

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: PRESIDENT FORD
 Republican Congressional Leadership
 [List of Participants attached.]
 Secretary of State Kissinger
 Secretary of the Treasury Simon
 Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Assistant
 to the President

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, December 10, 1975
 8:00 - 9:30 a.m.

PLACE: Cabinet Room

SUBJECT: The President's Trip to China, Indonesia,
 and the Philippines.

The President: I went to China because I felt it was important to build on the relationship that was started in 1972 and that was advanced by Congressional visits, among other things.

I found Mao Tse-tung much stronger than I expected. I expected mental acuity but not physical vitality. I was impressed by Teng's mental vigor.

I was surprised by the vigor of their anti-Sovietism. They encourage us to oppose Soviet advances anywhere -- in the Middle East, in Africa. They strongly oppose the Soviet Union in every area. There are many areas we got into where we don't agree. But it was an extremely worthwhile visit-- with the Mao meeting, three meetings with Teng and three dinners.

We went next to Indonesia. It was important to go there in the aftermath of Vietnam to show we were still an Asian power. I was impressed with Suharto who is trying to keep the country together and maintain a viable government and uphold the cause of anti-communism there.

I was extremely impressed with President Marcos. We discussed two major areas: revision of base rights and the economic situation. They did suffer some with the Trade Bill. They are excellent allies. He did do some things

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By UCB/H NARA, Date 6/28/94

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that are not the most democratic but the country is stronger as a result. We can count on his strength in the area.

I went to Alaska on the way out. The Pipeline is a tremendously impressive project.

Henry, do you want to add something?

Kissinger: I can't add a great deal to what you have said, Mr. President. The newspapers have a tendency to ask what specific advances were made in China. But that is the wrong question. Necessity has brought us together. If five years ago, someone had said an American Secretary of State could say on Chinese soil that our relations are good and improving and we are pursuing parallel policies around the world, we would have thought him crazy. Of course this was done with the Chinese blessing. It wasn't in a communique.

They are cold-blooded pragmatists and this is a marriage of convenience. Their comments about European Communist parties were uniformly anti-Soviet.

The press keeps asking about Taiwan. This is not the major issue in our relations. As they said, the major issue for us is the international situation.

They are one of our best NATO allies. In fact, our relations with them are better than with some of our allies. They have told the Japanese they want their relations with us to be at the top of their [Japanese] priority.

Their tough toast is standard fare -- they gave the same toast for Schmidt and Sauvagnargues as well. Let's face it -- for them a tough anti-detente America solves all their problems for them. What is best for us is better relations with each than they have with each other.

What they want is for us to maintain the international equilibrium. All we have to fear is if they decide our internal weakness prevents our acting with strength; then they will turn on us.

Indochina and the Philippines are the pillar of ASEAN. They are vital for us as we manage a shift from an Indochinese policy to a broader-based Asian policy. It can only be done at the Presidential level. These two countries have strong central authority.

And in China, only the President can convey the necessary impressions and the dialogue necessary with this great power. It was important for the Chinese "Central Kingdom" syndrome for us to go to Southeast Asia so they don't see us as going just there and home -- that we have other important interests in the area.

Senator Griffin: What about Chou En-lai? Is he still there? And what about Korea? What is their view?

Kissinger: Chou has dropped out of sight. He is never referred to, and Teng is obviously referred to as the central authority. They did trot out Madame Chou to greet the President, as a gesture of the importance of the visit. Also Madame Mao.

On Korea. They were badly burned in Indochina and I think they have no great interest in a unified Korea on their northern border. They didn't stress Korea. They just said their position was clear, but they will certainly urge restraint.

Senator Young: How about Taiwan?

Kissinger: We will be reducing our military strength there to housekeeping and intelligence. In Thailand, we are doing our best to support them. Interestingly enough, the Chinese are telling the Thai to leave our bases alone, and they are trying to build in Cambodia and Laos to contain Hanoi and the Soviet Union. We needn't get involved in that balancing competition there, but we should facilitate it with Thailand.

Rhodes: How about the Brezhnev speech in Warsaw?

Kissinger: I have only just seen the press reports. I would prefer not to comment off the cuff.

Cedarberg: Why didn't your Hawaii speech get better coverage? It was great.

The President: I don't know. Maybe the press was just too tired by that point. Those last three days were maybe too much -- not for us but for the press.

[The discussion then turned to the Tax Bill]



PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Administrator of FEA

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Barber Conable
Lou Frey
Jimmy Quillen
Guy Vander Jagt
Al Cederberg
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Tom Loeffler
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Russ Rourke

REGRETS

M.C. John Anderson - out of town



✓ Republic Leadership Intg

10 Dec 75

7:00-7:30 am

P. Went to China to see 2 ppl important to build on relationship started in 72 + advanced by Cong. wants every other thing. I found two much stronger than I expected - expected mental acuity but not physical. I was impressed by Temp's mental vigor. Was surprised by a sign of their anti-Sovietism. They encourage us to appear as adversaries everywhere - Middle East, Africa. They strongly oppose a SU in any area. There are many areas we get in to where we don't agree. It was a strongly anti-Soviet visit - w/ Mrs. Inty, 3 w/ Temp + 3 drawings. Went w/ Temp to Indonesia ^{for opportunity of VN} & discussed w/ Senhants trying to keep a country together + water in the past + uphold anti-comm there. I was extremely impressed w/ Marcos. He described 2 major areas: violation of basic rights and a econ sit. They did suffer some econ trade hit. They are excellent allies. He did do something to do economy w/ Phil democracy but a country is stronger as a result - we can ^{count} on his strength in a area.

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BY WJ NLF, DATE 6/16/04



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message of assurance - Their comments
about Ecu last parties

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(Discussion turned to Tax Bill)