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WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Address: Fudan University (4/12 -- 3:30 p.m. draft)

Richard Darman has asked that comments on the abovereferenced remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by noon
today. The remarks begin by discussing Chinese-American
student exchange programs, and announce plans for a Chinese
astronaut to travel on the space shuttle. The President
next discusses the profound impact of Chinese civilization
on America, and the contributions of several prominent
Americans who emigrated from China. The remarks then
provide an overview of American values and beliefs, and
conclude with a recital of the interests and values shared
by China and America.

In the last paragraph on page 10, the President refers to the role of religion in shaping the American character, noting that most Americans derive their religious belief from the Holy Bible. This formulation strikes me as broad enough to be generally unoffensive (except perhaps to the ACLU), and in any event the President does state that we are "a Nation of many religions."

I have reviewed the draft remarks and have no objections.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

Orig. signed by FFF

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Address: Fudan University (4/12 -- 3:30 p.m. draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks.

As a minimum, I recommend deleting the last sentence on page 10 and the third sentence on page 11. I also question the advisability of other references in the speech.

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF: JGR: kcf

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

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12:00 NOON

4/13/84

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

SUBJECT:	PROPOSED	PRESIDENTIAL	ADDRESS:	FUDAN U	NIVERSITY	(4/12 -	3:30	<u>dra</u> fi
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VICE PRESIDENT McFARLANE **McMANUS** MEESE Q. **BAKER** MURPHY No O **DEAVER OGLESBY STOCKMAN ROGERS** \square P **SPEAKES** DARMAN **FELDSTEIN SVAHN** FIELDING **VERSTANDIG FULLER** WHITTLESEY TUTWILER **HERRINGTON** WIRTHLIN HICKEY ELLIOTT **JENKINS** HENKEL

REMARKS:

DATE: 4/12/84

PLEASE PROVIDE ANY COMMENTS DIRECTLY TO BEN ELLIOTT, WITH A COPY TO MY OFFICE, BY 12:00 NOON TOMORROW, 4/13. THANK YOU.

RESPONSE:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FUDAN UNIVERSITY MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1984

Thank you.

We have been in your country only 4 days, but already we have seen the wonders of a lifetime. The Imperial Palace in Beijing, the Great Wall of China -- a structure so huge and marvelous that it has been said it can be seen from outer space -- the ancient city of Xi'an, and the tomb of the old Emperor, and the buried army that guards him still.

These are the wonders of ages past. But today I want to talk to you -- the young people of a great university -- about the <u>future</u>, about our future together, and how we can transform human life on this planet if we bring as much wisdom and curiosity to <u>each other</u> as we bring to our scholarly inquiries.

But I want to begin with some greetings. I bring you greetings not only from my countrymen but from one of your countrymen. Many of you know Yang Ye [yang YAY], who was a student here. He graduated from Fudan and became a teacher of English at this University. Now he is at Harvard University in the United States, where he is studying for a doctorate in comparative literature.

My staff spoke to him before we left. Yang wants you to know he's doing fine -- he's working hard on his spring term papers -- and his thoughts turn to you often. He asked me to deliver a message to his former students, colleagues, friends,

and family. He asked me to say, for him, "Wah shong myen da jah!" ("I miss everyone!")

He wants you to know he looks forward to returning to Fudan to teach. And President Xie, he said to tell you he misses your friendship and encouragement. Yang says you are a very great woman and a great educator. You will be proud to know that he received straight A's last term. And when we congratulated him he said, "I have nothing to be proud of in myself -- I am so proud of my university."

I also bring greetings from home to Eric Garfunkel, a chemist from the University of California who is here at Fudan doing research in your Modern Physics Research Institute.

Eric, are you here? Hello. We spoke to your mother before we left. She sends you her love and she said to tell President Xie, "The Garfunkels of Pittsburgh send their regards."

I'd like to say a few words about our Chinese-American educational exchange programs. It is not entirely new, this exchanging of students -- your President Xie graduated from Smith College in the United States. Smith is also my wife Nancy's alma mater. And President Xie also attended M.I.T., one of our greatest universities of science.

But in the past few years, our two countries have enjoyed an explosion in the number of student exchanges. Just a few years ago you numbered your students studying abroad in the hundreds. Now there are 20,000 Chinese students studying throughout the world -- and more than half of them are in American schools.

Seventy-five American colleges and universities now have formal educational agreements with over 60 Chinese institutions.

And American scholars are coming here. Our Fulbright
Scholarship Program is now bigger in China than in any other
foreign country. Two of the American professors teaching here at
Fudan are Fulbright Professors. And there are 26 American
students studying with you. We are very proud of them.

American students come to China to learn many things. How you monitor and predict earthquakes, how you've made such strides in researching the cause and treatment of cancer. We have much to learn from you in neurosurgery, in natural products chemistry and in your use of herbs in medicine. Acupuncture, of course you know of our fascination with that. And we welcome the chance to study your language, your history, and your modern society.

You in turn have shown you are eager to learn from us -- to come to American schools and study electronics and computer sciences, math and chemistry, physics and engineering. We feel we have so much to share in these fields, and we are happy to tell you what we know. We are also eager to benefit from your curiosity. Sometimes an unexpected question can open up whole new areas of unexplored knowledge.

Much of this sharing is recent -- only 5 years old. And now we have another departure to speak of, another new breakthrough between us. During our talks, your country and mine have agreed to embark on a major long-term program in space. We look forward within the next 2 or 3 years to the flight of a Chinese astronaut along with U.S. astronauts on the space shuttle. There they will

conduct a number of scientific experiments. And, finally, someone from China will be able to look down and see the Great Wall from space.

This endeavor will open up a whole new era of scientific cooperation between our two countries. After the first trip, we hope to return to space with our Chinese colleagues to launch a Chinese-built satellite carrying U.S. and Chinese instruments to conduct full scale scientific research over a period of years.

We are very excited about this new program, for space is truly the future, and what we can do there together could change life on this planet, and I mean that quite literally.

Together we can manufacture in orbit rare crystals and medicines, medicines that will treat diseases that afflict millions of us. In the zero gravity of space we will be able to make medicines that treat victims of heart attack and stroke. We will learn how to manufacture Factor 8, a rare and expensive medicine used to treat hemophiliacs. Together, we can research the Beta Cell, which produces insulin, and which could provide mankind's first permanent cure for diabetes.

Together we can launch new satellites for use in navigation, weather forecasting, and computer technology. Just imagine, some day the Chinese scientist working out an engineering problem in Beijing will be able to hook into the help of a scientist at a computer at M.I.T. And the scientist in Boston will be able to call on the expertise of the scientist in Shanghai, and all of it in a matter of seconds.

My young friends, this is the way of the future. By pooling our talents and resources we can make space -- the last frontier -- a new frontier of peace.

We give your government credit for opening up your country to experimentation, and forging closer ties in the free exchange of knowledge. This policy has not only enlivened your economy, it has opened the way to a new convergence in Chinese and American interests. You have opened the door -- and let me assure you that ours is open also.

And all of this is particularly exciting because of the recent history of our two countries. We always love a country when we feel a closeness with its people. And for many years -- for three decades -- there was no closeness between us. Those years took their toll. A dozen years ago it began to change. Together, we made it change, and now in the past 5 years, your policy of the Open Door has helped us begin to know each other better than we ever have before.

But that process has just begun. To many Americans, China is still an exotic place -- beautiful and far away. In a way, you are for many Americans like the dark side of the moon -- unknown, unseen, and entirely fascinating.

And we are fascinated. Do you know this? I wonder if you are aware of the impact you have already made on American life. The signs of your influence and success abound.

If I were spending this afternoon in Washington I might look out the window of my office and see a common sight: a man and a woman strolling along Pennyslvania Avenue, dressed in Chinese

silk and Chinese cotton. They might be on their way to the Corcoran Gallery to see the Chinese art exhibit. From there, perhaps they would stroll to our National Gallery, to see the new East Wing designed by the Chinese architect I.M. Pei. After that they might end their day dining in a restaurant that serves Chinese cuisine.

We associate China with vitality, enormous vitality. And something that doesn't always go along with that: subtlety. The subtlety of discerning and intelligent minds.

No doubt you have many unanswered questions about us.

Premier Zhao had some of his questions answered when he visited us in America 3 months ago. He said, after a few days in our country, that he "never expected such profound feelings of friendship among the American people for the Chinese people."

Let me say, I am happy to return the compliment. I have found the people of China to be just as warm and friendly toward us, and it has made us very glad.

But meeting you and talking to you has only made me want to know more. And I sense that you feel the same way about Americans. You, too, wish to know more.

I would like to tell you something about us, and also share something of my own values.

First of all, America is really many Americas. We call ourselves "a nation of immigrants" and that is truly what we are. We have drawn people from every continent on the Earth, from every country. We are composed of every race and religion on Earth. And not in small numbers, but large. We have a statue in

New York harbor that speaks of this -- a statue of a woman holding a torch of welcome to those who enter our country to become Americans. She has greeted millions upon millions of immigrants to our country -- she welcomes them still. She represents our Open Door.

Mall of the immigrants who came to us brought their own music, literature, customs, and ideas -- and the marvelous thing, a thing of which we're proud, is that they did not have to relinquish these things in order to fit in. In fact, what they brought to America became American. This diversity has more than enriched us -- it has literally shaped us.

This tradition -- the tradition of new immigrants adding to the sum total of what we are -- is not a thing of the past. New immigrants are still bringing their talents and improving the quality of American life. Let me name a few -- I think you will know their names:

In America, Wang computers have become a fixture in offices throughout the country. They are the product of the energy and brilliance of Mr. Wang An -- who himself is the product of a Shanghai university.

The face of our cities shines with the gleaming buildings of Mr. I.M. Pei -- who first became interested in architecture as a student in Shanghai.

What we know of the universe, and the fundamental nature of matter, has been expanded by the Nobel Prize winning scientist Dr. Tsung-Dao Lee -- who was born in Shanghai.

We admire these men, we honor them, and we salute you for what you gave them that helped make them great.

Sometimes, in America, all of our different immigrants, all of our different groups, don't get along so well. They have arguments. "You're not pulling your weight!" one group will say, "You're not being fair to me!" says another. We are a great disputatious Nation! We argue with each ofher quite frequently. We rather like to argue. We are free to disagree.

But we always hold together as a society -- we have held together for more than 200 years -- because we are united by certain things in which we all believe, things to which we have quietly pledged our deepest loyalties. I want you to listen closely to this because it is so important to your understanding of my country.

We believe in the dignity of each man, woman, and child.

Our entire system is founded on an appreciation of the special genius of each individual -- and his or her special right to make their own decisions and lead their own life.

We believe -- and we believe it so deeply that every

American knows these words by heart -- we believe that "all men
are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with
certain inalienable rights . . . that among these are life,
liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Take an American student
or teacher aside later today and ask if he or she hasn't
committed those words to memory. They are from the document by
which we created our country, the Declaration of Independence.

We elect our Government by the vote of the people; that is how we choose our Congress and our President. We say of our country, "Here the People Rule" -- and it is so.

Let me tell you something of the American character. You might think that with such a varied Nation there couldn't be one character -- but in many fundamental ways there is.

We are a fairminded people. We are taught not to take what belongs to others. Many of us, as I said, are the children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants -- and from them we learned something of hard labor. As a Nation we toiled up from poverty. And no men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who have worked hard for what they have. None is less inclined to take what is not theirs.

We are idealists. Americans love freedom, and we have fought and died to protect the freedom of others. When the armies of fascism swept Europe four decades ago, the American people fought at great cost to defend the countries under assault. And we did this in spite of the fact that our continent had not been invaded, and no artillery threatened our shores.

When the armies of fascism swept Asia, we fought with you to stop them. Some of you listening today remember those days, remember when our General Jimmy Doolittle and his squadron flew halfway round the world to help you. Some of those pilots landed in China. You remember those brave young boys. You hid them and cared for them and bound up their wounds . . . You saved many of their lives.

When the Second World War was won, the United States voluntarily withdrew from the faraway places in which we fought. We kept no permanent armies of occupation -- we didn't take an inch of territory. Because, again, we do not take what isn't ours.

We are a compassionate people. When the war ended we not only rebuilt our allies -- we rebuilt our <u>énemies</u>. We did this because we wanted to help the innocent victims of bad governments and bad policies, and because if they prospered so would world peace. We also did it because it was right.

We are an optimistic people. Like you, we inherited a vast land of endless skies, tall mountains, rich fields, and open prairies. It made us see the possibilities in everything. It made us hopeful. And we devised an economic system that rewarded individual effort. That gave us good <u>reason</u> for hope.

We love peace. We hate war. We think -- and always have -that war is a great sin, a woeful waste. We wish to be at peace
with our neighbors; we want to live in harmony with friends.

There is one other part of our national character I wish to speak of. Religion -- belief in God, and his promise of a life after death -- is important to us. We are, as I said, a Nation of many religions. But most Americans derive their religious belief from the Holy Bible -- the Bible of Moses, who delivered a people from slavery; and the Bible of Jesus Christ, who told us to love thy neighbor as thyself -- to do unto your neighbor as you would have him do unto you.

This, too, has formed us. It is why we wish well for others. It is why it grieves us when we hear of those who live in poverty and who fear to speak their minds.

We invite you to know us. That is the beginning of friendship between people -- and friendship between people is the basis for friendship between governments.

The silence between our governments has ended. In the past 12 years, our people have become reacquainted. Now our relationship has matured -- and we are at the point where we will decide if we wish to commit ourselves to friendship. And if we do, what kind of friendship will it be? Will we be true friends and good neighbors? Or temporary friends in an alliance of convenience.

You know, as I do, that there is much that naturally divides us. Time and space -- different languages and values, different cultures and histories -- and political systems that are not, in truth, the most compatible on Earth. It would be foolish not to acknowledge these differences. There is no point in lying for the sake of friendship, for a friendship based on fiction will not long withstand the rigors of this world.

But let us, for a moment, put aside the words that name our differences. Think of what we have in common -- think of the things that unite us.

We are two great and huge nations on opposite sides of the globe. We are both countries of great vitality and strength.

You are the most populous country on Earth. We are the most

technologically advanced. Each of us holds a special weight in our respective sides of the world.

There exists between us a kind of equipoise. Those of you who are engineering students will perhaps appreciate that term.

It speaks of a special and delicate balance.

Already there are some political concerns that align us, and there are some important questions on which we both agree.

Both the United States and China oppose the brutal and illegal occupation of Kampuchea;

Both the United States and China have stood together in condemning the evil and unlawful invasion of Afghanistan;

Both the United States and China now share a stake in preserving peace on the Korean peninsula. We share a stake in preserving peace in this area of the world; and we share a special responsibility to do so.

Neither of us are expansionist powers. We do not desire

your land, nor you ours. We do not challenge your borders; we do

not provoke your anxieties; in fact, both the United States and

China are forced to arm themselves against those who do.

Both the United States and China are rich in human resources and human tale it. What wonders lie before us if we practice the advice of Tong Li He Zuo: "Connect strength and work together."

Over the past 12 years, American and Chinese leaders have met frequently to discuss a whole host of issues. Often we have found agreement. But even when we have not, we have gained insight into each other; and we have learned to appreciate the other's perspectives on the world.

This process will continue. And it will flourish if we remember certain things. We must neither ignore our problems nor overstate them. We must remember that it is a delicate thing to oppose the wishes of a friend, and when we are forced to do so, we must be sensitive with each other. We must never exaggerate our difficulties, or send alarms for small reasons.

The students at Fudan University -- the students at all the universities in China and America -- have a great role to play in both our country's futures. From your ranks will come the understanding and skill the world will require in decades to come. It is you who will decide if personal friendship can span the political differences that divide us. In such friendship lies the greatest hope of the world.

I have been happy to speak to you here, to meet you in this city that is so rich in significance for both our countries.

Shanghai is a city of scholarship, a city of learning. Shanghai is your window on the West; it is the city in which my country and yours issued the communique that began our modern friendship; it is the city where the Yangtze meets the East China Sea, which itself becomes the Pacific, which touches our shores. The Yangtze is a swift and turbulent river, one of the great rivers of the world.

My young friends, history is a river that takes us as it will. But we have the power to navigate, to choose direction and make our passage together. The wind is up, the tide is high, and opportunity for a long and fruitful journey awaits us.

Generations hence will honor us for having begun the voyage, for moving on together, and escaping the fate of the buried armies of Xi'an -- the buried warriors who stood for centuries frozen in time, frozen in an unknowing enmity, waiting always for a threat that never came . . .

The choice is ours. Let the journey begin -- on Earth, in space, and always in friendship.

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Address: Fudan University (4/12/-- 3:30 p.m. draft)

The attached incorporates the objections you noted to the above-referenced draft address.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Address: Fudan University (4/12 -- 3:30 p.m. draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks. We recommend deleting the last sentence on page 10 and the third sentence on page 11.

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 4/13/84

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

WASHINGTON



April 13, 1984

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provide an overview of American values and beliefs, and
conclude with a recital of the interests and values shared
by China and America.

In the last paragraph on page 10, the President refers to the role of religion in shaping the American character, noting that most Americans derive their religious belief from the Holy Bible. This formulation strikes me as broad enough to be generally unoffensive (except perhaps to the ACLU), and in any event the President does state that we are "a Nation of many religions."

I have reviewed the draft remarks and have no objections.

Attachment

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WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS 036

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Remarks: Welcoming Banquet at Great Hall (April 12 -- 12:00 noon draft)

Richard Darman has asked that comments on the abovereferenced remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by noon
today. The toast discusses the benefits of Chinese-American
cooperation, not only in trade, cultural exchanges, and
technological development but mutual security as well. The
President states that American development "flows from the
creative enterprise we have permitted our people to exercise,"
but recognizes that how far the Chinese move in this direction
is "a matter for your own discussion and debate." I have
reviewed the toast and have no objections.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

Orig. bigned by FFF FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Remarks: Welcoming Banquet at Great Hall (April 12 -- 12:00 noon draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

Richard G. Darman cc:

FFF:JGR:aea 4/13/84

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1984

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FFF:JGR:aea 4/13/84

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

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Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE:	4/12/84	ACTION/CONCU	RENCE/CO	DMMENT DUE BY: 12:0	00 NOON TOMOF	ROW
SUBJECT:	PROPOSED PR	ESIDENTIAL RE	MARKS:	WELCOMING BANQUE	ET AT GREAT H	ALL
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REMARKS:

PLEASE FORWARD ANY COMMENTS DIRECTLY TO BEN ELLIOTT, WITH A COPY TO MY OFFICE, BY 12:00 Noon TOMORROW. THANK YOU.

ELLIOTT

RESPONSE:

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: WELCOMING BANQUET AT GREAT HALL FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1984

Premier Zhao, ladies and gentlemen. Since we arrived yesterday, the graciousness with which we've been received has been truly heartwarming. A Chinese proverb best describes my feeling: When the visitor arrives, it is as if returning home.

I thought one of the purposes of my visit was to make friends, but I find -- especially after meeting President Li, Chairman Deng, and General Secretary Hu -- that instead of making friends, I find I am among friends.

Mr. Premier, this has been a stimulating day. Much was accomplished, not the least of which was the renewal of the personal rapport we established during your memorable visit to the United States. Your visit permitted you to judge for yourself the intentions of the American people. I hope the good will you experienced, just as I enjoyed from your people today, confirmed to you that our citizens want our countries to work in harmony.

As in music, harmony does not suggest sameness. Indeed, it is the blending of different notes that creates the harmony which is so pleasing to the ear. Of course, different notes heard at the same time when not properly arranged, when at odds with each other, are not so pleasant. Yet I think all of us now recognize that we are capable of more than noise. With a sincere and continuing effort, building on the progress of the last 12 years, we can produce beautiful music that will add immeasurably to the richness of the lives of our people.

Mr. Premier, by any accounting, the cooperation between China and the United States already has been a boon to our people. We have both gained. Two-way trade has skyrocketed. There has been a veritable explosion of student, science, business, and tourist exchanges between our peoples. Joint business ventures, which profit all concerned, are becoming commonplace.

We would be less than candid if we minimized the significance of the benefits we each receive from our good relations. Standing together, we can have peace and security. As adversaries we have neither. Standing together, we can have expanding trade and commercial ties that increase the quality of life in both countries. As adversaries, we cannot draw from each other's strengths.

The commitment to stand as friends has been made. The promise is solid. The challenges that remain, however, are as perplexing and will take as great an effort to meet as those which we have already overcome. Understandings must be reached and adjustments must be made if we are to maximize our potential.

Last night I suggested, and, with your permission, again this evening: Let us use as our guide the principle of Hu jing Hu hui (who-jing who-whey) mutual respect -- mutual benefit.

This principle has within it both dignity and fairness..

Another source from which to draw is our knowledge of each other, a well of familiarity which increases in depth with every passing day.

We are each working hard to learn more about the delicate and detailed workings of the other's system -- ours with its complex legal procedures based on the separation of powers, and yours with its own intricate patterns. Insights into why and how decisions are made can help both of us appreciate our agreements and accept in good faith our disagreements.

From what we see, Premier Zhao, my countrymen are excited by what is happening in China. Your modernization program, an ambitious undertaking, makes our future relationship even more promising. You are striving to quadruple your production and join the front ranks of the world's industrialized nations by the year 2,000. The eyes of the world are watching as you progress on this peaceful and productive course. The American people wish you success and support you in this great endeavor.

Americans, more than others, admire those who set great goals and move out to improve their lot. When that first American ship set sail for China 200 years ago, our forefathers were citizens of a weak republic living in perhaps the most undeveloped land known to man. We Americans are proud of our accomplishments in these last 200 years, just as you are rightfully proud of the enormous contributions Chinese civilization has made to mankind.

We have much to learn from each other. China was the first to develop silk, the first to harness gunpowder, the first to invent the printing press. Ancient Chinese engineers built an extensive canal system, and accomplished many other architectural and engineering feats -- some, like the Great Wall, that have never been paralleled.

Recently some enterprising young Americans, captivated by the legend of an ancient Chinese chariot that could indicate directions like a compass, discovered that Chinese inventors centuries ago developed what is now referred to as a differential gear. This gear -- not a magnet, as some believed -- kept a statue atop the chariot pointing in the same direction no matter what turns the chariot itself made -- hence the name: the South Pointing Chariot. With this technology, your ancestors were able to defeat invading armies in the vast plains of Western China. Unfortunately the secret of the chariot was lost. Western engineers did not rediscover the differential gear until about thirty centuries later.

As China moves forward to modernize and develop its economy, the United States is willing to share the American know-how that turned our country from a savage wilderness into an industrial giant. That American know-how is not just an understanding of technology. Indeed, our technology flows from the creative enterprise we have permitted our people to exercise. How far you move in this direction, is, understandably, a matter for your own discussion and debate.

As friends, we offer advice based not on ideology, but, instead, on what we have found to work. If it did not work, the American people, who are more pragmatic than ideological by nature, would likely have abandoned it long ago. You've found the utility about which I am referring in some of your own reforms. For example, you've probably discovered that decentralizing decisionmaking leads to innovation, creativity, and a better ability to adapt to local conditions. The

responsibility system, I understand, is helping to increase food production throughout China. And the Special Economic Zones are providing dramatic examples of how incentives create prosperity and offer bountiful opportunities for a better life.

However far you go in modernization, you have our best wishes. If you ask our advice, we can only answer with truth as we see it. But let me assure you that we want you to succeed. Having one billion people -- a quarter of mankind -- healthy, well-fed, clothed, and housed, educated and given the opportunity for a higher standard of living -- is in the interest of good and decent people everywhere. It is certainly in the interest of the American people, who wish to trade and be friends with the Chinese people.

Premier Zhao, as we are all aware, our cooperation is mandated on more than, simply, the desire to improve our economies. Today the peace of the world is threatened by a major power that is focusing its resources and energies not on economic progress but, instead, on military power. During the last decade, the United States unilaterally reduced its military spending, in real terms, by over 20 percent. The United States reached out to former adversaries. Instead of taking the opportunity to establish a strong and lasting peace, the Soviet Union raced ahead with a massive arms build-up.

The shift in military might of the last decade has made trust and friendship between us ever more vital. I know it is your desire, and that of the United States as well, that peace be preserved. We seek to better the quality of life of our people

and that can be done only in a peaceful environment. War is the great destroyer of all the hopes of mankind.

To preserve the peace and protect our own sovereignty and independence, we must stand together in opposing expansionism and hegemony. The United States does not seek to expand its influence by force of arms anywhere in the world. We do not seek to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country.

Sadly, it appears that this is not true of the Soviet Union. The Soviets have built up their own military forces far beyond any reasonable defensive need; they are brutally surpressing the people of Afghanistan and supporting the overthrow of legitimate governments in the Third World.

With this in mind, a strong China, clearly, is in the best interest of peace and in the best interest of the United States. What we seek is not military alliance. At this time such an alliance is unnecessary and might send the wrong signal to the Soviets. Instead, a virile and robust friendship, without fear or hesitation, will bolster the security of both our countries. It will be the trust between us that will keep us and the world at peace. In this, let us be of the same mind. And as a saying from The Book of Changes goes, "If two people are of the same mind, their sharpness can cut through metal."

It is the hope and prayer of the American people that someday there will no longer be a need for our Nation to use any of its resources to produce weapons of any kind. The Chinese and American people are now showing the world, by our example, that there is a better way than hatred and violence. Even at this

moment, the memory of past animosity between us is passing like the healing of a wound.

Many of us in this room have seen much history in our lifetimes. My own lifetime spans one third of the history of the American Republic. I know that to many of the younger people in my country I probably seem so old that they think I was there at the beginning of the Republic. Over the many years that God has permitted me to live, I have observed the changing nature of the relationship between our two countries. At times, our feelings toward each other were hostile and negative in the worst way.

Today we have the opportunity to keep our countries on a path of genuine good will that will reap rewards for generations to come. Let us not shy from the task. It will not be easy. Yet, let us move forward so that someday when the young people of our countries reach a ripe old age, they will look back and there will be no memory of a time when there was anything else but friendship and good feelings between the Chinese and American people. That is a gift we can give to them.

In this spirit, permit me, Premier Zhao, to propose a toast:

- -- To your health, Mr. Premier, and the health of Mrs. Zhao;
- -- To the health of Chairman Deng, General Secretary Hu,

 President Li, and the other distinguished Chinese citizens it is

 my privilege to meet this week;
- -- And to the friendship between the Chinese and American people.