 48 HOURS AGO, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PRESIDENT FORD
AND GOVERNOR CARTER TOWARD ASIA ARE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME. BOTH
ARE COMMITTED TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. NEITHER CAN MOVE
SUBSTANTIALLY NOW, AS THE VICTOR COULD DO AFTER THE ELECTION.

WE HAVE HAD CHANGES OCCURRING IN OUR SYSTEM, NOTABLY DURING THE
LAST FOUR YEARS. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASING
ASSUMPTION OF AUTHORITY -- UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION -- BY THE CONGRESS.
I WILL GIVE YOU ONE EXAMPLE WHERE I VOTED AGAINST PRESIDENT FORD.
REGARDING THE PRESIDENT'S POWER TO DECLARE WAR, HEREAFTER IN THIS
KIND OF MILITARY ACTION THE PRESIDENT MUST ADVISE, CONSULT WITH,
AND GIVE REASONS FOR HIS ACTION. THEN IT COULD BE CANCELLED BY
THE CONGRESS AFTER A CERTAIN NUMBER OF DAYS. THE PRESIDENT
VETOED THIS BILL BUT CONGRESS OVERRODE IT. HEREAFTER NO PRESIDENT
CAN MOVE ALONE WITHOUT TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE IMPACT OF
PUBLIC OPINION AS EXPRESSED THROUGH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE
CONGRESS. WITHOUT APPROVAL OF THE CONGRESS THROUGH PRIOR

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CONSULTATION, THERE CAN BE NO ACTION BY THE PRESIDENT.

ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THE SAME PERIOD OF TIME HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF. THE CONGRESS HAS ASSUMED MORE AUTHORITY IN FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS, BUT IT ALSO SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT IN HIS DESIRE FOR A STRONG NATIONAL

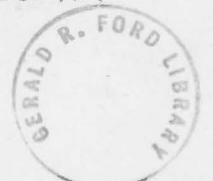
DEFENSE. IN PREVIOUS YEARS THE NATIONAL DEFENSE BUDGET WAS OFTEN CUT 10-12 PCT BY THE CONGRESS, BUT LAST YEAR THE CONGRESS APPROVED 99.4 PCT OF THE BUDGET REQUESTED BY THE PRESIDENT. THIS INDICATES THAT

THE CONGRESS IS MORE AND MORE INTERESTED IN A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE AND IS WILLING TO USE THE POWER OF APPROPRIATIONS.

I HAVE ... (NOTED) ... YOUR REFERENCE TO TAIWAN. I WILL EXPLAIN WHAT SEEM TO YOU TO BE CONTRADICTIONS. OUR MOVEMENT TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF NORMALIZATION DEPENDS UPON CONDITIONING OF PUBLIC OPINION. WE MUST CONDITION THE OPINION OF PEOPLE WHO UNTIL THE NIXON VISIT WERE CONDITIONED THE OTHER WAY. YOU MUST CONDITION THE THINKING OF 800 MILLION PEOPLE. WE MUST CONDITION 200 MILLIONS' THOUGHT FROM ONE VIEW TO ANOTHER. IN MY VIEW, IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS

EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE, TECHNIQUES AND SKILLS -- WE BELIEVE COMMERCE ALSO PLAYS A ROLE -- ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO THIS PROCESS OF CONDITIONING. AS WE CHANGE DIRECTION WE MUST CHANGE WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE PEOPLE. THERE IS AN OLD FRENCH SAYING -- PERHAPS NANCY CAN INTERPRET IT -- WHICH SAYS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER LOOKED OUT THE WINDOW, SAW THAT MANY PEOPLE WERE MARCHING, SAID THAT THERE ARE MY PEOPLE, I AM THEIR LEADER, I MUST HURRY TO THEIR HEAD. WE HAVE NOTED THAT WHENEVER YOU SEND DELEGATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES THEY ARE ALWAYS RECEIVED WITH ENTHUSIASM, IN BIG PLACES AND IN SMALL. THEY ARE RECEIVED WITH WARMTH AND ENTHUSIASM. WHEN OUR PEOPLE COME HERE THEY ALWAYS RETURN WITH GREAT PRAISE FOR THE KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL CHANGE OPINION MORE THAN WHAT A LEADER SAYS. WHEN YOUR CHINESE GYMNASTS AND JUGGLERS CAME TO THE US, MANY AMERICAN CHILDREN BEGAN TO PICK UP DISHES AND TRY TO JUGGLE THEM. IN THEIR PLAY THEY SMASHED A LOT OF CHINA -- OF PORCELAIN. BUT EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE LOST A LOT OF PORCELAIN WE HAVE GAINED FRIENDSHIP. WHAT OUR COUNTRY-TO-COUNTRY RELATIONSHIP COMES DOWN TO IS THESE CHILDREN'S FUTURE.

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DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS? I'M WILLING TO ANSWER ANYTHING.

CHANG: SINCE YOU STARTED WITH TAIWAN, I'D ALSO LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ON THIS ISSUE. YOU HAVE SAID MUCH WHICH IS NEEDED TO CHANGE THE DIRECTION OF THINKING. WE HAVE NOT CHANGED ON OUR SIDE, BECAUSE THE 800 MILLION CHINESE PEOPLE ARE IN AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. ALL THE CHINESE PEOPLE WANT TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. ARE THERE THOSE WHO DON'T FAVOR LIBERATION OF TAIWAN? YES, BUT THEY DON'T BELONG TO THE CATEGORY OF "THE PEOPLE"-- THEY ARE CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND HIS SON CHIANG CHING-KUO ELEMENTS. CHIANG KAI-SHEK FOUGHT AGAINST US TO HIS DEATH, BUT THE QUESTION IS STILL UNRESOLVED. THE SENATOR KNOWS THAT BETWEEN FUKIEN AND TAIWAN THERE IS STILL ARTILLERY FIRE.

SCOTT: I'M AWARE OF THIS. I'M ALSO AWARE -- THAT THOUGH IT IS A VERY SMALL THING -- WE HAVE WITHDRAWN A FEW OBSERVERS FROM GUENYO AND MATSU.

CHANG: THEY SHOULD HAVE LEFT LONG AGO. (SMILING TO HIS COLLEAGUES PRESENT.)

SCOTT: OVER TIME THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION, THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN 4000 TROOPS WITHDRAWN. THERE HAS NOT BEEN A TOTAL REMOVAL OF AMERICAN FORCES. BUT THAT PROCESS (OF REDUCTION) IS NOT REVERSIBLE.

CHANG: AT PRESENT WE ARE STILL MAKING PREPARATIONS. THIS IS NO MILITARY SECRET. IN RECENT DAYS IN FUKIEN WE HAVE CONDUCTED SMALL-SCALE MILITARY EXERCISES. TAIWAN IS VERY NERVOUS.

SCOTT: THAT'S NEWS TO ME. THEY DON'T TELL ME ANYTHING. OUR PRESENCE REMAINING ON TAIWAN IS ALREADY SO SLENDER THAT AFTER THE ELECTION WE WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARD YOUR VIEWS. BUT I SPEAK AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN. I DON'T KNOW WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT.

CHANG: MR. SENATOR, HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THIS ISSUE WILL BE DRAGGED ON? HOW LONG WILL YOU DISCUSS IT AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN? OUR POSITION IS VERY CLEAR: WE WANT TO SETTLE THE TAIWAN ISSUE BY FOLLOWING THE

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JAPANESE FORMULA WHICH HAS THREE POINTS. THEY ARE: 1) SEVERANCE OF DIP-

LOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN; 2) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL MILITARY FORCES FROM TAIWAN; AND 3) ABROGATION OF THE TREATY WITH TAIWAN.

SCOTT: I DON'T KNOW WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT, FORD OR CARTER. I WOULD EXPECT

REASONABLE MOVEMENT AFTER THE INAUGURATION. BUT I CAN'T PREDICT, I'M NOT A RESIDENT OF THEIR MINDS. YOUR LATER PREMIER MR. CHOU SAID "WE ARE A PATIENT PEOPLE." IN OUR ATTEMPT TO CONDITION THE OPINION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE HOPE THAT WE CAN FIND A WAY TO ASSURE THAT THINGS DONE BY ONE LEADER CAN'T BE UNDONE BY A FUTURE LEADER. WE WANT THIS TO BE DONE IN A PEACEFUL CONTEXT. ONLY WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEHIND US AND ONLY WHEN AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR OBJECTIVES HAS UNDERGONE A MARKED CHANGE CAN WE ACT TO PREVENT UNDOING A POLICY BY A FUTURE LEADER. IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS WE DO HAVE PROBLEMS. IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THE PROBLEM IS TO CONVINCING THE PEOPLE.

CHANG: YOU CAN'T PLACE THIS RESPONSIBILITY ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. FAILURE TO SETTLE THIS ISSUE, AS THE SENATOR HAS SAID, IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE AMERICAN AND CHINESE PEOPLES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FRIENDLY, IN HISTORY AND NOW. SO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULDN'T BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

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SCOTT: I THINK THAT IS VERY GENEROUS, A VERY UNDERSTANDING STATEMENT. WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN 1-2-3 YEARS IS A SITUATION WHERE WE COULD SAY WE HAVE FINALLY WORKED OUT AN AGREEABLE SOLUTION RATHER THAN TO HAVE THE RELATIONSHIP FOUNDER BECAUSE WE HAVE STOPPED TRYING TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER. MR. BARNETT HAS WRITTEN VERY LEARNEDLY ON THE MATTER, AS HAVE MANY OTHERS. THIS WILL HAVE AN ULTIMATE EFFECT OF CONDITIONING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO ACCEPT OUR MOVES. THERE IS A SAYING FROM "AESOP'S FABLES": "I CAN'T SEE HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE YOU TO GET TO THE NEXT COUNTY UNTIL I FIRST SEE HOW FAST YOU WALK."

CHANG: SO THEN WE MUST WAIT AND SEE.

SCOTT: I'M AFRAID SO. BUT IN THE LONG RUN WE WILL HAVE GREAT SATISFACTION IN AN ULTIMATE PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

CHANG: "ULTIMATE PEACEFUL SOLUTION?" (SARCASTICALLY) DOES THIS REFER TO US-CHINA RELATIONS OR TO RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE CCK REGIME ON TAIWAN?

SCOTT: I SPOKE OF THE US AND CHINA, BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED. THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE DID NOT REQUIRE THAT ANY OF THESE THINGS OCCUR AT A GIVEN HOUR OR BY A CLOCK. THESE WERE PRECONDITIONS STATED BY THE CHINESE SIDE IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. WE CANNOT AND DO NOT ENCOURAGE ANY ADVENTURISM ON THE PART OF CHIANG CHING-KUO. WE WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE ANYTHING COME FROM SUCH NERVOUSNESS AS YOU SAY EXISTS ON TAIWAN NOW.

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CHANG: I DON'T UNDERSTAND. DO YOU THINK THAT THE US AND CHINA SHOULD FIGHT WAR OVER TAIWAN? TAIWAN IS TOTALLY OUR DOMESTIC ISSUE. THERE IS VERY LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE MUCH EXPERIENCE IN THIS RESPECT. IT IS MORE RELIABLE TO SETTLE THIS QUESTION THROUGH A WAR.

SCOTT: I THINK I AM BEING MISUNDERSTOOD. I AGREE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL RELATIONSHIP. I MYSELF HAVE FOUGHT IN TWO WARS -- BOTH TIMES ON YOUR SIDE -- AND I THINK THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY ANY WAR. I DOUBT THAT EITHER SIDE COULD JUSTIFY TO ITS PEOPLE GOING TO WAR FOR THIS CAUSE. I AM EXTREMELY ANTI-WAR. I'VE BEEN SHOT AT. THIS IS THE BEST REASON TO OPPOSE WAR. WE SHOULD SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS AFTER DISCUSSION AND UNDERSTANDING. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET SAID YES OR NO TO THE JAPANESE FORMULA. THE LAST THING THEY WOULD CONSIDER IS A WAR. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A HORROR OF WAR (THE TRANSLATER RENDERED THIS AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AFRAID OF WAP). I THINK OUR POLICY SHOULD BE AS PREMIER CHOU STATED: DON'T GO TO WAR EXCEPT IN DEFENSE OF ONE'S TERRITORIES. EVEN HERE PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS ARE MORE LIKELY AND MORE DESIRABLE.

CHANG: TAIWAN IS ALSO PART OF OUR TERRITORY. BUT I THINK WE HAVE ALREADY USED UP A LOT OF TIME. THERE IS NO NEED TO ARGUE. OUR POSITION IS VERY CLEAR AND IT IS UNCHANGED. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THIS YEAR YOU WILL NOT SETTLE THIS ISSUE.

SCOTT: I CAN'T PREDICT, BECAUSE I DON'T KNOW WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT OR WHO WILL BE IN CONGRESS. PERHAPS THERE WILL BE AS MANY AS 100 OR EVEN 150 NEW MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS. WHEN YOU HAVE NEW MEMBERS THERE ARE APT TO BE CHANGES IN POLICY. BUT NOT CHANGES SO AS TO AFFECT AMERICA'S ASIAN POLICY.

CHANG: BUT WE ARE VERY CLEAR ON TAIWAN. SINCE THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN HAS ARISEN, THIS IS A NOOSE AROUND THE NECK OF THE US. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO TAKE IT OFF. IF YOU DON'T, THE PLA WILL CUT IT OFF. THIS WILL BE GOOD BOTH FOR THE AMERICAN AND CHINESE PEOPLES. WITH REGARD TO TAIWAN, THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARE NOT IN DEBT TO THE UNITED STATES. THE US HAS OCCUPIED TAIWAN. WE ARE GENEROUS AND READY TO HELP THE US SOLVE THE PROBLEM BY OUR

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BAYONETS -- PERHAPS THAT DOESN'T SOUND PLEASANT BUT THAT IS THE WAY IT IS.

SCOTT: "TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BY OUR BAYONETS"? WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

CHANG: TO OVERTHROW THE CHIANG CLIQUE.

SCOTT: NO, THAT DOESN'T SOUND PLEASANT. OUR POLICY IS NOT TO INTERFERE IN YOUR INTERNAL AFFAIR -- BUT WE STAND READY TO BACK UP OUR COMMITMENT TO TAIWAN. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IN DEFAULT OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IF THERE WERE A RESORT TO ARMS. ANY SUCH ACTION WOULD AROUSE 215 MILLION AMERICANS. I WOULD CONTINUE TO URGE PROGRESSING ALONG THE PATH OF PEACE. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE YOUR RIGHTS, I ASK YOU TO RECOGNIZE OUR DIFFICULTIES.

CHANG: YOU TALK ABOUT OUR RIGHTS (DISMISSING THIS WITH A WAVE OF THE HAND). THIS YOU MUST DO. OF COURSE, IT IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR AND THERE IS NO NEED TO ASK OTHERS TO RECOGNIZE OUR RIGHTS. DID YOU KNOW THAT IN CHIANG CHING-KUO'S PRESS I AM CALLED "BANDIT CHANG"?

SCOTT: MY PAPERS CALL ME MANY THINGS;

CHANG: THAT IS YOUR AFFAIR AND I WOULD NOT INTERFERE. HOWEVER, I WANT TO SHOW YOU THAT OUR CIVIL WAR HAS NOT STOPPED. WE DON'T HAVE THE EXPERIENCE THAT YOU CAN PEACEFULLY LIBERATE SOME PLACE. FOR EXAMPLE, PEKING COULD BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN LIBERATED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. BUT HOW WAS THIS CARRIED OUT? AT THAT TIME THE WHOLE OF NORTH CHINA WAS ALREADY LIBERATED AND ONLY PEKING WAS NOT YET LIBERATED. OUR ARMED FORCES WERE PREPARED OUTSIDE THE CITY OF PEKING. AND EVEN OUR PEOPLE INSIDE PEKING WERE ORGANIZED TO WELCOME THE PLA. (TURNING TO CHOU PEI-YUAN) FOR EXAMPLE, AT PEKING UNIVERSITY MANY HAD PREPARED TO WELCOME THE PLA.

COUL PEI-YUAN: WHAT ABOUT TIENSIN?

CHANG: NO, TIENSIN WAS LIBERATED BY FIGHTING. SO PERHAPS THERE IS ONLY THAT KIND OF "PEACEFUL" LIBERATION, THE KIND THAT OCCURRED IN PEKING. OUR ADVERSARY IS THE SAME. WE KNOW THEM WELL. WE CONSIDER OUR POLICY FROM THE PRACTICAL VIEWPOINT.

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SCOTT: OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE PRIMARILY BEEN ABOUT PEACEFUL FORMULAS SUCH AS THE JAPANESE FORMULA. WE HAVE NOT DISCUSSED YOUR PRIMARILY INTERNAL QUESTION.

CHANG: WITH REGARD TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, WE LIKEWISE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. WE ARE STILL WILLING TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT. (RESPONDING TO A CLARIFICATION OF SEN. SCOTT'S POINT BY TANG WEN-SHENG) THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS NOTHING IN IT ABOUT PEACEFUL LIBERATION.

SCOTT: I DIDN'T SAY THERE WAS. SUCH A COMMUNIQUE WOULD HARDLY SPEAK OF WAR AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO PEACE. THIS IS YOUR CIVIL WAR.

CHANG: THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE RECOGNIZES ONLY ONE CHINA.

SCOTT: YES.

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CHANG: BOTH SIDES SHOULD CONTINUE TO ACT IN ACCORD WITH THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

SCOTT: THAT IS WHAT I AM DISCUSSING. AS THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE EVOLVES, MAY I ASK WHAT YOU ENVISION AS THE CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US PENDING NORMALIZATION?

CHANG: NOW, ACCORDING TO CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTH SIDES CAN DO MORE. BUT THE BIGGEST PROBLEM IS UNSETTLED. THAT IS TAIWAN, SO FAR WE HAVE ONLY SPIKEN ABOUT TAIWAN. BUT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA BOTH SIDES HAVE MANY POINTS IN COMMON.

SCOTT: I'M GLAD THAT YOU HAVE MENTIONED THIS. WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN EUROPE, TO HAVE A STRONG NATO, TO HAVE A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND TO OPPOSE HEGEMONY. I CAN GIVE YOU AN ILLUSTRATION. ANGOLA WAS A VERY UNFORTUNATE THING. THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE WERE FRUSTRATED BY THE UNWILLINGNESS OF CONGRESS TO SUPPORT THEIR POLICY. THESE THINGS DO HAPPEN ZO US FROM TIME TO TIME. CONGRESS SOMETIMES DELAYS IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY -- THIS IS A SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION. THE EXECUTIVE WAS OPPOSED TO THE INTERVENTION OF A SUPERPOWER, BUT THE LEGISLATIVE BODY FEARED THAT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE LED TO A COMMITMENT OF AMERICAN FORCES. I DIDN'T AGREE.

CHANG: IN ANGOLA, MY VIEW IS THAT YOU DIDN'T HANDLE IT VERY BEAUTIFULLY. YOU MESSSED IT UP. THE POLAR BEAR WENT TO ANGOLA. THIS CAN EDUCATE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

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SCOTT: IT WAS BAD TIMING FOR THE POLAR BEAR.

CHANG: THE CLIMATE IN AFRICA IS UNSUITED TO THE POLAR BEAR. SOME DAY HE WILL BE DRIVEN AWAY.

SCOTT: OUR VIEW IS THE SAME AS YOURS. THE PRESENCE OF THAT SUPER-POWER AFTER A WHILE BECOMES COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND COUNTRIES WILL TURN AGAINST IT.

CHANG: WELL, SINCE YOU RAN AWAY THE POLAR BEAR ENTERED. THIS WILL EDUCATE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE. WE ARE OPTIMISTIC THAT THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL SEE IT. THE CLIMATE IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE IS NOT GOOD FOR THE POLAR BEAR.

SCOTT: WE BELIEVE THAT WE DIDN'T RUN AWAY BUT NEVER ENTERED.

CHANG: ON YOUR SIDE YOU SEEM TO THINK THAT THE POLAR BEAR IS TOO HUNGRY SO YOU FEED IT YOUR GRAIN. THIS IS VERY INTERESTING.

SCOTT: WE SELL OUR GRAIN TO YOU TOO.

CHANG: (WITH HEAVY IRONY) THAT IS VERY EQUAL.

SCOTT: WE BELIEVE THAT FOOD SHOULD NOT BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY.

CHANG: YOU HAVE THE SLOGAN "FOOD FOR PEACE." THIS IS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY.

SCOTT: YES, PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR GOVERNMENT IF THEY ARE HUNGRY. WE HAVE AIDED THE HUNGRY IN MORE THAN HALF OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. IN SO DOING WE HAVE MADE THE TAXPAYER FOOT THE BILL. THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER MUST GIVE 20 TO 40 PERCENT OF HIS INCOME IN TAXES. MOST OF THESE TAXES GO TO GIVEAWAY PROGRAMS. WE SELL GRAIN, BUT WE ALSO GIVE MUCH AWAY AS OVER THE YEARS IN INDIA, WE DO THIS FOR FREE. IF THIS WAS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, IT CERTAINLY DIDN'T WORK.

CHANG: WHAT I WAS JUST REFERRING TO WAS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POLAR BEAR. I DID NOT COME TODAY PREPARED TO DISCUSS YOUR FOOD

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POLICY WITH YOU. BUT I CAN MAKE SOME COMMENTS. AS FOR YOUR SALE OF GRAIN TO CHINA, I'LL BE HONEST. THE AMOUNT SOLD TO CHINA CAN'T PLAY MUCH ROLE. EVEN IF YOU GAVE AWAY YOUR WHOLE FOOD RESERVES TO CHINA AND ITS 800 MILLION PEOPLE, WHAT WOULD THIS PROVE? IN EACH BOWL WE WOULD HAVE ONLY A FEW GRAINS.

SCOTT: WE RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT CHINA IS SELF-SUSTAINING AND ABLE TO FEED ITS PEOPLE. WE BELIEVE IN FREE TRADE AND IN A WILLINGNESS TO BUY AND SELL WITH ALL. WHERE DISASTERS AND SERIOUS HUNGER HAVE OCCURRED, WE HAVE GIVEN FOOD. THE GENERAL POLICY OF THE US IS TO BE PREPARED TO BUY AND SELL WITH ALL COUNTRIES. ONE OF THE GREAT MIRACLES OF THE MODERN WORLD IS THAT CHINA NOT ONLY CAN FEED ALL ITS PEOPLE BUT ALSO SO OBVIOUSLY RAISE ITS STANDARD OF LIVING -- IN VIOLENT CONTRAST TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA, FOR EXAMPLE. SO WE ADMIRE YOU.

CHANG: IT IS NOT BECAUSE THE INDIAN PEOPLE CANNOT RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS BUT BECAUSE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND SYSTEM.

SCOTT: I AM INCLINED TO AGREE WITH YOU. WE MIGHT HAVE DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE SYSTEM, BUT I AGREE WITH YOU THAT IT IS THE SYSTEM. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF CONTINUATION AND EXPANSION OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE WELCOMED AND WILL CONTINUE TO WELCOME TRADE WITH YOU.

CHANG: I'M AFRAID THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO HAVE THIS (I.E. TRADE) ON A LARGE SCALE. WE THINK THAT IT IS ALL RIGHT TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

SCOTT: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS HAS TO BE CONSIDERED.

CHANG: THIS IS NOT THE FACTOR. THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION HAS DECIDED THAT WE CAN ONLY MAINTAIN THE CURRENT LEVEL. I'M AFRAID THAT THERE CAN'T BE MUCH PROGRESS BEFORE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

SCOTT: WE STAND READY TO BOTH BUY AND SELL. WE RESPECT YOUR JUDGMENTS.

CHANG: THIS BIG MARKET OF 800 MILLION PEOPLE PROVIDES US MUCH ROOM

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FOR MANEUVER. WE MAINLY RELY ON OUR OWN STRENGTH TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. ANY OTHER COUNTRY WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MEET THE NEEDS OF OUR COUNTRY. IN THE TRADE FIELD WE DEPEND ON INTERNAL TRADE. OUR FOREIGN TRADE OCCUPIES ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF OUR TRADE. OF COURSE WE DON'T RULE OUT THE NECESSITY TO SUPPLY EACH OTHER'S NEEDS UNDER NECESSARY CONDITIONS.

SCOTT: WOULD IT BE APPROPRIATE FOR MR. BARNETT TO ASK A QUESTION REGARDING ASEAN? HE IS AN EXPERT ON ASEAN AND HAS SPENT TIME IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

CHANG: THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME. BUT PLEASE ASK THE QUESTION.

BARNETT: I TRAVELLED THROUGH SOUTHEAST ASIA AND NOTED THE MOVEMENT TOWARD A CONCEPT OF A ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY. I HAVE HEARD THE SATISFACTION OF THOSE COUNTRIES THAT THE PRC HAD GIVEN ITS SUPPORT TO THAT CONCEPT. I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ASEAN, PARTICULARLY TOWARD THE CONCEPT OF NEUTRALIZATION.

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CHANG: THIS QUESTION FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO DISCUSSED WITH YOU YESTERDAY. BUT I WILL ANSWER YOU. CHINA SUPPORTS THEIR DESIRE FOR NEUTRALITY AND SUPPORTS THEIR DESIRE TO EXPEL HEGEMONY. BUT IN OUR VIEW THAT WON'T BE EASY. DON'T YOU AGREE? I HAVE NEVER BEEN THERE MYSELF.

BARNETT: I HOPE THEY WON'T HAVE TOO MUCH DIFFICULTY IN OPPOSING HEGEMONY. IT WILL TAKE TIME FOR REAL UNITY AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THEMSELVES BUT THE PROSPECTS ARE GOOD.

CHANG: YES, WHAT I SAID IS TRUE, THEY WILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND OUTSIDE FORCES MAY INTERVENE. CHINA WILL NOT INTERVENE IN THEIR AFFAIRS.

SCOTT: WE REALLY APPRECIATE THE TIME YOU HAVE GIVEN US. WE KNOW HOW BUSY YOU ARE. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH MY WISH TO CONVEY OUR DISCUSSIONS TO THE PRESIDENT - WHO IS ALSO MY PERSONAL FRIEND.

CHANG: I CAN'T OBJECT TO YOUR CONVEYING THESE DISCUSSIONS TO YOUR PRESIDENT. BUT I HOPE THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED.

SCOTT: I THINK THAT WE CAN ONLY PUBLISH THAT WE HELD FRANK AND CANDID DISCUSSIONS. AMONG THE SUBJECTS WE DISCUSSED WERE TAIWAN, COMMERCE, AND SOME FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS. I DON'T WANT TO VIOLATE ANY CONFIDENCE.

CHANG: I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU MEAN BY "VIOLATION OF CONFIDENCE."

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SCOTT: DISCUSSING THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR TALKS.
AMB. GATES: I'D LIKE TO SAY THAT AS YOU KNOW, MR. VICE PREMIER, IT IS THE POLICY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. TWO PRESIDENTS HAVE STATED THIS PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY. ONLY THE TIMING AND FORMULA REMAIN INDEFINITE. THE SENATOR IS A POLITICAL LEADER. HE HAS DISCUSSED FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW. FROM OUR SIDE WHEN WE DEAL WITH TREATY ARRANGEMENTS, THIS ULTIMATELY REQUIRES THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS. I THINK THAT IS WHAT THE SENATOR IS TRYING TO SAY. WHAT HE HOPES WILL HAPPEN IS THAT A FAVORABLE CONSENSUS WILL DEVELOP. WHEN THAT TIME COMES

SCOTT: WE ARE SEEKING A STRONG MAJORITY APPROVAL IN CONGRESS. WE DO NOT WANT A ONEVOTE MAJORITY WHICH WILL THEN RESULT IN DISPUTE.

CHANG: THIS IS THE AFFAIR OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE THREE CONDITIONS SET BY CHINA FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS SHOULD BE MET IN THEIR ENTIRETY. ANYONE WISHING TO PREVENT THIS WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE BY HISTORY.

AMB. GATES: WE UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITION. YOU HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR.

CHANG: ARE YOU LEAVING TOMORROW?

SCOTT: YES -- FOR LOYANG, DAIREN, SUCHOW AND SHANGHAI.
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