# The original documents are located in Box 6, folder "China, unnumbered items - (37), 11/2/76 - 11/30/76" of the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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ARRESTED, THEY INSTRUCT SUBORDINATES TO LAUNCH A "BLOODY WAR" IF THEY HAVE NOT RETURNED OR CONTACTED THEM WITHIN TWO THREE DAYS' HSU CHING HSIEN'S SECRETARY INSTRUCTS WANG CHING, SMRC STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR LIBERATION DAILY, TO IGNORE PEKING'S SUBSTITUTION OF SLOGAN ON "THREE DO'S AND THREE DON'I'S" FOR "ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN."

8. OCTOBER 11. CHU YUNG=CHIA CONVENES MEETING OF MASS MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS HANDLING OF THE TUREE REVOLUTIONARY SONGS.

9. OCTOBER 12. CMU YUNG CHIA COMPOSES A "MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY" AND A "MESSAGE TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD." THE MILITIA IS MOBILIZED TO SECURE ALL RADIO AND TV STATIONS PLUS THE TWO DAILY PAPERSO SO THAT THE MESSAGES COULD BE BROADCAST AND PRINTED ON THE 13TH. MEANWHILE THE SECRETARIES TO CHANG CHUN-CHIAO AND HANG HUNG-WEN HOLD MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE DAY; THEY DECIDE THAT IF MA, HSU AND WANG HAVE NOT RETURNED FROM THE CENTER BY THE 13TH IT WOULD SIGNIFY THEIR ARREST OR "CAPITU-LATION." THE WORD TO PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE IS PASSED TO LOWER LEVELS.

10. OCTOBER 13. AFTER CONTINUING PREPARATIONS IN

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DECLASSIFIED Atate Dept Res E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 3/3/04 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES BY HZ, NARA, DATE 2/3/108 SHANGHAI, THE THREE (MA, HSU AND WANG) RETURN AT 11 A.M. MA BRIEFS AN URGENT STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION HELD AT THE CHIN\*CHIANG HOTEL. MEANWHILE CMU YUNG\*CHIA ADVISES A SEPARATE MEETING OF MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES THAT "A COUP D'ETAT HAS OCCURRED AT THE CENTER; HUA KUC\*FENG HAS PURGED THE POUR; WE MUST FIERCELY HATE MUA."

\*\*\*\*\*\*\* C C Y D E N T T A L \*\*\*\*\*\*\*

11. OCTOBER 14. THE SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE ISSUES ITS DIRECTIVE #19 ON THE SITUATION IN PEKING, THE DIRECTIVE FOLLOWS CENTRAL GUIDANCE AND ATTACHES "SPEECH BY COMRADE HUA KUG=FENG" DATED OCTOBER 7 AND "SPEECHES BY CENTRAL LEADING COMRADES" DATED OCTOBER 8; BUT THE "REPORT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORK OFFICE COMRADE WANG TUNG=HSING" IS NOT ATTACHED (PRESUMABLY OWING TO ITS ACCOUNT OF THE "CRIMES" OF THE FOUR RADICALS).

12. OCTOBER 15. HSU CHING HSIEN DELIVERS SITUATION REPORT TO MASS MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES, STRESSING THAT A "COUP" HAS OCCURRED AND WITH IT A "POLICY CHANGE." HSU TELLS THEM THAT PEKING WISHES SHANGHAI TO STUDY "THE THREE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN COMRADE HUA BY CHAIRMAN MAD" AND "CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S BLACK WORK 'MY FEELINGS'" (ALLEGEDLY WRITTEN BY CHANG TO EXPRESS HIS ANGER AT HUA'S BEING SELECTED OVER HIM AS ACTING PREMIER IN FEBRUARY 1976).

13. OCTOBER 16. "TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE" IS RECEIVED FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ACCORDING TO A DRAFT OF THE TELEPHONE CALL MADE BY "CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORK OFFICE SECRETARIAT COMRADE CHOU JUN®SHENG" AT 2315 HOURS OCTOBER 16, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN SHANGHAI'S RELIABILITY, CONVEYED ITS "HOPE" THAT THE SHANGHAI LEADERSHIP WOULD "GO DOWN TO THE MASSES, DO DETAILED IDECLOGICAL WORK, "THOROUGHLY EXPOSE THE COUNTER" REVOLUTIONARY CRIMES OF THE 'FOUR®PERSON GANGT," AND INSTRUCTED THAT THE MASSES NOT ATTACK ORGANIZA= TIONS, NEWSPAPER OFFICES, RADIO STATIONS, FACTORIES, RAILHAYS, AND COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT LINES.

14. OCTOBER 17. CENTRAL DIRECTIVE #16 (CONCERNING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE "CRIMES" OF THE "FOUR=PERSON GANG") IS RECEIVED.

15. OCTOBER 19. MASS RALLIES INVOLVING 16 HIGHER= LEVEL INSTITUTES AND COLLEGES ARE HELD IN SHANGHAI.

16. DV OBER 20. MASS DEMONSTRATIONS HELD IN PEOPLE'S

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17. OCTOBER 21. ANOTHER MASS RALLY IN SHANGHAI IS ATTENDED BY "CENTRAL WORK GROUP" LEADERS SU CHEN-HUA. NI CHIH#FU, AND PENG CHIUNG, MA, HSU, AND WANG ARE IN ATTENDANCE AFTER RECEIVING ASSURANCES THAT THEIR SAFETY WILL BE GUARANTEED, CENTRAL INSTRUCTIONS ARE TRANSMITTED IN THE FORM OF OBSERVATIONS BY THE THREE "CENTRAL WORK GROUP" LEADERS. ACCORDING TO A RECORD OF THOS REMARKS, DATO OCTOBER 21 0745=0845, SU CHEN=HUA DELIVERED THE KEY POINTS, HE SAID: "SHANGHAI'S IMPLE. MENTATION OF THE CENTRAL DECISIONS HAS NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND IS A MAJOR AFFAIR. TODAY PEKING IS HOLDING A DEMONSTRATION OF 800,000 PERSONS. TOMORROW ANOTHER 808,000 PERSONS WILL TAKE PART. FOREIGN REPORTSERS ARE INVITED TO TAKE FICTURES FREELY. THERE ARE THREE POINTS: (1) YOU MUST CAREFULLY ADHERE TO THE TELEPHONE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN SHANGHAI ON OCTOBER 16, (2) I AM TRANSMITTING THREE POINTS IN THE CENTRAL TELEGRAM OF OCTOBER 21: (A) CENTRAL DIRECTIVE #16 MUST BE DISSEMINATED IMMEDIATELY TO THE BROAD MASSES. (B) SLOGANS AT THE DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD READS "WARMLY CELEBRATE THE APPOINTMENT OF COMRADE HUA KUD#FENG AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE MILITARY COMMISSION" AND "CELEBRATE THE VICTORY IN STRIKING DOWN THE GANG OF FOUR. (C) THE DEMONSTRATION IN PEKING AT 4 PM (SIC) ON OCTOBER 24 WILL BE BROADCAST LIVE TO THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. (3) SINCE THE SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE WAS ORGANIZED BY THE FOUR PERSONS, IT MUST STRICTLY EXAMINE ITSELF, REMARKS BY NI CHIH#FU AND PENG CHIUNG WERE IN THE SAME VEINS NI STRESSED THAT "THE RESPONSI" BILITY IS WITH THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE...YOU MUST NOT STRUGGLE AGAINST LOWER LEVEL CADRES, THE SPEARHEAD MUST BE POINTED AGAINST THE GANG OF FOUR."

18, OCTOBER 24, SHANGHAI MASS RALLY TO CELEBRATE APPOINTMENT OF HUA, STRIKING DOWN OF GANG OF FOUR, MA TIEN#SMUI PRESIDES AND CHOU CHUN#LIN DELIVERS SPEECH, CENTRAL DIRECTIVE #17 CONCERNING THE CREA# TION OF AN INVESTIGATORY BODY TO EXAMINE THE CRIMES OF THE RADICALS IS TRANSMITTED.

19. DCTOBER 26. VARIOUS DEPARTMENT AND SECTION MEADS UNDER THE SHANGMAI PARTY AND REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES ARE REPLACED BY MEMBERS OF THE "CENTRAL WORK GROUP," CULTURE AND EDUCATION GROUP OFFICIALS CHEN CHINHUA, LU WANG=WEI, WANG CHING=KUANG, AND CHOU PENGENIEN ARE REMOVED, LEADING OFFICIALS IN

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20. OCTOBER 27. THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCES APPOINTMENT OF SU, NI AND PIENG AS 1ST, 2ND AND 3RD SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL PARTY SECRETARIES.

21. OCTOBER 28. THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCES CONCURRENT APPOINTMENT OF SU, NI AND PIENG AS CHAIRMAN, FIRST AND SECOND VICE CHAIRMAN RESPECTIVELY OF SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, GATES

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EXDIS DEPT FOR S/S, S/P, EA, NSC, INR, CIA E.D.11652: XGDS=1 TAGS: PFOR, US, CH SUBJECT: CHIAD KUAN=HUA TELLS AMBASSADOR FITZGERALD THAT PRC "PROTESTED" PRESIDENT FORD'S REMARKS ON TAIWAN

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. AUSTRALIAN EMBOFF (PLEASE PROTECT) HAS ALLOWED US TO READ CABLE REPORTING SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF AMBASSADOR FITZGERALD'S OCTOBER 29 CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN=HUA (REFTEL). CHIAO UNDERTOOD A STANDARD REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, EMPHASIZED CONTINUITY OF POST=MAD CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY == EXPLICITLY INCLUDING OPPOSITION TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SING=AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AS THEY HAD DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS. CHIAO DISMISSED RECENT STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND NOMINEE CARTER AS "CAMPAIGN RHETORIC" BUT ADDED THAT CHINESE HAD "PROTESTED" TO USG PRESIDENT FORD'S REMARKS ON TAIWAN DURING SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. WHEN AMBASSADOR FITZGERALD ASKED IF THE CHINESE HAD BEEN CONCERNED AT RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE TWO U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS ON SINOHUS RELATIONS, CHIAO REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE, TERMING THEM "CAMPAIGN RHETORIC" WITHOUT POLICY SIGNIFICANCE. BUT CHIAO THEN REVEALED THAT THE CHINESE HAD "PROTESTED" PRESIDENT FORD'S REFERENCE IN THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE TO THE EXISTENCE OF A US#PRC AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION. CHIAO INDICATED THAT THE CHINESE HAD POINTED OUT TO THE USG THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT DID NOT EXIST. ASKED BY FITZGERALD TO EXPLAIN CHINA'S STANCE ON TAIWAN, HOWEVER, CHIAO SIMPLY REITERATED THE STANDARD THREE CONDITIONS FOR

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LIMDIS E.O.11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, CH SUBJECT: THE LAST DAYS OF RADICAL SHANGHAI REF: MONG KONG 12719

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THE OCTOBER 30 PEOPLE'S DAILY "COMMENTATOR" ARTICLE EXTOLLING THE "EXCELLENT SITUATION" IN SHANGHAI (REFTEL) NOTES IN PASSING THAT "EVEN WHEN THEIR (THE FOUR=PERSON GANGIS) COLLAPSE WAS IMMINENT, THEY WERE STILL PUTTING UP STUBBORN RESISTANCE IN A LAST-DITCH STRUGGLE." THAT IS A GROSS UNDERSTATEMENT, ON THE EVIDENCE OF WALLPOSTERS COPIED BY A JAPANESE EMBORF (PROTECT) VISITING SHANGHAI IN LATE OCTOBER. THE POSTERS INDICATE THAT PRACTICALLY THE ENTIRE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL LEADERSMIP JOINED IN AN ELABORATELY=PLANNED BUT NSVER= EXECUTED EFFORT TO RESIST PEKINGIS PURGE OF THE FOUR RADICALS, KEY SHANGHAI SUBORDINATES OF CHANG CHUN-CHIAO AND WANG HUNG=WEN ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT THEIR LEADERS AND ALLIES IN PEKING; INSTRUCTED SHANGHAI MEDIA TO SCREEN, EDIT AND POSSIBLY REJECT MATERIAL DISSEMINATED FROM PEKING; PLACED SELECTED MILITIA UNITS ON GRADE= DNE ALERT STATUS: DRAFTED MESSAGES OF RESISTANCE TO BE BROADCAST FROM SHANGHAI "TO THE PEOPLE OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY" AND "TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD"; INSTRUCTED THE MILITIA TO OCCUPY AND SECURE RADIO AND TV STATIONS ON COMMAND, AND PREPARED TO PASS THE WORD

HYLAND, MCFARLANE HYLAND, MCFARLANE BY UN, NARA, DATE 7/31/08 PSN:042037 PAGE 01 WHYLAND, MCFARLANE BY UN, NARA, DATE 7/31/08 TOR: 307/09:05Z DIG: 020700Z NOV 76 WHYLAND, MCFARLANE BY UN, NARA, DATE 7/31/08 TOR: 307/09:05Z DIG: 020700Z NOV 76 WHYLAND, MCFARLANE

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TO LOWER LEVELS TO READY THEMSELVES FOR A "BLOODY WAR" AGAINST RESURGENT "REVISIONISM" IN THE CAPITAL, BUT THESE PLANS WERE HALD IN ABEYANCE -- AND ULTIMATELY RETURNED UNEXPECTEDLY FROM PEKING ON OCTOBER 13. IN SUCCEEDING DAYS AGENTS AND ALLIES OF THE CENTRAL PEKING LEADERSHIP MANAGED (BY WHAT MEANS IS NOT CLEAR) TO NEUTRALIZE THE PLANNED RADICAL RESISTANCE, FROM OCTOBER 15=26 THE SHANGHAI LEADERSHIP WAS NUDGED ASIDE AND THE MUNICIPAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT APPARATUS PLACED UNDER PEKING DOMINATION, ASSUMING THAT THE WALLPOSTERS CAN BE BELIEVED, ONLY ONE CONCLUSION IS POSSIBLE: THE "GANG" CONSISTED OF CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN FOUR PERSONS; MANY PURGES AND ARRESTS IN SHANGHAI ARE INEVITABLE; AND THE NEW PEKING=IMPOSED LEADERSHIP OF SHANGHAI IS LIKELY TO HAVE ITS HANDS FULL FOR SOME MONTHS TO COME, END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY,

2. THE FOLLOWING DAY=BY=DAY ACCOUNT OF EVENTS IN SHANGHAI FROM OCTOBER 6=28 WAS PREPARED BY THE JAPANESE EMBOFF ON THE BASIS OF WALLPOSTERS AND PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS. IT IS REPORTED HERE IN DETAIL TO SERVE AS AN ANTIDOTE TO THE NOTION THAT THE PEKING QUARTET WAS AN ISOLATED GROUP LACKING IN GENUINE SUPPORT.

3. OCTOBER 6. WANG HUNG WEN, CHANG CHUNSCHIAO, CHIANG CHING, AND YAO WENSYUAN ARE ARRESTED WITH ALLIES IN PEKING AND PLACED IN SEPARATE CUSTODY FOR INTERROGATION.

4. OCTOBER 7. LEARNING FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORK OFFICE THAT A MEETING HAD BEEN HELD IN PEKING AND A BULLETIN AND DIRECTIVE ISSUED TO ANNOUNCE HUA KUO-FENG'S ELEVATION, SHANGHAI LEADERS MA TIEN=SHUI, HSU CHING= HSIEN, AND WANG HSIUGCHEN TRY IN VAIN TO CONTACT THE RADICAL QUARTET AND THEIR CLOSEST ALLIES, WANG HUNG-WEN'S SECRETARIES LIAO TZU-K'ANG AND HSIAO MU AND CHANG CHUN#CHIAOIS SECRETARY HO MSIU#WEN SPREAD THE WORD THAT "REVISIONIST ELEMENTS" AT THE CENTER HAD TAKEN CHARGE, THAT THE "REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS" HAD BEEN OVERCOME: THEY THEN ATTEMPTED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH CHIN TZU-MIN, "RESPONSIBLE PERSON" FOR THE NATIONAL GENERAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION PREPARATORY OFFICE (AND MEMBER OF THE SHANGHAI HUNICIPAL PARTY STANDING COMMITTEE), MINISTER OF CULTURE YU HUI=YUNG, AND PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTRY OFFICIAL CHU CHIA+HUI. IN THE AFTERNOON MA TIENSSHUI AND CHOU CHUNSLIN FLY TOTREKINGETO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION; MAIS SECRETARY PANG TSO-TYING IS INSTRUCTED TO REPORT BACK TO HSU CHING-HSIEN



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AND WANG HSTU-CHEN-USING CODE-MAIS FINDINGS, THAT EVENING FANG PHONES TO SHANGHAI THE MESSAGE "OLD MA IS TAKING A BATH, MY ABDOMINAL ILLNESS HAS FLARED UP AGAIN"-MEANING THAT "REVISIONISM HAS MOUNTED THE STAGE AGAIN IN PEKING."

5. OCTOBER 8. FOLLOWING FUTILE ATTEMPTS THROUGHOUT THE MORNING TO REESTABLISH CONTACT MA AND CHOU IN PEKING, HSU CHING-HSIEN AT 4:00 P.M. ORDERS CHU YUNG-CHIA (SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER AND DIRECTOR OF THE WRITING AND COMPOSITIONS OFFICE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL MASS MEDIA) TO AWAIT ORDERS ON HANDLING OF NEWS FROM PEKING, MEAN\* WHILE WANG HSIUWCHEN CALLS LIAONING PROVINCE TO INQUIRE "HOW IS PEKINGIS WEATHER? HOW C MAD YUAN=HSIN?" NO ANSWER IS IMMEDIATELY FORTHCOMING, BUT A SUBSEQUENT ENCODED CALL FROM PEKING CONFIRMS THAT THE FOUR RADICALS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, HSU AND WANG THEN ORDER THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (SMRC) STANDING COMMITTEE TO ADOPT "STAGE ONE ALERT PREPARA-TIONS"; HSU ASSUMES OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MASS MEDIA, WANG FOR MILITIA ACTIVITIES, NOTING THAT THE PEOPLE'S DAILY HAS CEASED USING THE GUOTATION "ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN," HSU INSTRUCTS CHU YUNG=CHIA THAT A "REVISIONIST COUP" HAS OCCURRED, THE PEOPLE'S DAILY IS "UNRELIABLE," AND SHANGHAI PAPERS SHOULD NOT USE THE FACSIMILIE EDITION OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN FLOWN IN FROM PEKING. (NOTE: FOR THE RECORD, THE LAST USE OF THE QUOTATION WAS IN A MINOR ARTICLE ON PAGE 3 OF THE OCTOBER & PEOPLE'S DAILY .)

6. OCTOBER 9. SHORTLY AFTER MIDNIGHT, WANG HSIUDCHEN CONVENES AN URGENT MEETING OF KEY MILITIA CADRES, BRIEFS THEM ON DEVELOPING SITUATION, ORDERS THEM ON ALERT, AND ANNOUNCES PLAN TO "RESIST WITH ARMED FORCE THE COUP IN PEKING," PLANS ARE SET IN MOTION TO MOBILIZE 30,000 MILITIA WITHIN 24 HOURS, THIS MEETING, SUBSEQUENTLY TERMED THE "OCTOBER 9 COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY INCIDENT," INVOLVED KEY SHANGHAI LEADERSHIP FIGURES: YEH CHIANG=MING, WANG HSIANG=CHUN, CHIEN ADTA, SHIH SHANG=YING, CHANG PAO=TUNG, WU LI=YI, CHI YU=CHIUAN, AND WANG SHAO=YUNG,

7. OCTOBER 10. HSU CHING-HSIEN AND WANG HSIU-CHEN ARE SUMMONED TO PEKING TO ATTEND MEETING OF LEADERSHIP. INDICATING THAT THEY THINK IT LIKELY THEY WILL BE BT

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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction
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MEMORANDUM

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:	President Ford Senator Mike Mansfield, DMontana Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
DATE & TIME:	Friday - November 5, 1976 3:25 p.m (uncertain)
PLACE:	The Oval Office
SUBJECT:	Senator Mansfield's Trip to China

<u>Mansfield:</u> Well, I don't know what to say. You got the states but not the votes.

President: It was a helluva campaign.

<u>Mansfield</u>: It was. A good, clean campaign. I think a lot of people had a hard time deciding. Where are you going to go? Stay here?

<u>President:</u> Probably not. None of the kids' friends are left in Virginia. In Grand Rapids we haven't lived since we only had one child. "We'll probably float between California and Vail.

<u>Mansfield</u>: There have been a lot of changes in the Congress. It is going to be a tough bunch for the new guy.

<u>President:</u> And there aren't the leaders anymore. Tip (O'Neill) is not a Rayburn or even an Albert.

Mansfield: I'm not sure even Rayburn could deal with this gang.

We spent a week at Sinkiang. It has a sixth of the land area but only 11 million people. The border has been closed for years, but they are not afraid of the Soviet Union. I went to Peking three times. We heard about Hua Kuo-feng's elevation. They're building a Mao mausoleum. It's most un-Chinese.

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We had a good meeting with Li Hsien-nien, who was very philosophical. He said they have to fire some empty cannon once in a while. Mao's niece was a little sharper with me, but on Taiwan she said it was our problem; they had done their part. I said we had a lot of knots and it took time. She said knots can be untied. I said not if they are wet.

President: Were they belligerent as they were with (Hugh) Scott?

<u>Mansfield</u>: No. I think Hugh sort of asked for it. You have to roll with these people. You can't win an argument with them. Everywhere we went, the line was grief for Mao and saturation with the Mao line.

President: About the Soviets too?

<u>Mansfield:</u> Yes. No change in the hatred there. I think the purge was being planned right along, even maybe before Mao died. I wasn't surprised it happened; only that it was so soon. It's been a helluva year for them -- four earthquakes, Teng, Mao, the purge.

They have a lot of confidence, they aren't afraid of the Soviet Union. They are working hard but have a long way to go. They say the Soviets are going after the West, not after them. They said we should get out of Korea with the UN Command, but they are not pressing us. I said how about our troops in Europe? And they said "That's your problem." I said it is weaker than before, with Greece-Turkey, Italy, Portugal. They said: "Why don't you advise them?"

(There was a little discussion on the Thailand coup. He said they were going back to the old corrupt Thai ways. There was some discussion of Japan and Miki.)

President: I think the Governor doesn't know what he is in for.

<u>Mansfield:</u> He really doesn't. I don't think anyone could. It's a new ball game.

President: There is a big turnover.

Mansfield: They don't play the game the same way.



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President: Who will be the new leader?

Mansfield: I don't know. It is really between Hubert and Bob (Byrd). I don't know about his health.

(Discussion of Betty, Steve)

President: How is the Big Sky coming?

Mansfield: I talked to Tippy Huntley. A guy from Michigan bought half. I guess it's not doing too well. Just getting by. They want to make it a Vail, but it is going very slowly.

President: I see John Melcher won (a Senate seat from Montana).

<u>Mansfield</u>: Yes. He is a good man. He worked hard. A new Republican took his old seat.



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IZATION AROSE, DELEGATION SHOULD INDICATE SUPPORT BUT NOT IN TERMS OF ANY SPECIFIC FORMULA. HE EXPRESSED HOPE DELEGATION COULD ALSO STRESS ELEMENTS OF CONTINUITY IN US

POLICY IN VIEW OF UNCERTAINTY ABROAD AS TO WHAT NEW ADMINISTRATION MEANS.

3. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT SUBJECTS OF SUPPLYING. MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR ENGAGING IN TECHNICAL COOPERATION HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED WITH CHINESE. HE ADDED THAT THERE IS NO PLAN FOR THE SALE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT NOR HAVE THE CHINESE EVER ASKED FOR IT, HE ALSO NOTED POSSIBILITY OF STRONG SOVIET REACTION IF US MOVED IN THIS DIRECTION.

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TIME 135R 314 MJA249 TREAT AS DRIGINAL RUMJPG #2462 3350838 DOB18Z NOV 76 JSLO PEKING SECSTATE WASHDC 6855 J AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 27 UNSUL HONG KONG 4071 MBASSY MUSCOW 522 MBASSY ROME 32 MBASSY SINGAPORE 233 MBASSY TAIPEI 896 MBASSY TOKYO 1799 HFIDENTIAL PEKING 2462 DIS .11652: XGDS-1 S: PFOR, CH, IT, US, UR, JA JECT: MEETING BETWEEN LI HSIEN-NIEN AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DER ITALIAN EMBASSY HAS GIVEN US FOLLOWING HIGHLIGHTS OF VERSATION NOVEMBER 20 BETWEEN VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN GIUSEPPE BARTOLOMEI, LEADER OF CHRISTIAN DEMUCRATS IN ITALIAN SENATE. EMBASSY OFFICERS DID NOT ATTEND MEETING H LI BUT BARTOLOMEI DESCRIBED DISCUSSION TO THEM LATER. LI TOLD BARTOLOMEI THAT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS SHOULD ITINUE TO STRIVE TO KEEP THE PCI OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT. IKE THE YUGOSLAV PARTY WHICH WAS REVISIONIST BUT INDE-IDENT OF THE SUVIETS, THE PCI WAS BOTH REVISIONIST AND U TO MOSCOW, IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS IF THE PCI WERE UWED TO SHARE PUWER. A CHINESE OFFICIAL PRESENT AT MEETING EMPHASIZED TO A MEMBER OF BARTOLOMEI'S JUP THE HOPE THAT BARTOLOMEI ON HIS RETURN TO ROME JLD MAKE CLEAR PRC VIEWS IN THIS REGARD TO HIS PARTY ) GOVERNMENT. IN REVIEWING THE CURRENT STATE OF SIND-US RELATIONS BARTULOMEI, LI DID NUT DEPART FROM THE LINE THAT HE \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* WHSR COMMENT \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* DECLASSIFIED State Sept

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D WANG HAI-JUNG ADOPTED WITH CODEL CURTIS. HE SAID TAT THE U', AND CHINA HAD MANY INTERESTS IN COMMON ID REFERKID ONLY IN PASSING TO THE THREE POINTS REGARDING IWAN. TES

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EXDIS E.D. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFDR; CH; UN SUBJECT: DEPARTURE DF HUANG HUA REF: USUN 5624

1. CHOU NAN OF CHINESE DELEGATION TOLD MISOFF NOVEMBER 24 THAT PERM REP HUANG HUA WOULD BE DEPARTING NY AND RETURNING TO PEKING IN THE NEAR FUTURE (REFTEL). WHILE THIS NEWS IS NOT WIDELY KNOWN AS YET, THERE IS ALREADY CONSIDERABLE BUZZING AND SPECULATION IN THE CIRCLE OF THOSE ALREADY INFORMED. EVEN THOUGH HUANG HUA HAS NOW COMPLETED FIVE YEARS IN NEW YORK, THE TIMING OF HIS DEPARTURE GIVES RISE TO IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS WHETHER IT IS CONNECTED WITH RECENT CHANGES IN PRC LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE -- I.E., WHETHER HUANG HUA IS ON HIS WAY UP, DOWN OR OUT.

2. JAPANESE PERM REP ABE TOLD AMB BENNETT EVENING NOVEMBER 24 HE ATTRIBUTED NO PARTICULAR POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO HUANG HUA'S DEPARTURE AND WAS CONVINCED HE WAS LEAVING FOR REASONS OF HEALTH. ACCORDING TO ABE, HUANG HUA HAS SUFFERED GREAT PAIN FROM A BACK PROBLEM -- IT SOUNDS LIKE SOMETHING LIKE A SLIPPED DISK -- AND HAD EXTENSIVE TREATMENT WHILE IN PEKING LAST SUMMER ON HOME LEAVE. HE CAME BACK FEELING MUCH BETTER, BUT HAS TOLD ABE THAT HIS CONDITION HAS AGAIN DETERIORATED AND HE IS IN CONSIDERABEL PAIN. IT IS A FACT THAT HAS BEEN NOTED THAT HUANG HUA HAS CUT DOWN ON HIS ATTENDENACE AT SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS AND OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES. SCRANTON

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### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

November 29, 1976

### Dear Mike:

I want to thank you for both the excellent written report you sent me on your recent trip to the People's Republic of China and the personal insight you provided on this same subject in our meeting on November 4. Your comments, framed in the perspective of a lifetime as a scholar on China, were both thoughtful and perceptive.

This is a time of uncertainty in China and as we define our relationship with the new government, it will be extremely valuable to have your thoughts and advice. In this regard, although you are retiring from the Senate, I hope that you will continue to make your expertise and counsel available to our country's leaders in the years to come.

Warm personal regards,

The Honorable Mike Mansfield United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510



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CONFIDENTIAL PEKING 2462

LIMDIS E.O.11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PFDR, CH, IT, US, UR, JA SUBJECT: MEETING BETWEEN LI HSIEN-NIEN AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER

1. ITALIAN EMBASSY HAS GIVEN US FOLLOWING HIGHLIGHTS OF CONVERSATION NOVEMBER 20 BETWEEN VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN AND GIUSEPPE BARTOLOMEI, LEADER OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE ITALIAN SENATE. EMBASSY OFFICERS DID NOT ATTEND MEETING WITH LI BUT BARTOLOMEI DESCRIBED DISCUSSION TO THEM LATER.

2. LI TOLD BARTOLOMEI THAT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS SHOULD CONTINUE TO STRIVE TO KEEP THE PCI OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT. UNLIKE THE YUGOSLAV PARTY WHICH WAS REVISIONIST BUT INDE-PENDENT OF THE SOVIETS, THE PCI WAS BOTH REVISIONIST AND TIED TO MOSCOW, IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS IF THE PCI WERE ALLOWED TO SHARE POWER. A CHINESE OFFICIAL PRESENT AT THE MEETING EMPHASIZED TO A MEMBER OF BARTOLOMEI'S GROUP THE HOPE THAT BARTOLOMEI ON HIS RETURN TO ROME WOULD MAKE CLEAR PRC VIEWS IN THIS REGARD TO HIS PARTY AND GOVERNMENT.

3. IN REVIEWING THE CURRENT STATE OF SIND-US RELATIONS FOR BARTOLOMEI, LI DID NOT DEPART FROM THE LINE THAT HE

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AND WANG HAI-JUNG ADDPTED WITH CODEL CURTIS. HE SAID THAT THE US AND CHINA HAD MANY INTERESTS IN COMMON AND REFERRED ONLY IN PASSING TO THE THREE POINTS REGARDING TAIWAN. GATES BT

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