

**The original documents are located in Box 3, folder “China” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

# SHANGHAI: JOINT COMMUNIQUE

1. Text of Joint Communique - February 27, 1972
2. Text of News Conference held by Dr. Kissinger and Assistant Secretary of State Green - February 27, 1972
3. Text of Statement by Press Secretary Ziegler - February 27, 1972

1. Text of the Joint Statement Issued at the Conclusion of the President's Visit, February 27, 1972

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be

prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence

and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial.

Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

**NOTE:** The joint statement was released at Shanghai, People's Republic of China. For a news conference of Dr. Henry Kissinger and Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green and a statement by the White House Press Secretary on the communiqué, see the following two items.

## 2. Shanghai: Joint Communiqué

News Conference of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. - February 27, 1972

**MR. ZIEGLER.** You have had a chance to read over the communiqué. Dr. Kissinger is here to discuss it with you and take your questions. What Dr. Kissinger says is on the record. Together with Dr. Kissinger is Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green who, as you know, participated in all the meetings with Secretary of State Rogers when he met with the Foreign Minister, and he is here also to discuss the communiqué with you and to take your questions, together with Dr. Kissinger.

We will begin with Dr. Kissinger.

**DR. KISSINGER.** Let me make a few preliminary observations before we go to your questions. Let me do it in two parts: the process, and there is obviously the communiqué produced, and secondly, what does it mean in general terms. Then I believe that I will be prepared to answer questions.

First, how was the communiqué produced? From the beginning of our contacts with the People's Republic of China, there were some obvious general considerations of

what the outcome of a meeting between the President and the leaders of the People's Republic might be.

During the interim visit there was some exploratory conversation of an outcome in the conventional sense in which both sides tend to state general positions which they afterwards choose to interpret, each in their own way.

It was, therefore, decided early in the meetings on this occasion between the President and Prime Minister that such an approach would make no sense. It would not be worthy of the purposes that were attempted to be served.

It was therefore decided that each side would state its position on issues in a section which it would produce more or less independent of the other. It would not pretend to an agreement which did not exist and which would have to be interpreted away in subsequent implementations. Therefore, the beginning part of the communiqué represents, in effect, a statement by each side of some of its general principles.

On our side, they were deliberately not phrased in a contentious way. While in discussions some of the arguments made by the Chinese side were, of course, rebutted, we did not feel that this was the appropriate vehicle to do so, but rather to state what our positive view was.

For that matter, the Chinese side did not rebut arguments which we made in our section that they did not particularly agree with.

In order to present these two views on an equal basis, it had been decided that in the text issued by the American Government, the U.S. position would be stated first, and in the text to be issued by the Chinese Government, the Chinese version would be stated first.

I mention this only so that you will not be surprised if the Chinese version follows a different sequence from the American version. This is by agreement. Both versions are official and are being put out on the basis of this agreement.

The procedure that was followed here was that issues of general principle were first discussed in the meetings between the President and the Prime Minister. They were then, after they had been explored for some time, transferred to the meetings chaired by the Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China. Then, if any additional issues arose, they might be referred back to the meeting of the President and the Prime Minister.

In drafting the communiqué, various sections were produced by various elements of the American side. I played the role of go-between on our side and the Vice Foreign Minister, whose name I despair of ever learning to pronounce, on the Chinese side.

In this manner, as we put together the various paragraphs that were supplied to us on our side by various individuals, if we reached a point at which agreement seemed near or possible, we would then go back to our principals and to the Secretary of State. Through this process, the communiqué was finally achieved.

For example, some of the sessions were quite prolonged. The last few nights the sessions went on until the early hours of the morning with the President. In Peking, the Chinese delegation had a house in the guest complex, and most of the sessions took place in that house. As a paragraph was finished, it would typically go back then to the President who was in the next house, and this went on Friday night until about 5 in the morning.

So much for the process. Let me say something about the content. Obviously neither side would have written this communiqué this way if it had been able to draft it entirely by itself. Therefore, it represented an attempt by two countries that had been out of contact for a long time to find a basis to convey first some immediate understandings, but beyond that, to start a process by which they could bring about a closer relationship over a period of time and by which they could, where interests converged, act in a more nearly parallel fashion and where interests differed, to mitigate the consequences of those disagreements.

So the communiqué ought to be seen in two aspects: first, in terms of the specific principles and conclusions it states, and secondly, in terms of the direction to which it seeks to point. It is on that basis that we are presenting it to the American people and on which the People's Republic is presenting it as well.

Now, this is all that I want to say by way of introduction. I wonder whether Marshall Green would like to add a few words, and then we will be glad to answer questions.

MR. GREEN. I have just a few words. First of all with regard to the P.R.C. authority with whom Dr. Kissinger was maintaining the discussions, it was Chiao Kuan-hua—just to clarify that point.

I don't think I really have much to add. Our talks under Secretary Rogers on our side, and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei for the People's Republic of China, extended over, I believe, 10 hours all together.

But it was not just the talks themselves. We had frequent occasion, as you could imagine with all the fine food you have eaten—occasionally waiting to have that fine food to have extensive talks also, and a number of matters could be discussed in that context.

Also, it was not just that, but the Secretary did have a chance to meet on a number of occasions with the Prime Minister. Most recently, coming down on the plane, he had an hour and a half from Peking to Hangchow. And then today the Prime Minister called on him in his hotel room for about 40 minutes.

I would say that the talks and the counterpart meetings were characterized by candor, friendliness, and courtesy and hospitality, as I am sure you have all seen, on the part of our Chinese hosts. There was no pulling of punches, not physically, of course. They were outspoken, no effort to cover up or paper over differences, but to have it out. It is good for the system. I think in so doing one has a much better appreciation of the other person's point of view.

As far as the specifics are concerned, in the talks, I really can't say much more than what already appears in the communiqué itself, although some of the points there may raise questions.

Q. On page 4, in stating that the United States will progressively reduce its forces in military installations on Taiwan, was that decision a result of the discussions here in China?

DR. KISSINGER. No, this is a general statement of our policy which we have enunciated on innumerable occasions in innumerable forums. It says that we maintain the amount of forces that is required by the general situation and not by any abstract determination. It is a statement of our general policy, but not a mutual decision.

Q. Is there any sign now that the conditions would lead to a reduction of the American military force in Taiwan shortly?

DR. KISSINGER. I don't want to speculate on what will be done over a period of time, but if you speak about "shortly," I would not expect that.

Q. Why did not the United States Government reaffirm its treaty commitment to Taiwan, as the President and you have done on numerous occasions?

DR. KISSINGER. Let me take this occasion to deal with that particular aspect, and let me deal with it once, and not answer it in innumerable elliptical forms in which, no doubt, it will be presented.

The particular issue which Mr. Kraslow raised is, of course, an extraordinarily difficult one to discuss on the territory of a country with which we do not maintain formal diplomatic relations and for which this particular issue is a matter of profound principle.

Let me, therefore, state in response to this and any related question—and let me do it once and not repeat it. We stated our basic position with respect to this issue in the President's world report in which we say that this treaty will be maintained. Nothing has changed in that position.

But I would appreciate it if that would be all that I would be asked to say about it in these circumstances. But the position of the world report stands and has been unaltered.

**Q.** Dr. Kissinger, the possibility is mentioned of the United States sending a representative to Peking from time to time. Is there any likelihood that this process might be reversed and Peking might send a representative to Washington?

**DR. KISSINGER.** The situation of the two sides is not exactly equal in this respect because in Washington there is a Chinese representation different from that that would be sent under the hypothesis which you mention. However, what we envisage is the establishment of a contact point, to begin with, in which the discussions about the exchanges and trade that are mentioned in the preceding paragraphs will be formally conducted and as soon as this contact point has been established, it will be announced and the visit of a U.S. representative to Peking would take place as the need arises, and as particular issues of great importance need to be discussed. This, however, is not to the exclusion of any other possibility.

**Q.** What do you mean by "a contact point"?

**DR. KISSINGER.** For example, there existed for a while, and formally still exists, a forum in Warsaw where U.S. and Chinese officials met—something of this kind. As soon as that is established, which we expect will be in the reasonably near future, we will announce it.

**Q.** Will that be established in the United States or Canada or some other country?

**DR. KISSINGER.** I don't expect it to be in the United States, but I don't want to speculate beyond that.

**Q.** Can we assume that the President and Prime Minister discussed all these differences face-to-face, specifically their differences over Vietnam and the reduction of troops on Taiwan? Were these positions stated openly?

**DR. KISSINGER.** All differences were discussed by the President and the Prime Minister face to face, candidly and seriously, including those which you mentioned.

**Q.** Can you point to anything in this document in which the People's Republic of China goes any significant step beyond its position at the time of the first ping pong exchanges?

**DR. KISSINGER.** Let me say two things: We are not approaching this from the point of view of a scoreboard of

seeing who scored how many points on which issue. At the time of the first ping pong exchange, if I understand the position of the People's Republic of China, it was that some very low-level people-to-people exchanges would occur.

The formalization of exchanges encouraged by the two governments, the opening of trade encouraged by the two governments, the establishment of diplomatic mechanisms for continued contact, the joint statement of some general principles of international relations, the joint statement of some basic approaches to the view of the world with respect to, for example, the section which includes the reference to hegemony—these, I believe, are matters that most of us would have considered unthinkable at the time of the invitation to the ping pong team.

But I would put them on the basis of mutuality rather than of any unilateral movement on the part of the People's Republic of China.

**Q.** Henry, is this the first time that a President of the United States has formally picked up the language of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence?

**DR. KISSINGER.** I have to say I am simply not sure. All I would reply, again, would be an answer in the same terms as I did to Mr. Frankel. The question is not who put forward the proposals. The question is: Does it contain principles that we can live by and since we have said we are prepared to apply these principles during the next one on the non-use of force, and since both sides have stated this, it does not really make a crucial difference who put it forward first.

**Q.** How much progress was there made in advancing the ball, in response to the question asked by George Ball on the trips, "is this necessary?" How much further did we go than in your original discussions with Premier Chou?

**DR. KISSINGER.** The character of the discussions inevitably is entirely different when the President of the United States talks than when an assistant talks who cannot make any definitive statement. The basic objective of this trip was to set in motion a train of events and an evolution in the policy of our two countries which both sides recognized would be slow at first and present many difficulties and in which a great deal depended on the assessment by each side of the understanding by the other of what was involved in this process and of the assessment by each side of the reliability of the other in being able to pursue this for the amount of time necessary to see it prevail.

In this sense it almost had to be conducted by the heads of the two governments and in this sense I would say that in the depth and seriousness of the discussions it went, obviously, beyond what had been discussed in my visits and beyond our expectations.

**Q.** Did Chairman Mao participate? Did his participation go to the detailed substance of this matter or was it largely philosophical and general?

DR. KISSINGER. I don't believe that it would be appropriate for me to go into detail about the content of the conversation with Chairman Mao. I may say, however, that Chairman Mao and the President discussed each of the essential categories in a general way and we have every reason to believe that the Prime Minister checked with the Chairman at every step along the way. But it was not just a vague philosophical discussion.

Q. The assertion of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, combined with the statement of respect for one China, could that be construed as meaning that the United States notes the claim of the Government of the People's Republic of China, its claim to sovereignty over Taiwan?

DR. KISSINGER. Our view with respect to Taiwan has been exhaustively stated in that paragraph you refer to and we add nothing to it.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, can you tell us whether there is any timetable under which you are going to undertake to facilitate the contacts and exchanges in the cultural, sports, and journalistic areas?

DR. KISSINGER. There is no precise timetable, Walter, but I think it is correct to say that both sides understand that this will be pursued with some dispatch.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, in the light of the statement by the Government of China that the Chinese side said that the Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations, does this timetable depend on further progress in the solution of the Taiwan question?

DR. KISSINGER. No. That is independent of the other, though at what point the two would become interdependent again, I cannot judge. But as this is written now, my answer to Walter Cronkite stands on its own feet.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, where the communiqué states, "Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest," was that a result of your talks about Sino-Soviet tensions or was the Soviet Union involved in the talks? Does this refer to how the United States views the relationship between China and the U.S. and the Soviet Union?

DR. KISSINGER. We have said on many occasions, and I will say it again here, that as far as the United States is concerned, our relationship with the People's Republic of China is not directed against the Soviet Union, and while the People's Republic is well able to speak for itself, and my megalomania has not reached the point where I believe that I can speak for it, I believe that it is clear to us that neither is the policy of the People's Republic of China in its relations with us directed against the Soviet Union.

We are pursuing our policy with the People's Republic of China on the ground that a stable peace in the world is difficult to envisage if 800 million people are excluded

from a dialogue with the most powerful nation in the world and we are conducting our discussions with the People's Republic entirely on the merits of that relationship.

The paragraph on hegemony will arise only if any country should seek it, but we had no particular country in mind when it was being drafted.

Q. In the paragraph referring to the reduction of forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes, is this an exclusive reference to Indochina as the area?

DR. KISSINGER. No. It is a reference to the general area. It is not a reference to any particular part of Asia.

Q. What conditions in that area would keep American troops on Taiwan? What tensions in the area of Taiwan now require the presence of American troops there?

DR. KISSINGER. We are talking about the general state of relationships in Asia and in the world. It is in reference to that that our general decisions on deployments will be made.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, the President said in a television interview the beginning of January that he would bring up the question of American prisoners of war in Vietnam when he came to China. Can you tell us if it came up and what the reaction was?

DR. KISSINGER. Obviously, as the communiqué makes clear the issue of Vietnam was discussed and it is also clear that we would not discuss it without mentioning our concern with respect to the prisoners. The position of the People's Republic is as stated in the communiqué that it supports the seven-point proposal made by the Provisional Government—by the PRG, and I think it is a fair characterization of the basic positions.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, there is a paragraph that says "International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force." Since the People's Republic says the difficulty with us on Taiwan is an international issue, does this mean that they have agreed not to use force or the threat of force in settling or solving that?

DR. KISSINGER. The formal position of the People's Republic of China with respect to Taiwan is a matter, of course, of extreme delicacy for us to discuss here at all. Clearly, they do not, as they have stated in their part of the section on Taiwan, consider it an international problem in any normal sense. Clearly, the formal statements with respect to this issue have to be drafted with the various perspectives in mind.

REPORTER. Thank you, gentlemen.

NOTE: White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler opened the news conference at 5:50 p.m., local time, at the Industrial Exhibition Center Banquet Hall, Shanghai, People's Republic of China.

For the text of the joint communiqué, see the preceding item. For a statement on the communiqué by the White House Press Secretary, see the following item.

## Shanghai: Joint Communiqué

### 3. Statement by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President. February 27, 1972

President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai have reached agreement on a joint communiqué. This communiqué reflects the position of the United States and the People's Republic of China on various bilateral and international issues which were discussed during President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China.

The day President Nixon arrived in Peking he met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs. During the President's 7-day visit to the People's Republic of China extensive, frank, and honest discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai. The discussions were held on the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides.

The two leaders participated in over 15 hours of formal talks. In addition, Secretary of State Rogers and Foreign Minister Che Pang-fei held discussions in the same spirit and participated in about 15 hours of formal discussions.

So the communiqué reflects over 30 hours of formal discussions between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The very fact of the joint communiqué between the two governments is symbolic of the greater understanding produced through the face-to-face discussions that have been held.

It is President Nixon's hope that this historic beginning

to improve communications between the United States and the People's Republic of China will significantly contribute to a more stable structure of peace in the world.

The communiqué honestly reflects the differences that both sides recognize exist and states those areas where both sides found common views and have agreed to take specific steps to further improve their relationship. The communiqué, in stating its general attitude, says, "The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues."

The communiqué goes on to say: "There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations."

NOTE: Press Secretary Ziegler read the statement to reporters at 6:40 p.m., local time, in the Industrial Exhibition Center Banquet Hall, Shanghai, People's Republic of China. As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

For the text of the joint communiqué and a news conference of Dr. Henry Kissinger and Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green, see the preceding two items.

COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION WITH  
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
CONSTITUTION AVENUE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20418

HIGH-RANKING CHINESE SCIENTIFIC DELEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES

China's best known scientist, Chou Pei-yuan, heads a high-ranking multi-disciplinary scientific delegation arriving in the United States on September 25 for a one month visit. The 14-member group, representing China's scientific community, will negotiate future scholarly exchange programs between the two countries. The Chinese scientists are experts in the fields of environmental sciences, oceanology, petroleum prospecting, controlled thermonuclear reaction, aerodynamics, and astronomy. They will visit Washington, D.C.; Princeton; New York City; Cambridge and Woods Hole, Massachusetts; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Houston; San Diego; Los Angeles; and San Francisco giving lectures and discussing research with their American colleagues.

The delegation represents the Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China, which conducts China's international exchanges in science and technology. It is coming to the United States at the invitation of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, which became active in Sino-American relations in 1971. The Committee has received most of China's scholars who have visited the United States since 1972 and has sent American groups to China in return. Discussions of future scientific relations to take place during this delegation's visit should result in an expansion of current Committee programs.

The delegation's chairman, Professor Chou Pei-yuan, is China's foremost figure in international science. He has a distinguished career in theoretical physics and fluid dynamics, as well as in domestic and international scientific activities. Professor Chou received his Ph.D. in physics from California Institute of Technology in 1928 and later spent five years in research in U.S. institutions. Last year he led a delegation to France, Germany, and Switzerland and negotiated scientific and technical agreements with those countries. He is the Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association and the Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University.

In addition to Chou Pei-yuan, three other members of the delegation received some of their education and training in the United States. During the visit, nine of the 14 members will give lectures on topics in their specific fields of interest.

September 1975

COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION WITH  
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
CONSTITUTION AVENUE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20548

The Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (CSCPRC) was formed in 1966 by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the National Academy of Sciences. It represents American scholars in the natural sciences, medical sciences, social sciences, and humanities. The activities of the Committee include hosting Chinese scholarly delegations in the United States and sponsoring a limited number of American delegations in specified disciplines to visit the People's Republic of China. The Committee advises American institutions and individuals on appropriate ways of communicating with their Chinese colleagues, on China's international scholarly activities and on the state of China's scientific and scholarly pursuits. Committee members are scholars from a broad range of fields, including China studies.

By the end of 1975 the Committee will have hosted twenty Chinese scholarly delegations in the United States and sent fourteen American groups to China. The Committee's programs are negotiated with the Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China, which conducts China's international exchanges in science and technology. This Association is sending a high-ranking multi-disciplinary delegation to the United States in September 1975 to discuss future scientific and other scholarly relations with the Committee. Chou Pei-yuan, Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association and one of China's leading figures in international and domestic scientific activities, is the leader of the delegation.

Dr. Frank Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is Chairman of the Committee. Administrative responsibility for the Committee is assumed by the National Academy of Sciences and the Committee's offices are located in the Joseph Henry Building of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C.

September, 1975

COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION WITH  
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

1200 M ST. N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

Delegation of the  
Scientific and Technical Association  
of the People's Republic of China

Visit to the United States  
September-October 1975

The Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China will host the visit of a 14-member delegation representing the Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China for one month beginning September 25, 1975. Professor Chou Pei-yuan, Vice Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association, and Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University, will head the multi-disciplinary group. The delegation is visiting the United States at the invitation of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (CSCPRC), which has been conducting a scholarly exchange program with the Scientific and Technical Association since the spring of 1973. The Committee is sponsored jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Social Science Research Council.

The Scientific and Technical Association Delegation includes members in six fields of interest. The delegation has requested to divide into two groups as follows: (A name list, indicating the speciality of each member of the delegation is attached.)

Group 1

Theoretical and experimental research in plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear fusion, experimental devices.

X-ray and gamma-ray astronomy, solar radio astronomy and cosmic radio astronomy, modern high-energy astrophysics, the active sun and solar-terrestrial relationships.

Aerodynamics, with special interest in wind tunnels and other testing facilities.

Group 2

All fields of oceanology, especially marine biology, submarine geology, and research facilities.

Basic research in environmental sciences, methods of chemical analysis, monitoring and pollution control.

Petroleum geotectonics and sedimentology, reservoir engineering, and oil production engineering.

In a recent communication, the delegation listed the scholarly institutions in the United States that they would like to visit. A copy of their itinerary requests is attached. The Committee on Scholarly Communication is attempting to arrange the month-long program according to these suggestions, as well as to arrange such visits as are proposed by American scholars in the various fields. The delegation has expressed interest in participating in presentations on the organization and operation of the U.S. academic and research community. The CSCPRC is contacting scholars in different localities to arrange such presentations for the delegation.

In this same communication, the Scientific and Technical Association stated, "During their visit (the delegation) would like to exchange ideas and views on future academic intercourse as well as to make presentations for their American colleagues on topics of their own specialities. We hope their visit will contribute to the future development of the scientific exchange between Chinese and American scholars and to the continuous enhancement of the friendship between the peoples of our two countries." The Committee on Scholarly Communication welcomes this statement of purpose of the delegation's visit and believes that the American scholarly community will respond to ensure a successful visit.

September 1975

## THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chairman

Chou Pei-yuan  
 Vice-Chairman  
 Scientific and Technical Association  
 of the People's Republic of China  
 Vice-Chairman  
 Revolutionary Committee  
 Peking University  
 Speciality: Theoretical Physics and  
 Fluid Dynamics

Deputy Chairman

Tseng Cheng-kuei  
 Deputy to the Fourth National  
 People's Congress  
 Vice-Chairman  
 Revolutionary Committee  
 Institute of Oceanology  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Oceanology

Secretary General

Chu Yung-hang  
 Deputy Director  
 Foreign Affairs Bureau  
 Scientific and Technical Association  
 of the People's Republic of China

Members

Chuang Feng-kan  
 Council Member  
 Chinese Society of Aeronautics  
 and Astronautics  
 Professor, Peking Institute  
 of Aeronautics  
 Speciality: Aerodynamics

Liu Ching-yi  
 Council Member  
 Chinese Chemical Society  
 Division Responsible Member  
 Institute of Environmental Chemistry  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Environmental Chemistry

Yen Tun-shih  
 Deputy Director  
 Institute of Petroleum and  
 Chemical Engineering  
 Ministry of Petroleum and  
 Chemical Industries  
 Speciality: Petroleum Prospecting

Chi Ming-hou  
 Division Responsible Member  
 Institute of Oceanology  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Seaweed Chemistry

Liu Tung-sheng  
 Division Head  
 Kweiyang Institute of Geochemistry  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Environmental Geology

Huang Yung-wei  
 Division Responsible Member  
 Peking Observatory  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Stellar Physics

Ting Hou-chang  
 Division Responsible Member  
 Institute of Physics  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Plasma Physics

Chang Ho-chi  
 Head of Research Group  
 Nanking Tzu Chin Shan Observatory  
 Academia Sinica  
 Speciality: Solar Physics

Cheng Tsung-shuang  
Scientific Worker  
Institute of Physics  
Academia Sinica  
Speciality: Controlled  
Thermonuclear Fusion

Hsia Kan-yuan  
Scientific Worker  
South China Sea Institute of  
Oceanology  
Academia Sinica  
Speciality: Submarine Geology

Tsien Hao  
Staff Member  
Foreign Affairs Bureau  
Scientific and Technical Association  
of the People's Republic of China

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JANUARY 8, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

---

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Premier Chou En-lai will be long remembered as a remarkable leader who has left his imprint not only on the history of modern China but also on the world scene.

We Americans will remember him especially for the role he played in building a new relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States. We are confident that this relationship will continue to develop on the foundation of understanding and cooperation which he helped to establish.

The United States offers its condolences to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

# # #

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JANUARY 8, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

---

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Premier Chou En-lai will be long remembered as a remarkable leader who has left his imprint not only on the history of modern China but also on the world scene.

We Americans will remember him especially for the role he played in building a new relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States. We are confident that this relationship will continue to develop on the foundation of understanding and cooperation which he helped to establish.

The United States offers its condolences to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

# # #

ADK to Ron Nelson  
New Hampshire  
immediate → press office MRSU  
2/17/76

## NEW CHINESE PREMIER

### Background

Chinese leader Mao tse-Tung has named Hua kuo-Feng the Minister of Public Security, as "temporary acting Prime Minister" in a surprise appointment, the South China Morning Post reported today.

The appointment of the 54-year-old Hua as interim successor to the late Chou en-lai, came as a shock to many China experts who had expected Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping to get the job.

Hua, also a Vice Premier, is ranked eleventh in the Chinese hierarchy.

The Morning Post, quoting an anonymous source, said the appointment of Hua came through a "personal directive of Chairman Mao tse-Tung."

The newspaper said the appointment already has been relayed to provincial and city party officials.

The Morning Post, one of Hong Kong's oldest English-language newspapers, said the Chinese Foreign Ministry had confirmed the appointment, but did not elaborate.

NOTE: Unclassified bio sheet already LDX'ed may be shown to press.

\* \* \*

Q. What is the President's reaction to the appointment today of Hua kuo-Feng as temporary acting Prime Minister of PRC? Is the President surprised that Teng Hsiao-Ping wasn't designated?

A. We would have no comment on what is purely an internal Chinese political matter.



Q. Well, does this appointment signal a change for US-Chinese relations? Is Hua likely for example, to put more pressure on the U.S. to disavow detente or to break with Taiwan?

A. Obviously, Hua Kuo-Feng has just been appointed, but we have no reason to expect or to believe that there will be a change in US-Chinese relations.

F. Y. I. ONLY: According to analyses of the appointment, Hua was chosen because he is a neutral and his appointment can not be seen as a victory for the moderates or leftists who are engaged in a philosophical and bureaucratic struggle for government control.

FOOTNOTE

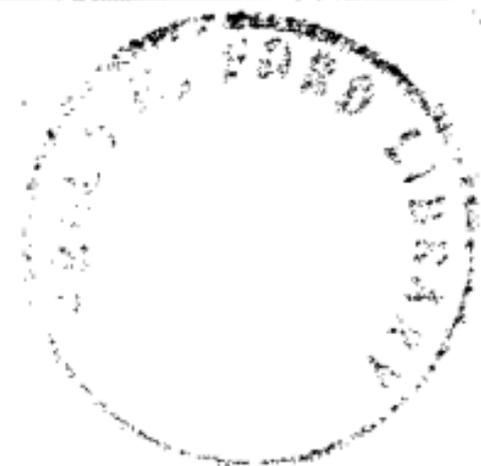
Saturday's negative accounts of the Ford reaction to the Nixon trip indicate that more favorable slant than the one apparently communicated yesterday is in order to put the Nixon visit in perspective. We would want to signal that of course, the President wishes the former President and Mrs. Nixon well on their trip and that this private visit is another reflection of the increased contact and communication between the US and the PRC as our relationship develops.

Ford's Failure to Follow Through on Nixon's Initiative

---

# Who Lost Our China Policy?

by Thomas L. Hughes



U I

CHINA 4-5

URGENT

BY CHARLES R. SMITH

UPI SENIOR EDITOR

HONG KONG (UPI) -- ANGRY CROWDS PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI SCUFFLED WITH SECURITY FORCES AND SET FIRE TO A VEHICLE IN PEKING'S HUGE TIEN AN MEN SQUARE TODAY, RESIDENTS OF THE CHINESE CAPITAL REPORTED.

WITNESSES SAID "TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS" FLOODED INTO THE SQUARE, FRONTING ON PEKING'S FORBIDDEN CITY, FROM EARLY MORNING TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE LATE PREMIER.

APPARENTLY ANGERED BY THE REMOVAL DURING THE NIGHT OF WREATHS THAT HAD BEEN PLACED AT THE MARTYR'S MONUMENT IN THE CENTER OF THE SQUARE, SOME PUSHED THROUGH CORDONS OF POLICE, PUBLIC SECURITY MEN, MILITIA AND SOLDIERS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY.

AFTER SPORADIC SCUFFLING ERUPTED, THE WITNESSES SAID, LARGE NUMBER OF SOLDIERS -- "POSSIBLY THOUSANDS" -- ARRIVED AT THE SQUARE, BUT MOST OF THEM MASSED ON THE OUTSKIRTS.

IT WAS THE MOST SERIOUS OUTBREAK OF PUBLIC DISORDER IN THE CHINESE CAPITAL SINCE THE CHAOTIC DAYS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, ALMOST A DECADE AGO.

IT WAS THE SECOND DAY IN A ROW THAT LARGE CROWDS HAD GATHERED IN THE SQUARE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO CHOU, IN OBSERVANCE OF THE TRADITIONAL CHING MING FESTIVAL HONORING THE DEAD. CHOU DIED IN JANUARY.

MANY WREATHS, SOME BEARING POLITICAL SLOGANS RELATING TO A MAJOR POWER STRUGGLE NOW UNDER WAY IN CHINA, WERE PLACED SUNDAY AT THE MARTYR'S MONUMENT AND AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE, WHERE VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING LED ALL OF CHINA'S TOP LEADERS -- EXCEPT COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG -- IN A FINAL MEMORIAL SERVICE TO CHOU ON JAN. 15.

CROWDS BEGAN GATHERING AT THE SQUARE SHORTLY AFTER SUNRISE TODAY, PEKING-BASED SOURCES SAID IN A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH UPI IN HONG KONG.

SOLDIERS AND OTHER SECURITY MEN HAD CLEARED THE SQUARE, WHERE CHOU, MAO AND OTHER LEADERS USED TO REVIEW RALLIES OF MORE THAN HALF A MILLION PEOPLE REGULARLY. THEY FORMED CORDONS ACROSS ROADS AND OTHER ENTRY POINTS INTO THE SQUARE.

THE CROWD GREW RAPIDLY AND SHORTLY BEFORE 9 A.M. SOME OF THEM BROKE THROUGH THE SECURITY CORDONS. ONE GROUP HEADED FOR THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE.

UPI 04-05 02:33 AES

Row

FyI only -

NOT for release.

Len



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1976

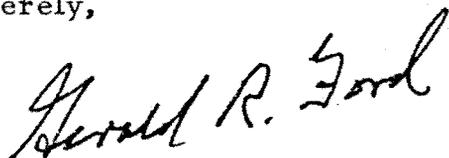
Dear Mr. Premier:

Please accept my personal condolences, and those of the Government and people of the United States, on the occasion of the passing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Few men in any era achieve historic greatness. Chairman Mao was one of these men. His leadership has been a decisive element in the shaping of the Chinese nation for several decades, and his works have left a deep imprint upon our civilization. He was truly a major figure of our times.

I was privileged to meet Chairman Mao during my visit to Peking in December 1975. Our discussion furthered the development of U.S.-China relations along the lines that our two countries had earlier envisaged. Let me affirm now, as I did then, the determination of the United States to complete the normalization of our relations on the basis of the Shanghai Communique. This would be a fitting tribute to his vision, and of benefit to the peoples of our two countries.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

His Excellency  
Hua Kuo-feng  
Premier of the State Council  
Peking

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1976

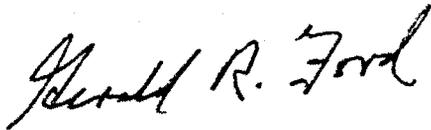
Dear Madame Mao:

Mrs. Ford joins me in extending to you our deepest sympathy on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao had a profound impact on his era. During my visit to Peking in December 1975, I was privileged to hold wide-ranging discussions with him. Our talks confirmed that we shared a common belief in the importance of strengthening the relations between our two countries. Chairman Mao will be remembered in this country for his leading role in restoring the traditional ties of friendship between the American and Chinese peoples.

Please accept my personal condolences.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Madame Mao Tse-tung  
Peking  
People's Republic of China

Office of the White House Press Secretary

---

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Chairman Mao was a giant figure in modern Chinese history. He was a leader whose actions profoundly affected the development of his country. His influence on history will extend far beyond the borders of China.

Americans will remember that it was under Chairman Mao that China moved together with the United States to end a generation of hostility and to launch a new and more positive era in relations between our two countries. I am confident that the trend of improved relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States, which Chairman Mao helped create, will continue to contribute to world peace and stability.

On behalf of the United States Government and the American people I offer condolences to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

# # #