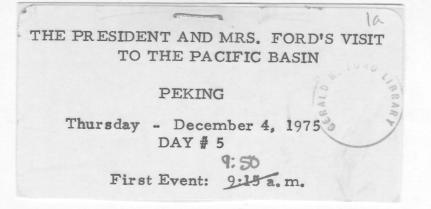
The original documents are located in Box 20, folder "November 28 - December 7, 1975 -Far East - Briefing Book - Peking - Talking Points for Meetings with Teng Hsiao-P'ing (3)" of the National Security Adviser Trip Briefing Books and Cables for President Ford, 1974-1976 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. FORD'S VISIT

TO THE PACIFIC BASIN

PEKING

Thursday - December 4, 1975 DAY # 5 9:50 First Event: 9:15 a.m.

From: Terry O'Donnel

BACKGROUND

OVER VIEW

You have 4 events scheduled for Thursday: (1) In the morning, a Headto-Head Meeting at the Great Hall of the People, (2) Buffet Luncheon at USLO, (3) Tour of the Summer Palace, and (4) U.S. Reciprocal Dinner at the Great Hall of the People. Following your tour of the Summer Palace, you return to the Guest House for 3 hours, 25 minutes personal time.

10:15

Mrs. Ford will depart the Residence at 19:00 a.m. and proceed to the Peking carpet factory for a tour of the facilities. She will join you at the Buffet Luncheon at USLO, and for the U.S. Reciprocal Dinner at the Great Hall of the People in the evening.

Susan will join Mrs. Ford for a tour of the Peking carpet factory. She is also scheduled to attend the Buffet Luncheon at USLO, then proceed on a tour of the Palace Museum (Forbidden City). In the evening, she will attend the U.S. Reciprocal Dinner.

NOTE: JUGAN SCHEDULED FOR 8:45 DEPARTURE FOR ABOPUNCTURE VIEWING

HEAD TO HEAD MEETING

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9:50

You are scheduled to depart your Residence at 9+15 a.m. en route the Great Hall of the People for your third Head-to-Head meeting. At the conclusion of the 2 hour meeting, you bid farewell to Vice Premier Teng and proceed via motorcade to USLO for a buffet luncheon.

BUFFET LUNCHEON AT USLO

Mrs. Ford and Susan will join you upon arrival at Ambassador Bush's residence. As you enter, you will greet American children, then proceed into the USLO Reception Room to meet USLO personnel and dependents informally and have refreshments. Mr. Bush will call on you to make very brief and informal remarks. Ambassador Bush will then escort you through the garden into USLO for a private meeting and luncheon.

At 1:40 p.m., you depart via motorcade for the 20-minute drive to the Summer Palace.

SUMMER PALACE

The Summer Palace is located in the northwestern suburbs of Peking, about seven miles from your Guest House. The first palace was built at this site during the twelfth century A. D., but the present layout of the Summer Palace dates mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the lake was enlarged. Most of the large pavilions and halls were built, and scenic spots from other areas of China were replicated on the grounds for the Emperor's enjoyment. The Summer Palace has been extensively restored since 1949, and it is now one of Peking's most popular parks, crowded in the winter with skaters and in the summer with boaters and strollers.

The Summer Palace is historically associated with the Dowager Empress, the actual ruler of China during the last years of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). It was her favorite retreat, and she channeled considerable funds from the Imperial revenues into restoration and improvements. She also gave the Summer Palace its present name, which in Chinese means "The Garden Where Peace is Cultivated." The total area of the Summer Palace is 659 acres, of which threequarters is occupied by Kunming Lake, and the remainder by Longevity Hill on the northern shore of the lake. This is where most of the temples, pavilions and halls are located. A lakeside promenade, about 800 yards long, runs from east to west, at the base of Longevity Hill, linking buildings on the lakefront. Painted on the beams of the covered promenade are hundreds of restored depictions of mythological and historical scenes, as well as landscapes.

You will view the Hall of Benevolence and Longevity, the Garden of Virtuous Harmony, and the Hall that Dispels the Clouds. You will then proceed to the Pavilion for Listening to Orioles where you will have tea. The Dowager Empress used this Pavilion as a theater for staging her favorite Chinese operas, but it is now used as a teahouse.

Following tea, you will proceed to the famous Stone Boat, built by the Dowager Empress in 1888, for a brief picture-taking session. The Boat is generally considered a symbol for the decadence and corruption of the late Ching Empire since misappropriated funds for the Chinese navy were used in its construction.

You will return to the Guest House at 3:20 p.m. and will have 3 hours and 25 minutes personal time.

U.S. RECIPROCAL DINNER

You and Mrs. Ford depart the Guest House at 6:45 p.m. en route the Great Hall for the U.S. Reciprocal Dinner. The format for your dinner duplicates that of the Welcoming Dinner which you attended Monday evening. However, there will be no receiving line. You will be escorted to the Peking Room to await the arrival of the Vice Premier and his party. After greeting the Vice Premier, you will escort him into the Banquet Hall for the dinner. The procedure also calls for you to give your toast first.

You will return to the Residence at approximately 10:20 p.m.

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975

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HEAD-TO-HEAD MEETING		
9:15 a.m.		motorcade at Guest House and oute the Great Hall of the People.
9:55 <u>9:25 a.m</u> .	Arrive Gre	eat Hall of the People.
		PRESS POOL COVERAGE CLOSED ARRIVAL
	who escort	et by an appropriate PRC Official s you inside where you are met emier Teng.
10.00 9:30-a.m.	Arrive rec	eption hall and greet participants.
		PRESS POOL COVERAGE
	NOTE:	Meeting participants will be seated while tea is served before proceeding to conference room.
9:30 a.m.	Head-to-He	ead meeting begins.
		PRESS POOL COVERAGE DURATION: <u>2 hours</u> 1:30
	NOTE:	Meeting participants will be the same as in the first Head-to-Head.
11:30 a.m.	farewell to	ead Meeting concludes. You bid Vice Premier Teng, and escorted Official, proceed to motorcade.
11:40 a.m.	Motorcade en route U	departs Great Hall of the People SLO.
		(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

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THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975 - CONTINUED

BUFFET LUNCHEON AT USLO

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11:55 a.m.	Motorcade arrives front gate of USLO.
	Accompanied by Ambassador Bush, you proceed on foot (about 100 yards straight ahead) to the Ambassador's Residence.
12:00 Noon	Arrive front door of USLO Residence where you are greeted by Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Ford.
	As you enter, you will greet American children.
	You then proceed into USLO Reception Room to meet USLO personnel and dependents informally and have refresh- ments.
	PRESS POOL COVERAGE ATTENDANCE: 55 <u>NOTE:</u> Press pool departs at 12:10 p.m.
12:25 p.m.	Mr. Bush announces that you wish to make brief remarks.
12:27 p.m.	PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.
12:30 p.m.	Your remarks conclude. Mr. Bush escorts you through garden into USLO for private meeting and luncheon.
12:33 p.m.	Mrs. Ford bids farewell and departs via motorcade en route Residence.

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975 - CONTINUED

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1:25 p.m.	Meeting with Mr. Bush ends. He escorts you to USLO Residence.
1:37 p.m.	Mr. and Mrs. Bush escort you to motorcade and bid you goodbye.
1:40 p.m.	Motorcade departs en route Summer Palace.
	(Driving Time: 20 minutes)

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THURSDAY -	DECEMBER 4	4, 1975 -	CONTINUED

TOUR OF SUMMER PALACE

2:00 p.m.

3:00 p.m.

3:05 p.m.

3:20 p.m.

Motorcade arrives Summer Palace.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE CLOSED ARRIVAL

Escorted by a PRC Official, you proceed on a tour of the Summer Palace.

> PRESS POOL COVERAGE DURATION: 1 hour, 5 minutes

<u>NOTE:</u> The public will be in the park at the time of your visit.

NOTE: The tour will begin at a map of the grounds. You will then view the Hall of Benevolence and Longevity, the Garden of Virtuous Harmony, the Hall that Dispels the Clouds, and the Pavilion for Listening to Orioles where you will have tea.

You proceed to the Marble Boat for a brief picture-taking session en route motorcade for boarding.

You board motorcade and depart Summer Palace en route Guest House # 18.

Motorcade arrives guest house. Proceed to residence quarters.

PERSONAL TIME: 3 hours, 25 minutes

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975 - CONTINUED

U.S. RECIPROCAL DINNER

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6:45 p.m.	You and Mrs. Ford, escorted by PRC Official, board motorcade at Guest House and depart en route Great Hall of the People.
6:55 p.m.	Arrive Great Hall of the People (north entrance).
	PRESS POOL COVERAGE CLOSED ARRIVAL
	You and Mrs. Ford are met by a PRC Official.
	You and Mrs. Ford, escorted by the PRC Official, proceed via elevator to Peking Room on the banquet floor.
6:58 p.m.	You and Mrs. Ford arrive Peking Room and await the arrival of the PRC Official.
7:00 p.m.	You and Mrs. Ford depart Peking Room and meet Vice Premier Teng and other PRC officials immediately outside the room.
	OFFICIAL PHOTO COVERAGE
7:05 p.m.	You and Mrs. Ford, escorted by Vice Premier Teng, proceed into the Great Hall.
	PRESS POOL COVERAGE

ATTENDANCE: 600

You and Mrs. Ford arrive Table 1 and are 7:10 p.m. seated. 7:15 p.m. Dinner begins. The People's Liberation NOTE: Army Band will provide dinner music. 9:00 p.m. You proceed to the stage right microphone (approx.) and propose toast. PRESS POOL (LIVE) COVERAGE NOTE: Translation of the toast will be given after each paragraph.

9:10 p.m. Toast concludes. You return to your seat and remain standing.

9:10 p.m. Chinese National Anthem.

9:11 p.m. You move around Table 1 toasting first the Vice Premier and then the other PRC officials.

> <u>NOTE:</u> You may wish to move to tables 2-5, toasting other PRC Officials before returning to your seat.

NOTE: Members of the U.S. party should not touch glasses with you.

> Response toast by Vice Premier Teng, following the next hot dish.

> > NOTE: Translation of the toast will be given after each phrase.

Following the Vice Premier's toast, he will return to his seat and remain standing.

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975 - CONTINUED

9:40 p.m.

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 9:30 p.m.
 U.S. National Anthem.
 <u>NOTE:</u> Following the Anthem, the Vice Premier will move aro und Table 1 toasting individually you and the other members of the U.S. Party. He will then move to Tables 2-5 doing the same before returning to Table 1.
 10:00 p.m.
 Dinner concludes.
 10:00 p.m.

the PRC Official Party.
10:05 p.m. You and Mrs. Ford, escorted by PRC Official, proceed to motorcade for boarding.
10:10 p.m. Motorcade departs Great Hall of the People en route Guest House #18.
10:20 p.m. Arrive Guest House. Proceed to quarters. OVERNIGHT.

Grand Staircase where you bid farewell to the Vice Premier and other members of

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 4, 1975 - CONTINUED

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SUGGESTED PRESIDENTIAL

REMARKS AT USLO RECEPTION

You know, I feel I should start out with an apology because I am the man responsible for taking George and Barbara Bush away from Peking and from the United States Liaison Office. I can imagine how much you have liked having George Bush here as your Chief and, therefore, I can imagine how sorry you are to have him leaving and taking Barbara -to say nothing of C. Fred -- with him. But even though you are far away from Washington, I believe you do get some news here and I am sure that you can understand, knowing the Bushes as you do, why I want them back in Washington with me.

As far as the United States Liaison Office to the People's Republic of China is concerned, I am really pleased to be coming back here today to visit USLO for the first time as your President. Having been here in 1972 and having, of course, a particular concern about US-China relations, I have a particular interest in USLO and its staff.

I know something about your life here and more about your work. I am sure that the long distance away from home, the problems of schooling, the many special circumstances that characterize an assignment to Peking -- all these make it sometimes seem as if you are even further away than you are. You may be a long way away, but I want you to know that -your President knows you are here and is aware of the fine work you are doing -- and I congratulate you. 2.

You will know about the substance of my visit from other sources. I have heard of all the fine work -- and all the extra hours -- you have put in to help make this visit a success. Mrs. Ford, Susan and I all thank you for that. I thank George and Barbara and all of you also for the warm reception you have given me here today. In a nutshell: I am grateful that each of you is here and I am glad I have had this chance to visit the Liaison Office today. Good luck to you all.

Drafted by Thayer

Approved by Mr. Bush 11/27/75

MEETING WITH PRC LEADERS Thursday, December 4 10:00 AM-12:00 Am 20

Talking Points

CALO P

26 How about getting AP our based here?

20 GINIS Bazhaball Team returns tonight

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

Mr. President:

December 3, 1975

Attached is a revised talking paper on bilateral issues which will come up in your meeting tomorrow morning with the Vice Premier.

Henry Kissinger

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TOP SECRET

TALKING POINTS ON BILATERAL ISSUES FOR

SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRC LEADERS

Thursday, December 4, 1975 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon Great Hall of the People Peking, People's Republic of China

From: Henry A. Kissinger

I. PURPOSE

As you have noticed from your discussion with Chairman Mao and your first two sessions with Vice Premier Teng, bilateral questions do not occupy a major proportion of their attention in our relationship. At the same time, the normalization issue remains of considerable political significance for the longer-term development of our relations.

The Chinese clearly understand that you are not prepared to complete the normalization process on this visit, but they will view your remarks on this set of issues as a measure of how seriously you taken the relationship. As well, the manner in which you present your approach to this question will probably have some effect on how the senior leadership presents the results of your visit to other officials in the Party and government as a basis for sustaining their policy toward the U.S.

As noted in the scope analysis and normalization paper, in discussion of this issue over the past year the Chinese have tried to limit our flexibility by defining their conditions for a solution in ever more explicit and constrictive terms. They will not press you on the matter, however; indeed, as Chairman Mao indicated in his discussion with you yesterday, he does not anticipate any movement on normalization for several more years.

TOP SECRET-

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3 NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines By _______NARA, Date ____/_/10____

TOP SECRET

I believe your best course is to take the initiative on the issue, both to create an atmosphere of candor and to preserve as much elbow room as possible for detailed negotiations on a normalization agreement at some future time. You should not get into a debate on terms; however, you are putting your position into the official record.

From this perspective, there are a number of purposes to be served by your discussion of the normalization issue:

-- You should confirm your Administration's position that we seek to build an enduring and vital relationship with the PRC in order to strengthen the basis for parallel action on the security issues which have brought us together.

-- Establish an atmosphere of frankness and candor in the discussion by stating that you recognize the Taiwan question remains the basic issue obstructing the full normalization of relations. Then review in a positive and non-defensive manner the genuine progress that we have made over the past several years in this area (such as by substantially reducing our military manpower level and removing all weapons with an offensive capability from Taiwan) and the degree to which we in fact have agreed on certain basic approaches to the eventual resolution of our differences on this issue.

-- You should indicate in a low-key manner that, in eventually resolving the Taiwan issue as a point of contention between us, we cannot appear to be just casting away people with whom we have been associated with. Such a solution would not be accepted by the American people, and would have significant repercussions on our allies. State that we will support any negotiated resolution of this issue between the two Chinese parties.

-- You should express recognition of the position the Chinese took during my visit in October (and reiterated by the Foreign Minister last night) that, given "the present state of our relations," they see no need for further steps at this time to improve our bilateral relations in such areas as exchanges and trade. You should emphasize that while you are prepared to proceed with our bilateral relationship in its present form, you would be less than frank if you did not state that the interests of both sides would be served by conveying a sense of some vitality in our relations rather than stagnation. You should not get into a long debate on this point, however.

TOP SECRET

FOP SECRET

-- For domestic reasons you will want to touch very briefly on the question of MIAs. Vice Premier Teng indicated during my October visit that he had some information to give you on the matter of the remains of servicemen from the Indochina war killed in the PRC. You should also make a low-key reference to the continuing concern of our people for the fate of the MIAs in Indochina.

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II. TALKING POINTS

Normalization

-- I understand clearly that from your perspective the Taiwan issue remains the obstacle to creating a formally normal relationship in the sense of establishing diplomatic relations. What is my approach to this issue? First, I want to reaffirm the five principles which President Nixon stated during his discussions here in 1972. That is:

- I affirm that we will support the principle of the unity of China. As you know from Secretary Kissinger's visit in October, we were prepared to do this in a more direct and public way than was done in the Shanghai Communique.
- -- We have not and will not support any Taiwan independence movement.
- -- We will use our influence to discourage any third country from moving into Taiwan. Indeed, it is evident that

the step-by-step pace with which we have proceeded in adjusting our policy has helped to keep the situation in Taiwan calm and has not given other countries an opportunity to replace our presence.

-- My Administration will support any negotiated resolution of the Taiwan issue that can be worked out, and we will obviously not use the island to threaten your security directly or indirectly.

President Nixon committed the United States to the progressive reduction of our military presence on the island. You understand that there is no longer any American weaponry with an offensive capability on Taiwan. Our military manpower presence on the island has been reduced from about 10,000 at the time the Shanghai Communique was issued to less than 2,800 men today. I will continue to reduce this manpower level -- as a manifestation of the continuing direction of our policy -- to less than 1,400 by the end of next year.

-- President Nixon's final point was that his Administration would work to complete the normalization process. Secretary Kissinger said last month that it is our intention to do this in a measurable period of time. I affirm that objective. We don't take your position of patience on this matter for granted. I believe we

should complete the process in the next several years. -- I have reviewed the record of discussion of the normalization question over the past four years. I think we each clearly understand the views the other has put forward. A year ago in his discussion with the Vice Premier, Secretary Kissinger expressed basic acceptance of your three principles for normalization, or what you also call "the Japanese model." We agreed with you on what the transformation of our relations with you will look like.

At the same time, I should frankly say that what remains for us is to make these changes without appearing to simply cast away people we have been associated with for many years. For me, and indeed I believe for any incumbent in my job, this is a matter of considerable political weight. As I said, we would support any negotiated solution that the Chinese parties might work out themselves. If we normalize with you without concern for this matter, the American people will not support such a policy.

TOP SECRET

The other aspect of this issue is how other countries --Japan or our allies in Europe -- will perceive our policy.

-- I am aware of the attitude of patience the Chinese side has shown on this issue. I am not complacent because of your attitude, but we must have the right overall political context to complete the process. Frankly, I believe that the way we have proceeded on this issue has benefitted both our countries. While Taiwan's formal ties to the rest of the world have eroded since 1971, the island has not been driven into rash actions which would present both the United States and the People's Republic very difficult problems. At the same time, I understand full well this is a matter of basic principle to you, and an issue of great emotional significance as well.

-- As I said earlier, I intend to order further reductions in our residual military presence on Taiwan. In the coming year manpower will be cut to less than 50 percent of its current level.

TOP SECRET

This will indicate to all parties concerned the continuing direction of our policy.

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-- <u>OPTIONAL POINT</u>: I authorized Secretary Kissinger before his visit here last month to see if we could take certain partial steps which would more visibly sustain the momentum toward full normalization. I understand from your response to our proposals that you were not prepared to follow this approach. Frankly, I think that a <u>direct</u> public American statement of support for the unity of China would have been a meaningful, if partial, step forward. I can tell you that it would have had a significant impact on American public opinion, and in Taiwan. But since you are not prepared to proceed in this manner, that is acceptable to us.

-- I also understand that you are not prepared to take certain steps which would indicate in a more public manner a sense of vitality in our bilateral relations -- as through expanded exchange programs or certain developments in the trade area. Here again, we are prepared to accept your position, but frankly we do not think it serves your own interests. My intention was to show our people and the world that considerable momentum exists in the normalization process and our determination to sustain it. -- Trade between our two countries is unlikely to be much more than one percent of our overall foreign trade for a long time; so this is not a matter of economics for us. But some development in this area would have had a significant impact on the way our people think about our relationship. It would give important elements in our society a greater stake in a normal relationship with China.

-- Similarly, exchanges in the cultural and scientific fields are not ends in and of themselves. They sustain the interest of important and vocal elements in our society -- the intellectual community, the press, and the business world -- in normalization.

As you have indicated that you wish to keep the structure and number of such activities at their present level, we can only agree to do so. But I would not be frank if I did not say that some people will interpret this as a sign of stagnation, or even a backward step, in our relationship.

MIAs

-- Let me briefly mention one issue that I know is of deep concern to the American people. I raise this in part because I understand Vice Premier Teng mentioned to Secretary Kissinger last month that you have some new information on American servicemen missing in action in China. Anything you can provide us on this issue will be a great relief to the families concerned. I know this question has been raised with you on a number of occasions in the past, and I appreciate your responsiveness.

-- Let me add that the American people are also deeply concerned about the fate of more than 2,300 of our servicemen still unaccounted for in Indochina. In addition, there are about 30 journalists who disappreared in <u>Cambodia</u> and who have hever been heard from since. I understand your view that this question is basically for us to resolve with the countries of Indochina.

I am also aware, however, of your suggestion that the US should forget the past and establish normal relations with the countries of Indochina. We are prepared to move in this direction, but our ability to do so will be affected in no small measure by progress we can make in accounting for these missing servicemen. Thus, it would be very helpful if you could use your good offices with the leaders of the countries of Indochina and urge them to be as forthcoming with us on this issue as you have been.