

## **China, 1977**

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
tel	Peking to SecState #9013	08/22/1977	A
tel	Peking to White House #9017	08/23/1977	A
tel	Peking to SecState #9029	08/24/1977	A
tel	Peking to SecState #9045	08/25/1977	A
tel	Tokyo to SecState #9057	08/26/1977	A

*Opened  
3/29/07*

File Location

Chief of Staff(Jordan), Confidential File China, 1977 Box 34

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
MEMO	Dennis Chapman to Rick Inderfurth (14 pp.) 2pp OPENED 2/15/00	8/29/77	A

FILE LOCATION

Chief of Staff  
(Jordan)

~~Box 6 of 8 [14]~~  
Confidential File

China 1977

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12065 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

8/29

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Hamilton,

Here's a complete set of

Vance's cables from Pe King.

See especially those cables at  
Tabs B, C and D.

I suggest you get together  
with Mike Oresberg to discuss  
the trip. His impressions are  
quite positive.

Rick

~~SECRET~~

360

\*\*\*\*\*~~SECRET~~\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 08/29/77  
1

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

WHSR COMMENTS:

ZB AAR INFO VP ARMA

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE  
DE RUEHLC #0013 2341748  
O 221725Z AUG 77 ZFF4  
FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3496  
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTO 00013

PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY  
DEPARTMENT FOR MR. CHRISTOPHER ONLY

E. O. 11652: YGDS-3

TAGS: DVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: FIRST MEETING WITH PRC

THE TONE THROUGHOUT THE DAY WAS ONE OF EXPECTATION. WHILE THE CHINESE LISTENED WITH POLITENESS AND AT CERTAIN TIMES OBVIOUS INTEREST TO MY TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR PRESENTATION OF GLOBAL ISSUES, MY INTERLOCUTOR, FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, SIGNALLED CLEARLY SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WANTED TO HEAR OUR VIEWS ON NORMALIZATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE WILL PRESENT IT TOMORROW MORNING.

THE MEETING SERVED A USEFUL PURPOSE, AS IT OFFERED THE NEWLY RECONSTITUTED PRC LEADERSHIP A PICTURE OF THE COMPLEXITY AND BREADTH OF OUR WORLDWIDE POLICIES THAT IS DIFFERENT IN THRUST AND EMPHASIS FROM THE EARLIER DISCUSSIONS THAT THEY HAVE HAD WITH USG VISITORS. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT YET HAD A CHANCE TO RESPOND, THEIR INTEREST APPEARED TO BE HIGHEST DURING MY COMMENTS ON KOREA, THE SOVIET UNION, INDIA, AND OUR POLICY TO STRENGTHEN NATO. TOMORROW MORNING I WILL COVER AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, AND BRIEFLY GLOBAL ISSUES BEFORE TURNING TO NORMALIZATION. DURING DINNER TONIGHT, I ALSO DISCUSSED THE RHODESIAN SITUATION WITH HUANG HUA.

AT THE END OF THIS AFTERNOON PRESENTATION, HUANG HUA SAID HE PROBABLY WOULD BE UNAVAILABLE TOMORROW AFTERNOON. THEREFORE, HE ASKED, COULD WE MOVE ON TO THE BILATERAL ISSUES TOMORROW MORNING STARTING EARLIER THAN

Rev 6/6/00 NLC-00-135  
State Hrv  
BY [Signature] NARS, DATE 3/29/07

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\*\*\*\*\*S E C R E T\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 08/29/77  
2

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

USUAL. THIS, COMING BEFORE HE HAD MADE ANY RESPONSE TO MY PRESENTATION, SUGGESTS TO ME STRONGLY THAT THE PRC LEADERSHIP IS INTERESTED IN HEARING OUR VIEWS ON NORMALIZATION AND THEY PERHAPS ALLOWING THEMSELVES ENOUGH TIME TO REFLECT ON THEM BEFORE WE RESUME ON WEDNESDAY. I WAS STRUCK TODAY BY THE MOOD IN PEKING. THREE DAYS AFTER THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS, THE CITY IS STILL CELEBRATING, AND WHETHER BY DESIGN OR INADVERTENCE, THERE WERE LITERALLY SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE STILL PRADING IN AND OUT OF TIEN AN MEN SQUARE AS WE DROVE INTO TOWN. THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS CLEARLY ON A RISING CURVE OF CONFIDENCE. THEY FEEL AS THOUGH THEY HAVE COME THROUGH A LONG AND DIFFICULT STRUGGLE--THEIR EQUIVALENT OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY OF A VERY PECULIAR SORT. THIS IS REFLECTED IN EVERYTHING THEY ARE SAYING AND DOING, ALTHOUGH WHAT IT AUGERS FOR OUR NORMALIZATION PROPOSAL REMAINS TO BE SEEN. DINNER TONIGHT WAS MARKED BY A TOAST THAT WAS AS MILD AS THEY COULD POSSIBLE DO IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. DURING THE DAY ALSO, THE CHINESE RELEASED SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM CHAIRMAN HUA'S SPEECH TO THE PARTY CONGRESS. NOT COINCIDENTALLY, THEY CHOSE TO PUBLISH A STANDARD STATEMENT ON TAIWAN. WE MEET AT 9:30 TUESDAY MORNING PEKING TIME. I EXPECT TO FINISH THE GLOBAL DISCUSSION AND THEN INVITE THEIR COMMENTS. THEN WE WILL MOVE ON TO NORMALIZATION, VANCE

PSN: 756698

TOR: 234/16138Z

DTG: 221726Z AUG 77

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~~SECRET~~

354

~~\*\*\*\*\*SECRET\*\*\*\*\*~~

DATE 78/29/77  
1

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

WHSR COMMENT:

ZB, AAR, IAD, ARMACOST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE  
DE RUEKHO #3130 2381510  
O 261448Z AUG 77  
FM USOEL SECRETARY IN TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3537  
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTO 9757

NODIS  
WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY  
DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)  
SUBJECT: AUGUST 26 REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT

1. WE LEFT PEKING ON SCHEDULE. ON THE WAY TO THE AIRPORT HUANG HUA INDICATED THAT THEY WERE VERY PLEASED WITH THE VISIT. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MY DISCUSSIONS WITH TENG HSIANG-PING AND CHAIRMAN HUA. HE NOTED THAT I HAD NOW BEEN TWICE TO CHINA AND UNDERSTOOD THEIR STYLE, AND THAT THIS WAS GOOD. WE TALKED ABOUT A NUMBER OF OTHER MATTERS VARYING FROM OFF-SHORE DRILLING TO THEIR ENERGY PROGRAMS, TO VARIOUS DOMESTIC MATTERS, ABOUT WHICH I WILL REPORT TO YOU LATER.

2. SOON AFTER MY ARRIVAL IN TOKYO, I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA FOR ABOUT 2 HOURS, THE LAST 40 MINUTES OF WHICH WE WERE ALONE. HE FIRST GAVE ME A FULL ACCOUNTING OF HIS TRIP TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND HIS MEETING WITH THE ASEAN LEADERS. HE IS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS FIRST SUCCESSFUL TRIP OF A JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD. I TOLD HIM THAT YOU WERE PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH AND ADMIRERED THE INITIATIVE AND LEADERSHIP HE HAD SHOWN IN THIS EFFORT. HE SEAMED.

REC'D BY  
Per 06/00  
State Ltr  
J NARA, DATE 3/21/07

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DATE 08/29/77

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

2

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

3. I ALSO GAVE HIM A GENERAL BRIEFING ON THE CHINA DISCUSSIONS. WHEN WE WERE ALONE, I WENT INTO A BIT MORE DETAIL ON ONE OR TWO KEY POINTS. I ALSO RAISED WITH HIM THE ISSUE OF TOKAI AND SAID THAT, AS HE KNEW, GERRY SMITH WOULD BE COMING OVER TO DISCUSS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION NEXT WEEK. HE ASKED ME TO TELL YOU THAT THIS WAS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO HIM AND HE HOPED THAT BY COMMUNICATION WITH YOU HE MIGHT REACH A SOLUTION EVEN BEFORE HE SAW GERRY. HE SAID THAT THE MATTER WAS THE MOST SENSITIVE QUESTION HIS GOVERNMENT FACED. I INDICATED THAT WE ARE SENSITIVE TO THIS PROBLEM AND WISHED TO FIND A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION. I ALSO MENTIONED THE IMPORTANCE OF BOB STRAUSS' MISSION AND SAID THAT I HOPED THAT THEY WOULD RESPOND ACCORDINGLY. HE ALSO DISCUSSED BRIEFLY THE ILO MATTER, CIVIL AVIATION AND ECONOMIC STIMULATION. ON THE LATTER POINT, HE SAID THAT IT APPEARS THAT THEY ARE GOING TO MISS THEIR 6.7 PERCENT REAL GROWTH TARGET, AND THAT HE HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS TO ANNOUNCE A PROGRAM BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH IN WHICH THEY WOULD GO IN FOR A SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET WHICH HE EXPECTED WOULD PRODUCE THE NECESSARY STIMULATION TO MEET THE GROWTH TARGET OF 5.7 TO BEGIN TO CORRECT THE CURRENT ACCOUNT IMBALANCE. I TOLD HIM THAT YOU WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO LEARN OF THIS ACTION. HE FURTHER SAID THAT HE WAS WELL AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STRAUSS MISSION AND WOULD INSTRUCT HIS COLLEAGUES TO ACT ACCORDINGLY. HE EXPRESSED GREAT APPRECIATION FOR OUR CONSULTATIONS AND FOR THE CLOSE COMMUNICATIONS WHICH WERE BEING MAINTAINED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

4. THIS EVENING AT DINNER, I TALKED WITH THE RIME MINISTER ABOUT THE US/UK RHODESIAN INITIATIVE, AS WELL AS OUR HOPES AND PLANS FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. HE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO WORK WITH US IN SUPPORTING THESE INITIATIVES IN THE UN, OR ELSEWHERE. IN SHORT, THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN VERY COOPERATIVE. I WILL BE CONTINUING MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE MORNING BEFORE TAKING OFF FOR WASHINGTON.  
VANCE

PSN: 064328

TOR: 238/15149Z

DTG: 261448Z AUG 77

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DATE 28/29/77

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

1

WHSR COMMENT:

ZB, AAR, INC, ARACORT

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE RUEFLC #9045 2371720  
O 251705Z AUG 77 ZFF-4  
FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3530  
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTO 9045

NOOIS CHEROKEE  
WHITE HOUSE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY  
DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY  
E. O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: OVIP (VANOE, CYRUS)  
SUBJECT: AUGUST 26 MEETING WITH CHINESE

1. TODAY WAS OUR LAST WORKING DAY IN PEKING. I MET FOR AN HOUR WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG THIS MORNING TO COMPLETE DISCUSSIONS ON BILATERAL QUESTIONS. WE SPOKE ABOUT CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND TRADE. ON EXCHANGES IT IS CLEAR THE CHINESE WISH THEM TO CONTINUE AT ABOUT THE PRESENT LEVEL. ON TRADE, I RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT HUANG, WHILE LINKING TRADE TO NORMALIZATION, WAS RESPONSIVE TO THE SUGGESTION THAT WE LOOK FOR WAYS TO INCREASE TRADE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH I WILL HAVE FOLLOWED UP ON WITHOUT DELAY. AT THE END OF OUR MEETING HUANG AND I AGREED THAT A FORMAL COMMUNIQUE WAS NOT NECESSARY. WE WERE PREPARED TO HAVE A BRIEF ONE BUT INSTEAD I USED THE GIST OF WHAT NEEDS TO BE SAID IN A BRIEF ON-THE-RECORD PRESS CONFERENCE TONIGHT.

2. THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE DAY WAS AN HOUR AND QUARTER WITH CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. THIS IS OF GREAT SYMBOLIC AS WELL AS SOME SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST. THE PRESS COVERED THE OPENING MINUTES OF THE MEETING, DURING WHICH HUA COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON CAMERA THAT HE HAD NOTED YOUR STATEMENT ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE

\*\*\*\*\*~~SECRET~~\*\*\*\*\*

per 6/6/00 State Ltr  
NAIC-00-135  
BY: *[Signature]* NAHA, DATE 3/29/07

\*\*\*\*\*S E C R E T\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 28/29/77  
2

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AS THE BASIS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, AND THE DESIRABILITY OF EXPLORING EACH OTHERS VIEWS, AND ON THE DESIRABILITY OF ENHANCING OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

3. WHEN THE PRESS LEFT, HUA SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH COVERING INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA FROM THE LAST YEAR OF MAO TO THE PRESENT, SPOKE OF NATURAL DISASTERS WHICH HAD TO BE OVERCOME IN 1976, AND THEN REFERRED WITH A TOUCH OF PRIDE TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" AND THE SUCCESS OF THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS.

4. HE SPENT A GOOD BIT OF TIME CASTIGATING THE "NEW CZARS" OF THE SOVIET UNION, FOR ITS "SOCIAL IMPERIALIST" EXPANSIONIST POLICY AND REMINDED ME THAT SOVIET IMPERIALISM STARTED WITH PETER THE GREAT. THEY CONTINUE TO FEEL IT NECESSARY TO REMIND US AT EVERY TURN HOW BAD THE SOVIETS ARE.

5. ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, HE SPOKE AGAIN OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT HAD BEEN EXTENSIVELY DISCUSSED WITH HUANG HUA AND TENG HSHIAO-PING AND SAID WE SHOULD MOVE FORWARD. HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER EACH OTHERS VIEWS FURTHER AND CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS. I RECEIVED NO SENSE OF BEING PRESSED, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SUBJECT IS AS LIVE AS EVER.

6. WE WILL NOW SORT OUT THE TOTAL OF OUR IMPRESSIONS AND THE SUM OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WHICH I WILL REPORT TO YOU WHEN I GET TO WASHINGTON. I THINK WE HAVE BEEN LISTENED TO SERIOUSLY, TALKED TO WITH PRECISION AND DELIBERATE PATIENCE, AND THE WAY HAS BEEN LEFT OPEN TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. WE NOW KNOW WITH SOME ACCURACY WHERE WE ARE ON THIS ISSUE, AND WE HAVE TIME TO DECIDE HOW WE WISH TO PROCEED.

VANCE

PBNI 203249

TORI 237/17132Z

DTGI 251705Z AUG 77

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~~SECRET~~

357

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DATE 08/29/77  
1

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

WHSR COMMENT:

BRZEZINSKI, AARD, INDERFURTH, VP, ARMACOST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE  
DE RUEHCR #9029/66220 2361842  
O 241800Z AUG 77  
FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 9029

NO DIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY  
DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY

E. O. 116521 XG08-3

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: AUG. 24 MEETINGS WITH CHINESE

1. THE DAY INCLUDED MORNING MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, AN AFTERNOON MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO PING, AND A DINNER WITH TENG. AT THE VERY END OF THE DAY, AS WE WERE LEAVING THE SUMMER PALACE, TENG HSIAO PING INFORMED ME THAT WE WOULD BE MEETING TOMORROW WITH CHAIRMAN HUA KUO FENG.

2. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF TODAY'S DISCUSSIONS, THE MOST IMPORTANT EXCHANGE CAME IN THE LATTER PART OF THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING WITH TENG. IN THE MORNING HUANG HUA HAD DELIVERED A RATHER STANDARD STATEMENT OF THEIR TAIWAN POSITION, BUT HE HAD BEGUN BY SAYING THAT HIS REMARKS WERE ONLY PRELIMINARY. TENG PICKED IT UP IN THE AFTERNOON WITH A DIFFERENT TACK. HE BEGAN BY REPEATING, IN HIS CONSIDERABLY MORE COLORFUL STYLE, A FAIRLY STANDARD CRITIQUE OF THE NEED FOR AMERICAN RESOLUTENESS AND VIGILANCE WORLDWIDE AGAINST THE SOVIETS. HE FEARED THAT HE WOULD NOT BE RESOLUTE, AND URGED US ON, WITHOUT OFFERING ANY SUGGESTION THAT CHINA MIGHT DO ANYTHING HERSELF. THE MOST INTERESTING (AND AMUSING) PART OF THIS DISCUSSION WAS HIS CONTINUAL RAISING OF PRM-10, FOR WHICH HE REQUESTED AN EXPLANATION. AT THE END OF THIS

~~\*\*\*\*\*SECRET\*\*\*\*\*~~

Per 6/6/00 NK-00-135  
State Htr  
NARA DATE 3/21/07

DATE 28/29/77  
2

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

LONG EXCHANGE, IN WHICH I CONTINUED TO LAY OUT OUR VIEWS AND POLICIES, HE BACKED OFF HIS GENERAL CRITIQUE, STATING THAT HE HAD MANY POINTS IN COMMON.

3. HE THEN SAID HE WISHED TO TURN TO BILATERAL ISSUES AND ASKED IF I HAD ANYTHING I WISHED TO ADD AS HE HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED WHAT HAD BEEN REPORTED TO HIM ABOUT MY DISCUSSION WITH HUANG HUA OUR VIEWS ON NORMALIZATION, WHICH MERIT CAREFUL STUDY. I SAID I BELIEVED THEY HELD THE KEY TO PROGRESS. I ADDED THAT OUR VIEWS WERE CONSISTENT WITH THE VIEWS WHICH THE PRC HAD TAKEN. I FURTHER SAID IT IS NOW OUR TASK TO FIND A WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH FIRM PRINCIPLES AND TAKES INTO ACCOUNT PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. TENG BEGAN A CRITIQUE OF OUR NORMALIZATION PROPOSAL. IT WAS EVIDENT THAT HE HAD STUDIED IT CAREFULLY, AND MUCH OF THE TIME HE WAS READING FROM NOTES DURING THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION. HE SAID THAT OUR PROPOSAL CONSTITUTED A RETREAT, NOT A FORWARD STEP, FROM THE POSITION OFFERED BY THE UNITED STATES IN 1975 IN TWO WAYS. HE RECALLED FIRST THAT FORD INTENDED TO RECOGNIZE PEKING AFTER HIS ELECTION ALONG THE LINES OF THE JAPANESE FORMULA, AND SECOND THAT KISSINGER HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE US OWED CHINA A DEBT. AFTER A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF THE CHINESE HISTORICAL RIGHT TO TAIWAN, HE REITERATED THAT THE AMERICANS OWED CHINA A DEBT, DEFINING IT AS A DEBT ACCUMULATED OVER DECADES OF AMERICA'S ROLE IN CHINA. BY STRESSING THE NOTION OF A DEBT, TENG INDICATED THAT THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS DID NOT INVOLVE RECIPROCAL MEASURES.

4. HE THEN BEGAN TO SOFTEN HIS LINE, AND IT BECAME APPARENT THAT IN THE FORM OF A LECTURE, HE WAS BEGINNING TO NEGOTIATE OVER OUR OFFER. HE SAID THAT TWO THINGS BOTHERED HIM ABOUT OUR POSITION: FIRST, THAT WE WERE ASKING CHINA TO VIOLATE ITS HISTORIC PRINCIPLE THAT TAIWAN WAS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR BY REQUIRING A STATEMENT OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT; AND SECOND, THAT WE WANTED A "FLAGLESS EMBASSY" IN TAIWAN, "IN ESSENCE A LIAISON OFFICE."

5. TENG THEN MADE A CAREFUL RESPONSE: CHINA COULD BE PATIENT, HE SAID, AND QUOTED A COMMENT MAO TSE-TUNG HAD MADE TO KISSINGER: "CHINA COULD WAIT TEN-TWENTY-OR EVEN A HUNDRED YEARS FOR TAIWAN." HE ALSO SAID: "WE ARE

PSN: 022127

TOR: 236/18147Z

DTG: 241800Z AUG 77

\*\*\*\*\*S E C R E T\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 08/29/77

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

1

\*H8R COMMENT:

BRZEZINSKI, AAFON, INDERFURTH, VP, ARMACOST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE RUEHLC #9029/2 236183Z

O 241800Z AUG 77

FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3514

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SECTO 9029

NODIS CHERDKEE

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY

PREPARED TO SEEK PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT US PARTICIPATION AND US INTERVENTION, BUT WE DO NOT EXCLUDE FORCEFUL MEANS." HE SAID CHINA COULD BE PATIENT, AND DISCUSS THIS IN A "MORE PATIENT AND LEISURELY STYLE," BUT CHINA'S PATIENCE WAS NOT LIMITLESS. TENG SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT OUR PROPOSAL REFLECTED CAREFUL AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION, BUT SAID AGAIN THAT THE FORMULA REPRESENTED A RETREAT, NOT A STEP FORWARD.

6. TENG SEVERAL TIMES EXPLAINED TO US THAT WE COULD USE THE JAPANESE FORMULA--"THAT IS, YOU MAY MAINTAIN NON-GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS...WE CAN'T AGREE TO YOUR FORMULA, BUT WE CAN CONTINUE FURTHER TALKS."

7. TENG EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD BEEN VERY CANDID, BUT WE HAD TOO, WHICH HE APPRECIATED. HE SAID THAT WE SHOULD TALK FURTHER ABOUT THE MATTER AND, AS I HAD SUGGESTED TO THEM, I DID NOT HAVE TO RESPOND NOW. HE SAID HE MIGHT WISH TO REFLECT ON WHAT HE SAID AND DISCUSS HIS COMMENTS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

8. I RESPONDED BRIEFLY, SAYING THAT I HAD FOUND HIS DISCUSSION USEFUL AND HELPFUL. I SAID HE WAS CORRECT IN NOTING THAT THE STARTING POINT WAS THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND THAT IS WHERE HE HAD STARTED IN ACKNOWLEDG-

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DATE 8/29/77  
2

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ING THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND THAT TAIWAN IS A PART OF CHINA. I MADE THE POINT THAT OUR POSITION WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRC, AND, HAVING HEARD HIS EXPOSITION, I NOW UNDERSTOOD MORE CLEARLY WHERE THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE LAY. I SAID I WOULD STUDY HIS COMMENTS IN DEPTH AND DISCUSS THEM WITH YOU, AND THAT BOTH OF US SHOULD REFLECT ON WHAT THE OTHER HAD SAID. I SAID THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION AND ADDED THAT PERHAPS WE COULD DISCUSS THIS DURING THE UNGA IN NEW YORK. I TOO APPRECIATED HIS CANDOR, AS CANDOR IS REQUIRED IN THE DISCUSSION OF SUCH SERIOUS MATTERS.

9. THE ABOVE REPRESENTS A SUMMARY OF A COMPLEX AND SKILLFUL PRESENTATION BY TENG. I WILL RESERVE FINAL ANALYSIS OF IT FOR MY RETURN, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE MOOD SURROUNDING THE VISIT CHANGED SHARPLY AFTER THIS MEETING. THE DINNER WAS HELD IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF GENUINE CORDIALITY WITH SHORT, BUT GOOD TOASTS. I BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE SAW TODAY WAS THE BEGINNING OF A LONG AND UNDOUBTEDLY DIFFICULT ROAD, BUT ONE ON WHICH WE ARE NOW CLEARLY LAUNCHED.

10. I WILL ALSO MEET BRIEFLY WITH HUANG HUA TOMORROW MORNING, AND I PLAN TO HAVE A SHORT PRESS CONFERENCE TOMORROW NIGHT. WE ARE ALSO GOING TO SUGGEST A BRIEF, POSITIVE JOINT COMMUNIQUE.  
VANCE

PSN: 002152

TOR: 236/19107Z

DTG: 241800Z AUG 77

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\*\*\*\*\*~~SECRET~~\*\*\*\*\*DATE 08/29/77  
1

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

WHSR COMMENT:

ZB AAR IND VP ARMA

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE RUEHLC #9017 235X945  
O 230944Z AUG 77 ZFF4  
FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKINGTO THE WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 35%  
BT~~SECRET~~ SECTO #9017

NODIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR BRZEZINSKI

DEPT FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGOS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJ: REPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. TODAY'S SESSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA FELL INTO THREE PARTS. AT THE OUTSET HE TOLD ME VICE PREMIER TENG HSIANG-PING WAS INVITING ME TO A MEETING AND DINNER TOMORROW AT THE SUMMER PALACE. AFTER THIS I CONCLUDED MY GLOBAL PRESENTATION COVERING AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND NON-PROLIFERATION. I INVITED HIS RESPONSE, BUT HUANG RESERVED HIS OVERALL RESPONSE FOR TOMORROW. HE ASKED SOME MILDLY POINTED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND YUGOSLAVIA, AND INQUIRES AS TO OUR VIEW OF SOVIET STRATEGY. TO COUNTER THE CHINESE VIEW OF SOVIETS NINE FEET TALL, I USED CONSIDERABLE DETAIL TO ILLUSTRATE OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE IN TROUBLE BOTH IN THE HORN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA WHERE THEY SEEM TO BE SEEKING TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY RATHER THAN CONDUCTING A WELL THOUGHT OUT STRATEGY. I WAS SURPRISED BY HUANG'S LACK OF CURRENT KNOWLEDGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. I REBUTTED SUGGESTIONS THAT WE WERE NOT SUPPORTING SADAT ADEQUATELY AND REVIEWED OUR BASIC POLICY TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. I THINK THE EXCHANGES WERE USEFUL.

DECLASSIFIED

Rev 4/10/00 NLC-00135  
 State Dept  
 BY: J NARA, DATE 3/2/07

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DATE 08/29/77  
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

2. WITHOUT DOUBT THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE MEETING WAS MY PRESENTATION ON OUR APPROACH ON NORMALIZATION AND THE NATURE OF OUR REQUIREMENTS IN ORDER TO RECOGNIZE THE PRC AS THE SOLE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. I HAD THE FEELING, SHARED BY MY COLLEAGUES, THAT THE CHINESE SIDE OF THE TABLE FELT IT WAS AN HISTORIC OCCASION. THEY WERE EXTREMELY ATTENTIVE AND SOBER AND READILY ACCEPTED MY SUGGESTION THAT WE BREAK OFF AT THE CONCLUSION OF MY REMARKS SO THEY COULD HAVE TIME TO REFLECT. THE CHINESE SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN OUR PRESENTATION AS A SERIOUS ONE, BUT OUR PROPOSALS POSE VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS FOR THEM AND NOTHING TODAY GIVES ME ANY BASIS FOR PROJECTING THE NATURE OF THEIR RESPONSE. PERHAPS TENG WILL RESPOND TOMORROW, EVEN IF HE DOES NOT, THE TONE OF HIS REMARKS WILL GIVE US SOME CLUE OF WHAT WE CAN EXPECT.

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