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TELEGRAM

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6190

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CH, US
SUBJECT: WANG HAI-JUNG'S REMARKS TO CONGRESSIONAL STAFFDEL

REF: TOKYO 12080

1. TOKYO REFTEL REPORTS THAT ON AUGUST 11 SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFFDEL STOPPING OFF IN TOKYO AFTER CHINA TRIP RELATED TO JAPANESE FONOFF OFFICIALS THE HARD-LINE REMARKS ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION THAT VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG HAD MADE TO THE STAFFDEL JULY 28.

2. IT APPEARS THEREFORE THAT WANG'S REMARKS WILL BE IN THE NEWS EVEN SOONER THAN WE HAD SUPPOSED, AND IN AN ESSENTIALLY ACCURATE VERSION INCLUDING THE NOOSE AND BAYONET ISSUE. (NOTE HOWEVER THAT REFTEL HAS WANG REFERRING TO US TAKING OFF NOOSE "FORTHRIGHTLY"; SHE ACTUALLY SAID "FORTHWITH".)

3. WE RECOMMEND THAT TRANSCRIPT OF THE STAFFDEL'S CONVERSATION WITH WANG (PEKING 1430) AND OF CODEL SCOTT'S WITH CHANG CHUN-CHIAO (PEKING 1283) BE PROVIDED TO AMEMBASSIES TOKYO AND TAIPEI AND TO AMCONGEN HONG KONG, PERHAPS WITH EXDIS RATHER THAN PRESENT NODIS CONTROL. PLEASE ADVISE.
GATES

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02
BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/7/03

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR CH
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL STAFFDEL TRAVEL: THE TAIWAN ISSUE IN THE PROVINCES

REF: (A) PEKING 1429, (B) PEKING 1580

1. SUMMARY. DESPITE GENERAL EXPECTATION BY HOLT-CZARNECKI STAFFDEL MEMBERS THAT CHINESE IN PROVINCES WOULD HAMMER AWAY AT THE TAIWAN QUESTION A LA WANG HAI-JUNG, THE ISSUE ALO E ONLY IN PASSING OR IN THE CONTEXT OF "CULTURAL" PERFORMANCES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE HOLT-CZARNECKI DELEGATION DEPARTED PEKING FOR THE PROVINCES ON JULY 29 AFTER SUFFERING TWO SHOCKS: THE EARTHQUAKE, AND THE UNEXPECTEDLY TOUGH LINE ON TAIWAN DELIVERED BY VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG (REF A). BUT IN THE PROVINCES THERE WERE NO FURTHER FORMAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND THE PRIME TOPIC OF POLITE CNVERSATION WAS THE EARTHQUAKE, NOT THE CONDITIONS OF NORMALIZATION (REF B).

3. ON THE DELEGATION'S FIRST FULL DAY OUT OF PEKING (7/30), A CHILDREN'S GROUP INCLUDED IN ITS PROGRAM THE SONG "TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS ARE OUR FLESH AND BLOOD BROTHERS" WHICH ENDS WITH AN EXPRESSION OF DETERMINATION OF "LIBERATE" TAIWAN. (COMMENT: INCLUSION OF THIS SONG IN PROGRAMS FOR AMERICAL VISITORS IS QUITE USUAL.) FOLLOWING IMMEDIATELY UPON THIS, THE DELEGA-

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State Dept. Guidelines
By KAK, NARA, Date 9/20/01

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TION WAS INVITED TO REVIEW A FULL-DRESS DRILL IN BLISETERING HEAT BY THE COMMUNE'S ARMED MILITIA. STILL RECOILING AT THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER'S NOOSE-AND-BAYONETS ANABYPY, SEVERAL DELEGATION MEMBERS SAW IN THIS CONJUNCTION OF ITEMS A NONE-TOO-SUBTLE MESSAGE.

4. TAIWAN WAS NOT AGAIN MENTIONED, HOWEVER, UNTIL A VISIT ON AUGUST 3 TO THE 179TH INFANTRY DIVISION BASED IN THE SUBURBS OF NANKING. AND THERE THE CHINESE TOOK A STANDARD, NOT PARTICULARLY BELLICOSE LINE. ASKED ABOUT THE DIVISION'S MISSION, THE CHIEF OF STAFF RESPONDED: -"SINCE WE ARE PART OF A FIELD ARMY, OUR PRIMARY MISSION IS COMBAT. . . TO WIPE OUT AGRSSION BY IMPERIALISM AND THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS . . . AND OUR TAIWAN PROVINCE IS NOT YET LIBERATED."

5. TWO SONGS CONCERNING TAIWAN--THE AFOREMENTIONED ONE AND ANOTHER ENTITLED "TAIWAN'S PEOPLE ARE HOPING FOR LIBERATION"--WERE PERFORMED AT A SHANGHAI CONCERT ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST 8. HERE THERE MUST BE A STRONG PRESUMPTION OF DELIBERATE ORCHESTRATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE VISITORS. TREMENROUS APPLAUSE ISSUED FORTH FROM THE CHINESE MEMBERS OF THE AUDIENCE AS THE EVENING'S STAR PERFORMER SANG THE FIRST FEW BARS OF HER FINAL --"TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS ARE OUR FLESH AND BLOOD BROTHERS." FOLLOWING THE PERFORMANCE, SEVERAL OF THE CHINESE HOST-ESCORTS POINTEDLY ASKED HOW DELEGATION MEMBERS HAD ENJOYED THE SHOW-- ESPECIALLY THE MAIN SINGER AND HER RENDITION OF THE TAIWAN SONG. (BY PRIOR AGREEMENT THE DELEGATION HAD APPLAUDED NEITHER TAIWAN COMPOSITION.)

6. THROUGHOUT THE TRIP VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE HOST ORGANIZATION QUESTIONED DELEGATION MEMBERS UN-INFORMALLY ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION POLITICS, THE OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER, THE MOOD OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND CURRENT THINKING AT VARIOUS LEVELS ABOUT NORMALIZATION. WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY IN-DEPTH CONVERSATIONS ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE.

7. DESPITE THIS RATHER LOW-KEY FOLLOWUP TO THE VICE

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FOREIGN MINISTER'S PRESENTATION, THE DELEGATION WILL DOUBTLESS DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE SPACE IN ITS FINAL REPORT TO ITS FINDINGS ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION. IF THEIR PRIVATE COMMENTS TO US ARE A GUIDE, THE REPORT MAY WELL HIGHLIGHT THE GREAT DISTANCE BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF THE US AND THE PRC.
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PEKING 01963 01 OF 02 291056Z

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RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT PASS HONG KONG, MOSCOW, TAIPEI AND TOKYO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CH, US, OVIP (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)

REFS: A) PEKING 1776 B) PEKING 1948

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND FOUR MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION (PERLE, WHITSON, WEST AND BENOIT) MET FOR TWO HOURS AND FORTY MINUTES ON THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 28 WITH PRC PREMIER AND PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. THE CHINESE SIDE ALSO INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA, MFA AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR LIN PING, AND NANCY TANG (INTERPRETER). ACCORDING TO AN ORAL BRIEFING FROM NOTES BY ONE DELEGATION MEMBER (SUPPLEMENTED BY OBSERVATIONS FROM SCHLESINGER AND OTHERS), THE SESSION WAS DOMINATED BY AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON GLOBAL STRATEGY. FOLLOWING IN THE MAIN FOREIGN MINISTER CHI'S STANDARD BRIEF (REF A), HUA SCORED SOVIET EXPANSIONISM, CONDEMNED THE "MUNICH MENTALITY," AND CALLED FOR A "POOLING OF EFFORTS" TO CONTAIN MOSCOW. THIS VIEW, HUA ADDED, HAD BEEN COMMUNICATED BY THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. HUA INDICATED CHINESE SATISFACTION AT PRESIDENT FORD'S DROPPING OF THE WORD "DETENTE"; HE CITED APPROVINGLY THE POLICIES EXEMPLIFIED AND PROMOTED BY THE WEST GERMAN CDU, FRENCH CHIEF OF STAFF MERY, THE "PRESENT GOVERNMENTS" OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, THE BRITISH OPPOSITION LEADER THATCHER; BUT HE

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Review*

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES TO 9/27/02

BY HR; NARA, DATE 2/7/03

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SCATHINGLY DENOUNCED MIKI-MIYAZAWA POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. HUA DID NOT RAISE SINO-US BILATERAL RELATIONS, NEVER MENTIONED TAIWAN, AND EVIDENCED NO CURIOSITY ABOUT THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. NO LIGHT WHATSOEVER WAS SHED ON THE PRC LEADERSHIP OR HUA'S ROLE WITHIN IT, THOUGH SCHLESINGER AND OTHERS WERE IMPRESSED BY HUA'S AURA OF COMMAND AND APPARENT INTELLIGENCE. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. THE INVITATION. HUA OPENED THE SESSION BY REVIEWING THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHINESE INVITATION TO DR. SCHLESINGER. THE NEW SINO-US RELATIONSHIP HAD BECOME POSSIBLE THROUGH THE "WISE DECISION OF CHAIRMAN MAO"; PRESIDENT NIXON, HUA ADDED, HAD "ALSO MADE HIS CONTRIBUTION." IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP EVOLVING "BY TWISTS AND TURNS," CHAIRMAN MAO HAD PERSONALLY DIRECTED IN 1974 THAT THEN-DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER BE INVITED TO VISIT CHINA. (SCHLESINGER SAYS THAT HE FIRST LEARNED OF THIS INVITATION FROM PRC/D CHIEF HUANG CHEN JUST BEFORE DEPARTING FOR CHINA. THROUGHOUT HIS TRIP CHINESE OFFICIALS ALLUDED OFTEN TO "CHAIRMAN MAO'S INVITATION.") WHEN SCHLESINGER LEFT OFFICE IN 1975, CHAIRMAN MAO INDICATED THAT THE INVITATION SHOULD REMAIN OPEN.

3. COOPERATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. HUA EMPHASIZED THE INSATIABLE EXPANSIONIST APPETITE OF THE SOVIET UNION NOW MORE GREEDY THAN THE OLD TSARISM WITHOUT CALLING FOR A FORMAL PACT OR SYSTEMATIC COOPERATION AMONG COUNTRIES OPPOSED TO SOVIET HEGEMONY, HUA IMPLICITLY ARGUED FOR AN ANTI-SOVIET FRONT INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES -- A "POOLING OF OUR EFFORTS TOGETHER AGAINST THE POLAR BEAR." WITH THIS IN MIND:

--THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP HAD PROPOSED TO PRESIDENT NIXON "A LINE" RUNNING THROUGH CHINA, JAPAN, PAKISTAN, IRAN, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE THIRD WORLD, WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES "TO RESIST SOVIET EXPANSIONISM."

--CHAIRMAN MAO HAD "TRIED TO PERSUADE DR. KISSINGER TO STAY IN JAPAN" AND "TO WORK WITH JAPAN." (HUA DID NOT SPECIFY THE TIME FRAME, BUT DELEGATION MEMBERS INFERRED THAT HE MEANT 1973.) WITH RESPECT TO JAPAN, HUA CONCLUDED, RELATIONS WITH

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THE UNITED STATES CAME FIRST AND WITH CHINA SECOND.

--CHINESE LEADERS HAD "URGED" SECRETARY KISSINGER TO "HELP" PAKISTAN "WHEN HE WAS HERE" -- BUT "HIS RECENT TRIP INDICATES THAT HE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL."

--THE CHINESE HAD "URGED" THE UNITED STATES "TO USE BOTH HANDS" IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BZD DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES WHILE MAINTAINING ITS TIES WITH ISREAL. HUA EMPHASIZED THAT THE CHINESE BELIEVED "COMPLETE" SUPPORT OF ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE IN AMERICAN INTERESTS.

THOUGH ALL OF THESE EVENTS WERE DESCRIBED IN THE PAST TENSE, HUA LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT CHINESE THINKING HAS NOT ALTERED, THAT THIS SORT OF INFORMAL ENTENTE TO CONTAIN SOVIET EXPANSIONISM IS THE CORRECT AND ONLY VIABLE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY.

4. STATE OF THE WORLD. HUA DELIVERED A TOUR D'HORIZON FOCUSSING ON THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE CONTEMPORARY ANTI-SOVIET STRUGGLE; HUA ADHERED CLOSELY TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO'S STANDARD BRIEF AND DIFFERED FROM PUBLIC CHINESE POSITIONS ONLY IN THE SOMETIMES ACIDUOUSLY CANDID DISCUSSION OF WORLD PERSONALITIES.

5. HUA DERIDED THE "SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE," CRITICIZE THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AS CREATING THE "FALSE IMPRESSION" THAT THERE EXISTS EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND CONDEMNED ALL AS EVIDENCE OF "MUNICH THINKING" -- A CAPITULATION TO THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS "OUT TO FINLANDIZE" EUROPE. (TO THIS, DR. SCHLESINGER SUGGESTED THAT "POLANDIZE" MIGHT BE A MORE ACCURATE CHARACTERIZATION OF SOVIET INTENTIONS.) JUST AS IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CRITICIZE AND EXPOSE THE "MUNICH MENTALITY,"

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OF RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW.

-IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER THATCHER HAD "PUT THE MATTER (OF POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIETS) FORWARD VERY ACUTELY."

--FRENCH CHIEF OF STAFF MERY HAD POINTED OUT DURING HIS JUNE VISIT TO CHINA THAT THE FRENCH DEFENSE EFFORT WAS INCREASING.

8. CHINESE SELF-RELIANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HUA DELIVERED AN IMPASSIONED DEFENSE OF CHINESE SELF-RELIANCE ALONG FAMILIAR LINES: IMPERIALISTS HAD INFLICTED OPIUM UPON CHINA, CHINA WAS ALL-TOO-ACCURATELY CHARACTERIZED AS THE "SICK MAN OF ASIA," AND CHINESE SELF-CONFIDENCE WAS CONSEQUENTLY IMPAIRED. BUT FOLLOWING 27 YEARS OF "EARTHSHAKING CHANGES," THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAD SHED THEIR INFERIORITY COMPLEX AND BEGUN TO BELIEVE THAT THEY COULD ACHIEVE WHAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAD. YET CHINESE SELF-CONFIDENCE WAS STILL INCOMPLETE EVEN TODAY. FOR THIS REASON, AND BECAUSE THE POST-LIBERATION "YOUNGER GENERATION" COULD NOT WHOLLY COMPREHEND THE SITUATION EXISTING BEFORE 1949, THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP ATTACHED A HIGH PRIORITY TO EDUCATING THE MASSES CONSTANTLY IN THE MEANING OF "SELF-RELIANCE." THE CHINESE, HUA SAID, ARE STRIVING "TO BUILD A MODERN CHINA BY THE END OF THE CENTURY." (DELEGATION MEMBERS AGREE THAT HUA DID NOT ADD THE WORD "SOCIALIST" HERE BEFORE CHINA AS IN THE STANDARD FORMULATION.) IN SO DOING, THE FOCAL POINT OF DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE THE SMALL TOWNS IN THE CHINESE INTERIOR, NOT THE DEVELOPED URBAN CENTERS.

9. IMPRESSIONS OF HUA. DR. SCHLESINGER AND HIS DELEGATION WERE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY HUA. EXPECTING A RATHER UNSOPHISTICATED AND TENTATIVE APPARATCHIK UNSCHOOLED IN THE INTRICACIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THEY DETECTED INTELLIGENCE, CONFIDENCE, AND AN AURA OF LEADERSHIP. CHINESE OFFICIALS PRESENT TREATED HUA WITH DEFERENCE AND RESPECT (THE PRECEDING DAY, DR. SCHLESINGER OBSERVED, SOME OF THE SAME OFFICIALS HAD REGARDED YEH CHIEN-YING WITH "VENERATION") (REF B). HUA HAD MASTERED HIS BRIEF, REFERRING RARELY TO THE TEXT BEFORE HIM BUT LOOKING TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO FOR OCCASIONAL GUIDANCE WHEN REQUIRED TO ADDRESS UNANTICIPATED

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QUESTIONS.

10. HUA OFFERED NO COMMENT ON THE CHINESE INTERNAL SCENE, HIS OWN POSITION WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP, OR CHINESE PLANS FOR THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL DAY.
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NOD13

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: ESTC ER US
SUBJECT: CDD SEISMIC COMPUTER

REF: STATE 252896

HUGH DONOHUE INTENDS TO CALL AT USLO OCTOBER 14 AT 1200.
WE HAVE ENCOURAGED DONOHUE TO POSTPONE HIS MEETING WITH
TECHIMPORT (ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR 1500 OCTOBER 14) FOR
24 HOURS, BUT HE STILL HOPES THAT INFORMATION ON DECISION
WILL ARRIVE IN TIME FOR MEETING AS ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED.
DEAN

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *9/27/02 TD*
BY DR, NARA, DATE 2/7/03

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 012895

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram

CREATOR'S NAME USLO Peking (Gates)

RECEIVER'S NAME Secstate

DESCRIPTION Re discussion with diplomat

CREATION DATE 11/09/1976

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032400171

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

BOX NUMBER 15

FOLDER TITLE People's Republic of China - State
Department Telegrams: To SECSTATE -
NODIS (10)

DATE WITHDRAWN 05/08/2001

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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4. I HAVE YOUDE'S SUBSTANCE OF TOKYO'S 16580 CONCERNING CHEN YI-SUN AND ASAHI ARTICLE ON PEKING-TAIWAN TALKS AND ALSO INFORMED HIM OF VICE FOREIGN MINISTER YANG HSI-KUAN'S DENIAL TO POPPLE IN TAIPEI (TAIPEI'S 7464).

5. OUR INITIAL TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS ARE (1) IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT CCK HAS SENT OFFICIAL DELEGATION TO PEKING EVEN THOUGH PRC WOULD WELCOME VISIT, (2) PEKING LEADERSHIP MAY WELL HAVE "DUSTED OFF" TAIWAN ISSUE AND THROUGH CHEN YI-SUN AND OTHERS MAY BE MOUNTING A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO UNDERCUT TAIWAN'S SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES.

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..... MY OTHER COLLEAGUES IN THE PEKING DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY HAVE DISCARDED THE ASAHI STORY ON PEKING-TAIWAN TALKS AS GROUNDLESS RUMOR.

7. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REPEAT THIS TELEGRAM TO TAIPEI.
GATES

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