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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files

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**OA/ID Number:** 91135  
**Folder ID Number:** 91135-007

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**Folder Title:**  
China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

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| Stack:   | Row:      | Section: | Shelf:   | Position: |
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type        | Subject/Title                                    | Date     | Restriction | Classification |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| 01a. Outline           | Re: Outline of Approach (1 pp.)                  | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 01b. Handwritten Notes | Re: Why we are here... (23 pp.)                  | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 02. Handwritten Notes  | Re: Page 5 (1 pp.)                               | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 03. Handwritten Notes  | Re: Missile Proliferation (2 pp.)                | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 04. Memcon             | Re: Response to the President's Letter (2 pp.)   | 12/2/89  | (b)(1)      | ✓              |
| 05a. Letter            | President Bush to Chairman Deng Xiaoping (2 pp.) | 11/30/89 | (b)(1)      |                |
| 05b. Handwritten Draft | President Bush to Chairman Deng Xiaoping (9 pp.) | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 05c. Draft Letter      | Re: Page 2 (1 pp.)                               | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 06. Letter             | Chairman Deng Xiaoping to President Bush (1 pp.) | 11/15/89 | (b)(1)      |                |
| 07. Letter             | President Bush to Chairman Deng Xiaoping (2 pp.) | 11/14/89 | (b)(1)      |                |
| 08a. Draft Letter      | To Chairman Deng [Xiaoping] (1 pp.)              | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |

Page 1 of 4

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**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

**Pinksheet Number:** cap1125  
**OA/ID Number:** 91135-007  
**Date Closed:** 5/6/2009  
**FOIA/Sys Case #:** 2009-0275-S  
**Re-review Case #:**  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

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## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type  | Subject/Title                                                                                                          | Date    | Restriction | Classification |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| 08b. Cable       | Secretary Baker to POTUS and General Scowcroft<br>Re: Bracing the Chinese (2 pp.)                                      | n.d.    | (b)(1)      | <del>S</del>   |
| 09. Cable        | Re: Message from Scowcroft to Foreign Minister Chien (1 pp.)                                                           | 7/6/91  | (b)(1)      | <del>C</del>   |
| 10a. Cable       | From White House<br>Re: Message to Charge Pascoe from Mr. Doug Paal (2 pp.)                                            | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 10b. Draft Cable | From White House<br>Re: Charge Pascoe from Paal (1 pp.)                                                                | n.d.    | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 11a. Cable       | From White House, Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen [250231z Jun 91] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (3 pp.) | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 11b. Draft Cable | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (2 pp.)                                             | n.d.    | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 12. Cable        | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (3 pp.)                                             | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 13a. Cable       | From White House<br>Re: Message to Charge Pascoe from Mr. Doug Paal (2 pp.)                                            | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 13b. Draft Cable | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (2 pp.)                                             | n.d.    | (b)(1)      | S              |

Page 2 of 4

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| Doc. No. / Type  | Subject/Title                                                                                    | Date    | Restriction        | Classification |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------------------|----------------|
| 13c. Draft Cable | From White House<br>Re: Charge Pascoe from Paal (1 pp.)                                          | n.d.    | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 14. Cable        | Re: End of Tour: Ambassador Lilley (1989 - 1991) (5 pp.)                                         | 4/30/91 | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 15. Cable        | Ambassador Lilley to General Scowcroft and Under Secretary Bartholomew<br>Re: Begin Text (1 pp.) | 3/8/91  | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 16. Cable        | From White House<br>Re: Message for Secretary James A. Baker, III from Brent Scowcroft (2 pp.)   | 3/14/91 | (b)(1)             | TS             |
| 17. Cable        | Ambassador Lilley to Scowcroft and Eagleburger<br>Re: Begin Text (2 pp.)                         | 1/3/91  | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 18. Cable        | From White House<br>Re: Message to Ambassador James Lilley from Brent Scowcroft (2 pp.)          | 2/12/91 | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 19. Memcon       | Re: Memorandum of Conversation (6 pp.)                                                           | 1/23/91 | (b) <del>(1)</del> | <del>S</del>   |
| 20. Cable        | From White House<br>Re: Message to Ambassador Lilley from General Scowcroft (9 pp.)              | 2/11/91 | (b)(1)             | S              |
| 21a. Memo        | To General Scowcroft, From W. Douglas Gow [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)                   | 4/19/90 | (b)(1)             | S              |

Page 3 of 4

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| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                                                  | Date    | Restriction | Classification |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| 21b. Memo       | To General Scowcroft, From W. Douglas Gow [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.) | 4/19/90 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 21c. Report     | [FBI report] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)                              | 4/12/90 | (b)(1)      | S              |
| 22a. Note       | Brent Scowcroft to POTUS (1 pp.)                                               | 6/17/89 | (b)(1)      | TS             |
| 22b. Memo       | Brent Scowcroft to Ambassador James Lilley<br>Re: Dear Jim: (1 pp.)            | n.d.    | (b)(1)      | S              |

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## OUTLINE OF APPROACH

- I. Malta Meeting
- II. Situation in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe
  - risks of instability
- III. Importance of U.S.-China Strategic Relationship
  - fosters regional and world stability
  - Japan a new, dynamic factor in region and world
- IV. China's domestic political problems have created domestic political problems in U.S.
  - You say we should take steps first
  - We took steps: Peace Pearl, Pelosi veto, my visit
  - We will get nowhere if you do not take steps now
- V. Need to work from where we are now to solve the problems before us, not behind us
  - Congress returns on January 23
  - Use window of opportunity
- VI. Economic possibilities remain
  - EXIM
  - IFIs, World Bank in January
  - Economic cooperation, projects
  - Improvements in Chinese business climate
- VII. *Launch* Satellite licenses due soon. You need to know that missile proliferation considerations will be critical.
- VIII. Military sales and deliveries most sensitive. Political climate must improve first.
- IX. Need to resolve Fang Lizhi and family. Amb. Lilley can deal with you here.
- X. In Washington, we can discuss: VOA, travel advisory, Fulbright, Peace Corps, renewed contacts.
- XI. Imperative to start moving immediately to change the political climate before our Congress returns.





- Projectives were an exchange of views on rapidly evolving issues, esp EE, bilateral relations, in order to reduce possible mis-understandings which could be dangerous.
- Principal presentation covered a # of issues: moving forward on ~~at~~ the important areas of strategic & conventional AC, including a new proposal for a elimination of chemical weapons
  - Economic issues
  - Human rights
  - Environment
  - Student exchanges
- Gorb had 3 major areas in his presentation
  - Reliance of a Cold War period on force and mil superiority superiority was (esp is) wrong.
    - We are moving to a multipolar world
    - Eur/Jap/China/India
    - US & SO must drop patterns of coop to deal w/ this evolving situation.
    - Not suggesting condominium
    - But recog. reality.
  - Eastern Europe
    - Gorb supports a changes taking place in both W & E Eur
    - In E Eur he takes credit for a ~~dropouts~~



- He indicated he would not interview, at least because of some radical instability.
- Each country has a right to its own choices & to change its mind.
- German reunification a special case
  - Previous formulation eased
  - History
- His conclusion is a current transition may not always be smooth but a pace should not be forced & there should be no intervention.
- NATO/WP - Gradually shift to political structures who cooperated.
- Saw internal elements.
  - Emphasized his current preoccupations
    - Disposing of state ownership of means of production & products
      - Said diff societies had dealt w/ issue in diff ways
      - He would not prescribe.
    - Discussed leasing, cooperatives, & stock ownership.
      - Said they were focusing on leasing - land & factories
  - Big current prob is rubble overhang
    - Barrier to convertibility & market determined prices.

- On arms control, he mentioned the  
essentiality of naval arms control
  - To deal w/ encirclement of USSR  
by the US.
- The reduction in time<sup>4</sup> prevented full  
discussion of regional issues.
  - But those which were discussed were  
done so w/ vigor.
- Central America
  - P complained about Cuban arms  
to Nicaragua. And ~~the~~ both sending arms to  
Nicaragua
    - In violation of Nicaraguan pledge.
  - Gorb stressed self deter
    - No bridgehead, no intervention.
  - P stressed helos + MiG 29.
- Philippines
- Afghanistan
  - Stop arguments about the past & deal  
w/ current situation.
    - Najibullah getting stronger
      - Muj. in disarray & already in  
talks w/ Najib
  - P disagreed w/ that appraisal
  - Gorb proposed intra-Afghan dialog  
to set up interim council to prepare  
elections under UN

- Gorb is willing to see a cease fire & cessation of aid to both.
- No prog was made.
- ME - behavior
- Adapt.
- What was Gorb like?
  - Wanted natly to succeed
  - Very self confident friendly
  - Will he make it?
    - Doesn't fail to recog depth of prob but doesn't make specifics of clear probs facing him.
    - But no apparent crisis prog.
- NATO - report plus Pled discussion of future of NATO.
  - Even more need in this uncertain climate.
- Impact of this on that relationship
  - Gorb is letting E & F go
  - This is likely to reduce a mil threat to NATO
    - Not clear how that will affect a rest of SU borders
  - But a rapidity of movement in



the world, a possibility of disruption  
of serious instabilities.

- All these may alter a regional  
dimension of a strategic relationship,  
but in US judgment

- They make that relationship  
even more vital in an  
uncertain future than in  
a past. Possibility of SU-Jap axis.

- When we have cooperation  
such as Cambodia/Afghanistan  
we could have clearly benefited.

- just a word about putting a  
relationship back on a positive track.

- For Nixon make a package  
proposal, which we shall  
examine w/care. Problems

we are in a general  
approach to a  
change of course  
and restoration  
of coop  
- learn  
- that

- let me just say now that a  
political climate in Washington  
has greatly restricted a freedom  
of action.

- His veto of Pelosi Bill & our  
trip took great political courage.

- Present Congressional  
majorities make future  
vetoes meaningless.

- We must work to change  
a political prob - perhaps in both  
countries.



- A series of reciprocal steps might serve to modify a political climate to permit a gradual return to full cooperation.
- From US perspective it would be useful to take <sup>some</sup> steps before a Congress returns in Jan 23.
- Steps such as renewed contacts (which our trip really starts), Fulbright renewal, travel advisory, could begin to change a mood
- - Economic possibilities are there
  - World Bank consideration in Jan
  - X-M
  - Econ coop & joint ventures
- Satellite launch licenses are due soon.
  - To make these possible, consideration on missile proliferation are important
    - X of missiles above 300 km range
    - X of any missiles to areas of special sensitivities
- The P is anxious to move, but his hands must be cuffed.
- We agree w/ a package approach + its objective of meeting w/ Chm. Jiang

- we will now to work closely  
together to make it happen.

## I. Why we are here

- Since 1972 we have developed a practice of consulting together on major issues and developments
- This strategic relationship has been a valuable one for a US & we hope for a Chinese
- It is in a spirit of that relationship that a President has sent us to discuss a major event in the US-Sov relationship
- The P also wanted to make this gesture to underscore his interest in <sup>putting</sup> ~~setting~~ a relationship <sup>on</sup> a positive rather than a negative track.
- The P is by this & Peking Bill taking major political risks to do this

## II. Malta

- How Malta developed
  - Attitude toward security
  - Trip to Poland/Hungary + Econ Summit
  - How we ended up on ship at Malta
- Objectives
  - Exchange of views would send C & EE in order to reduce misunderstanding.

Young Pao is carrying a note book. He needs a sched. in 2<sup>nd</sup>ly evolution. relations mis-



- P made an initial presentation covering a number of major issues
  - Arms control
    - START
    - CFE
    - CW
    - TTBT/PNE
    - Missile Tech Control Regime
    - Military budgets
  - Economics
    - MFN (Trade agreement) Jackson Van
    - GATT
  - Human Rights
  - Environment
    - UN Mtg of experts on Climate Change
    - Conf. on Global Climate Change after report IPCC
  - Student Exchange
- Gorb had 3 major issues
  - Reliance of the Cold War on force + nihil scepticity was wrong.
  - We are moving to a multipolar world
    - Eur/Jap/China/India
    - US & SO must drop patterns of coop to deal w/ ~~it~~ a new realities
    - Not suggesting condemnation
    - Just reality

## - Eastern Europe

End separation  
Western  
values

- He supports changes in both E & W Europe.

- Indicated he would not intervene

- Each country had right to make its own choices - and change them

- German reunification - History

- Change will not always be smooth but we should not force the pace

## - NATO - W P

- Add potential dimension & gradually let military dimension decline.

- Spoke a lot on Gov internal dept

- Key is disposing of a means of production & products

- Thus leasing, cooperatives, ~~the~~ <sup>stockhold</sup>

- Dif societies solve this in dif ways - don't preclude options.

- They are doing leasing - land & factories

- Ruble overhang

- E central convertibility

- The leveling principle

## - Arms control

- Supported US recommendations

- Naval arms control & SALT

- Showed map

Brent -

note

FM 4444 4th 1st 1st 1st

to 1st 1st

11. 1st 1st 1st 1st

2-



- Regional issues
  - Much discussion of Central Am.
    - Complaints about Nicaraguan arms to FMLN
      - Cuban arms to Nicaragua
      - Sov helos to Nicaragua
      - ~~Sov~~ MIG 29 to Cuba
  - Philippines - Corb complained
- Afghanistan
  - Stop mutual recriminations & deal w/ current situation
  - Najibullah getting stronger
    - Muj. in disarray & already talking to Najibullah
  - Corb proposes inter-Afghan dialog to set up an interim council to prepare elections under UN
    - Kalam & King seem to agree
  - Corb is willing for cease fire & mutual cessation of arms aid

- ME

- Lebanon

- ~~Lib~~

Harawi

ill <sup>limits</sup> ~~limits~~   
 breaking up

- What was Corb like

- Wanted nty to be success

- Very self confident but friendly

~~simultaneity~~  
simultaneity

- Cox & War  
- covering  
German  
+ 2 coal of Gal

1. Fang is solution
2. Declare lifting of sanctions
3. Both should do bilateral cap ventures
4. US invite Jiang to visit U.S.

1. Fang - we ready to solve, but must be linked to lifting of sanctions  
- Chinese spokesman will urge Fang to give up.  
(Press release to be provided)
2. US should start ~~lifting~~ <sup>lifting</sup> sanctions  
Those declared by Bush 5 Jan.  
20 Jan.  
Achieving defects lifting will be OK
3. Fang expelled & US would not be ready only engage in scientific work  
- After they leave we could agree to 3rd country. Then they may not take part in political activities  
gov't promise not to use Fang in  
Gov't activities.

w/o simultaneous action, releasing  
Fang would be very diff.

Following action

- 1) Both make efforts for large scale joint efforts in future
- 2) Extend invite to Jiang when good moment exists.
- 3) Both refrain from doing things to hurt other.  
- live in unity & support each other.



# I Why we are here

- P puts great stock in relationship
- Our // strategic interests have heavily involved USSR.
- P wanted to make this gesture to underscore his interest in putting a relationship on a positive rather than negative track
  - As he did by receiving a Amb. immediately
  - And veto of Pelosi bill
  - But more of that later.

## II Sequence of discussions

- Discussion of Malta & NATO
- Context (world) in which Malta took place
  - What is happening in SOFEE
  - And W. Eur & Japan
- Practical steps to put a relationship on a positive track
  - So called "package" discussed w/ Nixon & HAK.

## III Malta / NATO

- ~~Process~~ How Malta happened
  - Attitude toward summitry
  - Trip to Poland / Hungary + Acom Sumin
  - How to arrange a mtg not summit

If Arafat goes, the situation will become more def.

III NATO mtg.

IV What is a framework w/in which this meeting took place

- Gorb. came in determined to reenergize a system.

- Decided it could only be done by trying to release creative energies

- Hence glasnost.

- These policies

- 28
- Econ Steps US prepared to take (some of more important)
    - Trade agreement granting MFN so  
Plan waive Jackson-Vanik clause
    - Requires Emigration legis.
  - Support observer status in GATT after  
Uruguay Round of trade negot is complete
    - Urged Gans to move to market prices  
(wholesale) to be more competitive)
  - GATT
    - Offered tech econ coop in areas like  
statistics, budgets & taxes, finance, etc.
    - Open discussions on a bilateral  
investment treaty.
  - Human Rights- Resolve issues of divided  
families by Summit
  - Regional Issues
    - Central Am. as a point of special concern
  - Environment
    - Convene WH meeting in Spring for  
scientific/environmental officials to  
discuss global climate change issues
    - Host conf next fall on treaty on  
global climate change, after UN  
working group of IPCC complete  
their work.
  - Student Exchange - 1000 college  
students each



- President's goals at summit.
  - Discuss course of events in world & reduce misunderstanding in a rapidly evolving world scene.
- President initial presentation
  - Set forth a # of practical <sup>issues</sup> ~~proposals~~ as a framework for discussion
- On AC & mil issues.
  - Set a date for Summit as a pressing mechanism for work going on in various areas
    - Resolve a major issue in START by Summit & complete treaty then or ASAP
    - Focus a Ministerial mtg to resolve subgroups of issues (AKCM) telemetry / NDM
- Push hard for completion of CFE in 1990 for signing at a summit.
- EU - If Sov would agree to UK proposal, we would prep modernization
  - Agreement at summit to 80% reduction
- Complete work on PNFE + TTBT by summit
- Suggest Sov support Missile Tech Control Regime of ECMA to constrain missile prodn.
- Sov make public data on mil budget, force posture & weapons production

- Mr. Gorb said he reacted very positively to the P presentation. He made several major points
  - The reliance of Cold war on force & mil superiority was wrong.
  - The world is changing, there are many probs of survival & resources & people of world reject this notion
  - Many in US think USSR is falling apart and that is result of US policy of Cold war
    - You have just demonstrated your support perestroika and we appreciate that.
- We are moving to a multipolar world
  - Eur / Japan / China / India
  - US & SU must dev patterns of coop to deal w/ these new realities
    - Not suggesting condominium
    - just reality (as we are super powers).
  - Each must take account of interests of others.
    - Some in US still want to teach - put pressure on others.
    - For example - support of change in Eur on basis of "western values"
    - Democratic values OK.



- ~~of arms aid~~
- ~~Castro~~ order Najibullah out, but he has no
- ~~Govt~~ w/ transitional process (perhaps even w/ Najib out)
- Govt supported moving forward in all areas of arms control
  - He noted that P had not mentioned SLCM or naval arms control.
  - Pointed out importance of SLCM being constrained
  - Presented map showing SV
- On regional issues surrounded by US leases (esp naval)
- On Central America
  - Nicaragua is changing. <sup>It was</sup> not Marxist, but a UN monitor & elections.
  - SV not much concerned
  - As for Castro, he has his own policies. We don't control him.
  - P said - SV wants no bridgeheads in F.A.
  - Phil - US should not intervene. <sup>you pouring in billions & getting nothing</sup>
  - We are not intervening in F.F. or
  - ~~Afghanistan~~ That change is peaceful & supported by you - here is a Col trying to shoot his way into power against a democratically elected govt.
  - Lebanon - agreed to support a new Lebanese govt
  - Afghan -
    - Najibullah is getting stronger
    - Govt proposes inter-Afghan dialogue to set up an interim council to set up free elections under UN
    - Kabul & King seem to agree



... overcoming division of Europe on basis  
of Western values.

## - Gorbachev

- Spoke of his recurring probs
  - Ruble overhang
  - Prob of leveling principal
  - Leasing - land & factories
- Key for him is being able to dispose  
of means of production + products
  - Thru leasing, cooperatives,  
stockholding
  - Dif societies do it dif ways &  
he doesn't want to preclude  
options.

## E Europe -

- Both E & W Eur are changing,
  - E becoming more open, democratic  
& respecting of universal human  
values.

## - W is unifying

- That ideological
- Don't like overcoming division of  
Eur on basis of "Western values".
  - Gorb proceeds from right of each country  
to make its own choices & to change those  
choices.
  - Change will not always be smooth  
but we should not force the pace

## ME

- We should take advantage of Gorb

- German reunification - Germany = strongest state in Eur.
- Sov threat will be there
  - Can't depend on just one person
- Concerning <sup>economic</sup> ~~political~~ friction bet US/Eur & Japan
- Not surprised at EECur because same thing happened in China - Cultural revolution
  - Other than Communist party there is no other political force to control.
    - Rift in party could mean civil war.
    - History will show that our measures are right - bringing stability to China & would

Ready to improve Sino-US relations.

Costs China \$10000/yr per Chinese student  
China can't afford it if word came back

(Translation)

Toast by Foreign Minister Qian Qichen  
at Dinner in Honour of  
U.S. President's Personal Emissary

9 December 1989

General Scowcroft,  
Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger,  
Ambassador James Lilley,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives us great pleasure to have the opportunity of hosting this dinner to entertain General Scowcroft, U.S. President's Personal Emissary and National Security Adviser, Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger and our other American friends. We wish to express our warm welcome to you, General Scowcroft, and your party on your visit to China.

General Scowcroft, you are an old friend very familiar to us all. Over the years, you have contributed a great deal to removing obstacle to Sino-U.S. relations and promoting their development by having visited China several times at the critical moments of the development of those relations. The fact that President Bush has sent you to China this time as his Personal Emissary to brief Chinese leaders on the recent U.S.-Soviet summit and to exchange views with them on issues of Sino-U.S. relations shows the importance he attaches to those relations, for which we would like to express our appreciation.

At present, the international situation is undergoing the most profound change in the post-war years. The prospects for such change and its influence on world peace and progress of mankind are a matter of concern to the people of all countries. I believe that, under these circumstances, China and the United States should frequently exchange views with each other. Undoubtedly, good Sino-U.S. relations are of great significance to world peace and stability.



Despite periods of trial, Sino-U.S. relations have all along been able to move forward, which fully testifies to their vitality. Important as our differences are, they cannot obliterate the major common interests between us. So long as our two sides make a concerted effort, we can certainly safeguard our common interests while maintaining our respective positions. In order to find ways to overcome the current difficulties, there should be increased contact and better communication between us. We in China believe that the current visit to China by General Scowcroft will certainly be helpful to promoting mutual understanding, overcoming difficulties and removing differences between us so that Sino-U.S. relations may return to normal and further develop at an early date.

Now, I propose a toast

to the health of General Scowcroft, Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger, Ambassador James Lilley and all the friends present here, and

to the resumption of normal Sino-U.S. relations and the development of these relations.

... increasing division of Europe on basis  
of Western values.

## - Economy

- spoke of his recovery prob
- Ruble overhang
- Prob of leveling principal
- Leasing - land & factories
- Key for him is being able to dispose  
of means of production + products
- Then leasing, cooperatives,  
stockholding
- Dif societies do it dif ways &  
he doesn't want to preclude  
options.

## E Europe -

- Both E & W Eur are changing
- E becoming more open, democratic  
& respecting of universal human  
values.

## - W is unifying

That ideological Don't like increasing division of  
Europe on basis of "Western values".

- Gorb protects from right of each country  
to make its own choices & to change those  
choices.
- Change will not always be smooth  
but we should not force the pace

## ME

- We should take advantage of what

PROGRAM FOR VISIT TO CHINA BY MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT,  
U.S. PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL EMISSARY AND  
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

9 December (Saturday)

- 15:00 Arrive Beijing by American special plane Boeing 707 (Southern Apron, Capital Airport)
- 15:10 Leave Airport for Diaoyutai State Guesthouse (Guesthouse)
- 15:50 Arrive Villa No. 9, Guesthouse
- 16:55 Leave Villa No. 9 for Villa No. 12
- 17:00 Talks with Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (Villa No. 12, Guesthouse)
- 19:00 Welcoming banquet by Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (Villa No. 12)
- 20:30 Private talks between Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and National Security Advisor Scowcroft (Villa No. 12)

10 December (Sunday)

- 7:30 Breakfast
- 8:20 Leave Guesthouse for Zhongnanhai (Through northwestern entrance)
- 8:30 Meeting with Premier Li Peng (Ziguangge, Zhongnanhai)
- 9:45 Meeting with General Secretary Jiang Zeming (Room 202, Zhongnanhai)
- 11:00 Meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping (Fujian Room, Great Hall of the People, through northern entrance)
- 12:00 Working lunch with Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (Villa No. 9, Guesthouse)
- 14:20 Leave Guesthouse for Capital Airport (Southern Apron)
- 15:00 Leave Beijing by American special plane Boeing 707



Helena P.

EEur

Missile proliferation

Pelosi / One Trip / World Bank /

Sent us because of a strategic relationship which I want to continue.

- We have acted w/ our allies
  - Trip breaks that pattern
- Acknowledge 4 points
  - Some workable / some unrealistic
- Don't let extremists force us into downhill spiral
- Our agenda

When we & China work together, good things happen

- NATO

- In the morning, I gave his colleagues a discussion of the NATO matter
- In the afternoon I led a discussion of the future of the alliance

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Response to the President's Letter

PARTICIPANTS: Robert Gates, Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

People's Republic of China  
Ambassador ZHU Qizhen  
Mr. CHEN Mingming

DATE, TIME: December 2, 1989, 1225 - 1235PM  
AND PLACE: Office

The Ambassador told me that he had a response from Beijing to the President's letter of November 30th. He said that Deng Xiaoping had been "very pleased" to receive the President's letter. He said that the Chinese government would welcome an announced visit by General Scowcroft and Deputy Secretary Eagleburger for a briefing on the President's meetings with Chairman Gorbachev in Malta. The Ambassador continued that the top leaders of China and the Foreign Minister would meet separately with Scowcroft and Eagleburger. The Ambassador said that in addition to discussing Malta, there could be a discussion of the "package deal."

The Ambassador had two requests. First, he wanted to know whether they would be characterized as personal emissaries of the President or in some other way. Second, they wanted to know the names of any others who would be accompanying the General and Eagleburger.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 12958,  
AS AMENDED  
2000-0116-F/2  
32 8/14/07



I said the President would be pleased by their response and that I expected we would be back to them very quickly with answers to the questions the Ambassador had posed as well as specific details. The Ambassador said he would be out of Washington on Monday and Tuesday (December 4 - 5) and that the answers to these questions could be passed to the Minister at the Embassy, who is aware of the trip because it will be announced. He cautioned, however, that nothing should be said to the Minister about the "package deal" because he is not aware of these discussions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1989

Dear Deng Xiaoping:

The purpose of this letter is to follow up on the proposal I made to you in my letter of November 6, 1989.

Within a week after I return from Malta and Brussels, I would like to send General Scowcroft and Deputy Secretary Eagleburger to debrief you, Jiang Zemin and whomever else you designate.

I visualize a full and frank discussion about what happened at Malta and at the December 4th NATO meeting. It is my current feeling that this mission need not be a secret mission, but I will be guided by your judgment on this. Let me again reassure you that nothing will take place at Malta that adversely affects the security interests of China.

President Nixon, upon his return, filled me in on the other suggestion you made -- namely, that I meet during 1990 with Jiang Zemin, such a meeting, time and place to be determined after a mutually agreeable resolution of the very divisive Fang Lizhi matter.

I must ask for some clarification of the "package" idea you discussed with Nixon and Kissinger, because recently your Ambassador, under instructions, conveyed to Secretary Baker some additional conditions that are deeply troubling -- conditions that were not part of the "package" as discussed between you and President Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

I am trying very hard to do my part to "untie the knot" but please help by having China do its part.

I needn't tell you that I am under strong fire here on the question of recently passed legislation and the threat of more to come, but I remain convinced that our relationship is in the best interests of both countries.

I hope this finds you in very good health. I know you have handed off the baton of leadership to Chairman Jiang, but with your permission I would like to stay in touch.

You know me. I know you. And in spite of current tensions, we can, between us, find a way to normalize this significant relationship. We must find a way.

I would appreciate an early reply regarding the proposal to send Scowcroft and Eagleburger to discuss with you my meeting with Gorbachev at Malta.

Most sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. Bush". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "G" and a stylized "B".

His Excellency  
Deng Xiaoping  
People's Republic of China  
Beijing



Brent  
Phuze

your thoughts  
<sup>much</sup>  
up.  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Deng Xiaoping

The purpose of this  
letter is to follow up on  
the proposal I made to  
you in my letter of  
Nov 6, 1989.

Within a week after  
I return from Malta and Brussels  
I would like <sup>to</sup> send  
Gen Scowcroft and Rep. Sec.  
Eagleburger to de-brief  
of the you, on Ziang Tieman  
and whenever else you  
designate -

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Let me again reassure you that nothing  
will take place at Malta that adversely  
affects the security interests of China.

I visualize a full  
and frank discussion  
about what <sup>happened</sup> [was] will  
happen at Malta  
and at the Dec 4<sup>th</sup>  
NATO meeting.

It is my current feeling  
that this ~~meeting~~ mission  
need not be a  
secret mission, but  
it will be guided  
by your judgment  
on this.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Pres. Nixon, upon his  
return filled me in  
on the other suggestion  
you made - namely  
that I meet during  
1990 with Giang Dien,  
~~President~~ ~~to~~ ion  
such a meeting  
~~to~~ time and place x  
to be determined  
after a mutually  
agreeable resolution.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

of the very  
division Pang  
Li Tzu (?) matter

I must ask  
for some clarification  
of the "package" idea <sup>you discussed with</sup>  
because <sup>Wifon and Kissinger,</sup> recently  
your Ambassador, <sup>my</sup>  
under instructions, <sup>vision</sup>  
conveyed to Secretary  
Baker some <sup>additional</sup> <sup>at</sup>  
conditions that  
are <sup>deeply troubling</sup> [unacceptable] <sup>to</sup>  
~~and that I state~~



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

— conditions that  
were not part  
of the "package"  
as discussed  
between you &  
Pres. Nixon and

HK —

I am trying very  
hard to do my  
part to "untie the  
knot" but please  
help by having

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

China do its  
part.

I needn't tell  
you that I am  
under strong  
editorial fire  
here on the  
question of recently  
passed legislation  
but I still feel  
the PRC-USA  
relationship is  
in the best

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

interests of both  
countries.

I hope this  
finds you in very  
good health.

I know you  
have handed off  
the baton of  
leadership to  
Chen Yun, but with your  
permission I

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

would like to  
stay in touch

You know me.

I know you; and  
in spite of current  
tensions, we can,  
between us, ~~try~~

find a way ~~to~~  
to normalize this  
significant relationship

-- we must find a way



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

I would appreciate  
~~it very much~~  
an early reply  
regarding the  
proposal to send  
Scowcroft (met)  
and Eagleburger to  
discuss with you and  
~~the other~~ my meeting  
with Carver at Malta.

*and the threat of more  
to come.*

I am trying very hard to do my part to "untie the knot" but please help by having China do its part.

I needn't tell you that I am under strong fire here on the question of recently passed legislation, but I ~~still feel~~ our relationship is in the best interests of both countries.

*remain  
convinced  
that*

I hope this finds you in very good health. I know you have handed off the baton of leadership to Chairman Jiang, but with your permission I would like to stay in touch.

You know me. I know you. And in spite of current tensions, we can, between us, find a way to normalize this significant relationship. We must find a way.

I would appreciate an early reply regarding the proposal to send Scowcroft and Eagleburger to discuss with you my meeting with Gorbachev at Malta.

Most sincerely,

His Excellency  
Deng Xiaoping  
People's Republic of China  
Beijing

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                        | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 06. Letter               | Chairman Deng Xiaoping to President Bush (1 pp.) | 11/15/89 | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
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 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

*sim by me  
+ orig  
hand carried  
by Sec. Baker*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1991

Your Excellency:

Although I know you have turned over most of your duties to others, I write you as an old friend who I know takes a keen interest in the future of the relationship between China and the United States.

Frankly, I am worried and I believe you personally can make the difference between success and failure. Your personal efforts in the past and over the last two years are known to me and appreciated by me and by all those on both sides who know the benefits the relationship between our two governments has brought to our peoples.

I hope you also recognize that my Administration and I have fought vigorously to preserve the essential elements of our relationship in the face of strong opposition. In a few days our Secretary of State James Baker, whom you know and who has been my close political friend for over 20 years, will visit Beijing. He is doing so without preconditions, as your government requested and as I agreed. Mr. Chairman, I cannot emphasize enough the importance of this visit. As we have told others in your government, the visit carries with it risks to the relationship. The results will be scrutinized in great detail around the world, as well as in China and of course in the United States.

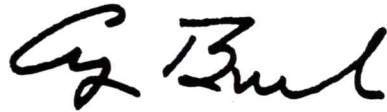
If ever there were a moment when maximum efforts should be made to give renewed meaning and purpose to this relationship, that moment is now. It is essential that the U.S. Congress and people be able to see, as a result of the



Secretary's visit, that there is benefit in my continuing to fight to preserve the core elements of our relations, especially MFN status. Whatever your views may be about American concerns with respect to China's trade practices, arms sales and human rights issues, I urge you, as a practical leader of historic vision, to see the importance of taking now concrete, substantial and public steps that go well beyond minimum actions and private assurances, to prevent this relationship from suffering serious loss of support. Mr. Chairman, over the past century our two countries have been fated to misunderstand and misperceive each other all too often. Yet in the 1970s and 80s, thanks largely to your leadership, we began to see the benefits of real cooperation and the deepening of friendship. If China's leaders today conclude that they have already done "too much" and need only offer less than significant steps, then another fateful misjudgment will occur, with serious consequences for the future. Let's not let this happen.

I urge you, as other great leaders of China have done at historic points, to guide your colleagues to a wise choice. I have asked Secretary Baker to deliver this letter to you personally. He comes as Secretary of State, one who does share my view of the importance of our relationship. He also shares my affection for China and the Chinese people. He can tell you directly about the real intentions of the U.S., both globally and with respect to China.

Sincerely,



His Excellency  
Deng Xiaoping  
Beijing  
People's Republic of China

Dear Chairman Deng -

Although I know you have turned over most of your duties to others, I write you as an old friend who I know takes a keen interest in the future of the relationship between China and the United States.

Frankly, I am worried and I believe you personally can make the difference between success and failure. Your personal efforts in the past and over the last two years are known to me and appreciated by me and by all those on both sides who know the benefits the relationship between our two governments has brought to our peoples.

OUR PEOPLES.

~~SECRET~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FM SECRETARY BAKER, SEOUL  
EYES ONLY FOR THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: BRACING THE CHINESE

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS I NEAR MY VISIT TO CHINA, THE VIBRATIONS WE ARE GETTING FROM BEIJING ARE NOT GOOD. STAPE ROY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY COUNTERPART SUGGEST WE WILL NOT SEE THE CHINESE BE FORTHCOMING TO THE DEGREE WE REQUIRE IN THE KEY AREAS WHERE PROGRESS MUST BE EVIDENT IF WE ARE TO REBUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE RELATIONSHIP: HUMAN RIGHTS, PROLIFERATION, AND TRADE ISSUES. IF THIS PROGNOSIS IS CORRECT, WE WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME PUTTING A GOOD LIGHT ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO TURN AROUND THE RELATIONSHIP, WITH POSSIBLY DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR MFN AND FOR US-CHINA RELATIONS.

3. FORMER SECRETARIES SHULTZ AND HAIG ARE IN BEIJING NOW. I AM TRYING TO GET DIRECT FEEDBACK FROM THEM, BUT INITIAL REPORTS ARE THAT THEY ARE ENCOUNTERING AN UNFORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE PRC LEADERS.

4. GIVEN THE HIGH STAKES INVOLVED IN THE CHINA VISIT AND THE APPARENT CONTROL OVER IT EXERCISED BY LI PENG AND THE HARDLINERS, I THINK WE NEED TO GO OVER THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP'S HEAD TO DENG XIAOPING. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT YOU SEND TO DENG XIAOPING A LETTER ALONG THE LINES OF THE DRAFT THAT FOLLOWS AT PARA 6.

5. IF YOU AGREE, I BELIEVE THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE SENT TO STAPE ROY TO DELIVER. AMBASSADOR ZHU IS NOW IN CHINA, AND THE MESSAGE COULD BE DOUBLE-TRACKED WITH CHARGE ZHAO XIXIN.

6. BEGIN TEXT:  
DEAR CHAIRMAN DENG:

I WRITE TO YOU BECAUSE I KNOW YOU TAKE A DEEP INTEREST IN THE FATE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I BELIEVE TODAY WE ARE AT A TURNING POINT WHERE YOU ALONE CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE. MY OLD FRIEND, YOUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF US-CHINA RELATIONS, EVEN THOSE OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, ARE NOT UNKNOWN TO ME. THOSE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH APPRECIATED BY ALL THOSE WHO VALUE THE BENEFITS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAS BROUGHT TO OUR PEOPLES.

*Insert 1*

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2010-2631-MR  
7/22/2013 MM



I HOPE YOU ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT MY ADMINISTRATION AND I HAVE FOUGHT VIGOROUSLY TO PRESERVE THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IN THE FACE OF STRONG OPPOSITION. IN A FEW DAYS OUR SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, WHOM YOU KNOW AND WHO HAS BEEN MY CLOSE POLITICAL FRIEND FOR OVER 20 YEARS, WILL VISIT BEIJING. HE IS DOING SO WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, AS YOUR GOVERNMENT REQUESTED AND AS I AGREED. MR. CHAIRMAN, I CANNOT EMPHASIZE ENOUGH THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS VISIT. AS WE HAVE TOLD OTHERS IN YOUR GOVERNMENT, THE VISIT CARRIES WITH IT RISKS TO THE RELATIONSHIP. THE RESULTS WILL BE SCRUTINIZED IN GREAT DETAIL AROUND THE WORLD, AS WELL AS IN CHINA AND OF COURSE IN THE UNITED STATES.

IF EVER THERE WERE A MOMENT WHEN MAXIMUM EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO GIVE RENEWED MEANING AND PURPOSE TO THIS RELATIONSHIP, THAT MOMENT IS NOW. ~~I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED,~~ *It is essential* ~~IN PARTICULAR,~~ THAT THE US CONGRESS AND PEOPLE BE ABLE TO SEE, AS A RESULT OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT, THAT THERE IS BENEFIT IN MY CONTINUING TO FIGHT TO PRESERVE THE CORE ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY MFN STATUS. WHATEVER YOUR VIEWS MAY BE ABOUT AMERICAN CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO CHINA'S TRADE PRACTICES, ARMS SALES AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, I URGE YOU, AS A PRACTICAL LEADER OF HISTORIC VISION, TO SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF TAKING NOW CONCRETE, SUBSTANTIAL AND PUBLIC STEPS THAT GO WELL BEYOND MINIMUM ACTIONS AND PRIVATE ASSURANCES, TO PREVENT THIS RELATIONSHIP FROM SUFFERING SERIOUS LOSS OF SUPPORT. MR. CHAIRMAN, OVER THE PAST CENTURY OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN FATED TO MISUNDERSTAND AND MISPERCEIVE EACH OTHER ALL TOO OFTEN. YET IN THE 1970S AND 80S ~~WE BEGAN~~ *thanks largely to your leadership* TO SEE THE BENEFITS OF REAL COOPERATION AND THE DEEPENING OF FRIENDSHIP. IF CHINA'S LEADERS TODAY CONCLUDE THAT THEY HAVE ALREADY DONE "TOO MUCH" AND NEED ONLY OFFER LESS THAN SIGNIFICANT STEPS, THEN ANOTHER FATEFUL MISJUDGMENT WILL OCCUR, WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FUTURE. *Let's not let this happen.*

I URGE YOU, AS OTHER GREAT LEADERS OF CHINA HAVE DONE AT HISTORIC POINTS, TO GUIDE YOUR COLLEAGUES TO A WISE CHOICE. ~~IF YOU DEEM IT APPROPRIATE, I HOPE YOU MIGHT TAKE TIME TO MEET WITH SECRETARY BAKER PRIVATELY.~~ HE CAN TELL YOU DIRECTLY ABOUT THE REAL INTENTIONS OF THE US, BOTH GLOBALLY AND WITH RESPECT TO CHINA.

SINCERELY,  
GEORGE BUSH

BAKER  
DECL OADR

*I have asked Secretary Baker to deliver this letter to you personally. He comes as Sec. State and one who does share my view of the importance of our relationship. and He also shares my affection for China and the Chinese people.*



ROUTINE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

PRT: GANTT GATES SCOWCROFT SIT

SIT: FILE SIT SUM VAX

-----  
<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 060245Z JUL 91

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AIT TAIPEI 9735

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 220694

FROM AIT/W

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, TW

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM SCOWCROFT TO FONMIN CHIEN

1. AIT IS REQUESTED TO CONVEY THE TEXT OF THE THANK YOU  
NOTE FROM NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER BRENT SCOWCROFT AT  
PARA. 2 TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIEN.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR FRED,

IT WAS A DELIGHT TO SEE YOU AT BEAVER CREEK AND TO HAVE A  
CHANCE TO TALK. I ESPECIALLY WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE  
BEAUTIFUL CLOISONNE BOWL YOU SENT ME. IT WAS A VERY  
THOUGHTFUL GIFT AND IT IS MUCH APPRECIATED.

MY BEST TO MRS. CHIEN.

SINCERELY,

BRENT

END TEXT.

SIGNED BELLOCCHI.

BAKER

BT

\*0694

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1042-MR  
4/4/2014 MM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                   | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 10a. Cable               | From White House<br>Re: Message to Charge Pascoe from Mr. Doug Paal (2 pp.) | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                               | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 10b. Draft Cable         | From White House<br>Re: Charge Pascoe from Paal (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

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(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                                                    | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 11a. Cable               | From White House, Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador<br>Zhu Qizhen [250231z Jun 91] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS<br>REDACTED] (3 pp.) | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 1/28/2016

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007          |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>                   |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>              |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>                |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b> 2009-1042-MR(510)     |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 4/14/2014   |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM



PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: GANTT GATES PAAL COMM OLEARY SIGLER SCOWCROFT  
SIT: FILE PRIVACY OUT SIT

-----  
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 250231Z JUN 91

FM WHITE HOUSE

1.4(c)

~~SECRET~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS EYES ONLY

0000

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE TO CHARGE PASCOE  
FROM MR. DOUG PAAL.

JUN 24. 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHINA'S AMBASSADOR ZHU QIZHEN

THE FOLLOWING IS A MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN DEPUTY  
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, ROBERT GATES AND AMBASSADOR ZHU QIZHEN  
ON SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1991 IN THE WHITE HOUSE. PARTICIPANTS WERE  
U.S. - MR. GATES AND DOUGLAS PAAL; CHINA - AMBASSADOR ZHU AND LIU  
XIAOMING.

AMBASSADOR ZHU: I AM INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE  
TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND, SINCE HE IS AWAY, TO YOU, MR. GATES.  
DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO CHINA, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
BARTHOLOMEW HELD EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE SIDE ON  
THE QUESTION OF THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS AND OTHER ISSUES  
CONCERNING ARMS CONTROL. THESE DISCUSSIONS HAVE ENHANCED OUR  
MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THEREFORE ARE BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES.  
THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY UNDER SECRETARY BARTHOLOMEW DURING HIS  
VISIT ARE NOW UNDER OUR CONSIDERATION, AND THERE WILL BE A  
POSITIVE RESPONSE. THE CHINESE SIDE PROPOSES THAT THE TWO SIDES

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1042-MR  
4/14/2014 MM

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

KEEP CONTACTS IN THIS REGARD WHEN THE DELEGATIONS OF THE FIVE COUNTRIES MEET IN PARIS FOR DISCUSSIONS ON ARMS CONTROL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. (S)

MR. GATES: THAT IS ENCOURAGING. VERY ENCOURAGING. (A BRIEF EXCHANGE FOLLOWED ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.) IT IS A GOOD PROPOSAL. WE ARE ENCOURAGED. (S)

AMBASSADOR ZHU: IS THERE ANY OTHER INFORMATION YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO CONVEY? (U)

MR. GATES: I AM GLAD THAT YOU CONVEYED THAT THE RESPONSE WILL BE POSITIVE AS PROMPTLY AS YOU DID. (THERE FOLLOWED A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON MR. GATES' UPCOMING CONFIRMATION HEARINGS AND THE VALUE OF PAST AND FUTURE COOPERATION.)

(WHILE ESCORTING ZHU AND LIU OUT, PAAL ASKED WHETHER THE AMBASSADOR KNEW SPECIFICALLY WHAT CHINA IS PLANNING. HE ANSWERED THAT HE DID NOT. PAAL POINTED OUT THAT THE VOTES IN CONGRESS OVER MFN SEEM LIKELY TO OCCUR SHORTLY AFTER THE JULY 4 RECESS. PROGRESS AT PARIS MAY COME TOO LATE TO AFFECT THE VOTES. ZHU SAID HE WOULD REPORT THAT INFORMATION TO BEIJING.) (S)

(ZHU THEN ASKED ABOUT THE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM SENATOR BAUCUS AND 14 OTHER SENATORS. PAAL REPLIED THAT THE LETTER IS SIGNIFICANT. THE ADMINISTRATION MAY HAVE TO BE RESPONSIVE IN ORDER TO HOLD ENOUGH SENATORS IN A VETO FIGHT. ZHU SAID THAT THE LETTER'S PROVISIONS ON MULTILATERAL LENDING AND TAIWAN IN THE GATT TROUBLED HIM. HE SAID IT WOULD BE A SHAME IF MFN IS SAVED WITHOUT CONDITIONS. ONLY TO HAVE A CONFRONTATION OVER THESE TWO ISSUES. PAAL EXPLAINED THE NECESSITY TO APPEAR RESPONSIVE TO THE SENATORS. THAT ON EACH ISSUE THERE IS A RANGE OF POSSIBLE RESPONSES. AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL DO ITS BEST TO MINIMIZE THE HARM DONE IN RESPONDING. ZHU SEEMED NOT TO UNDERSTAND HOW THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD RESPOND. EXPECTING A

~~SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

WORST-CASE OUTCOME.) (8)

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0196

~~SECRET~~

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 11b. Draft Cable         | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (2 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                  | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 12. Cable                | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (3 pp.) | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                   | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 13a. Cable               | From White House<br>Re: Message to Charge Pascoe from Mr. Doug Paal (2 pp.) | 6/25/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                               |             |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 5/6/2009    | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 13b. Draft Cable         | From White House<br>Re: Meeting with China's Ambassador Zhu Qizhen (2 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                               |             |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 5/6/2009    | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                               | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 13c. Draft Cable         | From White House<br>Re: Charge Pascoe from Paal (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

MESSAGE NO. 066205 CLASSIFICATION Secret No. Pages 5

FROM: Dave Keegar EAP/CM 647-9141 4318  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION (Beijing 140599) "End of Tour Report: Ambassador Lilley (1989-1991)"

| TO: (Agency) | DELIVER TO: | Extension | Room No. |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| NSC/S        | Doug Paal   | 395-3380  | 493      |
|              |             |           |          |
|              |             |           |          |
|              |             |           |          |
|              |             |           |          |
|              |             |           |          |

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☒ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: Amb. Lilley had asked that a copy of this be passed to General Scowcroft. Gates, Sittmann

S/S Officer 

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By Cap NARA, Date 5/6/09

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 14. Cable                | Re: End of Tour: Ambassador Lilley (1989 - 1991) (5 pp.) | 4/30/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                               |             |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 5/6/2009    | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |           |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |           |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                        | Date   | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| 15. Cable                | Ambassador Lilley to General Scowcroft and Under Secretary Bartholomew<br>Re: Begin Text (1 pp.) | 3/8/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                         | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 16. Cable                | From White House<br>Re: Message for Secretary James A. Baker, III from Brent<br>Scowcroft (2 pp.) | 3/14/91 | (b)(1)      | TS     |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                | Date   | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| 17. Cable                | Ambassador Lilley to Scowcroft and Eagleburger<br>Re: Begin Text (2 pp.) | 1/3/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

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| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                                  | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 18. Cable                | From White House<br>Re: Message to Ambassador James Lilley from Brent<br>Scowcroft (2 pp.) | 2/12/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2010-0536-MR  
SCS 11/8/11

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Former Chinese Foreign Minister  
Huang Hua (Ø)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Douglas Paal, NSC, Notetaker  
James Brown, Interpreter  
  
Huang Hua, Former Foreign Minister; Member,  
Standing Committee of the Central Advisory  
Committee, CCP  
Zhu Qizhen, Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.  
Zhang Yijun, Director, Department of American  
Affairs, MFA  
Shao Wenguang, MFA, Interpreter

DATE, TIME January 23, 1991, 3:09 p.m.- 4:05 p.m. EST  
AND PLACE: West Wing and Oval Office

(The Chinese visited General Scowcroft in his office 3:09 p.m.-  
3:25 p.m., then joined the President in the Oval Office, 3:25  
p.m.-3:45 p.m., then returned to General Scowcroft's office until  
4:05 p.m.)

Gen. Scowcroft: I am very glad to see you again. (U)

Mr. Huang: I am very grateful that you take the time to see me  
when you are so busy. (U)

Gen. Scowcroft: Just before you came in, we received word of six  
Scud missiles. They are just coming in. (Ø)

Mr. Huang: This goes to show all the more that it is not easy  
for you, General Scowcroft, to take time to see us. (U)

Gen. Scowcroft: I always take time for old friends. We go back  
a long time. It is always good to see you. (U)

Mr. Huang: I was originally scheduled this morning to see Deputy  
Secretary Eagleburger. But since he is not back from Israel, we  
understand. (U)

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Declassify on: OADR



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2

Gen. Scowcroft: We had hoped he would be back today. He had to stay a couple of days to deal with the Israelis. How long will you be in Washington? (C)

Mr. Huang: We came on the nineteenth. We will fly to New Orleans on Friday. We are on this trip at the invitation of the America-China Society. They are the kindly arrangements of Dr. Kissinger and his friends. On this delegation, in addition to the several of us here, are also Mr. He Kang, formerly Minister of Agriculture, also Mr. Pu Shouchang, former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. They asked to convey to you their best wishes. (U)

Gen. Scowcroft: Please give them my regards. I was a director of the America-China Society before I came back into government. (U)

Mr. Huang: Since this is a rare opportunity to discuss important issues, I would like to raise questions, if that is allowed, about the war situation and prospects in the Gulf. (C)

Gen. Scowcroft: (After excusing himself for a few minutes to take a call) You had a question about the Gulf. (U)

Mr. Huang: Of course, I would like to begin by conveying the best wishes and greetings from old friends in Beijing. China's leaders always attach great importance to Chinese-U.S. relations. Relations between China and the U.S. since the secret visit in 1971 and the official visit by President Nixon, were relatively smooth over a period of time. These visits broke the estrangement between the two countries over 22 years. With the establishment of formal diplomatic relations, U.S. China policy became bipartisan. The relations between us became smooth and expansive. The two countries had sound cooperation over important international issues, such as Cambodia and the Persian Gulf. They were effective international relations. (C)

These relations have suffered setbacks, especially since the summer of 1989. In the past few months, they have improved somewhat. But they are still not regular. For example, the visit of Foreign Minister Qian Qichen was somewhat ad hoc, not regular and normal. In times like this, it is important to have regular consultations. This is important in the affairs of the world. Also, problems in the economic and trade fields need to be resolved through consultations. We, on our part, attach great importance to our relations and hope for a response from the U.S. side. (C)

Regarding the Gulf, China's position is consistent. We are categorically opposed to the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. China gave active support to more than ten resolutions

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to strengthen the hand of the U.N. This was also conducive to peaceful resolution of the situation. We made efforts toward a peaceful settlement. They disappointed us. We feel anxiety and concern about the situation in the war. We know the situation in the region is very complicated. I served in Cairo, and I know the situation can become very complicated very quickly. Should the war be prolonged, expanded, escalated in any way, we are concerned it will produce grave consequences. (C)

Gen. Scowcroft: Someone wants to see you. (Gen. Scowcroft then led the guests to the Oval Office.) (C)

The President: Look who's here. I am glad to see you. You look well. Weren't you sick? My old friend... (U)

Mr. Huang: I will try to express my greetings, especially on behalf of my wife. (U)

The President: I called Barbara and told her you are here. She asked me to send you her greetings. She acted like a little girl the other day, got on a sled, ran into a tree, broke her leg. How are things at home? (U)

Mr. Huang: I can say the government is doing well. Since the last part of last year, the economy is turning up. (U)

The President: We are still down here. (U)

Mr. Huang: And it is fairly successful curbing inflation, from 17.9 percent to 7 percent. The political situation is also stable. The Chinese people feel that at a time the world is going through turbulent change, this is conducive to the Chinese people and the people of the world. We are here at the invitation of the America-China Society. We are former government officials. We sincerely hope that this visit can help restore the relations of our two countries since the setbacks. (C)

The President: That is very important. I am very pleased. (Pointing to Ambassador Zhu) You have a very good emissary in the ambassador, my friend. This ambassador came here at a very difficult time. He is doing great. We are going to -- through visits like yours -- put our relations together. I know it is good for China, and it is darned well good for the U.S. What good advice have you got for an old friend? Give me some free advice. (C)

Mr. Huang: The Chinese leaders are your old friends. They asked me to convey their greetings to you. They know you attach great importance to our relations, the relations of two important countries with strategic concerns. We need close consultations when the world is in great change. Since Dr. Kissinger's secret trip in 1971 and President Nixon's official visit in 1972, the

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relations of estrangement of 22 years were behind us. This ushered in a new period of growth. In 1979, under President Carter, relations were normalized and relations began to grow smoothly. There was an important reason for this. Both sides tried to transcend differences and find a common goal. We handled differences through a long term interest, not judging from a single event or a single time. In my personal view, we should avoid being swayed by the differences of values and of systems of our two countries. Mr. President has made a personal contribution to promotion of our relations over a long period of time. A lot of Chinese friends are familiar to you. (e)

The President: I am afraid the time... (U)

Mr. Huang: For instance, in 1989, when our relations suffered setbacks, you made important, wise decisions for our relations. This includes the decision for Most Favored Nation status. At the time, it was very difficult decision. We admire your efforts. At present, the world situation is turbulent. It is undergoing profound changes. You should make efforts to restore relations as early as possible.

The President: How do you do that? (U)

Mr. Huang: One example would be, in addition to exchanges and contacts at various levels, it is important to have cabinet level contacts and exchanges in a very straightforward, progressive way. (e)

The President: Baker has contacts with the Foreign Minister. That is a good start. But it is very complicated. I am accused by political opponents of not caring about human rights. Yesterday, it was the events of 1989. Today, it is Lithuania. The Congress, in the next few days, will say the President does not care about human rights, that I am not tough on human rights. (e)

Gen. Scowcroft: In China, Wang Dan will be sentenced. That will be used. (e)

The President: There will be differences. In China, you do not like interference in internal affairs. You told me about that in tougher times than these. This spills out into Helsinki and becomes complicated. But we will try, will try very hard. I know how important this is. Very important to our country. I will keep working with the Embassy to find common ground to show how important. Our solidarity on the Gulf situation helped out a great deal. (e)

Incidentally, I hope you will, if you have the occasion, pay my respects to Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, Jiang Zemin -- I do not know him, and Li Peng, my personal respects and best wishes, and officially, to them. How is the health of Deng Xiaoping? (e)



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5

Mr. Huang: Very well. I saw him last summer, swimming in Beidaihe. (U)

Ambassador Zhu: There was a photo of him in a recent newspaper, playing bridge. (U)

The President: I am sorry, but I must run. I am so pleased to see you. I think back when you came to the U.N. History will give you proper credit for working for better relations between our two countries. (C)

Mr. Huang: The major concern on our part is to make further efforts, to preserve momentum to improve relations. (C)

The President: Time helps. Time's passage helps. I would like to see something sooner -- something well received over here and well received in China -- to help move our relations forward. Good luck. (C)

Mr. Huang: In recent meetings with young Japanese Diet members, Li Peng stressed China's position on the Gulf, particularly our anxiety about an expanding war, that it not bring on the unexpected. (C)

The President: It is a worry. Send my best to Wan Li, Tiger Yang. I know Bar would love to see Madame He. Gen. Scowcroft will get Doug to work out arrangements with the Ambassador. Good bye. (U)

Gen. Scowcroft: (Returning to Gen. Scowcroft's office) We do not want to escalate the conflict. Saddam wants Israel in. We will try to prevent escalation. I know we have had good solidarity through this crisis, with something of a difference of view about using force rather than sanctions. In our view, it would be bad for the whole international community to let this man defy the community. Our feeling, terrible though it is to use force, we felt it was right, and the only thing is to use force. We have no interest in widening the conflict at all. It would be helpful if he simply said he would withdraw. But we hope it will be over soon. It is really up to Saddam Hussein. We have no interest in doing anything more than enforcing the resolutions of the UN Security Council. (C)

I do think that our solidarity of the past months has helped the situation in the U.S. for improvement of our relations. I am worried that the trials of Wang Dan and other trials will begin stirring things up. If we get these behind us, we can get on to the greatest priority. (C)

Mr. Huang: There are very few people left. I hope they will soon be settled. The Chinese government is consistently lenient, within the limits of the law. (C)

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Gen. Scowcroft: Good. The trade problems, as you mentioned, can be dealt with on a pragmatic basis. Then maybe we can move forward on relations. (C)

Mr. Huang: We are making constant efforts to improve the balance of trade. For example, there are contracts with Boeing worth over \$4 billion. Li Peng said if the contracts were signed not in Beijing, but in Los Angeles or San Francisco, the American people would understand much better. In general, China's trade amounts to a very small percentage of U.S. worldwide trade, about 1 1/2 percent. (C)

Gen. Scowcroft: Yes, it does. But because of the general situation, it has a very high profile. (C)

Mr. Huang: Of course, lots of trade is by joint venture or wholly owned ventures, though Hong Kong, with a total worth about \$8 billion per annum. In Hong Kong, American investment is number one among all foreign investors. American firms are involved in this trade. In many cases, China only earns commissions. (C)

Gen. Scowcroft: I understand. I hope we are now at the beginning of a new phase where we can move forward. Just a moment ago, the President called. If possible, Mrs. Bush will see your wife tomorrow at around 3:00 p.m. Doug will arrange it. (C)

Mr. Huang: Thank you very much for seeing us at a busy time. (U)

Ambassador Zhu: I am glad to hear that we may enter a new phase and that the Gulf crisis is helping relations. Since the war our spokesman has been consistent. (C)

Gen. Scowcroft: I noticed. Very clearly. (C)

(While departing, Ambassador Zhu asked whether he may reveal his meeting with the President. He was told no for the President, but yes for Gen. Scowcroft. This was due to the possibility of harmful and misleading linkage by the media between the meeting with the President and new sentences of dissidents in China. A day later, Amb. Zhu had Political Counsellor Xiao Houde call Doug Paal to say that Amb. and Mrs. Zhu would not reveal the meetings with President and Mrs. Bush, but they could not understand why the U.S. side would link the meetings with trials in China. ) (C)

-- End of Conversation --

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                              | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 20. Cable                | From White House<br>Re: Message to Ambassador Lilley from General Scowcroft<br>(9 pp.) | 2/11/91 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                               |             |                             |           |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 5/6/2009    | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |           |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |           |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |           |
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| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |           |
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## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                      | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 21a. Memo                | To General Scowcroft, From W. Douglas Gow [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.) | 4/19/90 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 6/2/2016

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007          |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>                   |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>              |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>                |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b> 2009-1041-MR(510)     |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 6/2/2016    |

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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information  
 C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information  
 C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]  
 PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]





U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D. C. 20535

BY LIAISON



Date: April 19, 1990

To: Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft  
Assistant to the President for National  
Security Affairs  
National Security Council  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

From: *W. Douglas Gow*  
W. Douglas Gow, Assistant Director in Charge  
Intelligence Division

Subject: 3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)

This communication is classified ~~SECRET~~ in its entirety.

Reference is made to James H. Geer letter to General  
Scowcroft dated February 17, 1989.

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum dated  
April 12, 1990.

Source information set out in enclosed memorandum is  
extremely singular and sensitive in nature.

Enclosure

1 - Mary C. Lawton  
Office of Intelligence Policy  
and Review  
Department of Justice

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: 2080

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1041-MR

MM 6/2/2016

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                      | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 21b. Memo                | To General Scowcroft, From W. Douglas Gow [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.) | 4/19/90 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

**Document Partially Declassified  
(Copy of Document Follows)  
By MM on 3/10/2023**

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007          |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>                   |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>              |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>                |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b> 2009-1041-MR(510)     |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 6/2/2016    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information  
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information  
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]  
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D. C. 20535

BY LIAISON



Date: April 19, 1990

To: Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft  
Assistant to the President for National  
Security Affairs  
National Security Council  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

From: W. Douglas Gow, Assistant Director in Charge  
Intelligence Division

Subject: 3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)

This communication is classified ~~SECRET~~ in its entirety.

Reference is made to James H. Geer letter to General Scowcroft dated February 17, 1989.

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum dated April 12, 1990.

Source information set out in enclosed memorandum is extremely singular and sensitive in nature.

Enclosure

1 - Mary C. Lawton  
Office of Intelligence Policy  
and Review  
Department of Justice

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: 2080  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1041-MR  
6/2/2016 MM



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                         | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 21c. Report              | [FBI report] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.) | 4/12/90 | (b)(1)      | S      |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Files  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 3/10/2023

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007          |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>                   |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>              |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>                |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b> 2009-1041-MR(510.02)  |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 6/2/2016    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information  
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#### Deed of Gift Restrictions

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 PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]



U.S. Department of Justice

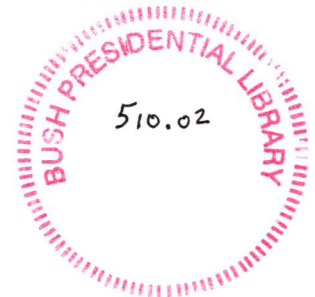
Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D. C. 20535

April 12, 1990

BY LIAISON



3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)

This memorandum is classified ~~SECRET~~ in its entirety.

3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)

On April 5, 1990, source reported the following:

3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: 2080  
Declassify on: OADR

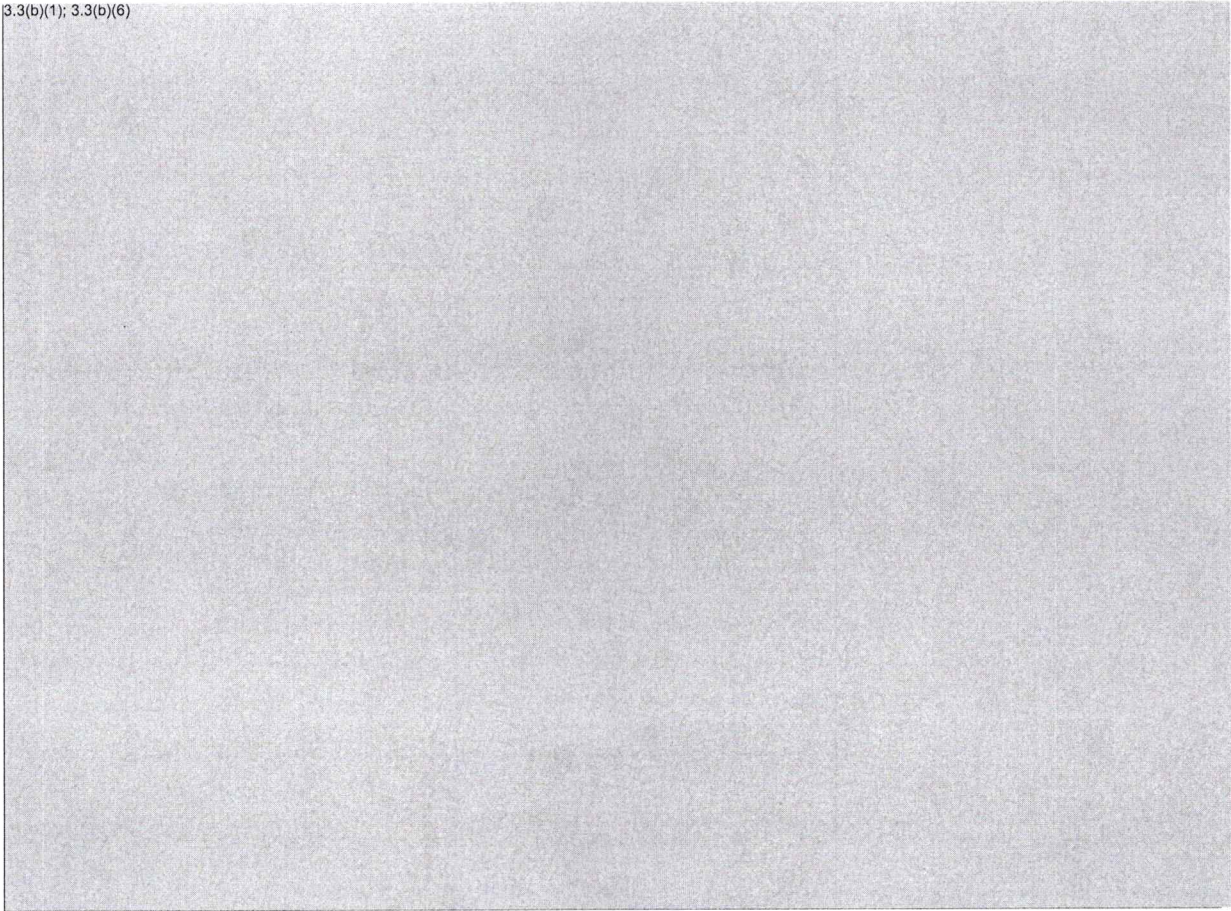
DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1041-MR  
MM 6/2/2016



~~SECRET~~

3.3(b)(1); 3.3(b)(6)



This came  
directly to you.  
Please advise  
if I should  
stop or  
whatever. 7 -

NC  
B

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6/17

Welma

\$5 said to  
held for weekend,  
then throw out.  
Perhaps we should  
put in Chron.

D

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document        | Date    | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 22a. Note                | Brent Scowcroft to POTUS (1 pp.) | 6/17/89 | (b)(1)      | TS     |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                           | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 22b. Memo                | Brent Scowcroft to Ambassador James Lilley<br>Re: Dear Jim: (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Scowcroft, Brent, Collection  
**Series:** Special Separate China Notes Files  
**Subseries:** China Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** China 1989 (Sensitive) [7]

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 5/6/2009        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 91135-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0275-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

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