The original documents are located in Box 21, folder "October 19-23, 1975 - People's Republic of China - HAK Messages for the President" of Trip Briefing Books and Cables of Henry Kissinger at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

October 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

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The following is a report from Secretary Kissinger of his conversations with the Japanese:

- 1. I had a very productive and cordial one hour forty minute working breakfast with Japanese Foreign Minister Miyazawa this morning. The warmth and candor of the session once again demonstrated that our bilateral relations are in excellent shape, as well as reflecting greater self-assurance on the part of the Japanese and Miyazawa personally.
- 2. He began with effusive thanks for the American reception of the Emperor and emphasized that your personal style was a major factor. I replied that the interest and receptivity of the American public was due to their high regard for Japan and the solid state of our relationship.
- 3. I previewed your trip and mine to China, reiterating their desire to receive you whether or not there is progress on Taiwan. He said that they had advanced with the Chinese on their peace and friendship treaty negotiations; the Japanese were now searching for language that would oppose hegemony, as the Chinese want, without this being directed against particular countries or implying joint action. I explained our policy toward the Soviets as I have also explained it to the Chinese, namely that we must demonstrate to the American people that all peaceful routes are being explored in order to rally domestic support for resistance to Soviet pressures when required.
- 4. On Korea, I attempted to cool off Japanese urging of our establishing bilateral contacts with North Korea. I pointed out that reports to this effect (the Japanese press has been alive with speculation) could undermine our position at the United Nations. We compared voting estimates

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on the New York situation, agreeing that we probably have the votes to pass our resolution but not to defeat the hostile resolution. I urged intensified Japanese efforts on this, and we are redoubling our own. I said that after the UN vote we would explore possible forums on the Korean question and were flexible on details except the requirement that South Korea be present.

- 5. The Japanese agreed with us that Canada should be at the Economic Summit. I said we would go back to Giscard on this now that he has left Moscow.
- 6. Miyazawa was very relaxed about our impending grain deal with the Soviets, fully understanding that it was to their advantage that we control the extreme yearly fluctuations in Soviet demand on our market. I reiterated Secretary Butz's assurances to the Japanese on meeting their traditional requirements.
- 7. The Japanese confirmed that they would be increasing their oil imports from China in order to diversify their sources. It would remain a small percentage of their requirements, however, because of its paraffin content. It would constitute about 10 percent of China's production and the bulk of its exports.
- 8. We also touched briefly on the Middle East and Southeast Asia where our perceptions were largely similar.
- 9. On my way back from China, I will be seeing Prime Minister Miki and Miyazawa, as well as Deputy Prime Minister Fukuda and Finance Minister Ohira.



October 19, 1975

SYCHE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By MARA, Date 8/21/0





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FM SECRETARY KISSINGER//HAKTO 11//

TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT

SECRET SENSITIVE VIA BLACK PATCH

OCTOBER 19, 1975

TOR

GENERAL SCONCROFT

FROME

THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT.

2. THE CHINESE GREETED US ON ARRIVAL AT 4:00PM WITH
THE SAME RITUAL AS PREVIOUS TRIPS AND THE ATMOSPHERE
IF ANYTHING IS A BIT MORE CORDIAL THAN ON MY LAST TRIP.
WE CANNOT, OF COURSE, GAUGE THEIR REAL MOOD UNTIL THE
SUBSTANTIVE TALKS BEGIN TOMORROW.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER, OTHER CHINESE DIGNITARIES, AND RESIDENT AMBASSADORS MET US AT THE AIRPORT IN WARM, LATE AFTERNOON SUNSHINE. WE DROVE THE FORTY MINUTES TO THE GUEST HOUSE WITH GOLDEN AUTUMN LEAVES FRAMING OUR ROUTE. AS USUAL THE WIDE STREETS AND HUGE TIENAMEN SQUARE WERE DOMINATED BY BICYCLES, AND THE CITY SEEMED EVEN MORE TRANQUIL THAN USUAL. AFTER A WELCOMING TEA AT THE GUEST HOUSE WE TOOK A BREAK UNTIL 7:00 PM. AT THE HUGE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE, VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING GREETED THE OFFICIAL PARTY DEFORE THE WELCOMING BANQUET. WE EXCHANGED SOME LIGHT BANTER, DURING WHICH HE NEEDLED US GENTLY ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF OUR RELATIONS, I DID THE SAME TO HIM ON THEIR RHETORIC IN THE UN, AND HE CONFIRMED THAT THEIR SOVIET RELATIONS HAD NOT IMPROVED.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TOAST AT THE BANGUET OPENED WITH AN EXPLICIT WELCOMING OF YOUR FORTHCOMING TRIP, AN EVENT

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By NARA, Date 8/2/10



THEY CLEARLY LOOK FORWARD TO. THE TOAST ENDED WITH A REFERENCE TO PROGRESS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS THAT WAS SOMEWHAT MORE UPBEAT THAN LAST YEAR'S. IN THE MIDDLE OF HIS REMARKS, HOWEVER. HE USED VERY SHARP LANGUAGE AGAINST DETENTE LIFTED FROM HIS UN SPEECH. HE SAID THEY DIDN'T BELIEVE IN LASTING PEACE; THAT HEGEMONY SHOULD BE RESISTED TIT FOR TAT RATHER THAN SUBSTITUTING WISH FOR REALITY; AND THAT THE CHINESE WERE GETTING PREPARED ON THEIR OWN FOR THE PROBABILITY OF WAR.

5. IN LIGHT OF THIS LINE, I ADDED A REJOINDER TO MY OWN PREPARED REMARKS, I SAID IN EFFECT THAT COUNTRY HAD TO PURSUE A POLICY MOST SUITED TO ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES; THAT WE HOULD RESIST HEGEMONY WHERE NECESSARY BUT HOULD ALSO AVOID NEEDLESS CONFRONTATIONS; AND THAT OUR FIRM ACTIONS WERE MORE MEANINGPUL THAN THEIR TOUGH WORDS.

6. I AM SURE THIS EXCHANGE ON DETENTE WILL BE THE FOCUS OF THE MEDIA, BUT IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN PERSPECTIVE. THE REST OF HIS TOAST AND THEIR OVERALL RECEPTION HAS BEEN MORE FORTHCOMING THAN LAST YEAR AND HIS SHARP RHETORIC WAS A VERBATIM EXCERPT FROM HIS NEW YORK SPEECH. IN ANY EVENT, IT HAS A MAJOR THEME IN MY TALKS WITH HIM LAST MONTH, AND I WANTED TO LET THE CHINESE KNOW AGAIN THAT WHILE THEY MAY TALK A GOOD GAME AGAINST SOVIET EXPANSION, DNLY THE U.S. HAS BEEN ACTUALLY DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT. I PLAN TO TAKE THIS LINE IN MY TALKS HERE. MY EXPERIENCE WITH THE CHINESE IS THAT THEY ONLY RESPECT STRENGTH. IF WE LET THEM PUSH US NOW WE WILL BE IN DIPPICULTIES DURING YOUR VISIT.

7. MY MEETINGS WITH VICE PREMIER TENG AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO BEGIN AT 10:00 TOMORROW MORNING, AFTER OUR INITIAL EXCHANGES I MAY TABLE LATER TOMORROW A DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR YOUR VISIT ALONG THE GENERAL LINES WE DISCUSSED. THIS WILL BE THE ONLY WAY TO REALLY SMOKE OUT THEIR INTENTIONS, I FULLY EXPECT THAT, AS USUAL, THE GREAT BULK OF OUR TALKS WILL CENTER ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION RATHER THAN BILATERAL RELATIONS. IN ADDITION TO WORKING OUT AGENDA AND LOGISTICS FOR YOUR TRIP, AND PROBING FOR ANY CHANGES IN CHINESE POSITIONS, THESE FOUR DAYS WILL GIVE US A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY TO SIZE UP TENG. HE WILL BE YOUR PRIMARY INTER-LOCUTOR, ASIDE FROM ANY MEETING WITH MAD, SINCE CHOU IS CLEARLY GRAVELY ILL. THEY SAID CHOU IS TOO SICK TO RECEIVE VISITORS, INCLUDING EVEN CHINESE, TENG IS EFFECTIVELY RUNNING BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HAVING MADE A REMARKABLE

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COMEBACK THE PAST THO YEARS AFTER HIS DISGRACE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION A DECADE AGO, HE IS A TOUGH, SHORT, STOCKY MAN WHO CONTINUES TO GAIN IN SELF-ASSURANCE, THOUGH HE HILL NEVER HAVE THE FLAIR, ELEGANCE, OR VISION OF CHOU.

8. THE ONLY NOTEWORTHY SUBSTANTIVE NOTE DURING THE BANQUET CONVERSATIONS WAS THE EXTREME CHINESE ANNOYANCE AT THE FRENCH FOR THEIR HAVING JOINED THE SOVIET CALL FOR A HORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, WHICH IS ANATHEMA HERE.

9. WARM REGARDS.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE CONTAINS CODEWORD

October 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

GENERAL SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Talks with Japanese Officials

The Secretary asked that I pass the following message to you reporting his talks with Japanese officials.

"I held very productive and relaxed discussions with top Japanese leaders during my 24 hour visit after China. increasing ease and cordiality of our talks with the Japanese reflect the solid state of our relationship. I saw Prime Minister Miki at a working breakfast Friday and Foreign Minister Miyazawa at a working dinner Thursday evening. In addition I met with Deputy Prime Minister Fukuda and Finance Minister Ohira since they are the prime candidates jockeying to be the next Prime Minister; either one would be well disposed toward the U.S. All the Japanese again stressed their great satisfaction and appreciation for the successful visit to the U.S. of their majesties. We agreed that this event plus your visit to Japan had greatly strengthened bilateral relations. The main themes of my discussions were China, Korea, and the forthcoming economic summit.

Both Miyazawa and Miki expressed intense interest in China and asked me a series of questions about my trip and your trip, as well as Chinese policies and domestic situation. I knocked down the press stories that the Chinese and I had quarreled about detente, a distortion about which I wrote you in a separate report. I emphasized that we do not ask Peking for its approval of our policies toward others, including the Soviet Union, anymore than we ask Moscow's approval. I pointed out that, of course, Peking would like to see us in a confrontation with the Russians, and the Chinese were trying to alert the West generally to Soviet designs, but we would pursue the policies we thought were in our national interest. I said that as usual my discussions in Peking centered on the international situation rather than bilateral issues or Taiwan. I indicated that we do not expect any spectacular developments on your trip;

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the Japanese are always pleased to hear this since they do not wish to see us outpacing them in relations to Peking. I said that we had no special interest in moving rapidly on Taiwan but we would continue to work toward normalization. In response to their queries, I gave my impressions of Mao and Vice Premier Teng, and said that we knew very little about Chinese policies or their decision-making process. The Japanese said that they and the Chinese are studying their positions on the hegemony question with respect to a peace and friendship treaty, in the wake of the lengthy talks between their foreign ministers in New York.

The Japanese also expressed considerable interest in Korea. I told them that this subject only came up briefly with the Chinese, and that Peking was not pressing us nor did it seem eager to get involved in any negotiations with My primary objective with the Japanese was to cool off their efforts, for their own domestic reasons, to promote direct talks with North Korea, either by us or by themselves. I said that South Korea must be included in any discussions on the future of the peninsula, but otherwise we are flexible on the numbers and makeup of any forum. This campaign in Japan has disquieted and annoyed President I sent Assistant Secretary Habib to Seoul Thursday evening to brief Park on our talks in Peking, and to consult with him on our policies after the United Nations debate. Park was especially grateful for our thoughtfulness in keeping him informed. He knows he faces a tough fight at the UN this next week and appreciates our all-out support. is looking for a better way to deal with North Korea than annual debates at the UN. He responded favorably to the idea of our working more directly on getting the North to agree to meetings including the South after we get through the current debate.

The economic summit in France was a principal subject with Miki. He looks forward to seeing you there. We agreed to consult closely on our approach to the summit and I assured him that we would not have any surprises for the Japanese. I explained that our own preparations were still in a preliminary stage. I agreed with him that we should not expect major concrete decisions, but that we should work hard to make this new departure a success. We agreed that we should probably not try to work out a communique, a process which could consume all our energies. He suggested that we might instead look toward agreed principles, and I was noncommittal since even this might prove difficult. We briefly reviewed the agenda for the summit. Miki expressed personal interest

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in North-South relations. Both he and Ohira suggested that the summit might focus on an earnings stabilization scheme for the LDC's following up our IMF initiative at the special session of the United Nations.

These were the primary topics. The foreign minister also reconfirmed Japanese concern about any unilateral legislation on the 200 mile fishing issue. I said that we were opposed to such legislation, but noted the domestic political complications. The Japanese also expressed gratification over the new friendship agreement which you signed this week."

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