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TO THE WHITE HOUSE

~~SECRET~~/HANDLE VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS

PEKING 157 04 DECEMBER 1975
 FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER
 FROM: GEORGE BUSH
 SUBJECT: JOURNALISTIC REPORTS OUT OF JAPAN ON MAO'S "YES"
 REF: WASHINGTON 149, PEKING 153

1. ON SAT. NOV. 29, I CALLED ON FONHIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA FOR A SHORT "FAREWELL" CALL. THE MOOD WAS RELAXED. HE HOPED I WOULD RETURN TO CHINA; ENJOYED OUR WORK TOGETHER, ETC. MEETING LASTED 25 MINUTES. NO SUBSTANCE DISCUSSED. IT RESULTED FROM MY REQUEST TO PROTOCOL DIRECTOR CHU FOR A COURTESY CALL TO SAY GOODBYE.

2. TO COMPLETE THE RECORD: AS I MENTIONED TO YOU AFTER YOUR ARRIVAL IN PEKING, I CONVEYED TO NANCY TANG, FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH CHIAO, YOUR STRONG MESSAGE ABOUT THE PRESS STORIES AND MAO'S "YES" -- I ASKED HER SPECIFICALLY TO TELL WANG HAI-JUNG, AND TO TELL HER "EMPHATICALLY." NANCY REPLIED, "I SHALL TELL HER YOU SAID 'EMPHATICALLY.'" SHE CLEARLY GOT THE MESSAGE. END INCIDENT.
 BT

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 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
 BY 162, NARA, DATE 7/16/08



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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN(4)

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PRIORITY
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4880

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 280
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 579
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1045

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PEKING 2381

EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (FORD, GERALD) PFOR CH
SUBJECT: TENG HSIAO-PING COMMENTS ON THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT

1. VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING HOSTED A FAREWELL LUNCHEON DECEMBER 6 FOR USLO CHIEF AND MRS. BUSH IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE (NCNA HAS REPORTED ONLY THAT TENG "MET" THE BUSHES). THIS UNUSUAL GESTURE BY TENG FOR A DEPARTING CHIEF OF MISSION IS BEING WIDELY--AND WE THINK CORRECTLY--INTERPRETED IN PEKING DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES AS (1) ANOTHER INDICATION OF CHINESE PLEASURE WITH THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AND (2) A MARK OF THE PRC LEADERSHIP'S ESTEEM FOR BUSH PERSONALLY.

2. TENG BEGAN THE PRE-LUNCHEON CONVERSATION BY COMMENTING THAT THIS WAS "AN INFORMAL LUNCHEON TO SHOW OUR GOOD RELATIONS." SOON AFTERWARDS HE SAID, "THE RESULT OF YOUR PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO CHINA IS GREATER THAN WE EXPECTED. EVEN YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE FEELS THE SAME WAY."

3. AT THE TABLE TENG REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO BUSH'S "PROMOTION," AND AT ONE POINT OFFERED A TOAST TO IT.

4. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE LUNCHEON WAS RELAXED AND CONVIVIAL. TENG SMOKES LESS THAN USUAL AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA PRACTICED HIS QUITE GOOD ENGLISH (AT ONE POINT CALLING ACROSS THE TABLE TO ADDRESS USLO CHIEF AS "GEORGE"). REMINISCING ABOUT THE LONG MARCH, TENG REMARKED THAT HE HAD BEEN 31 AT THE TIME, BUT THAT A GREAT MANY ON THE MARCH HAD BEEN YOUNGER THAN HE, IN

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

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PAGE 01

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BY 1512, NARA, DATE 2/10/08



THEIR TWENTIES. (HE MAY HAVE WANTED TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THERE WILL BE LONG MARCHERS AROUND FOR A GOOD WHILE YET.) TENG SPOKE PROUDLY OF BEING FROM SZECHUAN, AND SAID THAT IN THE PAST HE HAD TRIED TO VISIT HIS HOME PROVINCE AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR. WHEN BUSH REMARKED THAT THE CUISINE OF HUNAN (MAO'S HOME PROVINCE) WAS, LIKE SZECHUAN'S, VERY HOT, TENG RESPONDED HUMOROUSLY THAT HUNAN COOKING WAS ONLY A SUB-SCHOOL OF SZECHUAN COOKING, THOUGH HE SUPPOSED THAT IN SAYING SO HE LEFT HIMSELF OPEN TO THE CHARGE OF BEING A "GREAT PROVINCE CHAUVINIST."

3. CHINESE ATTENDING THE LUNCH BESIDED TENG AND CHIAO WERE ALL MFA OFFICIALS: PROTOCOL DIRECTOR CHU CHUAN-HSIEN AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR TANG LUNG-PING AND AMERICAS AND OCEANIA DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR LIN PING PLUS LIN'S PRINCIPAL SUBORDINATES DEALING WITH US AFFAIRS INCLUDING TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG). ONLY NOTABLE ABSENCE WAS THAT OF VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG. WANG, HOWEVER, HAD EARLIER HOSTED A FORMAL FAREWELL LUNCHEON FOR THE BUSHES.

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11/10/75

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028067

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇMemorandum of Conversation
CREATOR'S NAME John Matheny
DESCRIPTION re conversation with Chinese official
CREATION DATE 12/24/1975
VOLUME 1 page
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200146
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
 KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
 FILES
BOX NUMBER 5
FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (25)
DATE WITHDRAWN 08/14/2008
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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PRC RELEASES SOVIET HELICOPTER CREW HELD SINCE MARCH 1974
OW271207 PEKING NCNA IN ENGLISH 1200 GMT 27 DEC 75 OW

(TEXT) PEKING, DECEMBER 27, 1975 (HSINHUA) -- ON DECEMBER 27, CHINESE VICE-FOREIGN MINISTER YU CHAN INFORMED SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CHINA V. S. TOLSTIKOV OF THE FOLLOWING: ON MARCH 14, 1974, A SOVIET MI-4 ARMED RECONNAISSANCE HELICOPTER ENTERED THE SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION, CHINA, TO A DEPTH OF OVER 70 KILOMETRES AND FLEW MORE THAN 400 KILOMETRES OVER CHINA'S TERRITORY. AT THAT TIME THE CHINESE PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS HELD THE CREW MEMBERS AND THE HELICOPTER FOR INVESTIGATION; THIS WAS NECESSARY. NOW THINGS ARE CLEAR AFTER INVESTIGATION BY THE CHINESE PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS, AND THEY CONSIDER CREDIBLE THE SOVIET CREW MEMBERS' STATEMENT ABOUT THE UNINTENTIONAL FLIGHT INTO CHINA, AND HAVE DECIDED TO RELEASE THE THREE CREW MEMBERS, CAPTAIN A. S. KURBATOV, LIEUTENANT A. F. USKOV AND JUNIOR LIEUTENANT V. G. BUCHELNIKOV AND TO RETURN TO THE SOVIET SIDE THE HELICOPTER WITH ALL THE EQUIPMENT AND DOCUMENTS ABOARD.

ON THE SAME DAY, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY YU HUNG-LIANG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, GAVE A DINNER TO CAPTAIN KURBATOV AND THE OTHER TWO CREW MEMBERS BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE FOR HOME.

27 DEC 1240Z MJL/MC*****



Meet Chairman Mao

Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 1822 GMT 31 Dec 75 OW

[Text] Peking, 31 December 1975--Chairman Mao this evening met Julie Nixon Eisenhower, daughter of former U.S. President Richard Nixon, and her husband, David Eisenhower.

During the meeting, Julie first conveyed to Chairman Mao her father's regards. She said: "It is an honor that I have the opportunity to convey to Chairman Mao personally my father's regards. My parents are deeply impressed by their visit to China in 1972." David also gave Chairman Mao the regards of his family. Chairman Mao had a conversation with them in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

After the conversation, Chairman Mao asked them to give his regards to Richard Nixon and said he would welcome another visit to China by Mr Nixon.

Also present at the meeting were Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua; Chief Liaison Officer Huang Chen; Vice Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, and deputy department directors Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.

Meet Teng Hsiao-ping

Peking NCNA in English 0832 GMT 1 Jan 76 OW

[Text] Peking, January 1, 1976 (HSINHUA)--Teng Hsiao-ping, vice-premier of the State Council, at noon today met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower, daughter of former U.S. President Richard Nixon, and her husband David Eisenhower.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping had a friendly conversation with the couple and extended new year greetings to them. The Eisenhowers conveyed Mr Richard Nixon's regards to Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. After the meeting, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping gave a luncheon in their honour. Present on the occasion were Huang Chen, chief of the Chinese Liaison Office in the United States; Wang Hai-jung, vice-minister of foreign affairs; Chu Chuan-hsien, director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry; and Tang Wen-sheng, deputy director of the Ministry's American and Oceanian Affairs Department; and Chu Lin, Chien Ta-yung, Ting Yuan-hung and Chao Chi-hua.

Leave Peking for S. China

Peking NCNA in English 0826 GMT 2 Jan 76 OW

[Text] Peking, January 2, 1976 (HSINHUA)--Julie Nixon Eisenhower, daughter of former U.S. President Richard Nixon, and her husband David Eisenhower left here for a visit to southern China by plane this morning in the company of Huang Chen, chief of the Chinese Liaison Office in the United States, and Madame Chu Lin.



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LIMDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CH US
SUBJECT: EISENHOWERS CONCLUDE VISIT TO PEKING

1. MR. AND MR. DAVID EISENHOWER LEFT PEKING FOR CANTON AND KUEILIN MORNING OF JANUARY 2, ACCOMPANIED BY PRCLO CHIEF HUANG CHEN. EISENHOWERS WILL BE LEAVING CHINA FOR U.S. JANUARY 9.

2. REFLECTING PEKING'S SPECIAL REGARD FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, EISENHOWERS WERE GIVEN TREATMENT RARELY ACCORDED NON-OFFICIAL VISITORS, INCLUDING ARE AND FEEDING BY MFA'S PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT, MEETINGS WITH FOMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA AND VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAD-PING, AND THE HIGH COURTESY OF A NEW YEAR'S EVE MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MAO, WHO ASKED THEM TO TRANSMIT TO MR. NIXON HIS INVITATION (VERBAL) FOR A RETURN VISIT TO CHINA.

3. USLO OFFICER AT AIRPORT TALKED BRIEFLY WITH DAVID EISENHOWER ABOUT MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN, BUT ELICITED NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE BEYOND CONFIRMATION THAT MAO WAS SINCERELY HOPEFUL OF SEEING MR. NIXON VISIT PRC AGAIN. EISENHOWER SAID THAT HE AND HIS WIFE WERE ABOUT TO RETIRE EVENING OF DEC 31 WHEN THEY WERE ADVISED TO HOLD THEMSELVES READY FOR LATE-NIGHT MEETING. SHORTLY BEFORE MIDNIGHT THE SUMMONS CAME. MEETING LASTED ABOUT 45 MINUTES, DURING WHICH EISENHOWERS PRESENTED LETTER FROM MR. NIXON TO CHAIRMAN WHICH, SURPRISINGLY, HE BEGAN TO READ ALOUD IN INTELLIGIBLE ENGLISH. CHAIRMAN READ THE DATE, THE ADDRESS AND A FEW WORDS BEFORE GIVING LETTER TO INTERPRETER. EISENHOWER COMMENDED THAT ONE SIDE OF MAO'S



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BY 112, NARA, DATE 7/10/08

MOUTH APPEARED PARALYZED AND THAT HE HAD DIFFICULTY FORMING WORDS. HE DIDN'T KNOW HOW THE INTERPRETERS MANAGED TO FATHOM WHAT THE CHAIRMAN WAS SAYING.

4. AT AIRPORT TO SEE EISENHOWERS OFF WERE MFA PROTOCOL CHIEF CHU CHUAN-HSIEN, AMERICAN AND OCEANIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT DEPUTY CHIEF TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY) AND U.S. AFFAIRS OFFICE CHIEF TING YUAN-HUNG. THE EISENHOWERS HOST, PRCHO CHIEF HUANG CHEN, ACCOMPANIED THEM TO CANTON, WHENCE THEY WILL PROCEED TO KUEILIN AND POSSIBLY ONE OR TWO OTHER CITIES BEFORE LEAVING FOR U.S. JAN 9.

5. SEVERAL MINUTES OF THE BRIEF PRE-DEPARTURE CONVERSATION WERE CONSUMED BY NANCY TANG'S CONVOLUTED APOLOGY TO DAVID EISENHOWER FOR PEOPLE'S DAILY JAN 1 HEADLINE ON REPORT OF MEETING WITH MAO. SHE TOLD DAVID THAT THE TRANSLATION HE HAD BEEN SEEKING FOR THE HEADLINE READS "CHAIRMAN MAO SEES THE DAUGHTER OF FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, MR. AND MRS. JULIE (CHU LI FU FU)". SHE THEN WENT INTO A LONG MONOLOGUE ON MARRIED WOMEN'S NAMES IN MODERN DAY CHINA, POINTING OUT THAT WOMEN IN CHINA NO LONGER TAKE THEIR HUSBAND'S SURNAMES, THAT SINCE THE ANTI-CONFUCIUS MOVEMENT A LOT OF MEN HAD MARRIED INTO THEIR WIVES' FAMILIES AND TAKEN THEIR WIVES'S SURNAMES, AND THAT THE MAN WHO COMPOSED THE HEADLINE WAS NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE AMERICAN USAGE OF ALWAYS GOING BY THE HUSBAND'S NAME (SIC). DAVID'S ONLY COMMENT WAS, "SO THAT'S WHY NO ONE WOULD TRANSLATE IT FOR ME!".

THAYER

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AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 5:30 P.M. EST

JANUARY 8, 1976

THURSDAY

MR. NESSEN: This is a Statement by the President on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

"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 the people of the People's Republic of China."

Q Do you know whether or not there will be a funeral delegation?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know what kind of funerals they have there, what the arrangements are. I think we will have to wait and see how that works out before we know whether it is appropriate or not.

Q Is the President sending any personal messages to Mao?

MR. NESSEN: He will send personal letters of condolence to the leaders of China.

Q Mao?

MR. NESSEN: I will have to check who they will be addressed to, but he will send personal letters.

Q Will that be done this afternoon?

MR. NESSEN: The personal letters will go out, I guess, as soon as they are drafted.

Q Do you know who they are going to in China?

Q Probably Teng and the widow.

MORE

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MR. NESSEN: Well, presumably to Mrs. Chou.

To Hsiao-ping and Madame Chou.

Q That is not the way her name is known.

MR. NESSEN: No, she has another name.

Q A separate name.

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q Ron, I asked you this morning if you could get some reaction from the President on the labor people quitting. Did you get that?

MR. NESSEN: Well, you know by now that the labor members of the construction industry group did resign but I don't have any comment on it.

Q Have you heard anything from Dunlop yet?

MR. NESSEN: No.

Q Are all those Republican labor people or are they all Democrats?

Q Has he talked to Fitzsimmons today on anything?

MR. NESSEN: As far as I know, he did not. In fact, I know he wouldn't.

Q Why did he look so distracted today?

MR. NESSEN: Who, Fitzsimmons?

Q No, the President.

MR. NESSEN: He didn't look distracted to me.

Jim.

Q Let me double-check one point. The President didn't meet Chou.

MR. NESSEN: Not on this trip but when he was a Congressman.

You ought to know that when the President went to China in 1972 as a Member of Congress that he did meet Premier Chou En-lai. On this past trip, obviously, he did not.

Q Ron, did the President get the word through normal channels or any special message sent through somebody?

MR. NESSEN: I think I will just pass on that. I knew about it through the New China News Agency that did announce it.

END

(AT 5:35 P.M. EST)



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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 1074

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PEKING 0046
FOR EA-0LEYSTEEN FROM THAYER
E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PDIP
SUBJECT: CHOU EN-LAI'S DEATH
REF: STATE 4541, AND 4747, (B) BROOKS-PRGM TELECON JAN 9.

1. ON JANUARY 9 JAPANESE EMBASSY HERE RECEIVED FROM MFA PROTOCOL THE SAME GUIDANCE HAN HSU HAD GIVEN DEPARTMENT, I.E. THAT PRC DOES NOT INTEND TO INVITE FOREIGN DELEGATIONS TO CHOU EN-LAI'S FUNERAL. ON INSTRUCTION FROM TOKYO, EMBASSY SOUGHT CLARIFICATION. MFA CONFIRMED THAT PRC "IS NOT GOING TO RECEIVE FOREIGN GUESTS."
2. JAPANESE AMBASSADOR AT 10:30 A.M. JANUARY 9 DELIVERED CONDOLENCE TELEGRAMS FROM MIKI TO MADAME CHOU EN-LAI AND VICE PREMIER TENG AND FROM MIYAZAWA TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO.
3. WE ASSUME U.S. MESSAGES WILL INCLUDE PRESIDENT'S CONDOLENCES TO MAO, CHU TEN, MADAME CHOU AND VICE PREMIER TENG. SECRETARY WE THKNK COULD APPROPRIATELY SEND CONDOLENCES TO THE ABOVE AS WELL AS FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO.
4. USLO AT 9 A.M. JANUARY 9 EXTENDED CONDOLENCES BY PHONE CALL TO AMERICAS AND OCEANIA DIVISION OF MFA. AT 11 A.M. WE RECEIVED WRITTEN NOTIFICATION FROM MFA THAT:--PRC FLAGS AT MAJOR PEKING LOCATIONS WILL BE AT HALF MAST FROM THE 9TH UNTIL JANUARY 15--ALL FLAGS IN THE COUNTRY ARE TO BE LOWERED ON THE 15TH. -- CONDOLENCE BOOK WILL BE OPEN ON THE MORNING OF THE 12TH.
5. ACTING CHIEF WILL OF COURSE SIGN CONDOLENCE BOOK. USLO



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BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/16/08
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FLAG, AT HALF MAST SINCE MORNING OF THE 9TH, WILL BE KEPT THERE
THROUGH THE 15TH. AFTER WE HAVE CONDOLENCE MESSAGES FROM
WASHINGTON WE PLAN ALSO TO PREPARE LETTER OF CONDOLENCE FROM ACTING
USLO CHIEF TO FOREIGN MINISTER (ASSUMING OTHER MISSIONS HERE WILL
DO SAME.)

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4995

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 2962
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 1075
 AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE 595
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 292
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PEKING 0047
 E.O. 11652: N/A
 TAGS: PINT CH
 SUBJECT: DEATH OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI: PEKING ATMOSPHERICS,
 JANUARY 9

1. PEOPLE'S DAILY OF JAN 9 DEVOTES ITS ENTIRE FRONT PAGE TO THE OBITUARY NOTICE FOR PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ALONG WITH HIS PICTURE AND THE LIST OF THE FUNERAL COMMITTEE. THE HEADLINE CALLED CHOU A GTE GREAT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE UNQTE AND GTE AN OUTSTANDING COMMUNIST FIGHTER UNQTE. THE OBITUARY EMPHASIZES CHOU'S DEVOTION TO THE COMMUNIST CAUSE AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

2. THE FEW CHINESE WE HAVE TALKED WITH AT THIS POINT CLEARLY FEEL A GREAT LOSS WITH CHOU'S PASSING. ALTHOUGH HIS DEATH HAS BEEN LONG EXPECTED, THE EVIDENT GENUINE GRIEF ATTESTS TO CHOU'S POPULARITY WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE ARE AS YET NO SIGNS OF PUBLIC MOURNING IN PEKING EXCEPT THE LOWERING OF PRC FLAGS TO HALF-MAST. PEKING RESIDENTS ARE GOING ABOUT THEIR DAILY ROUTING HERE TODAY, THOUGH PERHAPS IN A MORE SUBDUED FASHION THAN NORMAL. PEOPLE WENT TO WORK AS ALWAYS THIS MORNING, GOVERNMENT OFFICES ARE OPEN, THE USUAL TOURISTS ARE HAVING THEIR PICTURES TAKEN IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF



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INCREASED SECURITY IN THE CITY, AND NO UNUSUAL ACTIVITY IS NOTICEABLE, EITHER AT CHUNG NAN HAO OR THE GREAT HALL.

4. WE HAD NO INDICATIONS YESTERDAY THAT CHOU HAD DIED THAT MORNING, BUT A MAJOR MEETING AT THE GREAT HALL IN THE LATE AFTERNOON (ABOUT FORTY RED FLAG LIMOUSINES WERE PARKED OUTSIDE) MAY HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH THE PREMIER'S DEATH.
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5001
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 2965
AMEMBASSY TOKYO NIACT IMMEDIATE 1079
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE 596
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 57
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 61

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR PDIP CH
SUBJECT: CHOU EN-LAI'S DEATH
REF: PEKING 0046, STATE 0047) &
(BOTH NOTAL)

1. ON JANUARY 9, JAPANESE, CANDIAN AND PAKISTANI EMBASSIES PRESSED MFA TO RECONSIDER ITS POSITION (AS REPORTED REPTELS) DISCOURAGING ATTENDANCE AT CHOU EN-LAI'S FUNERAL BY DELEGATIONS FROM ABROAD. BY LATE AFTERNOON NONE HAD RECEIVED A DEFINITE TURN-DOWN.
2. JAPANESE EMBASSY TELLS US THAT MFA PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR CHU CHUAN-HSIEN SAID ON JANUARY 9 HE WOULD CONVEY TO HIS LEADERS THE DESIRE OF PRIMIN MIKI TO MAKE AN OVERNIGHT VISIT TO PEKING JAN 9 OR 10, IN EITHER OFFICIAL OR UNOFFICIAL CAPACITY, TO EXPRESS HIS CONDOLENCES. MFA HAS DEALT IN SIMILAR FASHION TO REQUESTS BY PAKISTANIS FOR BHUTTO TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL, BY CANADIANS FOR SOMEONE TO COME FROM OTTAWA, AND AN INQUIRY BY BRITISH AS TO WHAT REPRESENTATION FROM THE UK WOULD BE WELCOME.
3. WE WILL PROMPLY REPORT OUTCOME OF THESE EFFORTS WHEN KNOWN, HAVING IN MIND TIME CONSTRAINTS SHOULD CHINESE CHANGE STANCE ON FOREIGN DELEGATIONS. OUR GUESS IS THAT PRC WILL HOLD THE LINE, AND IN VIEW OF HAN HSU'S ADVICE TO DEPARTMENT (STATE REPTEL) AND OF PAST PRC PRACTICE ON



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

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BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/10/08
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STATE FUNERALS, WE BELIEVE FOR THE TIME BEING THIS IS NOT
A QUESTION WE SHOULD PURSUE DIRECTLY WITH MFA.

THAYER

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O 091720Z JAN 76
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5002

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 1060
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE 2960
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE 597
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 58
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 62
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE 10

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EXDIS
E.O. 11652:18/45-1
TAGS: PPOR PINT CH
SUBJECT: CHOU EN-LAI DEATH
REF: PEKING 0054 (NOTAL)

1. REFTEL LEFT OPEN, SLIGHTLY, THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRC MIGHT PERMIT DELEGATIONS FROM ABROAD TO ATTEND CHOU EN-LAI'S FUNERAL DESPITE INITIAL INDICATIONS THAT IT WOULD NOT. MFA HAS NOW FIRMLY MADE IT KNOWN TO THE JAPANESE AND SRI LANKA EMBASSIES THAT NO SUCH VISITS WILL BE PERMITTED. FORMULATION OF CHINESE POSITION AS GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (SEPTEL) ALSO PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY "CONDOLENCE VISIT" BEFORE THE ACTUAL FUNERAL. UNDOUBTEDLY THE PRC IS ALSO CONVEYING ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POSITION TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS THAT ASKED TO SEND DELEGATIONS OR ASKED FOR FURTHER GUIDANCE ON THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH VISITS.
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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/10/08



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AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 1081
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 294

*****CONFIDENTIAL***** PEKING 0056

EXDIS
NOFORN
E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR PINT CH
SUBJECT: CHOU EN-LAI'S FUNERAL: FIRM TURNDOWN OF MIKI AND OTHER
VISITS
REF: PEKING 0054, PEKING 0046

1. UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM TOKYO, JAPANESE EMBASSY MADE REPEATED EFFORTS ON JANUARY 19 TO OBTAIN PRC'S PERMISSION FOR A VISIT BY PRIMIN MIKI IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEATH OF CHOU EN-LAI. PRC'S RESPONSE, A POLITE BAW FIRM AND CLEARLY FIE L "NO", WAS GIVEN TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR AROUND 5:30 ON THE EVENING OF THE 19TH. JAPANESE EMBASSY HAS PROVIDED US THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF THIS CONVERSATION.

2. CHIAO BEGAN BY EXPRESSING DEEP GRATITUDE TO MIKI FOR HIS DESIRE TO COME AND THE SINCERITY OF HIS EFFORTS. HE THEN SAID: "THERE ARE RECENTLY REVISED PROTOCOL REGULATIONS WHICH DO NON ALLOW FOREIGN GUESTS TO COME TO TAKE PART IN THE FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CHOU EN-LAI. WE WILL MAKE NO EXCEPTION. WE APPRECIATE HIS SINCERITY, BUT PLEASE ASK MR. MIKI NOT TO COME. THE AMBASSADOR THEN ASKED FOR CONFIRMATION THAT THERE WOULD BE NO OTHER FOREING VISITORS, NOTING THE EMBARRASSMENT TO THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IF MIKI COULD NOT COME AND OTHERS WERE PERMITTED TO. CHIAO RECPIRMEED THAT THE CHINESE WOULD MAKE NO EXCEPTIONS.

3. THE JAPALSE TELL US THAT AFTER THIS IT STILL TOOK THE EMBASSY QUITE A LOT OF DISUCSSION WITH MIKI, BY PHONE, TO CONVINCHE HIMVN



*****HHSR COMMENT*****

SCOWCROFT, HYLAND, LL

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BUT THAT MIKI FINALLY AGREED TO ABANDON HIS EFFORT TO COME.

4. COMMENT: THE CHINESE MAY HAVE FOUND MIKI'S DESIRE TO VISIT
PUNING AT JUST THIS TIME, WITH GROMYKO IN TOKYO, RATHER ATTRACTIVE,
BUT OBVIOUSLY WITH SEVERAL OTHER GOVERNMENTS--AND PROBABLY A NUMBER
OF FRATERNAL PARTIES--ALSO POUNDING ON THEIR DOOR, THEY WOULD HAVE
FACED SIZEABLE POLITICAL, PROTOCOL AND LOGISTIC PROBLEMS HAD THEY
ADOPTED ANY BUT THIS "NOBODY AND NO EXCEPTIONS" STANCE TOWARD FOREIGN
DELEGATIONS. ANOTHER CONSIDERATION OF COURSE MUST BE THAT THE
PRC LEADERSHIP THE DAY HAS FAR TOO MUCH URGENT INTERNAL WORLD
IN HAND TO ALLOW IT TIME TO BE ABSORBED IN MOTINGA CROWD
OF FOREIGN DIGNITARIES.

THAYER

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 1082
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 295
CINCPAC IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PEKING 0062

CINCPAC FOR POLAD
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CH
SUBJECT: CHOU EN-LAI'S DEATH: PEKING ATMOSPHERICS

1. PEOPLE CONTINUE TO GO ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS ROUTINELY IN PEKING, BUT A NOTICEABLE PALL HAS DESCENDED OVER THE CITY. THE PHOTOGRAPHERS ARE GONE FROM TIEN AN MEN SQUARE TODAY AND THE SOLEM EXPRESSIONS ON THE FACES OF MOST PEOPLE ON THE STREETS, -AND THE ABSENCE OF EVEN AN OCCASIONAL SCENE OF JUCULAR BANTERING- SUGGESTS THE SORROW WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED OVER CHOU'S DEATH IN INDIVIDUAL CONVERSATIONS WITH CHINESE IS GENUINE AND WIDESPREAD. CHINESE EMPLOYEES, LANGUAGE INSTITUTE TEACHERS, HOSPITAL PERSONNEL, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (INCLUDING MFA PROTOCOL CHIEF CHU CHUAN-HSIEN) HAVE SHOWN DEEP GRIEF OR BROKEN OUT IN TEARS WHEN THE SUBJECT OF CHOU'S DEATH COMES UP IN CONVERSATION WITH USLO PERSONNEL. COMMENTS WE HAVE HEARD FROM CHINESE CONVEY A GENERAL FEELING OF EXTRAORDINARY LOSS TO CHINA CAUSED BY CHOU'S DEATH AND UNCERTAINTY AS TO CHINA'S FUTURE COURSE WITHOUT CHOU'S STEADYING HAND. WE DID NOT ENCOUNTER ANYTHING LIKE THIS IMPACT FOLLOWING THE DEATHS OF TUNG PI-WU AND KANG SHENG LAST YEAR.

2. THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FUNERAL ARE GOING FORWARD WITH AN OVERRIDING CONCERN FOR DIGNITY AND SOLEMNITY. THE FUNERAL COMMITTEE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE LEADERSHIP WILL PAY LAST RESPECTS TO CHOU'S REMAINS ON JANUARY 10 AND 11, MOURNING CEREMONIES (FOR FOREIGNERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MASSES) WILL BE HELD ON JANUARY 12, 13, AND 14, WITH A FINAL MEMORIAL SERVICE ON JANUARY 15, THE NATIONAL



*****WHHR COMMENT*****

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DAY OF MOURNING. RED FLAG LIMOUSINES HAVE BEEN CARRYING CHINESE LEADERS TO THE HOSPITAL ALL DAY TODAY TO VIEW THE REMAINS. THE FUNERAL COMMITTEE HAS ALSO FIRMLY REFUSED TO ALLOW ANY FOREIGN DELEGATIONS TO COME TO PEKING FOR THE FUNERAL DESPITE STRONG PRESSURE FROM MANY FOREIGN FRIENDS AND GOVERNMENTS TO DO SO. APPARENTLY, THE CHINESE WERE UNWILLING TO TROUBLE WITH SUCH AN EXTRAORDINARY MASS DESCENDING ON PEKING NOW OR TO HAVE DISRUPTIVE DISPUTES OVER WHO WOULD ATTEND DETRACT FROM THE SOLEMNITY OF THE OCCASION. THE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS ALSO SEEM DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT ANY PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF SORROW BY THE MASSES IN PEKING WILL BE RESTRICTED TO ORDERLY FILING PAST THE ASHES IN ORGANIZED GROUPS.

3. THE FIRST PAST OF JANUARY 10 PEOPLE'S DAILY (WHICH ARRIVED SIX HOURS LATE) CARRIED THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MESSAGES OF CONDOLENCE FROM ALBANIA, NORTH KOREA, VIETNAM, AND ROMANIA. PAGES FOUR AND SIX ARE ALSO COMPLETELY DEVOTED TO CONDOLENCE MESSAGES FROM FOREIGN DIGNITARIES. THIS MATERIAL ALSO DOMINATES PRC RADIO BROADCASTS.
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~ GDSACTION

January 23, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: JAY TAYLOR *9*

SUBJECT: Reply to Senator Goldwater on China Policy

*KT - Get signed
orig. for
3 Chi Ex
files*

Senator Barry Goldwater wrote to the President on December 10 (Tab B) to request clarification of the Administration's intentions regarding continued diplomatic relations with the Republic of China. He asked that the President reaffirm to him that there would be no change in U. S. relations with the ROC under his Administration, and he cited previous statements to this effect made privately to him by the President and the Secretary. He also expressed concern over the possible application of the Japanese model to U. S. relations with Taiwan.

The State Department has prepared a draft reply for the President's signature (Tab A). Secretary Kissinger has approved the draft. The State Department points out that it is likely that the Senator will provide the text of a Presidential reply to the ROC Embassy and that it will find its way into the press (Tab C).

I concur in the proposed reply and recommend that the President personally sign the letter.

Bob Orbin's office has cleared the proposed reply, and Mr. Friedersdorf's office concurs in the recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to the President transmitting the proposed letter for his signature.

Concurrence:

Les Janka *H*~~SECRET~~ GDS

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY NIC, NARA, DATE 7/10/08

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~ GDSACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Reply to Senator Goldwater on China Policy

Senator Barry Goldwater wrote to you on December 10 (Tab B) to request clarification of the Administration's intentions regarding continued relations with the Republic of China. He asked that you affirm to him that there will be no change in U.S. relations with the ROC under your Administration, and he cites previous statements to this effect made privately to him by you and Secretary Kissinger. He also expresses concern over the possible application of the Japanese model to U.S. relations with Taiwan.

Attached at Tab A is a proposed reply for your signature prepared by the Department of State and cleared by Secretary Kissinger. The reply reiterates the importance which you attach to strengthening our ties with the Peoples Republic of China and notes that some time will be needed to bring the process of normalization to a final conclusion. The reply also notes that there is no agreement on the timetable or precise modalities for normalization. It concludes with the assurance that, as we pursue our goal of a better relationship with Peking, we will continue to be mindful of the interest of the Republic of China and to act responsibly with respect to them.

Bob Orbin's office has cleared the proposed letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the proposed letter at Tab A.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY NR, NARA, DATE 7/10/08



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China

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1976

Dear Barry:

Thank you for your letter of December 10, in which you raise a number of questions concerning our China policy.

In my December 7 speech at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, I discussed our approach to the Pacific region. I continue to believe that the strengthening of our ties with the nearly one-quarter of mankind which inhabits the People's Republic of China (PRC) should continue to be an essential element in our foreign policy.

I visited Peking last December to build on the dialogue begun nearly four years ago. During my talks with PRC leaders and after my return from China, I reaffirmed the determination of the United States to complete the process of normalization of relations with the PRC on the basis of the Shanghai Communique. It is clear that some time will be needed to bring the process of normalization to a final conclusion.

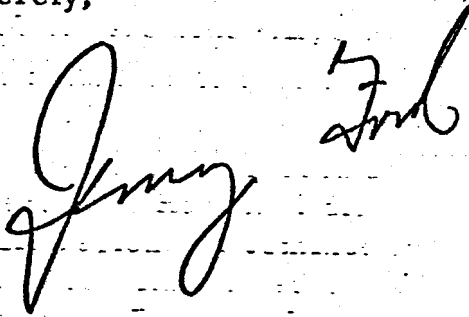
Press speculation about the "Japanese model" probably derives from the fact that the Chinese have said for some time that their preferred formula for normalization is something similar to the pattern followed by the Japanese. As Secretary Kissinger has made clear, however, there is no agreement on the timetable or precise modalities for normalization.



Let me assure you that, as we pursue our goal of a better relationship with Peking, we will continue to be mindful of the interests of our friends and allies, including the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Barry, thank you for sharing your views and concern with me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy Ford". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

Honorable Barry Goldwater
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

12-13
COMMITTEES:
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES
ARMED SERVICES
PREPAREDNESS INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE
TACTICAL AIR POWER SUBCOMMITTEE
INTELLIGENCE SUBCOMMITTEE
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SUBCOMMITTEE
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT SUBCOMMITTEE

December 10, 1975

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

At lunch yesterday with Secretary of State Kissinger, I asked a question concerning your administration's position on the Republic of China and I asked it because of statements in the press to the end that your administration was considering the same approach to Taiwan as we use with Japan. The Secretary assured me, as he has on numerous occasions, that this administration would never call for the dropping of formal recognition of the government of Taiwan in favor of the government of Peking.

The press has either misinterpreted your broad statement made on the area of the Pacific or they have interpreted Dr. Kissinger's remarks, or both, or the truth could be that the administration is tending toward the non-recognition of the government of Taiwan. I think it is very essential that you clear this up because you have told me the same as Henry has told me, that under your administration there would be no change in the attitude of this country toward Taiwan, and certainly if we are going to apply the Japanese approach this would mean a radical change, so could I have a word from you on this subject?

With respect,


Barry Goldwater





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~SECRET~~

January 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Senator Goldwater's Letter to the
President of December 10 on China
Policy (NSC #7508319)

Senator Barry Goldwater wrote to the President on December 10 to request clarification of the Administration's intentions regarding continued diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (ROC). He asks that the President reaffirm to him that there will be no change in U.S. relations with the ROC under his Administration, and cites previous statements to this effect made privately to him by the President and the Secretary. He also expresses concern over the possible application of the "Japanese model" to U.S. relations with Taiwan.

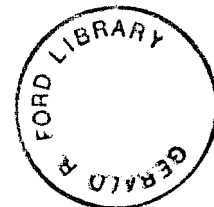
It is possible, if not likely, that the Senator will provide the text of a Presidential reply to the ROC Embassy, and that it will find its way into the press.

A suggested reply by the President to Senator Goldwater, based on recent public statements by the President and Secretary Kissinger, is attached. It has been cleared by the Secretary.

for *C. Arthur Bag*
George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested reply.
2. Letter from Senator Goldwater.



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BY NR, NARA, DATE 7/10/08

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH

SUBJECT: BRIEFING PRC RE SECRETARY'S MOSCOW VISIT

1. LORD (S/P) CALLED IN HAN HSU JAN 30 TO BRIEF HIM ON SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW. PRESENTATION ON SALT, ANGOLA, AND MIDDLE EAST GENERALLY PARALLELED POINTS MADE ON BACKGROUND BASIS BY SECRETARY'S PARTY FOLLOWING MOSCOW TALKS.

2. DURING SAME CONVERSATION SOLOMON (NSC) ASKED HAN IF HE COULD OBTAIN PEKING'S REACTION TO SCHEDULING OUR NEXT USG-SPONSORED CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO PRC DURING EASTER RECESS; I.E. ARRIVING IN CHINA ABOUT APRIL 16 OR 17 FOR APPROXIMATELY TEN DAY STAY. HAN PROMISED TO CHECK ON DATES, BUT WAS NOTICEABLY UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT OUR PROPOSAL. (FYI: WE STRONGLY SUSPECT CHINESE HAVE INVITED A CONGRESSIONAL GROUP BY THEIR OWN CHOOSING TO VISIT AT THE SAMETIME. END FYI.) KISSINGER

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY NR, NARA, DATE 7/10/05



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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief, People's Republic of
China Liaison Office in Washington
Shen Jo-yun, First Secretary, PRCLO
Yang Yu-yung, Notetaker

Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,
Department of State

William H. Gleysteen, Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State for East Asian and
Pacific Affairs

Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,
National Security Council *MS*

DATE AND TIME:

Friday, January 30, 1976
5:00 - 5:30 p.m.

PLACE:

Department of State (Mr. Lord's Office)

SUBJECT:

Brief on Secretary Kissinger's Recent
Visit to Moscow

Mr. Lord: At the outset let me again express my condolences
on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

Ambassador Han: Thank you also for attending our service (on January 15).

Mr. Lord: The Secretary has asked me to see you on his behalf to give you
a rundown on his trip to Moscow and Europe. He had planned to do this
personally, but because of his extremely heavy schedule this week he asked
me to do it rather than to lose more time. He looks forward to seeing his
Chinese friends in the future.

The Secretary's trip was at the Soviets' initiative and was based on their
prior assurance that they would have a new position on the SALT negotiations,
one which would modify their previous proposal. We seriously considered
postponing the trip because of Angola, but went ahead on the basis that the
Secretary explained in his press conference before the trip.

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DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *3/2/04*
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY *HR*, NARA, DATE *7/10/08*



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We did some hard bargaining on SALT, and there were some significant changes in the Soviet position: On the Backfire bomber, the Soviets continue to resist counting it as an intercontinental weapon, but they offered written assurances on the bomber's characteristics and on not upgrading its capabilities in the future. Though this represents some progress, the issue remains to be resolved.

On cruise missiles, they moved toward our position and accepted our proposal that air launched cruise missiles on heavy bombers would be counted in the MIRV total. Other cruise missile issues -- naval and on land -- remain unresolved.

The Soviets accepted our proposal on defining heavy missiles in a manner which helps on the issue of throw weight.

The Soviets are contemplating reduction in the agreed ceiling in principle of 2,400. This would mean a significant reduction in existing Soviet strategic forces, while not affecting our own.

(The Chinese requested clarification of the term "agreement in principle." Mr. Lord recalled the agreement in principle of just over a year ago [reached at Vladivostok] to limit the number of delivery vehicles to a ceiling of 2,400. He indicated that now the Soviets had indicated a willingness to lower this ceiling. Mr. Lord indicated that the U.S. has not reached this level in its own strategic forces, hence a lowered ceiling would primarily have a restraining effect on the Soviets, who would have to reduce their present force level, while it would not have any effect on the U.S. until we had reached such a level.)

Mr. Lord: The President and the various agencies are now examining this new situation and determining the U.S. position. We will continue to insist on an agreement that fully preserves our strong strategic position vis-a-vis Moscow. If we work out an acceptable agreement, this would restrain some Soviet programs, as well as allowing us to put our money in conventional forces and regional defense where it will do the most good. But as I said, some significant issues remain to be resolved.

You will have noticed the large increase that the President has proposed in our defense budget, despite the tight constraints we have on spending elsewhere. This reflects the President's determination, as he explained to your leadership, to maintain a strong defense.

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On Angola, Secretary Kissinger was very blunt with the Soviets privately and in the plenary meetings. He spoke along the same lines as his statement to the Senate Subcommittee yesterday. In fact, I thought you might be interested in a copy of what he said regarding Angola for your information. (Mr. Lord hands the Chinese a Department of State press release of the Secretary's testimony.)

The Secretary warned Secretary Brezhnev of the consequences of this kind of expansionism and of the potential impact on our bilateral relations. The Soviet response was evasive and unsatisfactory. In any event, as the Secretary made clear, we will continue to resist this sort of action.

The MBFR negotiations were touched on very briefly. The Soviets made modest suggestions and are presenting their position formally in Vienna. There does not seem to be any prospect for early movement on this issue.

Foreign Minister Gromyko raised the Middle East briefly. There was nothing new in his discussion.

With regard to other stops on the trip: In Copenhagen, the Secretary primarily discussed the dangers of Moscow-oriented Communist parties gaining influence in European governments.

The Brussels-NATO briefing reflected the good cooperation and solidarity among the NATO countries. All Foreign Ministers, except for two who could not make it, came to Brussels especially to meet with the Secretary -- except those from Iceland, which is engaged in a fishing dispute, the "cod war" with the British; and Greece, whose Foreign Minister was in the Middle East. The Secretary briefed the ministers on his Moscow trip and stressed the need to maintain a strong NATO regional defense.

Finally, in Spain we signed a good treaty and base agreement. This will strengthen Western defenses in Europe against the Soviet Union.

That is all. I will be glad to answer any questions.

Ambassador Han: About the Angola issue, I just wanted to make a comment: The development of the situation in Angola increasingly bears witness to our position. Adoption of a policy of appeasement will only whet the appetite of the Soviet Union for expansionism.

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Mr. Lord: I agree with your view on Soviet expansionism. I don't agree -- at least as far as this country is concerned -- that there is any policy of appeasement.

Ambassador Han: I don't need to repeat our position, as our leaders made this clear (to President Ford and the Secretary in their discussions in Peking).

Mr. Lord: Yes, our leaders made their position clear. We have tried to get other countries to help; and we will resist Soviet expansionism.

Ambassador Han: Since I have come to Washington, on almost every holiday occasion, during the Spring Festival or New Year we have some meeting. (Laughter)

Mr. Lord: This is the year of the dragon?

Ambassador Han: Yes. We have four days of holiday. This is our longest holiday period.

(There followed some light discussion about the number of national holidays in China and the United States, and their timing.)

Mr. Solomon: Let me raise one final issue. Ambassador Han will recall that during the Secretary's visit to Peking last October it was agreed that there would be one Congressional visit this year. While we have not specifically formed a delegation, we would like to begin to do so and would like to reach agreement with you on a time period for this visit. It is our view that the best time would be during the spring or Easter Congressional recess. Thus, we would propose that a delegation arrive around April 16 or 17 and remain until approximately April 28.

(The Chinese showed some discomfiture at the particular time period suggested for the trip. There followed a discussion of possible alternative periods of time. Mr. Solomon pointed out that because of the elections in the fall and the campaigning during the late summer, most Congressmen would find it difficult to get away during the summer recess in August; and most important leaders in the Congress would find it difficult to get away while Congress was in session which left the spring recess about the only convenient time before the elections. The Chinese inquired about the



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Lincoln birthday holiday and it was pointed out that this was a very brief period which would not do for a lengthy trip of several weeks to China. The Chinese tentatively mumbled something about the end of the year. Mr. Solomon replied that the President was interested in sustaining interest in China and wanted important leaders in the Congress to have a chance to visit. Hence, we viewed it in our mutual interest to have a trip before the campaign season reached its peak in the summer. Ambassador Han finally concluded by saying that he would study the situation and report our request for a visit in April back to Peking.)

At this point the meeting concluded. Mr. Lord bade farewell to the Chinese at the door to his office (as a sign of displeasure for their comments about "appeasement"). Mr. Gleysteen escorted them to the elevator.

~~SECRET~~



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief, People's Republic of
China Liaison Office in Washington
Shen Jo-yun, First Secretary, PRCLC
Yang Yu-yung, Notetaker

Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,
Department of State

William H. Gleysteen, Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State for East Asian and
Pacific Affairs

Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,
National Security Council

DATE AND TIME:

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5:00 - 5:30 p.m.

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Department of State (Mr. Lord's Office)

SUBJECT:

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DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *3/2/04*
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY *142*, NARA, DATE *7/10/08*



We did some hard bargaining on SALT, and there were some significant changes in the Soviet position: On the backfire bomber, the Soviets continue to resist counting it as an intercontinental weapon, but they offered written assurances on the bomber's characteristics and on not upgrading its capabilities in the future. Though this represents some progress, the issue remains to be resolved.

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The Soviets accepted our proposal on defining heavy missiles in a manner which helps on the issue of throw weight.

The Soviets are contemplating reduction in the agreed ceiling in principle of 2,400. This would mean a significant reduction in existing Soviet strategic forces, while not affecting our own.

(The Chinese requested clarification of the term "agreement in principle." Mr. Lord recalled the agreement in principle of just over a year ago [reached at Vladivostok] to limit the number of delivery vehicles to a ceiling of 2,400. He indicated that now the Soviets had indicated a willingness to lower this ceiling. Mr. Lord indicated that the U.S. has not reached this level in its own strategic forces, hence a lowered ceiling would primarily have a restraining effect on the Soviets, who would have to reduce their present force level, while it would not have any effect on the U.S. until we had reached such a level.)

Mr. Lord: The President and the various agencies are now examining this new situation and determining the U.S. position. We will continue to insist on an agreement that fully preserves our strong strategic position vis-a-vis Moscow. If we work out an acceptable agreement, this would restrain some Soviet programs, as well as allowing us to put our money in conventional forces and regional defense where it will do the most good. But as I said, some significant issues remain to be resolved.

You will have noticed the large increase that the President has proposed in our defense budget, despite the tight constraints we have on spending elsewhere. This reflects the President's determination, as he explained to your leadership, to maintain a strong defense.



On Angola, Secretary Kissinger was very blunt with the Soviets privately and in the plenary meetings. He spoke along the same lines as his statement to the Senate Subcommittee yesterday. In fact, I thought you might be interested in a copy of what he said regarding Angola for your information. (Mr. Lord hands the Chinese a Department of State press release of the Secretary's testimony.)

The Secretary warned Secretary Brezhnev of the consequences of this kind of expansionism and of the potential impact on our bilateral relations. The Soviet response was evasive and unsatisfactory. In any event, as the Secretary made clear, we will continue to resist this sort of action.

The MBFR negotiations were touched on very briefly. The Soviets made modest suggestions and are presenting their position formally in Vienna. There does not seem to be any prospect for early movement on this issue.

Foreign Minister Gromyko raised the Middle East briefly. There was nothing new in his discussion.

With regard to other stops on the trip: In Copenhagen, the Secretary primarily discussed the dangers of Moscow-oriented Communist parties gaining influence in European governments.

The Brussels-NATO briefing reflected the good cooperation and solidarity among the NATO countries. All Foreign Ministers, except for two who could not make it, came to Brussels especially to meet with the Secretary -- except those from Iceland, which is engaged in a fishing dispute, the "cod war" with the British; and Greece, whose Foreign Minister was in the Middle East. The Secretary briefed the ministers on his Moscow trip and stressed the need to maintain a strong NATO regional defense.

Finally, in Spain we signed a good treaty and base agreement. This will strengthen Western defenses in Europe against the Soviet Union.

That is all. I will be glad to answer any questions.

Ambassador Han: About the Angola issue, I just wanted to make a comment: The development of the situation in Angola increasingly bears witness to our position. Adoption of a policy of appeasement will only whet the appetite of the Soviet Union for expansionism.



Mr. Lord: I agree with your view on Soviet expansionism. I don't agree -- at least as far as this country is concerned -- that there is any policy of appeasement.

Ambassador Han: I don't need to repeat our position, as our leaders made this clear (to President Ford and the Secretary in their discussions in Peking).

Mr. Lord: Yes, our leaders made their position clear. We have tried to get other countries to help; and we will resist Soviet expansionism.

Ambassador Han: Since I have come to Washington, on almost every holiday occasion, during the Spring Festival or New Year we have some meeting. (Laughter)

Mr. Lord: This is the year of the dragon?

Ambassador Han: Yes. We have four days of holiday. This is our longest holiday period.

(There followed some light discussion about the number of national holidays in China and the United States, and their timing.)

Mr. Solomon: Let me raise one final issue. Ambassador Han will recall that during the Secretary's visit to Peking last October it was agreed that there would be one Congressional visit this year. While we have not specifically formed a delegation, we would like to begin to do so and would like to reach agreement with you on a time period for this visit. It is our view that the best time would be during the spring or Easter Congressional recess. Thus, we would propose that a delegation arrive around April 16 or 17 and remain until approximately April 28.

(The Chinese showed some discomfiture at the particular time period suggested for the trip. There followed a discussion of possible alternative periods of time. Mr. Solomon pointed out that because of the elections in the fall and the campaigning during the late summer, most Congressmen would find it difficult to get away during the summer recess in August; and most important leaders in the Congress would find it difficult to get away while Congress was in session which left the spring recess about the only convenient time before the elections. The Chinese inquired about the



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Lincoln birthday holiday and it was pointed out that this was a very brief period which would not do for a lengthy trip of several weeks to China. The Chinese tentatively mumbled something about the end of the year. Mr. Solomon replied that the President was interested in sustaining interest in China and wanted important leaders in the Congress to have a chance to visit. Hence, we viewed it in our mutual interest to have a trip before the campaign season reached its peak in the summer. Ambassador Han finally concluded by saying that he would study the situation and report our request for a visit in April back to Peking.)

At this point the meeting concluded. Mr. Lord bade farewell to the Chinese at the door to his office (as a sign of displeasure for their comments about "appeasement"). Mr. Gleysteen escorted them to the elevator.

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