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Scanned 1
① Bush
② Bill W.
③ H. S.

REMARKS AT SWEARING-IN OF THOMAS S. GATES, JR.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1976

-1-

TOM AND MILLICENT GATES, AMBASSADOR HAN,

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:



LET ME WELCOME ALL OF YOU TO THIS CEREMONY
CONFERRING ON TOM GATES THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR
AS HE ASSUMES THE POSITION OF CHIEF OF OUR LIAISON OFFICE
IN PEKING. THIS IS A MEASURE OF THE IMPORTANCE
THAT WE ATTACH TO OUR GROWING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

TOM IS INHERITING A WELL ESTABLISHED TRADITION
OF EXCELLENCE IN HIS NEW POSITION -- A TRADITION EXEMPLIFIED
SO WELL BY HIS PREDECESSORS -- AMBASSADORS DAVID BRUCE
AND GEORGE BUSH.



THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, IN WHICH AMBASSADOR GATES WILL
PLAY A VITAL ROLE / IS NOW WELL UNDERWAY.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENCES WHICH NEITHER SIDE ATTEMPTS
TO HIDE, BUT WE ALSO SHARE MANY IMPORTANT INTERESTS WHICH
PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR A DURABLE AND GROWING RELATIONSHIP.



THROUGH THE CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES, NOW IN ITS FIFTH YEAR, WE ARE NOW ABLE TO
STRENGTHEN OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION AND PARALLEL ACTION
ON MANY GLOBAL ISSUES.

WE SHARE A COMMON CONCERN THAT THE WORLD REMAIN FREE FROM
DOMINATION BY MILITARY FORCE OR INTIMIDATION, AND THAT ALL
NATIONS HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP ALONG THEIR OWN
UNIQUE PATHS.



AT THE SAME TIME, BOTH SIDES UNDERSTAND
THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION
OF RELATIONS THROUGH JOINT EFFORTS BASED ON THE
SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

I STRESSED IN MY SPEECH IN HONOLULU LAST DECEMBER, JUST
AFTER RETURNING FROM PEKING, THE DETERMINATION OF MY
ADMINISTRATION TO COMPLETE THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS.



THIS WILL SERVE THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO PEOPLES, AND
CONTRIBUTE TO THE CAUSE OF A MORE STABLE WORLD ORDER.

-11-

TOM GATES HAS A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED RECORD
OF PUBLIC SERVICE TO OUR COUNTRY AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE
GLOBAL CONCERNS OF THE UNITED STATES. DURING HIS TENURE
AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, HE FULLY REALIZED THAT AMERICA
MUST PURSUE A POLICY OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH.



THE SECURITY PROBLEMS WHICH THE UNITED STATES
FACES HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY SUBTLE AND COMPLEX
SINCE THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR --
WHEN WE SERVED TOGETHER IN THE NAVY.

THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO ADAPT ITS FOREIGN POLICY
TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES; AND OUR PURSUIT OF A
CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC / REMAINS A CARDINAL ELEMENT
IN OUR EFFORTS TO ADJUST TO THIS MORE COMPLEX WORLD.



AS YOU PREPARE TO DEPART FOR PEKING, TOM,
I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL DO AN OUTSTANDING JOB
OF REPRESENTING THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

DURING YOUR TENURE IN PEKING, YOU WILL ADD ANOTHER
CHAPTER OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO THE RECORD OF OUR LIAISON
OFFICE AND TO SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.



NOW IT IS MY HONOR TO INTRODUCE

AMBASSADOR CATTO, WHO WILL ADMINISTER THE OATH OF OFFICE.

END OF TEXT



2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

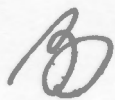
WASHINGTON

SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR THOMAS S. GATES, JR.
AS CHIEF OF OUR LIAISON OFFICE IN THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Wednesday, April 14, 1976

12:30 p.m. (20 minutes)

Rose Garden

From: Brent Scowcroft 

I. PURPOSE

To confer on Thomas S. Gates, Jr. the rank of Ambassador as he assumes the position of Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking; and to publicly reaffirm your continuing support for the process of US-PRC normalization.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Tom Gates had his confirmation hearing on the Hill on March 30. The Senate confirmed him for the rank of Ambassador on April 1. Our previous Liaison Office Chiefs, Ambassadors David Bruce and George Bush, had the personal rank of Ambassador prior to their assignments in Peking. By conferring this rank on Mr. Gates, we are reaffirming the importance we attach to our relationship with Peking.
- B. Participants: Ambassador and Mrs. Gates, Secretary Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft, PRC Liaison Office Acting Chief Han Hsu. (A complete list of the participants is at Tab A.)
- C. Press Plan: Press pool coverage.

III. TALKING POINTS

Remarks at Tab B.



GUEST LIST

Ambassador and Mrs. Thomas Gates
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Ponce (daughter and son-in-law)
Thomas G. Ponce (grandson)
Mr. and Mrs. William K. Norris (daughter and son-in-law)
Polly F. Norris (granddaughter)
Sandra Norris (granddaughter)
Mrs. Katharine Scott (daughter)
Sara C. Scott (granddaughter)
Christopher Scott (grandson)
Miss Katharine C. Brengle (niece)

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger
Director of Central Intelligence George Bush
Chief of Protocol Henry Catto
Brent Scowcroft

PRC

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief of the PRC Liaison Office in Washington
Miss Shen Jo-yun, PRC Liaison Office in Washington



PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS FOR THE SWEARING-IN OF
THOMAS S. GATES, JR. [Cleared by Mr. Hartman's Office]

Tom and Millicent Gates, Ambassador Han, distinguished
guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me welcome all of you to this ceremony conferring
on Tom Gates the rank of Ambassador as he assumes the position of
Chief of our Liaison Office in Peking. This is a measure of the
importance that we attach to our growing relationship with the
People's Republic of China.

Tom is inheriting a well established tradition of excellence
in his new position. Ambassadors David Bruce and George Bush
served their country extremely well in this very important assign-
ment. The Nation is grateful for their service, and we are honored
by Ambassador Bush's presence here today.

The process of normalizing relations with the People's
Republic of China, in which Ambassador Gates will play a vital role



is now well underway. Our two countries have differences which neither side attempts to hide, but we also share many important interests which provide the foundation for a durable and growing relationship.

Through the constructive dialogue between our two countries, now in its fifth year, we are now able to strengthen opportunities for cooperation and parallel action on many global issues. We share a common concern that the world remain free from domination by military force or intimidation, and that all nations have the opportunity to develop along their own unique paths.

At the same time, both sides understand the importance of continuing the process of normalization of relations through joint efforts based on the Shanghai Communique. I stressed in my speech in Honolulu last December, just after returning from Peking, the determination of my Administration to complete



the normalization process. This will serve the interests of our two peoples, and contribute to the cause of a more stable world order.

Tom Gates has a long and distinguished record of public service to our country and involvement in the global concerns of the United States. During his tenure as Secretary of Defense, he fully realized that America must pursue a policy of peace through strength.

The security problems which the United States faces have become increasingly subtle and complex since the period of the second World War -- when we served together in the Navy. The United States must continue to adapt its foreign policy to changing circumstances; and our pursuit of a constructive and mutually beneficial relationship with the People's Republic



remains a cardinal element in our efforts to adjust to this more complex world.

As you prepare to depart for Peking, Tom, I am confident that you will do an outstanding job of representing the views of the United States. During your tenure in Peking, you will add another chapter of distinguished service to the record of your predecessors.

Now it is my honor to introduce Mr. Justice _____, who will administer the oath of office.

#



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

13 Apr

Mr. Solomon.

REF # 2117.



The original of this package
is with the President.

This state memo is an
add-on item. You may
wish to do a additional
info memo to Scowcroft.
cy went to Mrs Davis.

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ADD TO SUSPENSE



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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2117
ADD-on

April 13, 1976


UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador Thomas
S. Gates, Wednesday, April 14 at 12:30 P.M.
in the Rose Garden of the White House

As requested in NSC's memorandum of April 9,
Ambassador Henry E. Catto, Jr., Chief of Protocol,
will perform the swearing-in. The Secretary of State
will represent the Department. Ambassador Bush will
attend; Ambassador Bruce has regretted.

A list of the participants and guests whom we
have contacted, as well as members of Ambassador
Gates's family who will attend, is attached.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

List

UNCLASSIFIED



Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador Thomas S. Gates
April 14, 12:30 P.M., the White House

Ambassador Thomas S. Gates

Mrs. Millicent Gates (wife)

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Ponce (daughter)

Tomas G. Ponce (grandchild)

Mr. and Mrs. William K. Norris (daughter)

Sandra and Polly F. Norris (grandchildren)

Mrs. Katharine Scott (daughter)

Sara C., Christopher and Gates Scott (grandchildren)

Ambassador George H. W. Bush

Ambassador Henry E. Catto, Jr. (will perform swearing-in)

(We understand the White House has invited Han Hsu
and Shen Jo-yun from the PRC Liaison Office.)



760 2117

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX


April 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Change of Date Swearing-in Ceremony
for Ambassador Gates

This is to confirm that the swearing-in ceremony for Ambassador Gates will take place on Wednesday, April 14 at 12:30 PM in the Rose Garden. The Department is requested to notify invited guests, including Han Hsu, and reconfirm attendance.


Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary



THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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DESCRIPTION/COMMENT

FROM: JEANNE DAVIS

TO: GEORGE SPRINGSTEEN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
STATE DEPT



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX

April 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador
Thomas Gates

To confirm my telephone call, there will be a swearing-in ceremony for Ambassador Thomas Gates on Tuesday, April 13 at 4 PM in the Oval Office. The Department is requested to obtain the names of Ambassador Gates' family to be present for the ceremony. It is our understanding that he will also wish to have Secretary Kissinger, DCI Bush, and Ambassador David Bruce in attendance.

We would appreciate the Department extending the invitation for guests to arrive via the Northeast Gate to the West Lobby. Parking will be available on the North Drive. The final acceptance list should be provided by 12 Noon on Monday, April 12. Would you also make arrangements for Ambassador Catto to swear-in Ambassador Gates.

For your information, an invitation is being extended to Han Hsu, Deputy Chief of the PRC Liaison Office. He will be contacted by the White House.


Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BUD McFARLANE

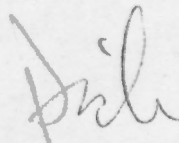
SUBJECT: Talker for the President's Swearing-In
of Tom Gates as the New Chief of USLO

Bud:

Here is the talker for the Gates' swearing-in ceremony. Per our conversation, the guest list will have to be worked up in coordination with Gates.

If you need some additional staff support in contacting the people, Oscar Armstrong at State (632-6300) will be glad to do the calling.

I can be reached over the weekend and on Monday at 802/352-6623. If I can be of any help, give me a call. I will be back in Washington Monday evening.



Richard H. Solomon



MEMORANDUM

2117

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 9, 1976

Forwarded 4/13/76
Tab B
retyped

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*
SUBJECT: Talker for the President's Swearing-In
of Tom Gates as the New Chief of USLO

Attached at Tab I is a talker for the President's swearing-in of our new USLO Chief, Tom Gates. The ceremony is scheduled for 4 p.m. on Tuesday, April 13, and will be held in the Oval Office.

Bud McFarlane and I are coordinating on the working up of a guest list for the ceremony that reflects the desires of all concerned.

The attached talker gives the usual information on background and press plans. The final guest list is at Tab A; and I have drafted a set of remarks (Tab B) drawing on some material the State Department had begun to prepare for the ceremony.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the talker at Tab I.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: WILLIAM W. NICHOLSON *WWN*

SUBJECT: Approved Presidential Activity

Please take the necessary steps to implement the following and confirm with Mrs. Nell Yates, ext. 2699. The appropriate briefing paper should be submitted to Dr. David Hoopes by 4:00 p.m. of the preceding day.

Meeting: Swearing-in Ceremony for Thomas Gates

Date: Tues., April 13, '76 Time: 4:00 p.m. Duration: 15 mins.

Location: The Oval Office

Press Coverage:

Purpose:

cc: Mr. Cheney
Mr. Hartmann
Mr. Marsh
Dr. Connor
Dr. Hoopes
Mr. Nessen
Mr. Jones
Mr. Smith
Mr. O'Donnell
Mrs. Yates
Mrs. Davis



URGENT

Date:

4-9-76

Time:

5:25 pm

SITUATION ROOM:

Please LDX the attached to State
ASAP and return original to my
office.

Thank you.

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary
(x-3440)
ROOM 374

Attachment (s)

URGENT



THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

TIME SENT:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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BOX NR:

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WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PAGES:

1

DATE *X*
SEC
NSC
NSA

DIA/G
DIA/H
TREAS
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DESCRIPTION/COMMENT

FROM:

Jeanne Davis

TO:

George Springsteen



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG	ER
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INITIAL ACTION O

TO: ~~Pres~~ *McFarlane* FROM: SECSTATE _____ S/S _____ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT
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MYLAND _____ DCI _____ X REF _____ C EYES ONLY EXDIS
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OTHER *Salomon* TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *Talkers for Pres mtg w/ gates on 13 Apr*
re appt as new chief of USLO in Peking

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADV CYS SCOWCROFT/ WGH					
STAFF SECRETARY					
CONGRESSIONAL					
ECONOMIC					
EUR/ CANADA/ OCEANS					
PAC EAST / PRC					*
INTELLIGENCE					
LATIN AMERICA					
MID EAST/ NO. AFRICA					
NSC PLANNING					
PROGRAM ANALYSIS					
SCIENTIFIC					
SUB-SAH/ AFRICA/ UN					

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT. _____
MEMO FOR PRES. _____
REPLY FOR _____
APPROPRIATE ACTION _____
MEMO _____ TO _____
RECOMMENDATIONS _____
JOINT MEMO _____
REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____
CONCURRENCE _____
DUE DATE: _____

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	DUE	CY TO
4/9		Scowt	X	Talkers for Pres	(4/13)	
4-13		Pres		Talkers		
4-16		NSC/S	C	Noted by Pres		

DISPATCH _____ NOTIFY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

SPECIAL INDEXING: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

April 23, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

RICHARD SOLOMON *RS*

SUBJECT:

Your Meeting with USLO Chief
Thomas S. Gates, Jr. on April 26

You have agreed to meet with our new Liaison Office Chief, Thomas Gates, on Monday, April 26 at 4:15 p.m., just prior to his departure for Peking. He will be leaving the country on April 29, and is due in Peking about May 8. The Chinese Liaison Office is giving him a farewell dinner on Monday, April 26 -- the day of your meeting with him.

I see a number of purposes served by your discussion with Gates:

- If the President has signed off on the letter to Premier Hua Kuo-feng, you will want to hand over the letter to him.
- Gates will appreciate receiving copies of the photographs of his swearing-in ceremony, and his earlier call on the President. If these photos are available, we will have them on hand for you to present to him.
- Most importantly, you will want to reinforce a number of substantive points relative to his assignment. These issues are included in the talking points at Tab A.
- And you may wish to make available to Ambassador Gates some of the materials in the past record of our dealings with the Chinese -- particularly the past conversations between Chairman Mao and Presidents Nixon and Ford, and with Secretary Kissinger.

Frankly, State is concerned that Gates has not devoted sufficient time and attention to the briefing materials which were made available to him at the Department (primarily documentation from the President's December trip to Peking) and does not have a good grasp of some of the more subtle and complex issues in our relationship with Peking.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - GDS

HR 5/10/01



There is some worry that he is not sufficiently "read in" to the past record to carry on a sustained conversation with PRC leaders on a range of international and bilateral issues. As you know, the primary rationale for giving him the Presidential letter of introduction was to afford him an opportunity to interact with the new Premier, Hua Kuo-feng, with whom we have had no direct involvement. State is working up a talking paper for this meeting, but your remarks to him during the courtesy call could be helpful in this regard.

I will plan to sit in on the meeting and take notes, unless you prefer to do a one-on-one.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

-- That you draw on the talking points at Tab A in your discussion with Ambassador Gates.

-- That you have on hand the signed Presidential letter to Premier Hua Kuo-feng to hand to him.

-- That you make any arrangements which you (and Secretary Kissinger) feel are appropriate in order to give Ambassador Gates exposure to the official record of past authoritative discussions with the Chinese.



Talking Points

-- Let me again say how much the President appreciates your taking this assignment. You are doing a real service to the country, and we hope you will find your time in Peking interesting.

-- You are going to Peking at a very interesting time. The Chinese appear to be in the midst of a nasty Chou En-lai/Mao Tse-tung session crisis. There appear to be very deep tensions with the leadership as various leaders jockey for position in the expectation that Chairman Mao will pass from the scene before too long. What is less clear to us is the degree of debate over policy issues -- particularly those relating to China's dispute with the Soviet Union and U. S. -PRC relations. We will do our best to keep you informed of our analyses of the situation which are produced in Washington; but we look to you to provide as much information and insight on this situation as possible.

-- I know you have a good staff out there, particularly your Deputy, Harry Thayer. I was very saddened to learn that Thayer must return to the States because of several deaths in his family. I understand you know his family. It would have been nice for you personally, I am sure, if he had been able to remain at his post. He would have done a strong substantive job. I gather the State Department is now looking for another candidate for that position. We'll help see that you get a strong deputy.

-- The President has written a letter of introduction for you to give to the new Premier, Hua Kuo-feng. You will recall from our discussion with Secretary Kissinger that it is our hope that you can personally deliver the letter to Hua, and use the occasion of the delivery to get some sense of the man. President Nixon was the first American to have any contact with the new Premier. We received only a limited feel for Hua's style from Mr. Nixon. We hope you can have a more extended discussion with him and give us a more detailed reading of his style and position on a number of issues.

-- Let me comment on several aspects of our relationship which may be useful to you in your meeting with Hua. The Chinese, for more than 20 years, told us they would not even talk to us until we gave them back Taiwan. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia they switched their order of priorities and decided that they had to deal with us for reasons of national security. They are clearly trying to use their relationship with us to gain an increment of protection against Soviet pressure. At the same time, they hope to resolve the Taiwan issue with us on the



assumption that we, too, want to develop a relationship with them for our own purposes against the Soviets. Thus, the Chinese repeatedly emphasize to us the primary consideration in our dealings is the international situation, while Taiwan is an important, but secondary, matter.

-- One of the more difficult issues you will have in Peking is explaining to the Chinese our approach to dealing with the Soviet problem. They have taken on the Russians frontally. Indeed, we believe there may be some people in China -- probably in the military -- who believe that Mao's policy of "struggling" the Russians is too provocative. Obviously, it is in our interest that the Sino-Soviet dispute continue, even though we do not wish to see it escalate to war. The Chinese are concerned about our more complex strategy for dealing with the Russians. They are fearful that we will create such an air of normalcy with Moscow -- through SALT agreements, trade relations, etc. -- that we will leave them isolated in the face of Soviet pressures.

-- Secretary Kissinger has repeatedly explained to Chinese leaders that our objective in dealing with the Russians in the manner we do is to create constructive linkages with the Soviet Union which will give Moscow a stake in restrained behavior, and at the same time to convince our public that we are doing our best to maintain peace.

-- You should indicate to the Chinese that we have no illusions about the Russians, but that our strategy constitutes the best way to prepare ourselves for a long period of coping with Moscow's aggressive instincts. The Chinese have criticized "detente." You can point to the President's policy of "peace through strength," and our increased Defense budget, as clear indications that we intend to keep up our guard. You can also indicate that we believe the mood of Congress will be "hardening," as is public opinion, and this will give us increasing flexibility in our efforts to confront Soviet pressures.

-- As I have noted, the Chinese have expressed at the highest levels that they are "patient" on the question of Taiwan and the timing of normalization. We believe this position reflects a number of considerations on their part. In some sense we continue to keep Taiwan "in the back" for them. They would have some difficulties to contend with if we pulled out tomorrow (which we will not do in any event). Their "patience" also reflects tactical considerations. They would not want to weaken their bargaining position on this issue by anxiously indicating they want something from us. We cannot be complacent about this issue,



however, as it probably does weaken the position of those in Peking who are behind the opening to us. We believe there is some internal political pressure for a resolution of the Taiwan question, and we assume that Chinese leaders would like to resolve this issue as a problem between us in order to make our relationship less controversial. There is no doubt that normalization has not occurred quite as rapidly as the Chinese had hoped. They assumed -- prior to Watergate -- that President Nixon would be able to resolve the issue before he left office.

-- The Chinese say they want us to follow the "Japanese formula" in normalizing. We have indicated to them that so far as it goes, this approach is acceptable to us; however, we have not yet confronted the core question of the future security of the island. In the Shanghai Communiqué, we relate our military withdrawal to the prospect of a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue between the two Chinese parties. The President reiterated his desire for a peaceful solution last December. The Chinese say they will not guarantee that this "internal issue" will be resolved peacefully; but they say they will wait 100 years if necessary to gain control of Taiwan -- even though they would like to normalize with us sooner. This security question remains the core issue which has yet to be negotiated between us.

-- In your discussions with the Chinese on the normalization issue you might stress the following points: That the President is seriously determined to complete normalization, and we will take a look at this issue once the elections are over. For both domestic and international reasons, we continue to hope that some way can be found to resolve the Taiwan question peacefully.

-- I would not expect any movement on the Taiwan issue before the elections are over; and I would not get off into this subject in any detail. I think you can assume, however, that by the end of the year we will begin to take another hard look at this question and begin to develop a strategy for confronting the Chinese on normalization more directly, and in a way that preserved for us the initiative. We don't want to stall them until the relationship really sours.

-- Before you go, I hope you might at least have a chance to read the past conversations President Nixon and President Ford, and Secretary Kissinger, had with Chairman Mao. They will give you a good feel for the Chinese approach to our relationship and to world issues. Reading



these materials will also be useful as a way of indicating to the Chinese that you are fully in the President's confidence. Perhaps we could make these materials available to you tomorrow morning (Tuesday, April 27).

-- I understand the Chinese are giving you a farewell dinner this evening. This will be the first of many fine banquets you will have over there. I know that at least as far as the cuisine is concerned you will have a great assignment. If there is anything on the substantive side we can do to backstop you, please let us know. You have a direct communication channel to the White House, should you wish to communicate with me or the President directly. We have used this channel in the past for particularly sensitive communications, especially those associated with discussions with top Chinese leaders. I'll leave it to your judgment as to whether you wish to use this channel, or some of the more restrictive channels at State to communicate back various matters you might wish to raise with us and with Secretary Kissinger.



A



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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SUBJECT: Talkers for Draft Mtg w/
Thomas S. Gates Apr 26, 1976
New Chief WFO in Peking - LA

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION					REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO		
ADV CYS S'CROFT/WGH						MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT. _____
STAFF SECRETARY						MEMO FOR PRES. _____
CONGRESSIONAL						REPLY FOR _____
ECONOMIC						APPROPRIATE ACTION _____
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS						MEMO _____ TO _____
FAR EAST/PRC						RECOMMENDATIONS _____
INTELLIGENCE						JOINT MEMO _____
LATIN AMERICA						REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA						ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____
NSC PLANNING						CONCURRENCE _____
PROGRAM ANALYSIS						DUE DATE: _____
SCIENTIFIC						COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
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SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	DUE	CY TO
4/23		<u>Draft</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>Talkers Draft</u>	<u>4/25</u>	
4-27		<u>NCC/15</u>		<u>Noted by Scowcroft</u>		

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~INFORMATION
April 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT ✓
FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON PHS
SUBJECT: PRC Liaison Office Farewell Dinner
for Ambassador Gates

Han Hsu, Acting Chief of the PRC Liaison Office, gave a farewell dinner on April 26 for Tom Gates. Attending the dinner, in addition to myself, were Phil Habib, Bill Gleysteen, and Oscar Armstrong from State (and wives). The dinner was a low-key affair; the Chinese were relaxed and friendly, but the conversation was for the most part desultory and non-substantive.

Han Hsu gave a toast with standard themes: He opined that US-PRC relations would continue to advance as long as earnest efforts were made to implement the Shanghai Communique. He asserted that such a development would be welcomed by, and would serve the interests of, the peoples of China and the US. Gates gave an appropriate off-the-cuff toast in reply, although he did not include some of the key "code phrases" that have become standard in our rhetoric in official contacts with the Chinese -- such as a reference to the Shanghai Communique. [Gates' style may provide a bit more variety in our discourse with the Chinese, although they probably will wonder if this doesn't represent some official design, as opposed to our less formal approach to dealings with them.]

The most interesting touch came after the meal, when Han Hsu maneuvered Gates, Habib, and myself to a small reception area for a brief chit-chat which he explicitly characterized with good humor as a "business meeting". Obviously acting on official instruction, Han remarked that he had read Ambassador Gates' testimony before the Senate on April 26. He quoted explicitly from Gates' statement that he (Gates) had said he hoped that the two "countries" of China and Taiwan would be able to resolve their differences peacefully. Han

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/10/01~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - XGDS

then observed that this characterization of "our province of Taiwan" as a "country" was not in conformity with the Shanghai Communique; and as for ^{the} means that the Chinese people would use to achieve the liberation of Taiwan, that was strictly an internal affair that brooked no foreign interference. Gates took the bracing with apparent good humor, and Phil Habib further defused any tension by joking about Han's "special briefing".

Gates then pointed out how he had long been an advocate of improved relations between the US and "Red China", and referred back to his 1965 off-the-record speech in which he called for an official dialogue between Washington and Peking. Han did not respond to his use of the term "Red China".

I report these atmospherics only because I think we may face an incident or two in the coming months as Ambassador Gates becomes acclimated to his new post in Peking and the particular qualities of our official dialogue with the Chinese. Moreover, given Gates' doubts about the normalization policy -- or, more specifically, how we might handle the Taiwan question -- I have a sense that he may air his misgivings to the Chinese somewhat more openly than might be desirable.

I believe this situation requires that we brief Gates' new Deputy all the more carefully so that he is prepared to exercise as much purposeful guidance as possible over our contacts with the Chinese at the Peking end of the line.



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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SUBJECT: PRC Liaison Office farewell dinner for our gates - CH

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ACTION REQUIRED

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 MEMO FOR PRES. _____
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 MEMO _____ TO _____
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SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

April 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

RICHARD H. SOLOMON

SUBJECT:

PRCLO Personnel Turn Down Invitation
to View Congressional Delegation's
China Trip Film

The Staff of the PRC Liaison Office are finding it increasingly awkward to cope with the uncertainties of China's domestic political scene. A recent example was the predicament they got into when asked by the Women's Congressional Delegation which visited China last year (led by Margaret Heckler) to view a film which they had made of their trip.

The Chinese Liaison Office initially accepted the invitation of the Congresswomen for a dinner showing of the film (to be held on the evening of April 29), but then called the day before to inquire whether there were any photographs of recently deposed Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the film. The Chinese were informed that there were a few passing shots of Teng in the film -- on the occasion when he received the Congresswomen in the Great Hall of the People. They initially asked if the offensive pictures of the "unrepentant capitalist roader" could be edited out. When the producers of the film indicated that would not be possible as the film had already been distributed, the Chinese then replied that under these circumstances they would not be able to attend the dinner or witness the film.

The political difficulty of living with the memory of a purged "non-person"!

cc: Max Friedersdorf *X done*



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HR 5/10/01

