

U.S. arms sustain Beijing regime

by Joseph Brewda

When horrified American television viewers watched the massacre of thousands of Chinese students in Tiananmen Square on June 4, probably very few of them realized that some of the weapons that the troops used were purchased from the United States. Boeing and McDonnell Douglas planes were among those used to fly Chinese soldiers into the city. The helicopters used to gun down students might have been manufactured by Sikorsky, which is a supplier to the Chinese military. Chances are that the armored personnel carriers which ran over protesters, crushing them to death, were produced with U.S. assistance or shipped by U.S. manufacturers.

Yet what is even more horrifying to realize is that the Chinese ICBM missile force, which is capable of delivering nuclear warheads as far as Kansas, were developed by some of these same U.S. defense industries with U.S. sanction. Without U.S. technical assistance, under the guise of Henry Kissinger's "China card," the Chinese regime could never have become a military threat to the United States.

Clearly a government as lunatic as the Beijing regime has shown itself to be in recent weeks, could blunder into nuclear

war. It had long been a dictum of Mao Zedong that only China could survive a nuclear war, given its vast population dispersed in the countryside. That the People's Republic of China leadership is not afraid of massive casualties if it feels that that is necessary to sustain its rule is otherwise shown by its record of slaughter of its own population: an estimated 100 million since taking power in 1949.

This potential nuclear blackmail has not gone unnoticed by American "China card" advocates themselves. One former senior official in the Carter administration who had long been associated with this policy, recently remarked that should the U.S. government apply extreme pressure against the Deng Xiaoping regime, it might risk nuclear attack. Reportedly, various "China hands" had advised the U.S. government in recent weeks that if civil war broke out in China, which is even now still a possibility, then the possibility of Chinese use of nuclear weapons against the U.S. could not be ruled out.

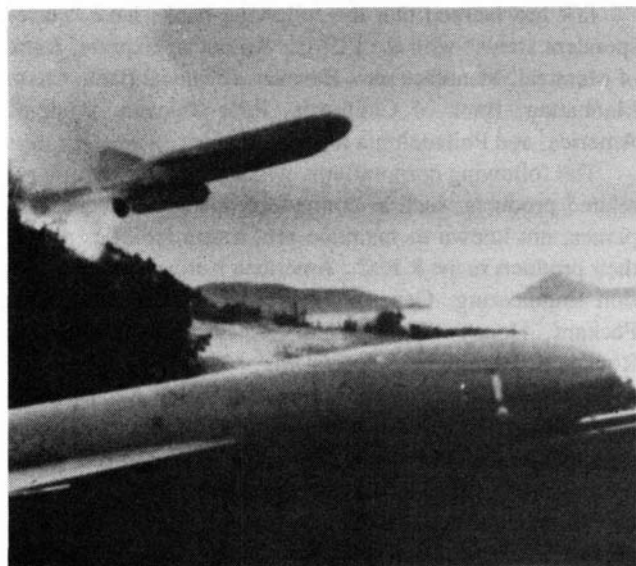
The Chinese nuclear arsenal

After years of the propaganda spewed out about how Beijing is our friend, very little is published nowadays on either possible Chinese war plans, or war capabilities. What is published, especially since the Weinberger Defense Department massively increased military aid to China, is heavily censored. Nonetheless, this censored public literature tells some of the story.

Reportedly, China's most advanced ICBM, the CSS-4, has a range of 15,000 kilometers and carries a 5-megaton warhead. It is in the process of being "MIRVed" to enable it to carry multiple warheads. The CSS-3 has a 7,000 kilometer range and carries a 3-megaton warhead. The CSS-2 has a 4,000 kilometer range, with a 2 megaton warhead.

While U.S. aid to the development of the Chinese missile system is not public, it is suggestive that China only first succeeded in launching an ICBM, to put its first satellite into orbit, in April 1970, during the middle of the Kissinger-Chou En-lai discussions where the then U.S. national security adviser promised the Chinese the proverbial "kitchen sink." How the U.S. military had somehow let one of its top nuclear scientists defect to China, Dr. Lee, has always remained a mystery to those unfamiliar with U.S. "clever scheming." Shortly after Lee's defection in the 1960s, the backward People's Republic of China developed a nuclear bomb.

The most important current effort to upgrade the Chinese missile force is that apparently being taken by McDonnell Douglas, which intends to supply the Chinese ICBM with a "payload assist module upper stage," supposedly to assist China in upgrading its capacity to put civilian satellites into orbit. China's intermediate-range CSS-2 has been dramatically upgraded through the Chinese purchase of advanced guidance systems, making the missile suitable for striking hardened targets. The U.S.-made guidance systems had been sold to the P.R.C. in 1987 by the Israelis, with U.S. approval,



Department of Defense

Silkworm missile launching during an exercise in China. Longer-range missiles which could reach as far as Kansas, have been built by the P.R.C. thanks to U.S. assistance.

China's economic weakness strengthens U.S. hand

In the wake of the June 3-4 massacre, China's next moves have become a focus of the entire world. At this time, the Bush administration has three major concerns: 1) Would the Chinese government play the Soviet card? 2) Will China return to a closed society like that of 20 years ago? 3) Will Americans lose their business interests in China?

There is also much debate about either imposing total economic sanctions and severing diplomatic relations as a response to the troops firing on the nonviolent demonstrators, or not going beyond what has already been done. It is certainly difficult to decide, because there are many interrelated considerations, such as national interest, people's welfare, strategic interests, humanitarian concerns, and so forth.

One thing is certain, China's door must remain open for the benefit of the pro-democracy movement. Communism will ultimately be buried if the people inside China still have connections to the outside world. But the question remains: How can you shake hands with these butchers who ignore their recent murders? How can you do "business as usual" with those who lie about the killing?

Let us go back to a more fundamental question: Who needs an open China? If we read the Chinese leaders' recent statements and speeches carefully, it is clear that they are more eager than anyone to retain the open-door policy. Since 1979, China has gradually shifted from an economy based on self-reliance to one more dependent on foreign trade. Approximately one-third of national income, particularly the newly developed "coastal econom-

ic regions" and "special economic zones," are closely linked to foreign countries.

During the past ten years, the agricultural sector has also changed. With the liquidation of communal agriculture, the government has lost a convenient method of extracting surplus from the peasants. The current decentralized system does not work as well. Thus, the government has counted on foreign investment to provide necessary capital in order to achieve its modernization goals.

After the Soviets withdrew their experts and discontinued aid to 156 industrial projects, China struggled through a three-year "difficult period" in 1960-63. It is unlikely the government would be willing to risk a similar economic crisis by closing its door again.

In addition, a significant difference between now and then is that the Chinese people were still loyal to the Communist Party in the 1960s. Today, people must bear a 30% inflation rate. Any further worsening of the economic situation could trigger a crisis and the government would have to deal with complaints from workers and peasants as well as from students and intellectuals. Also, those officials who have profited in past years by using their power would not like to see the door closed.

Because of this, the American government is in a strong bargaining position with the Chinese government. No matter how much the Chinese government threatens by saying that they will close the door. It is only a political show designed to shift the people's attention by condemning "American imperialism." The Chinese leaders want to direct pressure outward in order to unify the people at home. In reality, the government hopes the foreigners will return as soon as possible. One needs only observe the official praise given to those foreigners who did not leave China or came back soon after the massacre.

In short, the U.S. should not hesitate to punish China out of fear that its leaders are going to close the door.

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as part of then Vice President Bush's Iran-Contra deals. Saudi Arabia purchased a battery of CSS-2s in 1988, again with Bush's personal approval.

To aid Chinese targeting capabilities for its missile fleet, the U.S. government has given the Chinese military the access codes to the U.S. Landsat satellite system. The Landsat system gives the Chinese military hourly readings on potential targets. Meanwhile, the U.S. government allowed, and encouraged, ST Systems to sell the P.R.C. military the sophisticated computer equipment required to process the satellite intelligence. The P.R.C. has even purchased a Digital

Equipment VAX computer production facility, to produce its own computers for such purposes.

Meanwhile, lest Chinese pilots feel left out, Grumman Aviation has a contract to provide advanced avionics for the Chinese air force's entire F-8-2 interceptor jet fleet, while Garret aerospace is providing the engines for the L-8, its short-range interceptor. McDonnell Douglas has already built an assembly line in Shanghai for final assembly of its MD-80s, a passenger liner intended to be used for troop transport. It was such planes which were used to transport Chinese soldiers to Tiananmen Square this spring.