

~~Recommended telephone call~~

Rmw fel China Notes

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.....

[Handwritten mark]

Mass - student
on return to his valley

Peoples are friendly -
Deal on basis of equality -
Deal on basis of reciprocity.
Honesty + candor

Great Wall from Moscow
Total (Military, Economic
Intell Organization
since W. II
Khamatov

① We have differences -
Understanding must be based on mutual self interest -

② Contract is as good as will of parties to keep it.
We will honor our agreements -

③ We will do more than we say -

④. To take advantage of fact five percent is
short range gain - long term loss -

Chen:

We are 22 years old - you are 200 years old

① Increase more ancient than China.

Economic expansion inevitably leads to military expansion.

② We do not fight states because of ideology -
but on basis of their policy toward us.

③ We must not end V. Kham in way which
will undermine capital in U.S. around world

3. You see America as extremely materialistic -
- We are on other hand extremely (naively idealistic)

① We thought economic aid would
be followed by political program -

② only true in Europe + Japan -

③ Need for political structure to use the aid.

4. Soviet reached out its hands - caused U.S. to
reach out its hands - (get them loose for our lifelines)

④ Our restraint when we were had Nuclear War with

China must not be carved up again

⑤ and small nation (Somalia) Israel have
right to exist.

Chen - "Throwing a Ping Pong ball has thrown Soviet into
consternation."

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By ADH NARA, Date 9-15-89

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Historical File

Campaign against success of visit -

N - was in to do & state
what P. M. did
to foreign minority
Refer it to 3.

① People - fruit - want peace.

② Against:

③ Political Parties (Press & politicians)

④ Soviet Parties

⑤ Far Right Parties

⑥ Indian parties

all have reputation in Press, Media, (Congress), Bala, Bermany
But people will prevail -

Chom "We dare to use young people."

Pen Mystery - "we fear what we do not know."

Chin - have suffered - developed inner strength
- largeness of spirit.

Pen ① Learn more from defeat than victory
c. Defeat is instructive

"We believe progressively in balancing forces
to prevent war -

① They do so - but must appear not
to be abandoning principles -

Jely - Chou - "Mao's meeting will shake the world"

N - Japan -

Don't say "we oppose rearmament of Japan"

① We oppose Nuclear Japan -

② As long as we have influence we
can disengage Japan "Pushing out into
Korea or Taiwan - or China."

Korea - It takes 2 to make peace -

① N. Korea has been aggressive (E.C. 121)

② If it happens again - we will react

Nuclear:

Soviet attempt = to "Lasso" the big
Nuclear disarmament controls!

- ① Stronger always try to ~~have~~
~~a treaty~~ freeze weaker into
permanent ~~and~~ inferior position.

Phases:

Turn a page in history -
Turmoil under heaven -

(Like a Chin. man
satisfied but not
satisfied.)

Chen
Toast

"although we are separated by ~~vast~~ vast
Pacific Ocean - Friendship links our
two peoples together -"

1. Peoples with different philosophy, specific views
could overlook, can be friends.

@ We compete ~~for~~ with our friends.
vigorously - peacefully.

"We hope this new era will be
approached in a new spirit!"

What they want:

1. Build up their world credentials -
2. Taiwan
3. get U.S. out of Asia -

What we want:

1. Indo China (?)
2. Communism - to restrain Chinese expansion in Asia -
3. In Future - Reduce threat of confrontation by China Super Power

What we both want:

1. Reduce danger of confrontation + conflict.
2. A more stable Asia -
3. A restraint of an U.S.S.R.

Toast We speak for our Nation - & people - proudly -

We speak to the world - its hopes for a better life.

✓ China can be a strong, as rich as it wants to be.

@ Change -

1. we live in period of change -
shall we be destroyed by it - or shall we master it.

Japan ready for take off economically

1. Can't expect dynastic, proud, ~~free~~ humiliated people - to be economic giant & military power.
2. Best to provide ^{shield} ~~security~~ shield -
 1. To keep Japan from building its own.
 2. To have influence for U.S.

① We oppose Japan "stretching out its hands" to Korea, Taiwan, Indochina -

② But if we don't have a treaty - our remonstrance would be like "empty cannon".

③ "Wild Horse" - would not be controlled -

Soviet:

@ 1. Trying to "free its hand" in Europe & Middle East to concentrate elsewhere -

@ Want U.S. hand to be tied down in V. Nam.

2. If U.S. becomes isolationist - "withdraw" from Asia eq - Soviet will fill the vacuum

H - AA - man of proper
mag intellect.

Mao v. U.S. - why?

1. Inferior (Criminally, Mentally & Superior)
2. Slave for Master
3. Boor for Rich
4. Crude for Gentle
5. Conqueror for conquered.
6. Stage for foreign (barbarians)

Treat him (as Europe)

1. Don't quarrel
2. Don't praise him (too much)
3. Don't praise the people - art, music
4. Praise poems.
5. Love of Country -

China -

- ① Must not be "too green".
- ② Individualist.

Mao - m. m. - Is he?

- ① What is he like inside?

@ Strong -

Democrat -

Spartan -

Evil

Q. Is he strong so that I must
respect him - or weak so
that I can attack him?

Q. Does he have determination + ^{shrewdness} ~~shrewdness~~?

Q. Is Communism strong or weak?

Guerrilla - v. Organized City Bureau Military,
Peasants - v. City.

Volunteerism v. Bureau.

Decentralization v. Central Control

• Constantly tried to reinvigorate the revolutionary
spirit among young

① Paid price in blood to "Cleanse" the bureau

Mao

Cruel - cruel humor -
Cunning + force
Lusty living -
Mystical happenings.

Novels:

Unlike our Western which stress courage, honor
His heroes use guile + artifice & deceit.

① Made heroes of the villains in China History.

Believe U.S. has degenerated.

1. That we are withdrawing from Asia.

2. Note G 5 (Read Feb 9 -)

① Does not like a person who
says one thing and does another.

3. Enjoins direct intellectual scrup

Encouraged greater freedom in Bloc countries
to embarrass Soviet.

Appeared Peaceful Coexistence.

Russian off beats:

1. '56 ~~Attack on Stalin~~ (didn't inform him)

2. '59 - Cut of Nuclear assistance

K's visit to Peking + Attack -

Support of India in border dispute.

3. '58 - Failure to support in Quemoy Matter -

① How else? -

4. '60 - full break when K repudiated withdrawal

Technical Aid during Sino-Soviet

crisis caused by Great Leap forward

Believe struggle not necessary is

way to progress

Anti Intellectual elite (sends to farms)

Anti Bureaucracy (thwarts initiative - make
people dependent on organized supervision)

But distrust of peasant initiative (can be manipulated
by better educated)

Farm collection in sense that he

excludes individuals. PD 1000

But believe in self reliance
and individual effort

Chou - Oct

We do not trade in principle -

We have shaken the world -

We have started a revolution in world affairs.

Conservative (Heath - Rm.) make great changes -
Communists are similar in every country - (G. Disraeli)

^{myo} Left in form but right in essence

You dare to use young people

~~File~~
File of
deputations

Avoid Opportunism - be for
principle.

They have little time - (age)

Firm on principle - flexible on detail.

Paint perspective on each issue -

We will make moves in our self interest.

Can because we are reliable -

1. Will tell you nothing I can't

and produce. Will do more than say

Don't protect good will and friendships.

1. If we would like to be friends

But our interests bring us together

not our friendships.

Sato
This deal will be chased off the stage of
history by their own people.

① Can't therefore be "generation of Peace".

"Down with Imperialism" may be an empty
cannon but it also has a rallying effect -

1. Be strong so that they respect you -
You can depend only coal is good -

V. Nam:

1. only Bao has intent in continuing.
2. We shall settle with Hanoi - but
will not surrender.
3. Will react to their attacks -
4. Diet would appoint you
help - but - would hunt with
you with Russ -

you support liberty means -

1. where it conflicts with our
intent we will reformat.
2. we can't "get out" - let
other step in.

(X) your intent requires 2 super powers -
① would be dangerous if one.

China will not be carved up

x Mao + K^{both} - have problem with intellectuals

"^{Sato}Chaired off stage of Hertz"
- we ~~had~~ take the show

> Marshall

Against 1

which 2 - which one -

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Thank you for ^{support} handling of arrangement:

1. Your discretion - (we have problem - Much O' you.)
2. Our talks - only I have seen it / 15 -
 1. only I will see this:
 2. Interpreter is yours.

~~But~~

Reason - we talk for action - not galleries:

Why we are here:

1. Friendship we value -
2. Our interests bring us here.

(~~So~~ lobby
anti-communality
is not enough)

What do we want?

1. a peaceful world - (adjust to it)
China will play a role -
2. Related - our interests are threatened by Soviet -
- concerned by Japan
3. Politics? (people for)
Indian against -
Pro Soviet - (for left) - Communism
Pro Taiwan -
Bureaucracy -

What do you want?

1. Taiwan - remains as a threat - as an issue -
your relation around the world.
2. Mcbray says Trade, ? it's Easy -
3. You must think of your security.
 1. Soviet - present threat
 2. Japan - future
 3. India - an irritation (except if
badly by Soviet)

4. Peace - but need to retain your principle -

How can we work together?

1. ~~our~~ your opponents are ours -
 2. Taiwan - U. N. are irritated -
- We can't handle in way that destroys or
weakens our ability position of leadership
in America in world.

R - briefing in Senate with
 R - briefing of the Soviet

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BY ~~AMH~~

NARA, Date 9-15-89

(NLN 88-16)

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Russia:

1. Maintain balance of power -
2. Restrain their expansion (if our interests are involved)
3. Try to reduce tension between us
4. Not make them irritated at you -
5. Make no deal with them we don't offer to you -
6. Will inform you on all deals -

India:

1. Will go in Tandem
2. We should balance Russia -

Japan: (very difficult)

1. You prefer neutral - (you should say it)
2. We feel - a very great danger -
Korea -
Taiwan -

3. Our friendship with Japan is ~~not~~
in your interests - not against -

Taiwan:

I reiterate what ~~our~~ our policy is:

1. ~~Not~~ Status is determined -
one China, Taiwan is part of China -
2. Won't support Taiwan Independence
3. Try to restrain Japan -
4. ~~Will support~~ Support peaceful resolution
Disarmament -
5. ~~We~~ will seek normalization -

Can we deliver?

1. Redundant troops - yes
2. But if it appears we sold out Taiwan
~~Southern side of~~ Left egg on by Soviet
& Right will make it an issue -

Age: My life is 10 months or 5 years
- then done -
I have little time & we'll do it

but I know
our interests require
normalization & it will mean

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Last Meeting - Chow

N - Reconfirm use of force. ? - (why delay meeting?)

1. Thanks for hospitality - to Mao -
2. Will be discreet -

C. our discussion about Russ. - China - Japan - India =

our business only -
Many will try to derail this -

3. Will not embarrass with Russ etc -

~~U.S. must~~

4. Let us disagree sans personal rhetoric -

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① ~~is~~ ~~supra~~ -
Many Chinese interests with U.S.

L-23-
6 PM

Trade - Technical Assistance

- ① We give to Japan, Germany - L. H.
- ② You want to be self-reliant.
- ③ It is in our interest to see China prosper - & be strong -
- ④ Run west it - We want you to be same -

① Credits = device to protect your self interest

- R
- ⑤ Age - Rn has little time - (Election)
 - ⑥ Less than they have -
Former President, later British Kings have respect but no power.
 - ⑦ Neither will contaminate the other -

Tension - U. S. - Men = trade off

- ① Your people expect action on Taiwan
- ② Our people expect action on U. S. -
Neither can do action immediately -
But both are inevitable -
Let us not embroil ourselves

We are for

- ① Limitation of armaments -
- ② Better relations with Russia - (conduct in India affects us)
- ③ Improving lot of people -
- ④ China will not be carried up -

- ① Must not be double standard - ~~way~~
Support of liberty = OK
Support of corrupt govts - not

- ① Quere Chou's counsel states -
 ① Empty Cannon -
 ② Boots - } Turntail under Heaven
 ③ Hate } spreading their hands out too far

No wine to China

Origin of Visit.

1. RN's Pres. statement he would like to visit -

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Need to make speeches for record

1. No secret deal on Taiwan (after election)

Emotional shift for them

We can't accept War of Liberation - assisted from abroad.

Suffring gave them ~~is~~ inner confidence & largesse of spirit. Who comes later? - some ability? - though not tested by trial

- They wanted only ~~one~~ normalized relations as subject.

Need for U.S. to act honestly in V. Korea.

No basis for fear U.S. will collude to chop up China -

① Our record is not impirical in 20th century. Justice rather than Peace - Champion small countries

② Distrust great powers -

Have laid groundwork to turn a page in history. "Overthrow the American Imperialists & their running dogs".

applause join in?

Tipping glasses

New chapter opened by RN & Mao

Our two people are great people -

The Social System of our countries differ - } but friendship.

World is dangerous - peace not certain.

X Japan on Taiwan (?) -

Bilateral vision - our vision cannot be put in world context.

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Amount of Aid

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Problem for us in China.

Taiwan - lobby -

India - lobby -

U.S.S.R. - ok -

Japan -

Korea -

Thailand -

Countries who believe this is a
way to leave Asia.

Need for U.S. to be strong as counter
to Soviet -

① India shows - if a vacuum
they will fill it.

Apparent Risks for them -

① U.S. is devil - (Domestic)

② Leadership in 3rd World - (Soviet attitude
for collusion with U.S.)

Apparent national handling of trips.

Time - priority

① Taiwan - most critical

② V. Nam - most urgent

③ Korea -

④ Japan -

⑤ India -

⑥ U.S.S.R. - (no objection to U.S. relations
with other countries)

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Understanding of diffm is worth achieving -

We must be honorable - ^{to old friends} or our friendship is worthless to new friends -

① We don't ask them to give up their ideology or their friends.

② They must not ask us to do so.

Chou - "Life must change or it will be as it was before -

③ "Helmsmen must use waves to guide the boat or it will be submerged by the waves."

Many believe China uses this ^{trip} as a treat to pursue its goals from a better Tactical position.

1. Chou - "Times always we either must seize opportunity or be submerged by tides."

This imperative = change -
Ours = Time.

As. Liked Batten because he broke through conventions -

(Truth - RM liked it because of picture of a man)

"Taiwan status undetermined"

Other ~~two~~ items for Rogers agents -

Doesn't want all forces withdrawn from Taiwan for fear Japan would replace -

(RM note: U.S. is a friend & ally of Japan & Germany - our enemies in W.W.II. But this is due to mutual self interest - the only sound basis for a treaty commitment)

Chou

note
They judge
by Batten

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V. Nam:

- ① We are ending our involvement -
- ② We had hoped you would help - but now it doesn't matter
- ③ We must end it honorably - & will -
① our last offer - It doesn't matter to us -
Russia is responsible for dragging Korea on -
S. V. Nam is stronger than you think -
Rn. doctrine does not mean with a word,
"glorious act" - cannot be defeat
for a great Nation

✓ No election in '54 (Dulles - "Dirty act")

1. a pro Moscow bloc in Indo China is
not in China interest.

2. U.S. will not lose -

(Chom - "We want you to get out")

"Soviet wants you pinned down"

We will get out but with honor -

"S. V. Nam will be a very sour place"

Rn. - "You can't be expected to do anything -

- Soviet would accuse you of collecting."

But it is in your interest for
U.S. to get out (7/3 of Taiwan from)

It is in Soviet interests for U.S. to stay

Korean

would he prefer to have Japan
or U.S. as ROK's friend?

① We oppose Japanese Military expansion

② We oppose S. Korea attacking North

③ We oppose North attacking South?

④ Does he
want to drag us
into war -
again?

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Japan -

1. a great people -
2. The question - do we tell the 24 most program nation - to go it alone - or ^{down} provide a shield -

① Is a U.S. Japan policy with a U.S. veto - more dangerous than a Japan only policy?

Chou "Japan's growth has grown on its wings & it is about to take off"
Will Japan turn to Soviet or China for Nuclear protection?

Chou "Can U.S. control the 'Wild Horse' of Japan?"

Indo Pak:

① Defense Kasgiri Oct 7 ltr to Yafu -
- ultimatum?

Soviet:

① May want détente in West to free its hand in East.

② May want to settle MidEast for some reason (yeh)

Chou "We don't care what you do with Soviet"

① "P. R. C. not afraid of Soviet!"

Arms Control - No intent.

Exchanging ^{+ trade} ~~trade~~ - " " (Don't want to appear too close to U.S.)

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China back on threat of history -

① therefore forego tactical advantage.

H -

~~K.K.D.~~

Withdraw from Korea by end of next term -

Form - Right + Left
Pro Soviet side
Pro India side } want this visit
to fail

Mao. '59 - returned to his native

town after 32 years - wrote poem -

" It is the bitter sacrifice
that strengthens our firm resolve
and which gives us the courage
to dare to change heaven & skies
to change the sun -
+ to make a new world " -

Chou. We test nuclear weapons to
break to nuclear monopoly &
to fight against nuclear blackmail
of certain great powers

" Chaos under the sky " = great power relations.

Except for Taiwan - we have no difference
with China comparable to Soviet.

K - 30 April - '71 - Mao told Sino Am

~~troops~~ should come as Tourists or Business

✓ H - Effect of Taiwan on Japan? - Will they try to one up us in

2-16

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VN. "We can agree to more than
we say" - Too dangerous -
② Sounds Treason -