

The original documents are located in Box 13, folder “People's Republic of China (1)” of the Presidential Country Files for East Asia and the Pacific at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8/16/74 1a

Dick & [unclear]

RHC

Dick -

Make summary
memo for President
by Monday.

[Signature]



16

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 012625

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Memorandum
CREATOR'S NAME Richard H. Solomon
RECEIVER'S NAME General Scowcroft

CREATION DATE 08/18/1974
VOLUME 1 page
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400132
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE
PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER 13
FOLDER TITLE People's Republic of China (1)
DATE WITHDRAWN 04/23/2001
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

REDACTED

3/18/10

REDACTED

16

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1974

MEMO FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*

Per your request, attached is a memorandum from HAK to the President summarizing

Recommendation:

That you forward the attached memo to the President on behalf of the Secretary.

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
MR # 10-043, #13
CIA letter 3/8/10
By dal JARA Date 4/8/10



~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

1c

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 012626

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Memorandum
CREATOR'S NAME Kissinger
RECEIVER'S NAME President

CREATION DATE 08/20/1974
VOLUME 2 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400132
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE
PACIFIC
BOX NUMBER 13
FOLDER TITLE People's Republic of China (1)
DATE WITHDRAWN 04/23/2001
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

REDACTED

5/12/10

REDACTED

INFORMATION

~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*
SUBJECT: CIA Analysis of China in 1980-85,
and in the Year 2000

At Tab A is a CIA study of political, military, and economic trends in the People's Republic of China intended to estimate what the country will look like in the following decade, and at the turn of the century. While some of the conclusions reached by this type of "futuology" inevitably are controversial, it is a thoughtful analysis based on our current information about the country. Given the importance of China for our foreign policy, I have summarized the major conclusions of the study and forward it to you as of possible interest.

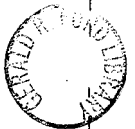
The analysis reaches the following conclusions:

-- China's major security problem for the rest of the century will remain the Soviet Union. Probabilities for a Soviet nuclear strike against the PRC in the coming decade do not seem very high, perhaps no more than one chance in five. By the end of the century the PRC will have developed a formidable strategic deterrent force based on a combination of land based missiles and nuclear submarines.

-- While China will probably remain a revolutionary Communist adversary of the United States, threatening U.S. interests in many places, its primary enemy will remain the USSR, even if Moscow and Peking achieve a limited accommodation. It is believed that despite ideological pretensions and national interests which conflict with the U.S. in many areas, Chinese leaders are likely to continue to deal with the U.S. and other non-Communist countries in a constructive manner when they consider this to be of advantage for China. China's interests in dealing with the U.S. will include using us to offset Soviet efforts to encircle or threaten the PRC, gaining access to advanced technology, and seeking to manage areas of conflict with us through diplomatic activity.

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
MR # 10-043-#14

classified 5/12/10, as per State guidelines
By *dee* NARA Date 7/12/10



~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVE XGDS



-- China's economic prospects depend on success in controlling population growth and stimulating greater food production. It is anticipated that by 1985 PRC industrial production will have doubled, and the food/population problem will ease as the turn of the century approaches. At the same time, in overall economic strength China will remain a big, poor nation whose aggregate economic strength will trail far behind that of the U.S. and USSR. The country will still not have caught up with Japan and western Europe by the year 2000.

-- In internal politics, the study anticipates that after the death of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai, leadership is most likely to pass to a collective dominated by career Communist Party men. The possibility of a military dictatorship is not ruled out, however. It is assumed that Mao's successors will continue to invoke his "thought" as a basis for legitimating their own rule, although as time passes the distance between the Chairman's revolutionary ideas and the practical necessities of running the largest nation-state in the world will probably produce a diluted form of Maoism. The study does assume, however, that China will continue to be more puritanical and combative than almost all the other Communist states of Europe and Asia.

-- Additional elements of the study that you may find of interest include a detailed presentation of the balance of forces on the Sino-Soviet border (on page 21)



1d

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 012627

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Report

CREATION DATE 07/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400132

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE
PACIFIC

BOX NUMBER 13

FOLDER TITLE People's Republic of China (1)

DATE WITHDRAWN 04/23/2001

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

REDACTED

3/19/10

RECORDED

~~Top Secret~~

~~No Foreign Dissem~~



*China in 1980-85 and
in the Year 2000*

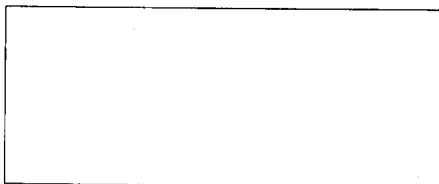
DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR # 10-044, #15

CIA Ser 3/19/10

By dal NARA, Date 5/10/10



~~Top Secret~~

OPR-201

TCS 889852-74

July 1974

Copy

No

2

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 012628

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Form

DESCRIPTION NSC Correspondence Profile

CREATION DATE 08/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400132

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR EAST ASIA AND THE
PACIFIC

BOX NUMBER 13

FOLDER TITLE People's Republic of China (1)

DATE WITHDRAWN 04/23/2001

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

2766²

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

September 23, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Special PRC Flights to the U. S.

Your memorandum of July 3 concerning the costs associated with two special diplomatic flights from the People's Republic of China to New York on United Nations business has been reviewed.

On March 2, 1972 an agreement was signed between then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations John M. Thomas and his Chinese counterpart which provided that the costs of various special USG flights to the PRC be "reimbursed later either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment." (See full text in the attachment.) The agreement is ambiguous as to whether PRC special flights to this country associated with United Nations business should be covered by the note of understanding.

In this circumstance, the Department should approach the Liaison Office of the PRC and indicate that on the basis of the March 2, 1972 agreement the USG is willing to pay for the relevant costs of their March 1974 special flights to the United Nations in New York. If, however, the PRC would prefer to cover these costs directly inasmuch as they are associated with flights on United Nations rather than U. S. - PRC business, we will direct the airlines to submit bills directly to the PRC Liaison Office. In either case, the USG should cover the security and customs charges associated with the PRC special flights.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

CONFIDENTIAL

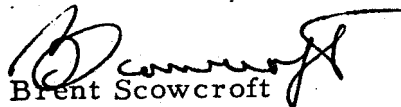
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01



CONFIDENTIAL

2

Once a reply is received from the PRC, the Department should, as appropriate, either inform the airlines that they should bill the PRC Liaison Office directly, or send the bills to the Department of Defense for payment. (A memorandum of March 9, 1972 from William Gulley, Executive Assistant to the Military Assistant to the President, to Carl Wallace, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, requested Defense to appropriate the necessary funds. A copy of this memo is also attached.) In either case, the security and customs charges should be directed to DOD for payment.



Brent Scowcroft

Lieutenant General, USAF

Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

CONFIDENTIAL



JMT

March 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO

CARL WALLACE

In reference to my memorandum of 25 February 1972, on fuel payment and landing fees at the People's Republic of China in connection with the President's visit, in view of the attached from John Thomas of State Department who did the negotiating with the Chinese, you can see that a considerable change has occurred since that date.

It would appear that there may be some lapses of time before the Chinese actually make a claim for reimbursement. Since DOD will be required to fund this, it is suggested that an appropriate amount of money be allocated for ready availability when needed.

BILL GULLEY

WLG:kl

CC: Reading File
Suspense



Northwest Airlines Charges for Ground-Handling
of CAAC Special Flight March 30-April 1, 1974

• (Route: Tokyo-Anchorage-New York JFK-Anchorage-Tokyo)

1.	<u>Fuel</u>	43,051 gallons	Anchorage	\$7,485	
			New York	4,528	
			Anchorage	7,822	
			Sub-Total		\$19,835
2.	<u>Landing Fees</u>		JFK		174
		(payable to Port Authority)	Anchorage		198
			($\$99 \times 2$)		
3.	<u>Customs/INS/USDA</u>				121
	overtime in Anchorage				
	(\$151 - \$30 which has been				
	waived by Customs				
4.	<u>Methanol</u> (at Anchorage;				54
	\$27 X 2)				
5.	<u>Food Services</u>		New York--catered		305
			food put on aircraft		
			Anchorage--fruits,		
			etc. N/C		
6.	<u>Guard Service</u>				486
(Note: I have suggested that NWA combine the following into one item):					
7.	<u>Routine ground-handling</u>		Anchorage		380
			($\$190 \times 2$)		
			New York (includes		595
			routine mechanical		
			work)		
8.	<u>"Grooming Charge"</u>		New York		38
	(i.e., cleaning)				
9.	<u>"Jet way use"</u> in Anchorage (this is the "tunnel"				40
	for getting from aircraft to terminal) $\$20 \times 2$				
10	<u>Hangar Storage in New York</u>				543
			GRAND TOTAL		\$22,769



Trans-World Airlines Charges for Ground-Handling
of CAAC Special Flight April 2-3, 1974)

(Route: Paris-New York JFK-Paris)

1.	<u>Technical Services Charges of which fuel</u>	\$7,800	\$8,594
2.	<u>Meals</u> (catered)		203
3.	<u>Sky Chef</u>		23
4.	<u>Commissary Items</u>		82
5.	<u>Takeoff Fee at JFK</u> (payable to NY Port Authority)		172
6.	<u>Ground Limousine</u>		48
7.	<u>Security</u> (IBI Security Company)		209
8.	<u>Flight Dispatch Service</u> (including flight watch)		250
9.	<u>Customer Service Agents (2)</u>		30
10.	<u>Jet Way</u>		87
11.	<u>Administrative</u>		20
12.	<u>Ramp Servicemen</u>		52
		TOTAL	\$10,424.86

NOTE: There were no Customs/Immigration/USDA charges at JFK because all services were performed during working hours and therefore were covered by TWA's normal account with these agencies.



PRC Charges for NWA/USG Charter Flights in June 1973
Bringing USLO Furnishings

(Route: Shanghai-Peking-Shanghai) Two Flights

1. <u>Landing Fees</u> (Six landings; approximately \$650/landing)	\$3,923
2. <u>Fuel</u>	1,581
3. <u>Navigation Charges</u>	452
4. <u>"Use of Ground Equipment"</u>	77
	<hr/>
TOTAL	\$6,034



In accordance with paragraph 7 of the aide memoire of March 1, 1972, the charges in China for Dr. Henry Kissinger's and General Haig's special planes, which previously flew to China, and the U.S. Air Force planes transporting machines and equipment, totalling RMB ¥ 153,707.46 (see annex for details), have been entered into the account and shall be reimbursed later either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment.

John M. Thomas

董维忠

Peking, March 2, 1972



中国民用航空总局



GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA
(CAAC)

地址：北京邮政信箱614号
Address: P.O.Box 614, Peking

日期：
Date: 72-3-2

帐单号
INVOICE NO. 721103

美国空军

美国空军飞机一九七一年十月至
一九七二年三月份在中华人民共和国
北京、上海、杭州等机场发生的以下
费用：

起降、停场费	人民币	64,028.00
加油费		82,241.00
领航费		4,260.00
使用地面设备费		3,178.46
合计	人民币	153,707.46
	折合英镑	26,149.62

中国民用航空总局
国际业务国际结算室

附：清单 3 份

银行帐户：北京中国人民人民币

Bank Account: People's Bank of China, Peking



中国民用航空总局



GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA

(CAAC)

地址: 北京邮政信箱644号
Address: P. O. Box 644, Peking

USAF

日期: March 2, 1972 帐单号 72X108
Date: INVOICE NO. _____

Please pay the following charges incurred by the aircrafts of the U.S. Air Force at Peking, Shanghai and Hangchow airports of the People's Republic of China from Oct. 1971 to Mar. 1972:

Landing, take-off and parking	RMBE 04,028.00
Refuelling	82,241.00
Navigation	4,200.00
Use of ground facilities	3,178.40

RMBE 153,707.40

equ. to UKL 26,149.02

encl. 3 copies of statement

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA

International Accounting Office
Department of International Affairs

银行帐户: 北京中国人民银行

Bank Account: People's Bank of China, Peking

飞机起降、停场结算清单

STATEMENT OF LANDING & OTHER CHARGES INCURRED BY AIRCRAFT OF

日期 Mar. 1, 1972.
Date

U S A P

飞机型号 Aircraft Type & No.	降落机场 Airport	降落时间 Time of Landing	起飞时间 Time of Take-off	起降费 Landing Charge	停场费 Parking Charge	夜航费 Night Landing Charge	合计 Total
1 60141	Peking	0201/1405	0203/0826	1,200.00	600.00		1,800.00
70020	"	0201/1603	0202/0324	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
70165	"	0214/1342	0225/1356	1,200.00	3,300.00	130.00	4,630.00
40629	"	0214/1300	0215/0903	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
50243	"	0225/2012	0225/2333	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
50243	"	0223/1704	0229/0923	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
700199	"	0229/1316	0203	1,200.00	900.00		2,100.00
70165	"	0225/0101	0226/1526	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
60614	"	0302/	0303/	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
60141	Shanghai	0201/1025	0201/1224	1,200.00			1,200.00
70020	"	0201/1243	0201/1425	1,200.00			1,200.00
50263	"	0212/0953	0212/1301	1,200.00			1,200.00
50151	"	0213/1112	0214/1452	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
70165	"	0214/1007	0214/1153	1,200.00			1,200.00
40629	"	0214/1100	0214/1350	1,200.00			1,200.00
50243	"	0225/0431	0225/1326	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
6051	"	0223/1353	0228/1602	1,200.00			1,200.00
50243	"	0223/1253	0223/1512	1,200.00			1,200.00
50263	"	0223/1500	0229/1131	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
70019	"	0229/1020	0229/1126	1,200.00			1,200.00
60141	"	0201/1009	0201/1216	1,200.00			1,200.00
70020	"	0201/1004	0201/1236	1,200.00			1,200.00
60151	"	0214/1657	0214/1930	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00



STATEMENT OF LANDING & OTHER CHARGES INCURRED BY AIRCRAFT OF

U S A F

日期 Date Mar. 1, 197

飞机型号 Aircraft Type & No.	降落机场 Airport	降落时间 Time of Landing	起飞时间 Time of Take-off	起降费 Landing Charge	停场费 Parking Charge	夜航费 Night Landing Charge	合计 Total
C1 70165	Shanghai	0226/1655	0226/1834	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
40629	"	0215/1035	0215/1309	1,200.00			1,200.00
50243	"	0226/0114	0226/0224	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
60151	"	0223/0930	0229/1104	1,200.00			1,200.00
50243	"	0223/1036	0223/1122	1,200.00			1,200.00
70165	"	0223/2329	0229/0531	1,200.00	300.00	130.00	1,630.00
70019	"	0303/	0303/	1,200.00			1,200.00
60644	"	0302/	0302/	1,200.00			1,200.00
60644	"	0303/	0303/	1,200.00			1,200.00
60151	Hangchow	0214/1516	0214/1631	1,200.00			1,200.00
40629	"	0214/1414	0214/1606	1,200.00			1,200.00
70165	"	0225/2047	0225/2259	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
70165	"	0226/1902	0226/2306	1,200.00		130.00	1,330.00
60151	"	0223/1626	0229/0903	1,200.00	300.00		1,500.00
Total (Page 1 & 2) RMBX				44,400.00	7,200.00	1,620.00	53,220.00



飞机起降、停场结算清单

STATEMENT OF LANDING & OTHER CHARGES INCURRED BY AIRCRAFT OF

U S A F

日期: Apr. 1, 1970.
Date

机型号 Aircraft No. & No.	降落机场 Airport	降落时间 Time of Landing	起飞时间 Time of Take-off	起降费 Landing Charge	停场费 Parking Charge	夜航费 Night Landing Charge	合计 Total
71336970	Shanghai	71/1020/0327	1020/0941	1,136.00			1,136.00
07B36971	"	72/0103/1152	0103/1454	1,136.00			1,136.00
36970	Peking	71/1020/1113	1026/1033	1,136.00	1,704.00		2,840.00
36971	"	72/0103/1627	0107/1620	1,136.00	1,136.00		2,272.00
36970	Shanghai	71/1026/1155	1026/1314	1,136.00			1,136.00
36971	"	72/0107/1652	0100/1329	1,136.00	352.00		1,488.00
Total				6,816.00	3,692.00		10,508.00



飞机加油清单
STATEMENT OF REFUELLING RECEIPT

单位: 公斤
Unit: Kg.

USAF

日期
Date March 1, 19

时 间 Time	机 型 Aircraft Type	机 号 Aircraft Number	加油地点 Spot of Refuelling	油单号码 Receipt Number	航 空 煤 油 TC-1 #1001 #1002	航 空 汽 油 RH-95 /130	航 空 滑 油 HII-20
72.2.1	C 141	70020	Peking	6270	49824		
72.2.1	C 141	60141	"	6269	42399		
72.2.14	C 141	70165	"	6273	22032		
72.2.14	C141	40629	"	6275	34329		
72.2.26	C 141	70165	"	6288	28555		
72.3.1.	C 141	40644	"		45450		
72.3.3	C 141	70019	"		45450		
Total Kgs.					268039		
Unit price per Kg.					X 0.16		
Amount Due					42,886.24		
72.2.14	C 141	60151	Shanghai	2290	27840		
72.2.14	C 141	70165	"	2289	15918		
72.2.25	C 141	50248	"		39957		
72.2.28	C 141	70165	"		18159		
72.2.28	C 141	50248	"		37310		
72.2.29	C 141	60151	"		21779		
Total Kgs.					160969		
Unit Price per kg.					X 0.14		
Amount Due					22,535.66		
Grand Total					65,421.90		



飞机加油单
STATEMENT OF REFUELLING RECEIPT

单位: 公斤
Unit: Kg.

U S A F

日期: Mar. 1, 197
Date

时 间 Time	机 型 Aircraft Type	机 号 Aircraft Number	加油地点 Spot of Refuelling	油单号码 Receipt Number	航 空 煤 油 TC-1 #1001 #1002	航 空 汽 油 RH-95 /130	航 空 滑 油 HII-20
71.10.26.	B707	36970	Peking	1395	14371		
Total kgs.					14371		
Unit price per kg.					x 0.16		
Amount Due					¥2379.36		
71.10.20.	B707	36970	Shanghai	1959	11775		
10.26.	B707	36970	"	1961	34541		
72.01.03.	B707	36971	"	2655	14337		
01.07.	B707	36971	"	2690	17921		
01.10.	B707	36971	"	2693	24507		
Total kgs.					103141		
Unit price per kg.					x 0.14		
Amount Due					14,439.74		
Grand Total					¥16,319.10		



C A A C

中国民用航空总局工作人员机上工作费清单

STATEMENT OF SERVICE CHARGES ALOFT

航 站
AIRPORT

U.S.A.P.

1952年3月份
DATE 1

日期 DATE	机号 AIRCRAFT No.	工作人员姓名 NAME OF EMPLOYEE	航 程 AIR TRIP FROM/TO	飞行时间 FLYING TIME		每小时费率 RATE PER HR.	服务费 AMOUNT	旅 费 TRAVELLING EXPENSES	膳 费 MEALS	合 计 TOTAL
				时 HR.	分 MINUTE					
2.1-2.3	C141 60141	2 persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	11			250.00	18.00	
2.1-2.2	C141 70020	2 persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	11			250.00	18.00	
2.14	C141 60151	2 persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	0	50			250.00	18.00	
2.14	C141 70155	2 persons	SHA-PEK	1	49			128.00	12.00	
2.20	C141 70155	2 persons	PEK-SHA	1	29				12.00	
2.14-15	C141 40029	2 persons	SHA-HGH-PEK -SHA	3	50			250.00	18.00	
2.28-29	C141 60151	2 persons	SHA-HGH-SHA	0	46			250.00	18.00	
2.28-29	C141 50248	2 persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	02			250.00	18.00	



中国民航

C A A C

中国民用航空总局工作人员机上工作费清单

STATEMENT OF SERVICE CHARGES ALOFT

航 站
AIRPORT

U S A F

1972年 3 月份

DATE

日期 DATE	机号 AIRCRAFT No.	工作人员姓名 NAME OF EMPLOYEE	航 程 AIR TRIP FROM/TO	飞行时间 FLYING TIME		每小时费率 RATE PER HR.	服务 费 AMOUNT	旅 费 TRAVELLING EXPENSES	膳 费 MEALS	合 计 TOTAL
				时 HR.	分 MINUTE					
2.29-	C141									
3.3.	70019	2 Persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	0			256.00	18.00	
3.2.-	C141									
3.3.	60544	2 "	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	0			256.00	18.00	
	Total			24	20	20.00	420.00	2,176.00	168.00	RMB2,534.00



中国民用航空总局工作人员机上工作费清单

STATEMENT OF SERVICE CHARGES ALOFT

航 站
AIRPORT

U.S.A.F. (NIGHT NAVIGATION)

1972 年 3 月份
DATE 1

日期 DATE	机号 AIRCRAFT No.	工作人员姓名 NAME OF EMPLOYEE	航 程 AIR TRIP FROM/TO	飞行时间 FLYING TIME		每小时费率 RATE PER HR.	服务费 AMOUNT	旅 费 TRAVELLING EXPENSES	膳 费 MEALS	合 计 TOTAL
				时 HR.	分 MINUTE					
2.25	C141 70105	2 persons	PEK-HGH-PEK	3	53				18.00	
2.26	C141 70105	2 persons	SHA-HGH-SHA	0	51			123.00	18.00	
2.25-26	C141 50248	2 persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	17			256.00	18.00	
TOTAL				8	01	40.00	320.00	384.00	54.00	758.00



中國民航

C A A C

中國民用航空總局工作人員機上工作費清單

STATEMENT OF SERVICE CHARGES ALOFT

航 站
AIRPORT

1972年 3 月份
DATE

日期 DATE	機 号 AIRCRAFT No.	工作人員姓名 NAME OF EMPLOYEE	航 程 AIR TRIP FROM/TO	飛行時間 FLYING TIME		每小時費率 RATE PER HR.	服務費 AMOUNT	旅 費 TRAVELLING EXPENSES	膳 費 MEALS	合 計 TOTAL
				時 HR.	分 MINUTE					
71.10 20-26	B707 86970	2 Persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	2	44			256.00	18.00	
72.1. 7	B707 86971	2 Persons	SHA-PEK-SHA	3	01			256.00	18.00	
		Total		5	45	20.00	120.00	512.00	35.00	RMB 663.00



USAF

使用地面设备结算清单

STATEMENT OF CHARGES FOR THE OPERATION OF GROUND FACILITIES



日期 Date	机型 Aircraft Type	机号 Aircraft Number	使用地点 Place	Per Time 起动车 Engine starting unit	Per Hour 电耗率 Ground power unit	技术维护工时 Technical maintenance service	备注 Remarks
72.2.1	C 141	70020	Shanghai		1.0		
72.2.1	C 141	60141	"		1.0		
72.2.2	C 141	70020	"		1.0		
72.2.2	C 141	60141	"		1.0		
72.2.3	C 141	60141	"		0.5		
72.2.14	C 141	40629	"		1.5		
72.2.14	C 141	60151	"	3	2.5		
72.2.14	C 141	70165	"		1.0		
72.2.13	C 141	60151	"	1	1.5		
72.2.12	C 141	50268	"		2.0		
72.2.25	C 141	50248	"		2.0		
72.2.28	C 141	60151	"		1.0		
72.2.29	C 141	60151	"		0.5		
72.2.28	C 141	70165	"		3.0		
72.2.29	C 141	50248	"		0.5		
Total				4	20.0		
Unit Price				17.62	13.50		
				RMB¥70.48	RMB¥270.00	RMB¥340.48	

使用地面设备结算清单

STATEMENT OF CHARGES FOR THE OPERATION OF GROUND FACILITIES



日期 Date	机型 Aircraft Type	机号 Aircraft Number	使用地点 Place	起动车 Engine Starting unit	电源车 Ground power unit	技术维护工时 Technical maintenance service	备注 Remarks
71.10.26	B707	86970	Peking	2	130.0		
72.1.3.	B707	86971	"	2	75.0		
Total				4	205.0		
Unit price				17.62	13.50		
Amount Due			AMBY	70.48	2,767.50		1,242,337.93

aide memoire

Mr. Lien Wei-chung, General Director in charge of financial affairs of the Reception Group of the Chinese side and Mr. John Thomas, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations of the American side have discussed several times on the financial settlement and the method of reimbursement of the advance paid by the China International Travel Service and agreed on the following points:

1. The advance of the charges and expenses incurred for the American side and paid by the China International Travel Service roughly contains: charges for telecommunication, TV and radio program transmissions, using CMC flights and all other services rendered, and accommodation and transport of the American journalists.

2. Mr. John Thomas of the American side shall be responsible for the settlement and reimbursement of all the above-mentioned advance paid by the China International Travel Service.

3. The above-mentioned charges and expenses shall be inclusively calculated in Renminbi and then converted into pound sterling for settlement at the current foreign exchange buying rate quoted by the People's Bank of China, Peking (i.e. £100 = RMB 2587.80).

4. Prior to Mr. John Thomas' departure from China, Mr. Lien Wei-chung shall advise him of the total amount of the advance in written form in duplicate, to be counter-signed by both sides after duly checked by them.

5. For the reimbursement of the total amount of the advance, Mr. John Thomas undertakes to remit the same to the China International Travel Service, Peking, through National Westminster Bank Ltd., London, not later than March 10, 1972.



6. Should there be any items of advance left out in calculation due to shortness of time, Mr. Lien Wei-chung would advise Mr. John Thomas of them later. The above method of reimbursement would still be applicable.

7. All the charges for President Richard Nixon's special plane as well as his reserve plane in China shall be exempted from payment. All the charges for Dr. Henry Kissinger's and General Haig's special planes which previously flew to China and the American support flights transporting American journalists and equipment shall not be paid for the time being and shall be entered into the account for later settlement.

John M. Thomas
March 1, 1972
Peking.

連維忠

(Lien Wei-chung)

Peking, March 1, 1972.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTIONCONFIDENTIAL

September 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT
FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*
SUBJECT: Costs of the Two Special PRC
Flights to the U. S.

You will recall that in late March the PRC asked us for assistance in facilitating several special diplomatic flights from China to New York associated with the spring U. N. session on natural resources. The Chinese sent two trial flights, and then abruptly cancelled the third -- which was to have carried their delegation to the U. N. session -- apparently because they lacked confidence in their ability to handle the new Boeing aircraft in our air traffic pattern.

The bills for fuel, ground servicing, and security protection for these flights, which total nearly \$40,000, have not yet been formally tendered to anyone (the Chinese, or the USG) because of some confusion about who should bear responsibility for the costs. State sent you a memorandum (Tab B) suggesting that because the special flights were to the U. N. (i. e., they were not associated with U. S.- PRC bilateral relations) the costs, with perhaps the exception of some minor fees associated with security and USG processing of the flights, should be borne by the Chinese. State is also concerned about the precedent which would be established if we took on these expenses given the high frequency of diplomatic flights to New York.

At the time of President Nixon's trip to Peking an agreement was signed between John M. Thomas, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations, and his PRC counterpart which provided that the cost of various special USG flights to China (totaling more than \$75,000) would be accounted for "either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment." (See the text of this agreement at Tab C.) The agreement is vague, however, as to whether the PRC's special flights to the U. N. should be covered by this understanding.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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We suggest that this matter be handled by having the State Department approach the PRC Liaison Office about these fueling and ground service costs (but not the security and customs charges, which we should pay for) and give the Chinese the choice of whether they want these costs paid for on the basis of the agreement of March 2, 1972, or whether they would like to reserve this credit for future special flights to the U. S. associated with our bilateral relations. If the Chinese choose the former approach, we will have State direct the bills to DOD for payment. If they choose the latter alternative, State will direct the airlines to bill the PRC Liaison Office for the fuel, ground-handling and other costs which the Chinese charged us for, and then send the security and customs charges to DOD for payment.

A memorandum from you to Mr. Springsteen (Tab A) conveys these instructions.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to George Springsteen at Tab A.

CONFIDENTIAL



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Re 2766

CONFIDENTIAL

August 6, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK SOLOMON

FROM: BUD McFARLANE *rcm*

Referring to our earlier conversation on the matter of covering the bills for the PRC flights to the UN, I have contacted the Military Aide's Office and have once more received confirmation that the agreement for reciprocity was reduced to writing although the Military Aide's Office had no copy of it. I was referred to the Assistant Secretary of State (Administration) John Thomas as the holder of the document. I have talked to Thomas who is researching the matter and will get back to me. As a footnote, the Military Aide's Office (Gulley) expressed the understanding that the agreement was set in terms of a reciprocal monetary responsibility as opposed to supporting a like number of flights.

From our earlier conversation you will recall that the General's main concern is to make clear to the Chinese the fact that there is a limit to our responsibility. He would defer, however, to your judgment as to whether the handling of expenses for the UN flights be done automatically or to advise the Chinese of our understanding of the agreement, leaving the option to them of having the UN flights covered under it or their paying for the UN flights as a separate matter.

As you work toward a solution, you may wish to be in touch with Thomas and Gulley directly or I will be pleased to continue to assist in accordance with your wishes.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 3, 1974

CONFIDENTIAL - GDSMEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: PRC Special Flights to the U.S.

This memorandum follows up on conversations between EA/PRCM and Mr. Solomon.

In late March, the People's Republic of China's Liaison Office and United Nations Mission (PRCMUN) requested USG assistance for two special flights to New York's JFK Airport, one (on March 30) from Tokyo via Anchorage and the other (on April 2) from Paris. These trial flights were in preparation for a third flight which was to bring the PRC's delegation to a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The third flight was subsequently cancelled and the PRC delegation, which was headed by Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, arrived on a commercial carrier.

One outstanding item remains from the two trial flights--the question of payment for ground-handling and other services rendered by Northwest and Trans World Airlines. The airlines have now prepared bills (summaries attached) and are waiting for the Department's instructions on the disposition of this matter.

We do not know what the PRC expectations concerning payment are. In their initial request in March to the NSC staff and USUN for permission to operate the flights, they asked the USG to make arrangements for ground services and to assist in guaranteeing the security of the aircraft. When TWA's New

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York manager raised the question of payment with a low level staff member of PRCMUN who was involved in the administrative arrangements for the flights, he was told to send the bill to the PRCMUN, and was given the address and telephone number. We are not aware of other indications as to whether the Chinese expect to pay.

We recognize that these were State flights by PRC-owned aircraft and that Teng was, of course, a high ranking visitor. However, the purpose of the flights was related solely to UN business. If the USG were to absorb the ground-handling costs, an undesirable precedent might be set--both vis-a-vis the Chinese and perhaps other countries as well. Unless there is a clear reason for doing otherwise, the Department recommends that the bills for ground-handling should be forwarded by the airlines to the PRCMUN for payment.

It is also relevant to note that two USG-chartered Northwest cargo flights taking USLO furniture to Peking last year were charged for ground-handling, fuel, and related charges by the Chinese (see Attachment 3).

Although we recommend billing the Chinese for ground services, the Department recommends that the U.S. absorb the U.S. Agencies' overtime charges in Anchorage (see Attachment 1).

Reimbursement for the private security guards hired by the airlines presents a more difficult question. Under present USG policy, a foreign airline is expected to pay these security costs as part of the routine ground-handling charges. In addition the FAA has proposed a regulation under which foreign airlines would be required to adhere to basically the same security requirements presently imposed on U.S. domestic and international air carriers and would be responsible for any costs incurred in meeting these standards. There is presently no provision for U.S. funding of these security costs for either U.S. or foreign air carriers. Our principal concern is that USG payment for these security charges for the PRC flights would create a precedent for

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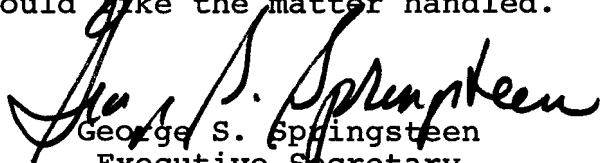
- 3 -

similar flights by other governments. This is a particularly delicate issue at New York's JFK airport, where a large number of such flights are operated in connection with attendance by foreign officials at UN meetings. The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey has submitted bills to the Department for the additional security costs incurred by the Authority as a result of such flights. While we have declined to pay, the Authority has continued to pursue the matter.

In this case, however, we agreed to the Chinese request that the USG assist in guaranteeing the safety of the aircraft, and there is also a question of reciprocity since the PRC would not make a charge for security for comparable U.S. flights to the PRC. (We would not object, however, if U.S. airlines were required to pay a similar charge to PRC.)

Therefore, the White House may in this case wish to pay for the cost of the security guards as an exception to normal procedures.

An alternative to having the airlines present their bills to the PRCMUN would be for us to make a low-key inquiry to the PRC Liaison Office, stating that the airlines have approached us about the bills and asking the Liaison Office how they would like the matter handled.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. NWA Bill
2. TWA Bill
3. Ground-handling Charges
for NWA Special Charters

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTIONCONFIDENTIAL

September 17, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT
FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RA3*
SUBJECT: Costs of the Two Special PRC
Flights to the U. S.

You will recall that in late March the PRC asked us for assistance in facilitating several special diplomatic flights from China to New York associated with the spring U.N. session on natural resources. The Chinese sent two trial flights, and then abruptly cancelled the third -- which was to have carried their delegation to the U.N. session -- apparently because they lacked confidence in their ability to handle the new Boeing aircraft in our air traffic pattern.

The bills for fuel, ground servicing, and security protection for these flights, which total nearly \$40,000, have not yet been formally tendered to anyone (the Chinese, or the USG) because of some confusion about who should bear responsibility for the costs. State sent you a memorandum (Tab B) suggesting that because the special flights were to the U.N. (i. e., they were not associated with U. S.- PRC bilateral relations) the costs, with perhaps the exception of some minor fees associated with security and USG processing of the flights, should be borne by the Chinese. State is also concerned about the precedent which would be established if we took on these expenses given the high frequency of diplomatic flights to New York.

At the time of President Nixon's trip to Peking an agreement was signed between John M. Thomas, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations, and his PRC counterpart which provided that the cost of various special USG flights to China (totaling more than \$75,000) would be accounted for "either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment." (See the text of this agreement at Tab C.) The agreement is vague, however, as to whether the PRC's special flights to the U.N. should be covered by this understanding.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01



We suggest that this matter be handled by having the State Department approach the PRC Liaison Office about these fueling and ground service costs (but not the security and customs charges, which we should pay for) and give the Chinese the choice of whether they want these costs payed for on the basis of the agreement of March 2, 1972, or whether they would like to reserve this credit for future special flights to the U. S. associated with our bilateral relations. If the Chinese choose the former approach, we will have State direct the bills to us for payment by DOD. If they choose the latter alternative, State will direct the airlines to bill the PRC Liaison Office for the fuel, ground-handling and other costs which the Chinese charged us for, and then send the security and customs charges to us for USG handling.

A memorandum from you to Mr. Springsteen (Tab A) conveys these instructions.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to George Springsteen at Tab A.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Special PRC Flights to the U. S.

Your memorandum of July 3 concerning the costs associated with two special diplomatic flights from the People's Republic of China to New York on United Nations business has been reviewed.

On March 2, 1972 an agreement was signed between then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations John M. Thomas and his Chinese counterpart which provided that the costs of various special USG flights to the PRC be "reimbursed later either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment." The agreement is ambiguous as to whether PRC special flights to this country associated with United Nations business should be covered by the note of understanding.

In this circumstance, the Department should approach the Liaison Office of the PRC and indicate that on the basis of the March 2, 1972 agreement the USG is willing to pay for the relevant costs of their March 1974 special flights to the United Nations in New York. If, however, the PRC would prefer to cover these costs directly inasmuch as they are associated with flights on United Nations rather than U. S.- PRC business, we will direct the airlines to submit bills directly to the PRC Liaison Office. In either case, the USG should cover the security and customs charges associated with the PRC special flights.

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY 10R, NARA, DATE 5/9/01



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Once a reply is received from the PRC, the Department should either direct the airlines to bill the PRC Liaison Office directly, or send the bills to this office for ultimate payment by the Department of Defense. In either case, the security and customs charges should be directed here for payment by the USG.

Brent Scowcroft
Lieutenant General, USAF
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

CONFIDENTIAL



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 17, 1974

TO: Colonel Kennedy

FROM: Richard H. Solomon *RHS*

Attached is an action which I have discussed at some length with Bud McFarlane. Apparently there is no question but that we should assume the costs described in the State memo. You may wish to discuss the contents of this package with General Scowcroft on the phone just to get his verbal clearance, and then sign the Scowcroft to Springsteen memo in his absence (i. e., I don't think there is any need to send Brent the whole package).

If you have any questions, please call.



Ed - File

Memorandum of Conversation

Department of State
DATE: September 27, 1974

SUBJECT: Special CAAC Flights to New York on March 30-April 3, 1974

PARTICIPANTS:

Ts'ien Ta-yung, Acting Deputy Chief, PRCLC
Hsu Hsin-hsi, Second Secretary, PRCLC
Oscar V. Armstrong, Director, EA/PRCM
Philip T. Lincoln, Jr., Country Officer, EA/PRCM

- CLIFT _____
- COOPER _____
- ELLIOTT _____
- FROEBE _____
- HORAN _____
- KENNEDY _____
- LEHMAN _____
- LODAL _____
- LOW _____
- OBER _____
- RATLIFF _____
- SAUNDERS _____
- SMYSER _____
- ~~SOLOMON~~ _____
- STEARMAN _____

5

AB

COPIES TO:

EA/PRCM (3 cc) - 1
NSC - Mr. Solomon - 2
A - Mr. Thomas

4

JANKA
FAZIO
SCOWCROFT

In accordance with the Scowcroft-Springsteen Memorandum dated September 23, 1974, EA/PRCM called in the PRCLC officers to discuss arrangements for repaying the U.S. airlines for ground services rendered to two CAAC special flights to New York on March 30-April 3, 1974. Mr. Armstrong referred to the agreements of March 1 and 2, 1972 signed in Peking by John Thomas and Mr. Lien Wei-chung, "General Director in charge of financial affairs of the Reception Group," related to expenses arising from some of the special flights connected with President Nixon's visit to China. Mr. Armstrong briefly described these agreements, with which the PRCLC officers were not familiar, and read the following passage: "(The expenses for the U.S. special flights)...have been entered into the account and shall be reimbursed later either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment."

EA/PRCM:PTLincoln, Jr:mfr
(Drafting Office and Officer)



Mr. Armstrong said the US Government was willing to reimburse the airlines for their expenses, offsetting the account which had been set up in connection with the US special flights or, alternatively, the PRC could reimburse the U.S. airlines directly. He noted that the special CAAC flights made were in connection with the UNGA Special Session, not for bilateral purposes, and therefore were not strictly comparable to the U.S. flights. However, he emphasized that either alternative outlined above would be acceptable to the USG, and he requested PRC views on how the matter should be resolved.

Mr. Armstrong gave the PRCLC officers two papers containing breakdowns of the NWA and TWA charges (copies attached) which he stressed were not final bills. (In accordance with the Scowcroft-Springsteen memo, airline charges for security and INS and USDA overtime costs were excluded from these breakdowns.) Mr. Ts'ien indicated that he would refer the matter to Peking. He agreed that even if the PRC decided it wished to pay the airlines directly, the PRCLC would notify us first.

Attachments:

Listings of TWA and NWA
Charges as given by the PRCLC



NORTHWEST AIRLINES, INC
 BILLING TO CAAC FOR HANDLING THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA SPECIAL FLIGHTS
 AT ANCHORAGE & NEW YORK - MARCH 30 - APRIL 1, 1974

	<u>ANCHORAGE</u>	<u>NEW YORK</u>	<u>ANCHORAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Fuel - 43,051 gallons	\$7,485	\$4,528	\$7,822	\$19,835
Landing Fees	99	174	99	372
Methanol - Lavatory Service	27	-	27	54
Routine Ground Handling	210	595	210	1,015
Grooming	-	38	-	38
Food Servicing - Flight	-	305	-	305
Hangar Storage	-	543	-	543
	<u>\$7,821</u>	<u>\$6,183</u>	<u>\$8,158</u>	<u>\$22,162</u>



TRANS WORLD AIRLINES, INC.
BILLING TO CAAC FOR HANDLING THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA SPECIAL
FLIGHTS AT NEW YORK, APRIL 2-3, 1974

Cost of meals including labor	\$ 203.72
Take-off fees	171.93
Sky Chefs	23.01
Browns Limo Service	48.00
Technical Services including fuel	8,664.39
Flight dispatchers	250.00
Jetway - 1 hour	87.75
Customer Service Agents	30.00
Administrative Cost	20.00
Commisary Truck - 3 hours	82.50
Ramp Service Men	52.00
	<hr/>
	9,633.30



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIALACTION

July 17, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT
FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*
SUBJECT: Costs of the Two Special PRC Flights
to the U. S.

You will recall that in late March the PRC asked us for assistance in facilitating several special diplomatic flights from China to the U. S. associated with the special U. N. session on natural resources. The Chinese sent two trial flights to New York, and then abruptly cancelled the third -- which was to have carried their delegation to the U. N. session -- apparently because they lacked confidence in their ability to handle the new Boeing aircraft in our air traffic pattern.

The bills for fuel, ground servicing, and security protection for these flights, which total nearly \$40,000, have not yet been formally tendered to anyone (the Chinese, or the USG) because of some confusion about who should bear responsibility for the costs. State has sent you a memorandum, at Tab B, suggesting that because the special flights were to the U. N. (i. e., they were not associated with U. S. - PRC bilateral relations) the costs -- with perhaps the exception of some minor fees associated with USG processing of the flights -- should be borne by the Chinese. State is also concerned about the precedent which would be established if we took on these expenses given the high frequency of diplomatic flights to New York.

It is my understanding that during Secretary Kissinger's early trips to China on USG aircraft an agreement was reached with Chinese authorities that the PRC would absorb the costs of handling these special flights if we would reciprocate at such time as they sent special flights to the U. S. Bud McFarlane has checked into this matter, and has informed me on two occasions that the Military Aide's office in the White House confirms that such an agreement exists with the PRC, and that the terms of the agreement would cover flights to New York

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HR 5/9/01

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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associated with U.N. business as well as special flights directly associated with U.S. -PRC bilateral business. For this reason, I conclude that the USG should pick up the tab for these two special flights.

At Tab A is a suggested memorandum from you to George Springsteen at State informing him that on the basis of an agreement with PRC authorities the USG should assume the costs associated with the two special flights. You request that he collect all associated bills and forward them to you. [We will then staff them through the Military Aide's office for payment by DOD.] You also request that the working level at State inform the PRC Liaison Office that, per a previous agreement with the U.S. Government, we have assumed all costs for their two special flights to New York last March.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. GEORGE S. SPRINGSTEEN

SUBJECT: Special PRC Flights to the U. S.

Your memorandum of July 3 concerning the costs associated with two special diplomatic flights from the People's Republic of China to New York on United Nations business has been reviewed. On the basis of a prior understanding with the government of the PRC established at the time of Secretary Kissinger's first trips to China in USG aircraft, we have concluded that the U. S. Government should assume responsibility for the various costs associated with the two special PRC diplomatic flights, despite the fact that they were associated with United Nations business.

Thus, if you will have the Department collect all the bills associated with the two flights and forward them to my office, we will direct them to the Department of Defense for payment.

We also request that a working level approach be made by the Department to their counterparts at the PRC Liaison Office informing them that per a prior agreement established at the time of Secretary Kissinger's first flights to the PRC in USG aircraft, we are assuming all costs associated with their two special diplomatic flights to New York in March of this year.

Brent Scowcroft
Major General, USAF
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

CONFIDENTIAL

GDS

HR 5/9/01



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Special PRC Flights to the U. S.

Your memorandum of July 3 concerning the costs associated with two special diplomatic flights from the People's Republic of China to New York on United Nations business has been reviewed.

On March 2, 1972 an agreement was signed between then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations John M. Thomas and his Chinese counterpart which provided that the costs of various special USG flights to the PRC be "reimbursed later either by providing refueling and services on a reciprocal basis or by repayment. The agreement is ambiguous as to whether PRC special flights to this country associated with United Nations business should be covered by the note of understanding.

"(See full text in the attachment.)"

In this circumstance, the Department should approach the Liaison Office of the PRC and indicate that on the basis of the March 2, 1972 agreement the USG is willing to pay for the relevant costs of their March 1974 special flights to the United Nations in New York. If, however, the PRC would prefer to cover these costs directly inasmuch as they are associated with flights on United Nations rather than U. S. - PRC business, we will direct the airlines to submit bills directly to the PRC Liaison Office. In either case, the USG should cover the security and customs charges associated with the PRC special flights.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01



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2

Once a reply is received from the PRC, the Department should, *as appropriate,* ~~either direct the airlines to bill the PRC Liaison Office directly,~~ *either inform* or send the bills to ~~this office for ultimate payment by the Department of Defense.~~ In either case, the security and customs charges should be directed ~~here for payment by the USG.~~ *to DOD*

that they should
for payment. (A memorandum of March 9, 1972 from William Gulley, requested defense to appropriate the necessary funds. A copy of this memo is also attached.)

Brent Scowcroft
Lieutenant General, USAF
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

CONFIDENTIAL



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We suggest that this matter be handled by having the State Department approach the PRC Liaison Office about these fueling and ground service costs (but not the security and customs charges, which we should pay for) and give the Chinese the choice of whether they want these costs payed for on the basis of the agreement of March 2, 1972, or whether they would like to reserve this credit for future special flights to the U. S. associated with our bilateral relations. If the Chinese choose the former approach, we will have State direct the bills to ^{DOD for} ~~us for~~ payment by DOD. If they choose the latter alternative, State will direct the airlines to bill the PRC Liaison Office for the fuel, ground-handling and other costs which the Chinese charged us for, and then send the security and customs charges to ~~us for USG handling.~~

DOD for payment.

A memorandum from you to Mr. Springsteen (Tab A) conveys these instructions.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to George Springsteen at Tab A.



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NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			NBR		INITIAL ACTION O
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR			
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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: KISSINGER, H _____ S/S 7412081 REFERENCE: 7412081 CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE

KISSINGER _____ COLBY, W _____ OTHER _____ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT

SCOWCROFT SCHLESINGER, J _____ LOU NO FORN NODIS

DAVIS _____ ST EX SEC S CODWORD

TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: PRC special flights to US - question of payment to Northwest + TWA

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK (<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>)
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES (_____)
FAR EAST <u>Solomon</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	REPLY FOR (_____)
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION (_____)
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO _____ (_____)
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS (_____)
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO (_____)
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ (_____)
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? (_____)
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE. (_____)
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: _____
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				
<u>Smyser</u>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
7/17	Solomon	SCOWCROFT	X	SGN MEMO TO SPRINGSTEEN	9/20
8/6	Solomon		S	further action / see NOTE	8-13
8/18	Staff		X	SGN Memo of State	9-25
9/19	NBC/S			Solomon - Further Action per RCM note	
9/19	Solomon		S	further action	9-26
9/20	Staff		X	SGN Memo of State	9-27
9/23	NBC/S		C	Scowcroft sgd memo to Springsteen	

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH done

CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: _____

NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

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GENERAL R. FORD LIBRARY

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

URGENT
ACTIONTOP SECRET/SENSITIVE

September 25, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Ambassador Bush
Today at 2:30 p. m.

You have agreed to meet with George Bush, our Liaison Office Chief-designate to Peking. Ambassador Bush has already had several briefings at State, and will go out to Langley tomorrow for a discussion with Director Colby and additional briefings.

At Secretary Kissinger's direction, we have made available to Mr. Bush the transcripts of discussions held in Peking in July and October, 1971. This material will give him a feel for the flavor of the official dialogue which the Secretary has opened with the Chinese, and a good sense of the manner in which the Shanghai Communique was formulated. As his time permits, we may make additional material available to him so that he develops a relatively complete picture of the state of our relations with the PRC.

Ambassador Bush will be attending the Secretary's dinner for PRC Vice Foreign Minister Chi'ao Kuan-hua in New York next week.

At Tab A are a number of talking points you may wish to use in talking to Mr. Bush. They are designed to sketch out for him the general state of our relations, the likely trend of events during his tenure in Peking, and some of the mechanics by which China policy is handled in Washington.

I will plan to sit in on the meeting.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY LR, NARA, DATE 5/9/01



A



~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~



TALKING POINTS

- Your tenure in Peking will be at a particularly interesting time in the evolution of our relations with the PRC. Over the next several years we will see what might be done to further normalize relations. We have no illusions that this will involve anything but very difficult issues. The Secretary will probably want to go into these problems with you in some detail. What this means is that you will be taking over from Ambassador Bruce at what could be a major time of transition. Hopefully you will be able to oversee the further consolidation of our present relationship.
- I hope you will play an active role in giving us continuing assessments of the mood of the Chinese capital, both the state of play of your contacts with PRC officials, and also material you may pick up from the foreign diplomatic community. Frankly, Ambassador Bruce was not the most active reporter, and we will welcome your comments and suggestions about China's internal scene and initiatives you might want to take with the authorities in Peking.
- You should be aware of the "Voyager" channel direct to us here at the White House. This will enable you to maintain direct contact with the President, and keep us informed of particularly sensitive information. Your conversations with PRC leaders at a political level, particularly with Vice Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua, (who you will meet for dinner next Wednesday), Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and -- if his health permits, Premier Chou En-lai, would normally be sent back via the White House channel. John Holdridge, your deputy, a man who worked on the NSC for four years, understands these procedures and can fill you in on them. He is also privy to most of the Secretary's past discussions with the Chinese.
- We hope that improvements in our political relations will enable you to have more contact with PRC officials than Ambassador Bruce had. You are likely to be in Peking during the passing of the Mao/Chou generation, and you can do the U. S. a real service by strengthening our contacts with the successor leadership. Hopefully you will be able to begin this process before the succession actually takes place. I hope you don't find the sense of isolation which most of the foreign diplomatic community in Peking seems to suffer from too oppressive or frustrating.

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 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 State Dept Review
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/89, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
 TD 9/26/02
 BY: *HR*, NARA, DATE: 1/30/03

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

- I know you will get from the transcripts of the Secretary's past discussions with PRC leaders a sense of the frankness with which our relationship has evolved, and of the basic political factors which have motivated both sides to overcome past differences. I know you will speak with equal frankness and represent our policies with the same skill you displayed in New York.

- We will do our best to keep you fully informed of developments back here which relate to U. S.- PRC relations. We hope you will be able to develop an active role for yourself, although I would be less than frank if I did not say that the Secretary views the relationship with the Chinese as particularly sensitive. We will certainly coordinate our actions with you, and seek your advice.



NBC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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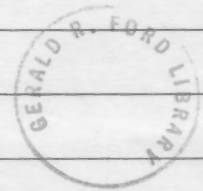
SUBJECT: *Meeting btwn Scruff & Bush*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
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ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO _____
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY?
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE.
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE:
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
9/25		<i>Scruff</i>	<i>CH</i>	<i>Info 10-2</i>	
9/30			<i>C</i>	<i>OBE per McFarlane</i>	



NSC/S DISP INSTR

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958 (prescribed) SEC 3.3
MR # 10-043-116

Date Rev 9/26/02 CIA 4/11/10

By dal NARA, Date 4/8/10

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Ambassador George Bush, Chief-Designate of the United States Liaison Office in Peking
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Mr. Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member, NSC

DATE, TIME, AND PLACE: September 25, 1974, 2:50 - 3:20 p.m.
The White House

SUBJECT: Ambassador George Bush's Courtesy Call and Briefing Before Assignment in Peking

The conversation began with Ambassador Bush expressing his personal concern about the state of health of former President Nixon. He made some observations about the lack of balance in the U. S. media -- and indeed in public attitudes in general -- about the entire Watergate affair and Mr. Nixon's resignation. He noted the positive contributions Mr. Nixon had made during his tenure, and commented on the fact that his (Bush's) ability to represent the U. S. in China was one of these positive contributions. At the same time, there was no question that Mr. Nixon had his dark side, and this had dragged him down into the mud; but Ambassador Bush could not accept the lack of balance in the way that the press and certain individuals responded to the Nixon situation.

Mr. Solomon commented that, curious as it seemed, the Chinese showed such a degree of balance. Ironically, their capacity to evaluate historical figures in a balanced way was revealed in the way they talked about Stalin, as Mr. Bush would see when he was in China. [At this point in the conversation General Scowcroft was interrupted to take a telephone call from Mr. Nixon. When he returned he remarked that the former President sounded rather weak, and noted that it was the personal dimension of what had happened to Mr. Nixon that was particularly upsetting.]

At this point Mr. Bush directed the conversation to his forthcoming assignment in the PRC.

~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVE



General Scowcroft: When you first get there you may feel a bit of frustration which I hope you are mentally prepared for. You will find yourself rather isolated. However, you will find it a most fascinating, a marvelous experience. You will see some real action while you are there. I don't know when, but we are in the middle of a period of transition, although we don't know exactly how it will develop.

Our official contacts with the Chinese have been very narrow -- you are going up to New York next week with the Secretary -- you'll see Vice Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua. But we don't have much dealing with the next generation in the leadership. Anything that you can do in this regard in the way of developing contacts will be helpful, although of course you can't do anything that they don't want you to do.

Ambassador Bush: When I was up at the U.N. we brought them out to my family home; they toasted my mother. Ambassador Huang Hua was asking all kinds of questions: Why did they have a toll bridge? Why is our industry so concentrated? We didn't push them into a relationship, but we found them responsive. Of course they don't want to see a brash American running around Peking.

General Scowcroft: Those people understand subtlety. But don't hesitate to write us of your impressions, your feel of the situation in Peking.

Ambassador Bush: You normally get the routine cables which are sent through State channels?

General Scowcroft: Yes -- although you probably know that you have a private channel to us here, to the Secretary and the President, which should be used for sensitive material.

Ambassador Bush: If I don't plow any new ground?

General Scowcroft: You should use both channels. You can make general reports via the State channel, and then send sensitive or specific elements via the White House channel. Basically, the communications use the same circuits, they just use a different encryption system. The CIA man out there holds the key. But anything you don't want to get into the bureaucracy you should send via the White House channel.

Ambassador Bush: Lord, Habib, and Hummel mentioned that much of the China business is done here in Washington. I hope you will keep me informed.



I don't want to be out there like Adlai Stevenson [who was never told about the Bay of Pigs operation by President Kennedy when he was our Ambassador to the U.N.].

General Scowcroft: When we have any meetings with the Chinese here we'll certainly inform you. This will not be a problem.

Ambassador Bush: Is Art Hummel aware of this channel?

General Scowcroft: I think he must know one exists, although he doesn't normally read that material. But you know you have John Holdridge out there as your deputy. He is outstanding; he spent four years on the NSC.

Ambassador Bush: He came up to the U.N. several times. He briefed us on developments with Al Jenkins.

Mr. Solomon: He has been here through the entire development of our relations with Peking, and knows all the material.

General Scowcroft: I'm glad that you are reading into the past record. It is fascinating.

Ambassador Bush: It's very useful. It also will be helpful to be at the dinner in New York next week.

How do you feel about our relationship -- not just about the future but its current state.

General Scowcroft: We are on track -- well, I'd say that we are in a period where things are a little bit stagnant. There are no major problems, the relationship is just not active. I feel they are having their own preoccupations, sorting things out internally. They are ambivalent about Taiwan, partly because of anticipations that we have built into the relationship. But there is not the closeness of contact that we had a year ago.

Ambassador Bush: Contact on trips [by Secretary Kissinger] or at USLO?

General Scowcroft: It applies to either case.

Ambassador Bush: Does USLO feel there has been a pullback?



General Scowcroft: I'd say it's more a matter of no movement. For example, last year we tried to get something going on Cambodia. We tried to wrap things up a year ago, but the effort passed without getting anywhere and has faded.

Ambassador Bush: When I had a recent discussion with Huang Chen I remarked that as [Republican] party leader perhaps I could have discussions in Peking on that wave length. I told Huang I would be glad to give him my views on our political situation. I thought that might be a useful way to draw them out on their own political situation. When I was up at the U.N. Huang Hua said that now I should be called "Chairman Bush." I said there was a helluva difference between that and the position of Chairman Mao. Huang Chen replied that they would be interested in political discussions both here and in Peking.

General Scowcroft: I'm sure they are intensely interested in our political situation. Understanding theirs is often rather difficult to do. If you compare the letters their leadership sent to President Nixon and President Ford you get some interesting nuances.

Mr. Solomon: They have shown a remarkable degree of loyalty and personal warmth to Mr. Nixon. The way they communicate their political situation to us is indeed subtle. During Secretary Kissinger's July, 1971 trip to Peking Chou En-lai made a comment about the gifts which had been brought to Chairman Mao, Lin Piao, and himself on behalf of the President. He replied, "You may say that Chairman Mao and I accept the gifts with pleasure." This was the first subtle indication that we had of Lin Piao being in trouble.

General Scowcroft: They are fascinating people, very nice -- no, civilized. At the same time they can be quite vicious in their politics. This will be a great experience for you.

Ambassador Bush: This assignment will give me a chance to start reading again.

General Scowcroft: Yes, you have been doing things at a different pace during the past several years. If there is anything that we can do for you just whip me off a cable. Anything that you send through the White House channel will be as private as talking here.

Ambassador Bush: I will. There is one point: Henry and General Haig said that I might want to beef up my staff, increase it somewhat. Do you



know anything that might be behind this -- new facilities? Or is there something currently being planned on this?

General Scowcroft: Well, first there is a matter of pressure we get from other departments, particularly Agriculture and Commerce. When the Liaison Office was set up we sent in what was assumed to be an initial cadre to get the facility in operation. We haven't changed things much since then -- except Jenkins, we haven't replaced him yet I don't think,

Mr. Solomon: The communique published at the end of the Secretary's November visit last year contained the sentence about "expanding the scope of the functions of the Liaison Offices." Exactly what this means has never been clearly spelled out. It was intended to convey a sense of accelerating the development of our relations. In fact, the Chinese have expanded their staff here in Washington substantially in the past year. They now have over 70 people. With that 400 room hotel they are living in they have plenty of room for expansion. On our side, however, we are faced with constraints posed by the lack of residential housing units in Peking. We had some people living in a hotel there for more than a year.

Ambassador Bush: I gather there was some talk being given to finding a larger plot of ground in Peking, or to renting additional space.

General Scowcroft: Well, this is the kind of issue you will be grappling with directly soon. We wish you the best of luck.

After a final exchange of pleasantries, which included Ambassador Bush recalling some of the courtesies the Chinese had shown his family when they visited his house in the outskirts of New York City, the session concluded.



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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Solomon

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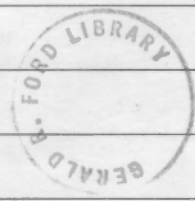
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TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *Memorandum of Inty between HAK & Gerry Bush 25 Sept 1974*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT	INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION		REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR:
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY?
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE.
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE:
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS	DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
		10/11		Staff	X	Improve Memorandum 10-8
	10/7			C	Scowcroft approved recom	



NSC/S DISP INSTR	DISPATCH _____	MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:
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	NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____	
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RCM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

September 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Your Conversation with
Ambassador George Bush, September 25, 1974

At Tab I is a memorandum of your conversation with the Chief-Designate to the United States Liaison Office in Peking, Ambassador George Bush, on September 25, 1974/

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the memorandum of conversation at Tab I.

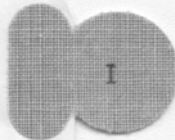
Approve *b* Disapprove _____

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 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
 BY *HR*, NARA, DATE *5/9/01*



~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

4d



1) Send copy
E.O. to Dick
Solomon



2) Send original
E.O. to Ed
Roberts to
file

DONE
10/8/74