# The original documents are located in Box 1, folder "China, Republic of - Premier Chiang Ching-kuo" of the National Security Adviser's Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

### January 8, 1975

### Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you very much for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter of September 20. I particularly appreciate your thoughtful comments on our current relationship.

As you observed, the depth and breadth of our ties is indeed impressive. We have both shown a determination to overcome problems. We can take mutual pride in our present relationship. I would like to express appreciation for the cooperative spirit displayed by your government through the years.

I also wish to mention my continuing admiration for the remarkable achievements of your government and your people. These are due in large part, I am convinced, to the extraordinary leadership of your distinguished father and yourself. During my visit to Taiwan in 1953, I was able to see many of the challenges which have confronted you. I therefore find your subsequent accomplishments all the more impressive. I am particularly gratified by the productive use your government has made of economic assistance provided by my government in earlier years. We continue to cite your achievements as an outstanding example of what a determined people can accomplish if given help when they most need it.

Dispatched 1/09/75 (adc)

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Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I also reaffirmed our worldwide commitments, including our commitment to the security of the Republic of China. I can assure you that we do not forget our friends. We will continue to value our cordial and constructive relationship.

Our policies throughout the world are designed to construct a framework for peace that will allow mankind's intellectual and physical resources to be devoted increasingly to meeting our common challenges. We realize that this will not be an easy task and that firmness as well as conciliation will be required. I am sure that we can count on your cooperation in achieving this difficult goal desired by both of our peoples.

Sincerely,

ł,

Herald R. F.

His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo Premier of the Republic of China Taipei



MEMORANDUM

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

### ACTION

#### TOP SECRET / EYES ONLY

January 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:	THE PRESIDENT
FROM:	HENRY A. KISSINGER $+K$
SUBJECT:	Proposed Reply from You to Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

You have received a letter from the Premier of the Republic of China, Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo (Tab B). The letter applauds your commitment to the continuity of U.S. foreign policy and to our formal alliances. It cautions that the Communist threat in Asia is still very much alive. Premier Chiang, in effect, asks you to reaffirm the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 and to sustain our active assistance to the ROC in maintaining its defense capability.

I believe a specific reaffirmation of the Mutual Defense Treaty would not now be wise as the overall direction of our China policy is to seek to sustain Taiwan's security by political rather than legalistic means. We have not specifically affirmed the treaty over the last six months, and we will want to move away from it over the long run as the process of normalizing our relations with the People's Republic of China progresses.

Nonetheless, it would be highly appropriate for you to affirm in general terms our commitment to Taiwan's security. This would not violate the spirit of our efforts to normalize relations with the PRC. It would also help to sustain the confidence of the Republic of China, which we need to do. At the same time, by avoiding a specific reference to the 1954 treaty, we would continue the process of moving from a specific commitment to a more general pledge that we will not permit Taiwan to be overwhelmed by military force.

The rest of the letter replies in appropriate terms to other comments in Premier Chiang Ching-kuo's letter to you.

Recommendation:

DECLASSIFIED

That you sign the letter to Premier Chiang Ching-kuo at Tab A. The letter has been cleared with Paul Theis.

TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY XGDS

3.64.3

MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

### ACTION

TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY

December 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

**66,** SEC. **3.1** State dept.

ECLABOFIE

W. R. SMYSE RICHARD H. SOLOMON

SUBJECT:

Proposed Reply from the President to Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo wrote the President a post-inauguration letter on September 20 (which was delivered by Ambassador Shen on October 9) which applauds the President's public statements of intention to maintain the continuity of U.S. foreign policy and to uphold our formal alliances. The Premier also cautions that the Communist threat in Asia is still very much alive, and indirectly seeks a Presidential reaffirmation of the U.S.- ROC Mutual Defense Treaty as well as American assistance in "the strengthening of our defense capability" -- presumably through increased sales of military equipment. (See the text of the letter at Tab B.)

We and the Department agreed in October that it was appropriate to delay formulating a Presidential reply to Premier Chiang's letter until after your November trip to Peking on the assumption that the results of the visit would enable us to relate the contents of a reply more precisely to the state of our overall China policy.

The major issue in formulating a reply is whether we should, (a) explicitly reaffirm our commitment to the Mutual Defense Treaty, (b) only reiterate in general terms the U.S. defense commitment or make some other form of unspecified commitment to Taiwan's security, or (c) merely assure Chiang Ching-kuo that we will keep the ROC's interests in mind. The more fundamental question involved is whether and how we should, at this point in time and in view of your expectations about the evolution of our relations with both Peking and Taipei, attempt to move along another step or two in the process of conditioning the ROC leadership to the evolution of our China policy.

4752-X

#### TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY

To date, we have continued to make rather explicit references to either the Mutual Defense Treaty or to our security commitment to Taiwan in contacts with ROC officials:

-- A year ago, immediately following your November, 1973 trip to Peking, you told Ambassador Shen that the U.S. "defense commitment" was absolutely firm.

-- Last May, Ambassador Unger, on your instructions, explicitly reaffirmed the Mutual Defense Treaty during his first substantive meeting with Chiang Ching-kuo.

-- On December 3, Assistant Secretary Habib, who joined Deputy Secretary Ingersoll in briefing Ambassador Shen on your most recent visit to Peking, said that our "security commitment" to Taiwan "remains valid" in the context of President Ford's general pledge to maintain existing commitments.

State, in a draft reply to Premier Chiang (attached to a draft memorandum from you to the President at Tab II), proposes that the President make no reference to either the Mutual Defense Treaty or to a general U.S. defense commitment to Taiwan, but that he confine himself to reassuring Chiang Ching-kuo of American support in the following vague terms:

"Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I can assure you this means we appreciate your needs and interests, including your concern for Taiwan's security, and that we continue to value our cordial and constructive relations."

We believe this statement goes further than you may wish to go in implying American "distance" from Taiwan's security, given the character of the talks during your recent Peking trip in dealing with the normalization question. The State formulation suggests that we have no concern for Taiwan's security ourselves, but that this is Taiwan's problem. The question we face in replying to Premier Chiang is whether to "push" the ROC leadership this far in circumstances where the exact evolution of our relations with Peking is this much in doubt. The danger, of course, is that we might prematurely lead the ROC to conclude that it has to cope with its security needs on its own, and by means which could force our hand (or that of Peking). Moreover, we think that the ROC is more likely to accept other steps in the normalization process if it does not feel we are moving away from our concern for its safety.

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### TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY

#### TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY

Balancing this view, we do believe it appropriate to continue the process of conditioning Taipei to the likely evolution of our China policy. Thus, we agree with State that the President should not specifically reaffirm the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954. It seems more appropriate at this point in time to have him make an <u>indirect</u> affirmation of our commitment to Taiwan's security but not to be as forthcoming as Premier Chiang clearly would like him to be, given the contents of his letter of September 20. This approach will be a clear step forward in the conditioning process but would not be the two or three steps which are embodied in the State draft.

We have prepared two memoranda for the President including replies to Premier Chiang for you to choose from. The first, which we recommend, incorporates a reaffirmation of our general commitment to Taiwan's security (Tab I). The second includes the State position of a very indirect expression of "appreciation" for Taiwan's concerns on security matters (Tab II).

#### **Recommendation:**

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I (the affirmation of our security relationship):

Approve Disapprove

or

#### **Option:**

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab II (the "appreciation" of Taiwan's security concerns):

Approve

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_



NE a 25 - 💒 TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE del por NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL December 12, 1974 ge 12/12/14 PAUL THEIS TO: JOHN A. FROEBE, JR. FROM:

I would appreciate your working over the draft reply from the President to Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo. In this instance you will find two versions of the letter which represent two alternative formulations on the question of the security commitment which we are putting before the President for his decision.

DECLASSIFIED 6 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 \_ NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_ ¥ , NARA, DATE 1974 DEC 12

# DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you very much for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter of September 20. I particularly appreciate your thoughtful comments on our current relationship. observed, As you remark, the depth and breadth of these ties is indeed impressive.) (We have both shown, determination to overcome problems & and I believe We can take mutual pride in our present relationship. I would like to express w appreciation for the cooperative DISPLAYED THROUGH THE YEARS BY YOUR spirit which your I would also to mention my continuing admiration for the remarkable achievements of your government and your These were due in large part, I am convinced, to the people. extraordinary leadership of your distinguished father and yourself. During my visit to Taiwan in 1953, I was able to Lave wes many of the challenges which confronted Ree subsequent you. your, accomplishments are all the more impressive I am particularly gratified by the productive use your government made of economic assistance r GOVERIMENT IN earlier years. You should know ke continue to cite your achievements as an outstanding what a determined people can example of what others may accomplish if given a of help when they most need it. His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier of the Republic of China, Taipei.

Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I also reaffirmed our worldwide commit*fecurity of the* ments, including our defense commitment to the Republic of China. I *OO NOT FOREFT OUR FRIEVOS. US* can assure you that we will continue to value our cordial and constructive relationship.

Use deserve: Our policies throughout the world we deserve: Our policies throughout the world we deserve: Our policies throughout the world work to construct a framework the for peace which will allow mankind's intellectual and physical resources to be increasingly devoted to meeting the common challenges we all face. We realize that this will not be an easy task and that firmness as well as conciliation will be required. I am sure that we can count on your cooperation in achieving this difficult goal which both our peoples desire.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald R. Ford,



#### DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you very much for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter of September 20. I particularly appreciate your thoughtful comments on our current relationship. Annel As you **remar**k, the depth and breadth of these ties is indeed impressive. Distance and the second sectors have both shown determination to overcome problems, and I believe We can take mutual pride in our present relationship. I would like to express my appreciation for the cooperative DISPLAYED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE spirit which your government has displayed over the years I would also like to mention my continuing admiration for the remarkable achievements of your government and your are. These were due in large part, I am convinced, to the people. extraordinary leadership of your distinguished father and yourself. During my visit to Taiwan in 1953, I was able to wl many of the challenges which confronted see wa therefore in Jubicament il. Thus your accomplishments are all the more impressive you. I am particularly gratified by the productive use your government\_made of economic assistance 🐙 government provided during those earlier years. You should know that We continue to cite your achievements as an outstanding a determined people can example of what others may accomplish if given a bit of help when they most need it. His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo, FORD

Premier of the Republic of China, Taipei. Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I can assure you this means appreciate your needs and interests, including your concern for Taiwan's security, and the world will be up you our contribution and com-Machuatry Michaeles we have any for so they, structive relations, Our policies throughout the world seek to construct a framework for peace which will allow mankind's intellectual and physical resources to be increasingly devoted to meeting the common challenges we all increases we realize that this will not be an easy task and that firmness as well as conciliation will be required. I am sure that we can count on your cooperation in achieving this difficult goal where both our of our

peoples deserve.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald R. Ford



### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

S/S 7420098 NSC 4752

October 26, 1974

## MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

## Subject: Premier Chiang's September 20 Letter to the President

Attached is a draft reply to Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo's September 20 letter to the President. A copy of Chiang's letter is also attached.

The NSC referral memorandum did not indicate who would sign the response. We feel strongly that Chiang's importance and the importance of the subject matter in his eyes justifies a Presidential reply. Failure to do so would be considered as an affront with serious policy implications by the ROC.

Ingsteen itive Secretary

Attachments:

- 1. Draft Reply.
- 2. Chiang Letter of September 20.



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

October 10, 1974

### MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President from Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

Attached is a letter to the President from Premier Chiang Ching-kuo of the Republic of China (ROC). ROC Ambassador James C.H. Shen delivered it to Deputy Secretary Ingersoll during a meeting October 9.

Although we have not seen the text of the letter, Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan told our Ambassador in Taipei that it conveys warm wishes for the President's success, says that the ROC will take care of its own problems and seek increased self-reliance, and expresses pleasure at the President's statement of resolve to stand by friends and honor commitments. Ambassador Shen described the letter in similar terms to Mr. Ingersoll.

Butcher for

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter to the President.





Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you very much for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter of September 20. I particularly appreciate your thoughtful comments on our current relationship.

As you remark, the depth and breadth of these ties is indeed impressive. Despite occasional issues between us, we have both shown determination to overcome problems, and I believe we can take mutual pride in our present relationship. I would like to express my appreciation for the cooperative spirit which your government has displayed over the years.

I would also like to mention my continuing admiration for the remarkable achievements of your government and your people. These were due in large part, I am convinced, to the extraordinary leadership of your distinguished father and yourself. During my visit to Taiwan in 1953, I was able to see with my own eyes many of the challenges which confronted you. Thus your accomplishments are all the more impressive I am particularly gratified by the productive use to me. your government made of economic assistance my government provided during those earlier years. You should know that we continue to cite your achievements as an outstanding example of what others may accomplish if given a bit of help when they most need it.

His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier of the Republic of China, Taipei. 17

Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I can assure you this means we appreciate your needs and interests and will continue to value our cordial and constructive relationship. Our policies throughout the world seek to construct a framework for peace which will allow mankind's intellectual and physical resources to be increasingly devoted to meeting the common challenges we all face. We realize that this will not be an easy task and that firmness as well as conciliation will be required. I am sure that we can count on your cooperation in achieving this difficult goal which both our peoples desire and deserve.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald R. Ford

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ISC REFERRAL TO STATE SECRETARIA	<del>۱</del> ۲	7420098date:	<u>October 11, 19</u>
DOCUMENT DATE: Sep	t. 20, 1974	NSC LOG#_	4752
10: President Ford		SS#	7419936
ROM: Chiang Ching-kuo	-		
SUBJECT: Policy statement of R	<u>ep of China</u>	in ltr to Pres from	Premier
ACTION REQUESTED:			
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	WHIT	HOUSE SIGNATURE OTHER	
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RECOMMEND	ATIONS		
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		STAFF SECRETA	
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PLEASE RETURN REFERRAL FORM WITH STAFFING



### OFFICE OF THE PREMIER REPUBLIC OF CHINA

September 20, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

It gives me much pleasure to recall that during my last visit to Washington as a guest of the United States Government a few years ago, you were kind enough to honor me with your company at a White House dinner. Of course, I always followed with interest and admiration your brilliant career in Congress, especially as the Minority Leader. The selfless and untiring efforts made by you in fulfilling the duties of Vice Presidency under very difficult circumstances further enhanced my respect for your statesmanship. Following your assumption of the office of President, the Government and people of the Republic of China rejoice with all the allies and friends of the United States at your rededication to the noble ideals on which your great nation was founded. Your pledge of openness and candor certainly assures us a fair deal in the furtherance of our future relations.

The United States and other like-minded countries are devoted to the quest for peace and welfare of mankind. In this pilgrimage, we have to encounter many flaws and pitfalls because there are forces pulling the world to other directions. The moral and material strength of the American people has established the United States as the indispensable stabilizing influence of the international community. Together with your other allies and friends in Asia who are immensely engrossed with the safe-guarding of their security and the promotion of their economic development, we in the Republic of China are pleased to hear your declaration of the continuity of America's concern and support with regards to these matters.

E.O. 12968, SEC. 3.5 GUIDELINI DECLASSIFIED ATE DEPT.

The situation in this part of the world is very unstable. Acts of military aggression are unabated in Indochina. The continuation of infiltration and subversion against many Asian countries by outside forces seriously affects the peaceful pursuits of these nations. Your assurance of the United States standing by its commitments in all its formal alliances signifies renewed credibility of America's active partnership which will undoubtedly boost the confidence and vigor of your allies and friends in this area.

As faithful heirs to the age-old Chinese cultural heritage, the Government and people of the Republic of China are unalterably dedicated to the preservation and refinement of our traditional humane way of life. The goal of our national reconstruction is the erection and solidifying of a free, open and progressive society in which all our citizens can enjoy dignity, advancement and harmony, as contrasted to the oppressive system of communist totalitarian regimentation.

Through the spontaneous labor of its own people and with the generous aid of the United States in the '50s and the early '60s, the Republic of China has been able to fulfill its resolution to lay a sound foundation for the development of an economy that is oriented to the welfare of the masses and propelled by reasonable incentive, careful planning and self-emitted devotion. We have orderly and peacefully transformed a rural society into an industrial country, resulting in a high growth rate, expansion of international trade and manifold increase in per capita income. It is our aspiration that in tackling and solving these problem for ourselves, we may set a pattern for other countries similarly situated.

Ever since its inception, the Republic of China has been closely associated with the United States in times of peace and war. During the past two decades, the Mutual Defense Treaty is a major cornerstone of the relationship between both countries. We fully agree with your view that a strong defense is the surest way to peace and weakness invites war. The strengthening of our defense capability is not only a prerequisite for the protection of our own national interests but also serves to sustain a vital bulwark of the free world against any force of aggression which seeks to disturb the peace and stability of the Western Pacific.

In all our endeavors based on self-reliance and mutual assistance, we in the Republic of China are animated with feelings of brotherhood and goodwill towards our compatriots and other peoples throughout the world except those who seek to subjugate and destroy us.

The historical ties between the United States and the Republic of China are permeated with deep and broad significance which transcends our bilateral relations. This friendship is of tremendous importance to us; and to the other allies and friends of the United States in the Asian and Pacific region, it also serves as a good example of the mutuality of benefits. We feel confident that under your eminent Administration and in the years to come, the cordial relationship between our two countries will continue to flourish. We would greatly appreciate any wise counsel you may give us on how to further strengthen our traditional collaboration for the promotion of common interests.

With best wishes for your continuing success and personal wellbeing,

Yours sincerely,

Chiang Ching bus

Premier

His Excellency President Gerald R. Ford, The White House, Washington, D. C.

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you very much for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter of September 20. I particularly appreciate your thoughtful comments on our current relationship.

As you observed, the depth and breadth of our ties is indeed impressive. We have both shown a determination to overcome problems. We can take mutual pride in our present relationship. I would like to express my appreciation for the cooperative spirit displayed by your government through the years.

I also wish to mention my continuing admiration for the remarkable achievements of your government and your people. These are due in large part, I am convinced, to the extraordinary leadership of your distinguished father and yourself. During my visit to Taiwan in 1953, I was able to see many of the challenges which have confronted you. I therefore find your subsequent accomplishments are all the more impressive. I am particularly gratified by the productive use your government has made of economic assistance provided by my government in earlier years. We continue to cite your achievements as an outstanding example of what a determined people can accomplish if given help when they most need it.



Upon assuming office, I stressed the continuity of American policies throughout the world. I can assure you this means we appreciate your needs and interests, including your concern for Taiwan's security, and that we continue to value our cordial and constructive relations.

Our policies throughout the world seek to construct a framework for peace which will allow mankind's intellectual and physical resources to be increasingly devoted to meeting our common challenges. We realize that this will not be an easy task and that firmness as well as conciliation will be required. I am sure that we can count on your cooperation in achieving this difficult goal desired by both of our peoples.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo Premier of the Republic of China Taipei



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MEMORANDUM

### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

## TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SUBJECT:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Proposed Reply from You to Republic of China Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

You have received a letter from the Premier of the Republic of China, Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo (Tap B). That letter applauds your commitment to the continuity of U.S. foreign policy and to our formal alliances. It cautions that the Communist threat in Asia is still very much alive. Premier Chiang, in effect, asks you to reaffirm the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 and to sustain our active assistance to the ROC in maintaining its defense capability.

I believe a specific reaffirmation of the Mutual Defense Treaty would not now be wise as the overall direction of our China policy is to seek to sustain Taiwan's security by political rather than legalistic means. We have not specifically affirmed the treaty over the last six months, and we will want to move away from it over the long run as the process of normalizing our relations with the People's Republic of China progresses.

The attached letter of reply does not reaffirm the 1954 treaty, as the Premier has invited you to do, nor does it affirm any defense commitment in specific terms. Instead, it assures the Premier that we appreciate his needs and interests, including his concerns for Taiwan's security, and that we continue to value our relationship.

This formula will clearly be seen by the Premier as a hedged statement of support on security matters. I believe that such a statement is now advisable as a way of conditioning the ROC leadership to the fact that we are moving away from the present form of our defense commitment to Taiwan. This is one element of our efforts to advance the process of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China, and is designed to help create a mood which might lead to a political accommodation between Taipei and Peking.

#### **Recommendation:**

E.O. 12968, SEC. 3.

That you sign the letter to Premier Chiang Ching-kuo at Tab A. The letter has been cleared with Paul Theis.

TOP SECRET/EYES ONLY XGDS

LOG NBR DOC RECD TIAL ACTION O NSE CORRESPONDENCE-PROFILE 10 DA DA 2 75 010101110 APPROPRIATE SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION TO: PRES FROM: KISSINGER, H UNCL KISSINGER COLBY, W LOU NO FORN NODIS SCOWCROFT SCHLESINGER, J C EYES ONLY EXDIS EX SEC CODEWORD DA SENSITIVE TS Z INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION REC CY FOR ACTION REQUIRED INFO ACTION MEMO FOR HAK .... ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT MEMO FOR PRES DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT . . . . . . . . . . STAFF SECRETARY 6 REPLY FOR XX FAR EAST APPROPRIATE ACTION ..... MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA MEMO. . TO-RECOMMENDATIONS ..... EUROPE / CANADA FOR: 0 JOINT MEMO ..... LATIN AMERICA REFER TO. UNITED NATIONS ANY ACTION NECESSARY? . . . . . . ECONOMIC CONCURRENCE. . . . . . . . . SCIENTIFIC PROGRAM ANALYSIS DUE DATE: NSC PLANNING COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS) CONGRESSIONAL word Dyan OCEANS POLICEPONAL K2 m s INTELLIGENCE 20 com Nom - roche subsequent action required (or taken): Note to J. W. Davis to send to State for draft FROM DATE то Oct. 11, 1974 Smyper DAvis reply 0 DRAF SLATE D SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS has 12 2 2 5 01 04 + 01 104 110 Pres SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN): CY TO DATE FROM то 1/8/75 Davis pres sad Itr SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS wa INSTR DISPATCH MICROFILM & FILE ROMTS: CY ROMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS M/F'D NO DISP SPECIAL DISPOSITION: GRT ID: SA SF OPEN \_\_\_\_ HP NS CROSS REF W/\_ NSC/S SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: NO FOLDER: CLOSE. EP (NBC-74-21)

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**MEMORANDUM** 

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

-GONFIDENTIAL GDS

### **INFORMATION**

October 17, 1975

6956

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: THOMAS J. BARNES

SUBJECT: Letter to the President from Republic of China Premier

The ROC Embassy Minister delivered to Jay Taylor a letter to the President from Premier Chiang Ching-kuo (Tab A). The letter is dated October 14, 1975.

Premier Chiang refers to the Secretary's trip to Peking in preparation for the President's impending visit, and warns that U.S. diplomatic recognition of the PRC will "virtually mean negation of the existence of the Republic of China...." The Premier declares that such an eventuality would make it "practically impossible" for the ROC to carry on trade and other forms of "substantive relations" with the outside world. He reiterates that "under no circumstance" does the ROC envisage the possibility of entering into negotiations with the PRC.

Dick Solomon is taking a copy of this letter along with him on the trip, and we have also provided Bill Gleysteen at State a copy. After the Secretary's return, we will consider the possibility of a reply.

-<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u> GDS Mr 3/3/04



# OFFICE OF THE PREMIER REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 14, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

I have been informed that Mr. Kissinger is proceeding shortly to Peiping in preparation for your impending visit to the Chinese mainland. As loyal friend and ally of the United States, I feel in duty bound to reiterate some of the vital considerations in the relations of the United States with the Republic of China and vis-a-vis the communist regime on the mainland.

I have not for a moment doubted the assurances of American political leaders that the United States will honor its treaty commitments to the Republic of China, particularly in regard to its defence against the use or threat of force. But I cannot overemphasize the fact that any concession to Chinese communist pressure will have the effect of bolstering the Maoist regime in its truculence, especially at a time when its cadre are in disarray and its ailing leadership is no longer capable of coping with the general unrest in many parts of the mainland.

At this juncture, any move, however gradual, toward socalled normalization of relations with the Maoist regime will necessarily undermine the faith of the Chinese people, in the Republic of China and elsewhere, in the ultimate triumph of their struggle for freedom. If "normalization" implies eventual diplomatic recognition, it will virtually mean negation of the existence of the Republic of China and unconditional delivery to the communists of all the territories under the effective control of the Republic of China, together with sixteen million people and the fruits of their labour.

It is true the Republic of China has hitherto survived a series of diplomatic setbacks in recent years. But withdrawal

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES \_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE

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of recognition by the leading nation of the free world, to be followed in all probability by the other friendly countries, will mean total diplomatic isolation of the Republic of China, which makes it practically impossible for her to carry on trade and other forms of "substantive relations" with the outside world. Such an eventuality would render futile all the American efforts during and after World War II to help the Chinese people to build a democratic, independent and prosperous nation, and would entail consequences surpassing in magnitude and gravity the debacle of Indo-china.

In pleading my country's case, I am not unmindful of American interests, or suggesting that the American people are not aware of their own priorities. Indeed, it is my firm conviction that the true interests of our two peoples are identical in regard to the peace and security of this part of the world. Politically and strategically, the Republic of China has a positive role to play in maintaining the regional equilibrium of which you, in your wisdom, have spoken on more than one occasion. Any change in the status quo, especially in respect of United States relations with the Chinese communist regime, will inevitably result in upsetting the desired equilibrium and turning the scale in favor of communist expansion.

In his will and testament, President Chiang Kai-shek enjoined his countrymen to abide by the principles of democracy and stay determinedly in the camp of the democracies. In pursuit of this guiding policy, my government is resolved to make every effort to improve the livelihood of the people and to defend their way of life in peace and freedom. In no circumstance do we envisage the possibility of entering into negotiations with the communist regime or accepting any compromise with communism. In this resolve we hope to have the understanding and support of the American people.

I have ventured, Mr. President, to speak plainly because the special relationship between our two countries calls for open and frank exchange of views, especially in the present juncture of affairs. I earnestly hope these observations, presented in all sincerity, will be given due consideration in the crucial months that lie ahead.

With highest esteem and best personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Chiang Ching- kuo

Chiang Ching-kuo

His Excellency President Gerald R. Ford The White House Washington, D.C.



DOC RECD LOG NBR INITIAL ACTION O NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE MO DA MO DA HR 750695 10 17 10 121 8 REFERENCE CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION -1 0 FROM: KISSINGER, H TO: PRES UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT s/s COLBY, W NO FORN KISSINGER . LOU OTHER NODIS SCOWCROFT SCHLESINGER J с EYES ONLY EXDIS ST EX SER CODEWORD SENSITIVE INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION ACTION REQUIRED REC ACTION INFO CY MEMO FOR HALF .... ADVANCE CYS TO H AK/SCOWCROFT ASGMT MEMO FOR PRES ..... STAFF SECRET . . . . . EPLY FOR 1 FAR EAST APPROPRIATE ACTION . . . . . . . . NO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA MEMO. TO. ACTI RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . . . . . EUROPE / CANADA DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL LATIN AMERICA REFER TO\_ \_ FOR:\_ UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC SCIENTIFIC DUE DATE: PROGRAM ANALYSIS NSC PLANNING COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS) CONGRESSIONAL OCEANS POLICY INTELLIGENCE SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN): сү то FROM то DATE ē, SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS Q. INSTR The further DISPATCH\_ 1 MICROFILM & FTCE ROMTS: CY ROMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS:\_ NOTIFY .\_ & DATE \_\_ BY. ΒY DISP SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_ SA SF ΩU CROSS REF W/\_ NS *Í*a ∈ SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: CLOSE ΕP FOLDER: wн PA D١ (NSC 75-22) 575-600 20

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 24, 1976

### Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you for your letter of October 14. I am always glad to have your views, and welcome the frankness with which you stated them.

In recognition of your concern over our China policy, I asked Assistant Secretary Habib to proceed to Taiwan from Peking to brief you on my recent visit to the People's Republic of China. I understand from Mr. Habib that his meeting with you was not only useful and constructive, but also reflected the trust and friendship which has characterized our relationship for these many years.

As Mr. Habib made clear in the course of his presentation, in our search for better relations with Peking over the past several years, we have shown a prudent regard for the vital interests of your people. You may be assured that as we pursue our goal of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China, we will continue to act in this same manner.

I believe our shared recognition of the importance of a prudent and understanding approach to the issues before us represents the best means to ensure

the prosperity and well-being of your people and the continuation of the close and valued ties of friendship and cooperation between us.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo Premier of the Republic of China Taipei







CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL REFERRAL

> Date: January 24, 1976 NSC log # 7508466

### MEMORANDUM FOR:

# George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary Department of State

### DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: Chiang Ching-kuo

From: President Ford

Date: January 24, 1976

Subject: Letter from President Ford to Chiang Ching-kuo, the Premier of the Republic of China

#### ACTION REQUESTED:

\_\_\_\_ Draft reply for:

President's Signature White House Staff Other

\_\_\_\_ Direct reply

XXXXDispatch

Translation

Recommendations/Comments

\_\_\_\_ Appropriate Handling

Furnish info copy

Other

Information

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

Re S/S #7525002

Juchael J. Iraca

for Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary

CLASSIFICATION:

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

-SECRET/SENSITIVE

<u>ACTION</u> January 23, 1976

8466

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT /

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier of the Republic of China

Prior to your trip to Peking, Premier Chiang Ching-kuo wrote you a letter (Tab B) warning that any change in respect to United States' relations with the PRC would upset regional equilibrium. The Premier also warned that United States withdrawal of recognition of the ROC would mean the virtual "negation of existence of the Republic of China" and would entail consequences "surpassing in magnitude and gravity the debacle of Indochina."

At Tab A is a proposed reply for your signature, welcoming the frankness of the Premier's letter. The reply refers to Assistant Secretary Habib's briefing of the Premier following the Peking trip, and reiterates that as we pursue our goal of normalizing relations with the Peoples Republic of China, we will continue to show a prudent regard for the vital interest of the Premier's people.

Paul Theis' office has cleared the proposed reply.

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

<del>SECRET/S</del>ENSITIVE

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/3/04/



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MEMORANDUM

8466

### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### SECRET/SENSITIVE

ACTION

December 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: THOMAS J. BARNES

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Premier Chiang Ching-kuo of the Republic of China

Premier Chiang wrote the President on October 14 (Tab B) warning against the serious consequences of U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Peoples Republic of China and withdrawal of recognition of the Republic of China.

The State Department has prepared a draft reply for the President's signature. The reply welcomes the frankness of the Premier's letter but avoids a point-by-point response. It notes that the United States in pursuing its goal of normalizing relations with the PRC will continue to show a prudent regard for the vital interests of the Premier's people.

Paul Theis' office has cleared the proposed reply.

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to the President conveying the proposed reply for his signature.

> DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE\_3/3/04



SECRET/SENSITIVE

DE Nº AH ARM

(6956) 8966



OFFICE OF THE PREMIER REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 14, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

I have been informed that Mr. Kissinger is proceeding shortly to Peiping in preparation for your impending visit to the Chinese mainland. As loyal friend and ally of the United States, I feel in duty bound to reiterate some of the vital considerations in the relations of the United States with the Republic of China and vis-a-vis the communist regime on the mainland.

I have not for a moment doubted the assurances of American political leaders that the United States will honor its treaty commitments to the Republic of China, particularly in regard to its defence against the use or threat of force. But I cannot overemphasize the fact that any concession to Chinese communist pressure will have the effect of bolstering the Maoist regime in its truculence, especially at a time when its cadre are in disarray and its ailing leadership is no longer capable of coping with the general unrest in many parts of the mainland.

At this juncture, any move, however gradual, toward socalled normalization of relations with the Maoist regime will necessarily undermine the faith of the Chinese people, in the Republic of China and elsewhere, in the ultimate triumph of their struggle for freedom. If "normalization" implies eventual diplomatic recognition, it will virtually mean negation of the existence of the Republic of China and unconditional delivery to the communists of all the territories under the effective control of the Republic of China, together with sixteen million people and the fruits of their labour.

It is true the Republic of China has hitherto survived a series of diplomatic setbacks in recent years. But withdrawal

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES \_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE\_3

of recognition by the leading nation of the free world, to be followed in all probability by the other friendly countries, will mean total diplomatic isolation of the Republic of China, which makes it practically impossible for her to carry on trade and other forms of "substantive relations" with the outside world. Such an eventuality would render futile all the American efforts during and after World War II to help the Chinese people to build a democratic, independent and prosperous nation, and would entail consequences surpassing in magnitude and gravity the debacle of Indo-china.

In pleading my country's case, I am not unmindful of American interests, or suggesting that the American people are not aware of their own priorities. Indeed, it is my firm conviction that the true interests of our two peoples are identical in regard to the peace and security of this part of the world. Politically and strategically, the Republic of China has a positive role to play in maintaining the regional equilibrium of which you, in your wisdom, have spoken on more than one occasion. Any change in the status quo, especially in respect of United States relations with the Chinese communist regime, will inevitably result in upsetting the desired equilibrium and turning the scale in favor of communist expansion.

In his will and testament, President Chiang Kai-shek enjoined his countrymen to abide by the principles of democracy and stay determinedly in the camp of the democracies. In pursuit of this guiding policy, my government is resolved to make every effort to improve the livelihood of the people and to defend their way of life in peace and freedom. In no circumstance do we envisage the possibility of entering into negotiations with the communist regime or accepting any compromise with communism. In this resolve we hope to have the understanding and support of the American people.

I have ventured, Mr. President, to speak plainly because the special relationship between our two countries calls for open and frank exchange of views, especially in the present juncture of affairs. I earnestly hope these observations, presented in all sincerity, will be given due consideration in the crucial months that lie ahead.

With highest esteem and best personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

ing Ching . kuo

Chiang Ching-kuo

His Excellency President Gerald R. Ford The White House Washington, D.C.



## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 30, 1975

26

TO: PAUL THEIS

FROM: JAY TAYLOR

The proposed Presidential reply to Chiang Ching-kuo,

Premier of the Republic of China, is forwarded for

your clearance.

Please call 3044 when cleared.

27 δ AM 975 DEC 30

### SECRET/NODIS

#### SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mr. Premier:

Thank you for your letter of October 14. I am always glad to have your views, and welcome the frankness with which you stated them.

In recognition of your concern over our China policy, I asked Assistant Secretary Habib to proceed to Taiwan from Peking to brief you on my recent visit to the People's Republic of China. I understand from Mr. Habib that his meeting with you was not only useful and constructive, but also reflected the trust and friendship which has characterized our relationship for these many years.

As Mr. Habib made clear in the course of his presentation, in our search for better relations with Peking over the past several years, we have shown a prudent regard for the vital interests of your people. You may be assured that as we pursue our goal of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China, we will continue to act in this same manner.

His Excellency

Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier of the Republic of China

-SECRET/NODIS

XGDS-3

Taipei.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/2/04 CERALD &

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### -SECRET/NODIS

-2-

I believe that our shared recognition of the importance of a prudent and understanding approach to the issues before us represents the best means to ensure the prosperity and well-being of your people and the continuation of the close and valued ties of friendship and cooperation between us.

Gerald R. Ford

s/s 7525002 446



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 26, 1975

### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: President's Reply to Chiang Ching-kuo Letter

NSC informally asked us to draft a reply to Premier Chiang Ching-kuo's October 14 letter to the President. The Premier's letter, obviously timed for the Secretary's visit to the PRC, warned that U.S. recognition of the PRC would "virtually mean negation of the existence of the ROC" and "unconditional delivery" of Taiwan to the "communists." The letter is also an obvious attempt to obtain assurances of continued U.S. diplomatic and security ties with the ROC.

We do not believe that it is in our interest to answer the Premier's letter point by point or, particularly, to offer the sought-for assurances. Instead, we have drafted a brief reply which implies that Taiwan can enjoy a satisfactory future regardless of the state of our diplomatic relationship with the island.

gsteen edutive Secretary

Attachments:

- 1. Suggested reply.
- 2. Premier Chiang's letter.

SECRET/NODIS XGES-3

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_NARA. DATE 3/3/04



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