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INFO: D (91) P (92) T (81) C (81) SSO (81) SSI (81) THR (81) OCT (81) SP (81) PA (81) L (81) SB (81) MR (81) PM (81)

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ACTION SS-88

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FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3772 INFO RUEHIN/ALT TAIPEL 4634 AMENBASSY ISLAMABAD AMENBASSY NEW DELHI AMENBASSY MOSCOV ANEMBASSY SEOUL AMERBASSY TOXYO

COMFIDENTIAL BEIJING 18884

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PARM, MHUC, KHHP, PK, IN, HK, CH SUBJECT: PROLIFERATION ISSUES: THE VIEW FROM BEIJING LOOKS GRIM

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

BEIJIN 19884 09 OF 04 1610997 ON THE BROADER BILATERAL RELATIONSRIP. END SUMMARY,

A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION TO UNDERSECRETARY BARTHOLOMEN'S OXGOING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE CHINESE 🎉 OH WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ISSUES IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF THE OVERALL SING-U.S. RELATIONSHIP BUT ALSO IN PROTECTING U.S. INTERESTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN THE CONTEXT OF THOSE CONSULTATIONS, WE OFFER BELOW OUR SENSE OF THE CHINESE POSITION ON SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ISSUES. OVER THE PAST MONTHS WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY HEARD THE POSITIONS OUTLINED BELOW REPEATED BY CONTACTS IN THE FOREIGH HIHISTRY AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF THINK TANKS; WE ARE THUS REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT THESE POSITIONS REPRESENT CURRENT PRC POLICY.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: THE THEORY

S. WHILE NOT A SIGNATORY OF THE NUCLEAR HOMPROLIFERATION TREATY, THE PRC HAS FREQUENTLY STATED IN PUBLIC THAT IT SUPPORTS THE THREE GOALS OF THE HPT: PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF HUCLEAR WEAPONS TO NON-MUCLEAR STATES, REDUCING MUCLEAR WEAPONS ARSEMALS WORLDWIDE, AND PROMOTING THE PEACEFUL USE OF MUCLEAR ENERGY. THE CHINESE SAY THAT AS A RESULT OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR THESE GOALS THEY HAVE DEVELOPED THREE PRINCIPLES WHICH GOVERN THEIR MUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES: 1) THEY WILL ONLY COOPERATE ON PROJECTS WHICH FALL UNDER TAEA SAFEGUARDS; 2) THEY WILL NOT COOPERATE ON PROJECTS GEARED TOWARDS WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT; AND 31 THEY WILL NOT COOPERATE ON

PROJECTS GEARED TOWARDS THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY TO THIRD COUNTRIES.

CHINESE OFFICIALS AND ANALYSTS HAVE INSISTED TO US THAT-THESE PRINCIPLES APPLY TO CHINESE HUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH ALL COUNTRIES, SPECIFICALLY INCLUDING PAKISTAN AND ALGERIA. THEY ASSERT THAT THEY DO NOT WORK ON ANY PROJECTS IN EITHER OF THOSE

TWO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT COVERED BY IAEA SAFEGUARDS: POINTING OUT, FOR EXAMPLE: THAT THE MEN POVER REACTOR WHICH THEY MAVE AGREED TO PROVIDE PAKISTAN WILL COME UNDER THE SAFEGUARDS.

PRC ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOUTH ASIAN PROLIFERATION

7. BEIJING'S "PRINCIPLES" REGARDING NUCLEAR HONPROLIFERATION HAVE NOT TRANSLATED INTO A VILLINGHESS TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION CONCERNS. SOUTH ASIA IS A CASE IN POINT. OUR CHINESE INTERLOCUTORS HAVE REJECTED THE PERSISTENT REPORTS THAT THE PRC IS ASSISTING THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM. CONTACTS FURTHER MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY SEE LITTLE ROLE FOR CHIMA TO PLAY IN TRYING TO STEM THE HUCLEAR WEAPONS TIDE IN SOUTH ASIA.

8. THE CHINESE DO NOT WANT TO SEE THE PAKISTANI

PROGRAM PROVOXE A FULL-SCALE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE WITH HEN DELHI. THAT BEING SAID, BEIJING VIEWS THE PAKISTAHI PROGRAM AS PRIMARILY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE, A LOGICAL RESPONSE TO INDIA'S 1974 EXPLOSION OF A

REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN

CONF | DENT | APATE/CASE ID: 17 MAY 2002 200100469

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.6(6) **DECLASSIFY AFTER: 16 APR 2016**

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DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

FQIA/PA Do.) Release W Exclad D:) Dony Exemptions. Date In 0603 ARP Action Cert

WE HUST CLEARLY WORK INCOMES OF PRIORITIES IN DEALING WITH THE CHINESE OF THE PRIORITIES IN DEALING WITH THE CHINESE OF THE PRIORITIES OF THE PRIORI PROLIFERATION ISSUES, LEAVING NO DOUBTED

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PAGE 82 OF 83 BEIJIN 18884 89 OF 84 1618887 THE CHINESE PERCEIVE TO BE INDIAN "HEGENONISH" IN SOUTH ASIA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CHINESE DISMISS INDIAN INSTRUATIONS THAT THE PRC'S MUCLEAR ARSENAL PREVENTS NEW DELHI FROM ADDRESSING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ISSUES WITH ISLAMABAD ON A BILATERAL BASIS. THE CHINESE ARGUE THAT THE PRC'S GUARANTEE THAT THE CRIMESE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL NEVER BE USED TO ATTACK A NON-NUCLEAR STATE SHOULD SUFFICE TO ASSUAGE NEW DELHI'S CONCERNS OVER BEILING'S INTENTIONS.

9. PRC OFFICIALS AND RESEARCHERS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO US THAT CHINA BELIEVES RESOLVING THE SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS IS A TASK PRIMARILY FOR THE SUPERPOVERS. ONLY MOSCOV AND WASHINGTON, THE CHINESE MAINTAIN, HAVE THE HECESSARY INFLUENCE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT TO BROKER AN AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, BEILING EMPHASIZES THAT THE PRC'S NUCLEAR ARSENAL WILL HOT BE A TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION IN TALKS AIMED AT DEFUSING THE SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION PROBLEM.

18. HERE IN BEIJING, CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN UNRESPONSIVE TO OUR ATTEMPTS TO ENGAGE THEM ON SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. THEY HAVE OFFERED NO SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ANY MULTILATERAL SOLUTION TO

THE PROBLEM AND HAVE ADMITTED THAT THEY HAVE NOT RAISED THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION WITH THE INDIANS. SEVERAL OFFICIALS HAVE STATED THAT CHINA WOULD BE WILLING TO "CONSIDER" ANY SUGGESTIONS WE HIGHT ADVANCE FOR A MULTILATERAL APPROACH TO THE ISSUE; WE TAKE THESE STATEMENTS AS A POLITE DIG AT US FOR NOT HAVING ADVANCED A CONCRETE FORMULATION WHICH ROULD INTEREST THE INDIANS WITHOUT AFFECTING IN ANY WAY CHINA'S RUCLEAR ARSENAL, RATHER THAN AS A SERIOUS OFFER TO GET INVOLVED IN MULTILATERAL HEGOTIATIONS OVER SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION

JURNED UP THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWAKUS SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAD POR SFERATION. "THE KEY LIES WITH INDIA. AND. HOIA IS RELUCTAN
FOR UP ITS RIGHT TO POSSESS NUCLEAR MEAPONS. HOIA IS RELUCTANT TO

HORTH KOREA AND THE IAEA

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CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

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15. THE CHINESE FURTHER MAINTAIN THAT THEY MAVE PUT INTO PLACE EFFECTIVE CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS. IN LINE WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE 1925 GENEVA CONVENTION.

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HISSILE PROLIFERATION ·----

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CHINESE TRACK RECORD REFLECTS AN AGGRESSIVE PRAGMATISM -- CSS-2'S TO SAUDI ARABIA FOR BIG MONEY, SILKWORMS TO BOTH IRAN AND IRAO, MISSILES AND MISSILE

TECHNOLOGY TO PAKISTAN FOR MONEY AND TO BALANCE INDIA, AND NO MISSILES TO KUWAIT PROBABLY TOO SMALL A COUNTRY).

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