

The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “China, unnumbered items - (14), 6/5/75 - 6/12/75” of the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Hand Cons Direct TO Lord

*6/5/75 - ~~FRS~~
~~COL~~
JK*

SECRET/NODIS

June 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM : S/P - Winston Lord ✓

SUBJECT : My Meeting with the Chinese, June 5, 1975

Per your instructions, I called in Ambassador Han Hsu today to give the Chinese a rundown on the President's and your trips to Europe and make the point about the recent Schlesinger/Kissinger comparisons being made by the PRC.

Highlights of my presentation were as follows:

- These trips had strengthened the NATO alliance and U.S./European relations generally, an objective we knew the Chinese shared. In addition, talks with Greek and Turkish leaders hopefully have improved the chances for better relations between Greece and Turkey.
- While the Chinese have been helpful in underlining the importance of close U.S./European relations with European leaders we have also heard that they have been comparing various American officials with respect to their understanding of the Soviet Union. I then followed the line you suggested, i.e., that we and the Chinese have similar strategic assessments of Moscow; that we believe the approach we are pursuing is the best means in our case to contain the Soviets; there is more to conducting a complex policy than issuing firm statements although you and the President have been doing that as well recently; while it is natural for other government officials in a particular capacity to sound especially strong, there is no divergence within the U.S. Government; and in any event basic foreign policy is conducted from here on behalf of the President.



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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY WR, NARA, DATE 7/7/08

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- There was now a good chance for new momentum on Middle East negotiations before any Geneva conference and without the direct involvement of Moscow. I cautioned the Chinese that this was particularly sensitive information.

- With respect to your talks with Gromyko, there had been some Russian movement on CSCE, little progress on SALT and a general discussion on the Middle East during which we held open our options pending conversations with Sadat.

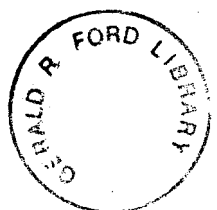
The Chinese asked that a couple of sentences with respect to the attitudes toward the Soviet Union be repeated. I am sure they got the message precisely, though I purposely employed Kissingerian convolutions. Ambassador Han said that he would report our conversation immediately to Peking and made no comment.

I also took the occasion to say that we had instructed our press spokesmen to deny wire service and radio reports that six PRC Liaison Office officials had been expelled for spying activities this April. (FYI: This is apparently phony propaganda put out from Taiwan. It appears that the officials named have in fact returned to Peking for consultations or transfer, but of course none have been expelled for spying.)

SECRET/NODIS

Talking Points for the Chinese

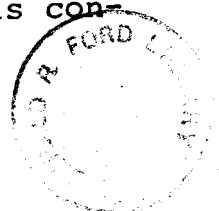
- I have been asked to give you a rundown on the recent trips of the President and Secretary Kissinger to Europe, for the information of your leaders in Peking.
- Overall the visits and the discussions were very successful in reinforcing our ties with our European partners. We know from your own news coverage of the visit that you consider this highly important. The Presidential meetings, both multilateral and bilateral, with European leaders served to promote the strength and solidarity of the NATO alliance and common defense, as well as U.S.-European relations generally.
- In addition, the President's discussions with the Greek and Turkish leaders, as well as Dr. Kissinger's talks during the CENTO meeting, have ^{hopefully} improved the chances for bettering relations between Greece and Turkey. The CENTO meeting also gave us a chance to have good discussions with our friends from Pakistan and Iran.



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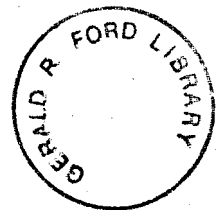
SECRET/NODIS

-- With respect to Europe, the talks that the Chinese side has been having with the Europeans, including Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to France, have been very helpful in underlining the importance of close U.S.-European relations. However, we have heard from several sources that the Chinese side is comparing various American officials with respect to their understanding of the Soviet Union. ^{[This} ~~suggests less than full comprehension of our approach to the Soviet Union which we have explained on many occasions.]~~ As the Chinese side knows, our two countries have very similar strategic assessments of Soviet policy, though we do employ different tactics ^{at times.} We believe that the approach we are pursuing with Moscow is the best means in our case to contain the potential Soviet threat. There is more to conducting a complex policy in this regard than issuing firm statements, although the President and Secretary Kissinger have been doing the latter as well. While it is natural for other government officials in their particular capacity to sound especially strong on these matters, there is no divergence within the U.S. government on overall policy. In any event, ~~as~~ ~~the Chinese side knows,~~ basic foreign policy is conducted from here on behalf of the President.



-- With respect to the Middle East, we would like the Chinese side to know that as a result of discussions with President Sadat, there is now a good chance for new momentum on the negotiating process before any Geneva Conference and without the direct involvement of the Soviet Union. This is strictly for your information, since we do not wish the Soviet Union to get word of this and attempt to thwart this opportunity.

-- With respect to Secretary Kissinger's meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko, the principal subjects, as we predicted to Ambassador Huang, were CSCE, SALT, and the Middle East. On CSCE, there has been some Russian movement on the outstanding issues. On SALT, there was very little progress since Gromyko had no negotiating leeway. On the Middle East, there was a relatively brief and general discussion, during which we kept open all of our options pending consultations with President Sadat.



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17:05 3/22

The suspension of the present negotiations is, of course, a serious development and the Secretary wishes to share with our Chinese friends his overall assessment of the situation.

The desire for an interim agreement was strong on both sides, as was -- and is -- their desire to maintain the American involvement in the diplomatic process to the exclusion of other superpowers. The negotiation reached an impasse over Israel's decision not to yield what it sees as strategically important territorial positions in the face of Egypt's decision that it cannot make more substantial political commitments to end the state of belligerency in the context of a further interim agreement. When the Secretary returns to Washington, he will consult with the President and the Congress and conduct a searching review of the situation. We will have to consider how it will be possible to proceed.

It has been apparent that all parties in the area with whom we have been in contact have strongly supported the American involvement and mediation effort. We are open-minded about the



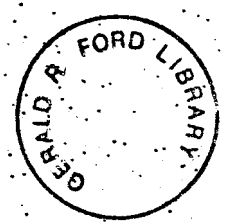
convening of the Geneva Conference and will be reviewing this possibility in the days ahead.

Finally, the Secretary much appreciated the words of encouragement he had received in Washington from Ambassador Huang Chen. The Secretary looks forward to meeting with Ambassador Huang Chen soon after his return to Washington. The United States remains determined to continue its efforts to promote a just peace settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the broader strategic purposes which the Secretary has discussed often with his Chinese friends. President Ford and Secretary Kissinger wish our Chinese friends to have no doubt about this.



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We have been seeking, in response to the desire of the parties, to help them achieve a further step toward a peace settlement. We believe both sides have made a serious effort to reach a successful outcome. Unfortunately, the differences on a number of key issues have proved irreconcilable. We, therefore, believe a period of reassessment is needed so that all concerned can consider how best to proceed toward a just and lasting peace. Secretary Kissinger has accordingly informed the parties that he is suspending his present efforts and returning to Washington to report to the President and the Congress on the negotiations. He will remain in close touch with the parties and the Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference during the period ahead.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~SECRET~~/NODIS

January 18, 1975

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Subject: US Policy Toward Sino-Indian Relations

Per the Secretary's instructions, I called Mr. Chi of the Chinese Liaison Office this morning to add a footnote to the conversation that Ambassador Habib and I had held with the Chinese on January 16. I began with opening pleasantries about Mr. Chi's not having gone to Hawaii to meet his Ambassador. I then referred to our conversation of Thursday and said that I wished to add a footnote regarding the topic of Sino-Indian relations. Ambassador Moynihan had apparently indicated to the PRC Foreign Minister that Secretary Kissinger had sent the Ambassador a telegram suggesting that he tell the Indians that the Chinese were interested in better Sino-Indian relations. I said that there must have been some misunderstanding, because no such message had been sent by the Secretary. Our policy remained as I had explained on January 16, namely that we have no objection to the improvement of Sino-Indian relations but that this is a matter between those two countries. I said that Ambassador Moynihan would be returning to Washington soon and that we could clarify this with him when he returns.

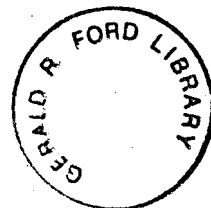
Mr. Chi repeated my remarks to make sure he had them straight and thanked me.

Winston Lord
Director
Policy Planning Staff

cc: EA - Amb. Habib

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BY NR, NARA, DATE 7/2/08



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028043

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME Washington

RECEIVER'S NAME Islamabad

DESCRIPTION re China Visit

CREATION DATE 06/06/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200134

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (14)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/08/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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CONTAINS CODEWORD

PRC Leaders Eagerly Await Ford Visit: On June 2, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told a delegation of American newspaper editors that he welcomed President Ford's forthcoming visit "whether he has anything substantial to discuss or not." Concerning the problem of Taiwan, Teng said the U.S. must adjust to the PRC position. He implied, however, that even if the issue was not resolved during the visit, there would still be time to reach an agreement. Similar views were recently conveyed by Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua. Chiao stated that Sino-U.S. relations were proceeding smoothly, and he expressed confidence that President Ford would continue to implement former President Nixon's policy toward developing normal relations with China. He also noted that a recent PRC study has concluded the U.S. genuinely intends to carry out the terms of the Shanghai communique. Presumably, Chiao was referring to the PRC interpretation that the communique represents an agreement by Washington to a "one-China" policy and to the principle that Taiwan is a domestic Chinese problem. In addition, he maintained that American statements about living up to commitments to Taiwan are only to placate domestic pro-Nationalist elements. Chiao emphasized that Peking was patient and did not intend to take any unilateral action to resolve the question. Turning to Indochina, Chiao said recent events there have contributed to closer Sino-U.S. relations. He explained that the end of U.S. involvement removed one element of disagreement between Peking and Washington. In addition, Chiao claimed that the two countries now share a common concern over Soviet designs on bases in South Vietnam.

NSC/

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AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD - 3-16-1-0

BY MHO. NARA DATE 3/8/2011 9/7/2004



June 6, 1975

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~
CONTAINS CODEWORD

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028045

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇCable

DESCRIPTION re intelligence information

CREATION DATE 06/19/1975

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200134

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (14)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/08/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028046

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇMemorandum

CREATOR'S NAME Vernon A. Walters

CREATOR'S TITLE Deputy Director

RECEIVER'S NAME The Record

DESCRIPTION re conversation

CREATION DATE 06/11/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200134

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
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FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (14)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/08/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/7/08

~~SECRET~~/VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS

PEKING 002 12 JUNE 1975
FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: GEORGE BUSH

I WOULD LIKE TO WORK IN ONE MORE STATESIDE CONSULTATION DURING MY FIRST YEAR HERE IN PEKING. THE IDEAL ARRANGEMENT FOR ME ON A PERSONAL BASIS WOULD BE TO COMBINE A WEEK'S CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY SEPTEMBER WITH A COUPLE OF WEEKS TIME OFF IN THE US PRIOR TO THAT.

ANTICIPATING THAT YOU MAY WELL BE COMING TO CHINA IN OCTOBER PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP, WOULD LIKE TO COME TO WASHINGTON DURING THE FIRST OR SECOND WEEK OF SEPTEMBER TO DISCUSS WITH EA AND NSC PEOPLE USLO'S THINKING ON YOUR VISIT AND THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. IF THAT IS AGREEABLE I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE PEKING IN MID-AUGUST TO SPEND SOME TIME IN MAINE WITH MY FAMILY. THAT SHOULD BE A RELATIVELY QUIET TIME OF YEAR HERE WITH MOST OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS HAVING BAILED OUT LONG BEFORE THAT.

IF THIS ARRANGEMENT IS AGREEABLE, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION VIA THE WESTERN ROUTE SO I COULD SPEND A DAY OR SO IN BRUSSELS TALKING TO AND BRUCE AND PERHAPS AL HAIG IF THEY ARE THERE.

THE NEW STAFF AT USLO IS SHAPING UP WELL. OGM THAYER IS DOING JUST FINE. I THINK MORALE IS HIGH AND I THINK THAT BY AUGUST THE NEW STAFF WILL BE PLENTY FAMILIAR WITH PEKING AND HOW THINGS WORK HERE.

IF THIS IDEA MAKES SENSE TO YOU I WANT TO ASSURE YOU I WILL NOT BE BEATING ON YOUR DOOR TRYING TO WEDGE IN FOR AN APPOINTMENT. I THINK MY MAIN CONTRIBUTION CAN BE IN CHATTING WITH SCONCROFT, HADIS, LORD, GLEYSTERN, SOLOMAN AND OTHERS, AND I EXPECT YOU WILL BE PRETTY WELL TIED UP WITH USSR MATTERS AT THAT TIME.

IF THIS TIMING FOR CONSULTATIONS SEEMS ANKWARD PLEASE ADVISE, THOUGH IF YOU ARE AGREEABLE TO MY LEAVING CHINA THEN I STILL WOULD LIKE TO TRAVEL TO THE US FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS IN AUGUST FOR A VACATIRN, WHICH I WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO AT



***** WHSR COMMENT *****

HAK, SCONCROFT, MCFARLANE, RODMAN

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MY OWN EXPENSE, GIVEN LAST YEARS HECTIC AUGUST AND THE FULLNESS OF THE SCHEDULE SINCE THEN, A COUPLE OF WEEKS OFF WOULD BE GREAT.

GENERALLY SPEAKING I FEEL RATHER RELAXED ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC AT THIS TIME. THE RELATIONSHIP IS INTACT AND REASONABLY SOUND. THE TENG VISIT WITH THE NEWS-PAPERMEN SEEMS TO ME TO HAVE TAKEN SOME OF THE HEAT OFF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

I HAD BEEN WORRIED ABOUT A BIG BUILD-UP IN THE PRESS TO THE EFFECT THAT IF THE PRESIDENT CAME TO CHINA AND DID NOT SOLVE THE TAIWAN QUESTION THE TRIP WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR HIM AND FOR THE US/PRC RELATIONSHIP. THE TENG INTERVIEW PUT THIS IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE AND TENG'S VISIT TO FRANCE CAN ALSO BE CITED TO SHOW THAT A VISIT CAN BE SUCCESSFUL WITHOUT MONUMENTAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

MY RECENT MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE PURE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF HIS CHINA TRIP MAY HAVE LEFT THE WRONG IMPRESSION AS FAR AS MY OWN VIEWS GO. I WOULD LOVE TO FIND THE CORRECT FORMULA SO THAT FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USA AND THE PRC CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WHEN THE PRESIDENT COMES HERE. I DO THINK WE MUST CONTINUE TO ASK "WHAT'S IN IT FOR THE USA", AND THE PRESIDENT MUST NOT BE IN A POSITION OF GETTING CLOBBERED FROM HIS RIGHT. WE ARE WORKING ON SOME IDEAS HERE THAT MIGHT BE HELPFUL.

I STRONGLY FEEL THAT THE CHINESE NEED THIS RELATIONSHIP CERTAINLY AS MUCH AS WE DO AND PROBABLY SIGNIFICANTLY MORE. YET I DEFINITELY SEE MERIT IN TRYING HARD TO BUTTON UP FULL RELATIONS BEFORE THE PASSING OF MAO AND/OR CHOU EN LAI.

WARM REGARDS,

GEORGE BUSH
BT



PSN:016088 RECALLED PAGE 02 OF 02 TOR:165/00126Z DTG:120030Z JUN 78

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028047

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME George Bush

CREATOR'S TITLE Ambassador

RECEIVER'S NAME Secretary Kissinger and Habib

DESCRIPTION re visitor to China

CREATION DATE 06/28/1975

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200134

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (14)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/08/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028048

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME Richard H. Solomon

RECEIVER'S NAME Secretary Kissinger

DESCRIPTION re Presidential message

CREATION DATE 06/29/1975

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200134

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (14)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/08/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR