

PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP TO CHINA  
December 1-5, 1975

- |   | <u>Subjects</u>  |
|---|--|
| I. <u>Monday, December 1, 1975</u>          | Arrival Welcoming  |
| -- Teng/Ford/HAK<br>4:15 - 4:30 p.m.        |  |
| -- Exchange of Toasts<br>Chinese Banquet    |  |
| II. <u>Tuesday, December 2, 1975</u>        | Approaches to dealing<br>with Soviet Union.  |
| -- Teng/Ford/HAK<br>10:10 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. |  |
| -- Mao/Ford/HAK<br>4:10 - 6:00 p.m.         | Tour d'horizon   |
| -- Ch'iao/HAK<br>11:00 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.    | Possible Communique;<br>American press: Public<br>support for US-PRC<br>relations.   |
| III. <u>Wednesday, December 3, 1975</u>     | Soviet Union; Europe;<br>Middle East; South Asia;<br>Angola.   |
| -- Teng/Ford/HAK<br>9:25 - 11:55 a.m.       |  |
| IV. <u>Thursday, December 4, 1975</u>       | Taiwan; Bilateral<br>Relations; MIA's;<br>Trade (oil and computers)<br>Dalai Lama; Korea; Chinese<br>minorities; Agriculture;<br>Amb. Bush |
| -- Teng/Ford/HAK<br>10:05 - 11:47 a.m.      |  |
| -- Exchange of Toasts<br>Return Banquet     |  |
| -- HAK Press Conference<br>Min Dzu Hotel    |  |



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PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP TO CHINA  
December 1-5, 1975

*The President*

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS



I. Monday, Dec. 1, 1975



Teng/Ford/HAK/  
4:15 - 4:30 p.m.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Vice Premier of the  
People's Republic of China  
Ch'iao Kuan-hua, PRC Foreign Minister  
Huang Chen, Chief of the PRC Liaison Office  
in Washington  
Teng Ying-ch'ao (Mme. Chou En-lai)  
K'ang K'o-ch'ing (Mme. Chu Teh)  
Lin P'ing, Director, Department of American  
and Oceanic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs  
T'ang Wen-sheng, Deputy Director, Department  
of American and Oceanic Affairs, Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs  
Chang Han-chih  
Chu Lin (Mme. Huang Chen)  
Other Chinese Escorts

Gerald R. Ford, President of the United  
States of America  
Mrs. Betty Ford  
Miss Susan Ford  
Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
George Bush, Chief of the United States  
Liaison Office in Peking  
Robert T. Hartmann, Counsellor to the  
President  
Richard B. Cheney, Assistant to the President  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
James Lynn, Director, Office of Management  
and Budget  
Ronald Nessen, Press Secretary to the  
President  
Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State  
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,  
Department of State  
Mrs. James Lynn  
Mrs. George Bush  
Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,  
National Security Council *RLS*

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6

MR 97-9, #5; NSCL/HW 10/23/98

By Lt NARA, Date 11/8/98



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2

DATE AND TIME: Monday, December 1, 1975  
4: 15 - 4: 30 p.m.

PLACE: Guest House #18  
Peking, People's Republic of China

SUBJECT: Arrival Reception for the President  
in Villa #18

The President: I see there are many changes since I was here in 1972.

Vice Premier Teng: They are not so very great.

The President: Let me thank you for your cooperation, your help and assistance in making the arrangements for our visit. I want to commend your Protocol Chief, Mr. Chu.

Vice Premier Teng: This is our duty.

Your visit should reflect the relations between our two countries, and our friendship.

The President: I think it is important that the leaders of our two countries should have the opportunity to exchange views.

I met some of you in 1972. I remember Foreign Minister Ch'iao.

Vice Premier Teng: He was a Vice Foreign Minister then.

Secretary Kissinger: I have not met Madame Chou since 1972.

Madame Chou: That is because I am not very well, not in good health. I usually do not attend diplomatic functions that are not necessary, but the visit of the Secretary of State is an occasion!

Vice Premier Teng: She (Madame Chou) is the same age as me -- 71

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3

The President: Please give the Prime Minister my very, very best regards. I enjoyed our conversation in 1972.

Vice Premier Teng: You have flown a long distance, had a tiring journey. Probably you should rest this afternoon. Then we will meet at 7:30 this evening. We will give a banquet in your honor this evening at the Great Hall.

We can begin our talks tomorrow morning. According to your proposal, we can discuss the matter you mentioned just now.

(There followed an animated discussion, and surprised laughter, as none of the party had heard the proposal for a conversation topic which the President had raised with Vice Premier Teng.)

Secretary Kissinger: I didn't know that the President had already suggested a subject. (Laughter)

The President: I thought it would be a good subject.

Vice Premier Teng: This is the largest question. We are mutually concerned about this one major international question [Soviet hegemonism].

So we will take our leave now.

(The Vice Premier arose and escorted the President out to the door. As he departed there was some light banter among the Americans and Chinese as farewells were spoken.)



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4

THE PRESIDENT'S TOAST  
AT THE WELCOMING BANQUET IN PEKING

(Dec. 1, 1975)

Mr. Vice Premier, Mr. Foreign Minister, and all Chinese friends here tonight:

On behalf of Mrs. Ford, our daughter Susan, the members of our party, and the people of the United States of America, let me express appreciation for your friendly reception. It is symbolized by this gracious banquet you have accorded us tonight.

Although this is my second visit to the People's Republic of China, it is the first time I have been to your country as President of the United States. In 1972 I had the opportunity to meet a number of your leaders, including Premier Chou En-lai. I learned something of their views, and saw the impressive work of the people of China in developing their country. I recall your hospitality with pleasure.

It is now more than four years since our two countries started discussing how to build a more constructive relationship. Reality and common necessities brought us together in a bold and farsighted move.

In the Shanghai Communique our two governments recognized that "there are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies." But, more importantly, we also agreed that normalization of relations would be in the mutual interest of our peoples, and would contribute to the development of a more secure international order. We



therefore established certain principles to guide the growth of our relations and our approach to the international scene.

The moves that were taken in 1971 and 1972 by the leaders of China and the United States were of historic significance. I take this occasion to reaffirm my commitment to the objectives and the principles that emerged from those first steps and specifically to the normalization of our relations.

Developments since 1972 verify the wisdom of the Shanghai Communique. We still differ on certain issues, but we have progressed toward a more normal relationship. Our many authoritative discussions have enabled our two nations to explore areas of mutual interest and to understand each other's views on the issues on which we disagree. The two Liaison Offices which we established in our respective capitals facilitate our contact and understanding. The development of cultural and scientific exchanges, and trade, strengthens the ties between the Chinese and American peoples.

In the international field, we have a mutual interest in seeing that the world is not dominated by military force or pressure -- what in our joint statements we have called hegemony.

In pursuing our objectives, each of us will, of course, determine our policies and methods according to our differing positions in the world and our perceptions of our respective national interests.

In the past four years, there have been many changes in the international situation. The world confronts us

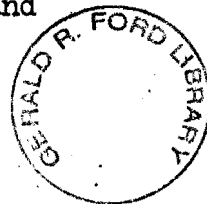


all with dangers, but it also offers opportunities. The United States will strive both to reduce the dangers and to explore new opportunities for peace without illusions. The current situation requires strength, vigilance, and firmness. But we will also continue our efforts to achieve a more peaceful world even as we remain determined to resist any actions that threaten the independence and well-being of others.

I look forward to our frank and beneficial discussions. We will explore areas of agreement, and seek to foster understanding where our perspectives differ. In that spirit, we remain firmly committed to the process of building a normal relationship between our two countries on the basis of the Shanghai Communique, and to enlarging the areas of cooperation on international issues of mutual concern.

So as I begin my visit, I would like to propose a toast:

- To the health of Chairman Mao;
- to the health of Premier Chou En-lai;
- to the health of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping;
- to the health of other officials and friends here tonight;
- to the success of our discussions here this week;
- and to further development of friendship and understanding between the peoples of China and the United States.



5  
(Translation)

VICE-PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S TOAST  
AT THE BANQUET IN HONOUR OF  
PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD  
December 1, 1975

Mr. President and Mrs. Ford,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades and Friends,

We are very glad today that President and Mrs. Ford, travelling thousands of miles across the ocean, have arrived in China for an official visit. As the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Mr. Ford visited China before in June 1972 with Mrs. Ford, so they are already known to the Chinese people. At this banquet which I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host, I wish to express welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government to President and Mrs. Ford and the other American guests accompanying them on the visit.

The Chinese and American peoples are both great peoples. Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. I would like to take this opportunity to convey the cordial greetings of the Chinese people to the great American people.

More than three years ago, President Nixon visited China, and the Chinese and American sides issued the famous Shanghai Communique. This is a unique international document. It explicitly sets forth the fundamental differences between the policies of China and the United States, which are determined by their different social systems, and at the same time points out that in today's world our two



countries have many points in common. An outstanding common point is that neither should seek hegemony and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish hegemony. The Communique provides the basis for the development of Sino-U.S. relations and indicates its direction and goal. Its issuance accords not only with the common desire of our two peoples but also with the interests of the people of the world. And it has made a deep impact internationally.

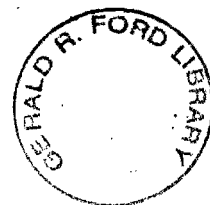
Since the Shanghai Communique, there have been on the whole an increase in the contacts and friendship between our two peoples and an improvement in the relations between our two countries. Since he took office, President Ford has stated more than once that he will adhere to the principles of the Shanghai Communique and work to promote Sino-U.S. relations, a statement which we welcome. To realize the normalization of relations between our two countries conforms to the common desire of the Chinese and American peoples. We believe that, so long as the principles of the Shanghai Communique are earnestly observed, this desire will eventually be realized through the joint efforts of our two sides.

At present, a more important question confronts the Chinese and American peoples -- that of the international situation. Our basic view is: There is great disorder under heaven and the situation is excellent. The basic contradictions in the world are sharpening daily. The factors for both revolution and war are clearly increasing. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution -- this torrential tide of our time is mounting. In particular, the third world has



emerged and grown in strength, and has become a force that is playing an important role in the international arena, a force that must not be neglected. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony is intensifying and, strategically, Europe is the focus of this contention. Such continued contention is bound to lead to a new world war. This is independent of man's will. Today it is the country which most zealously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war. Rhetoric about "detente" cannot cover up the stark reality of the growing danger of war.

The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains. The wind is blowing harder and harder, and nothing can prevent the storm. In the face of this international situation, the crucial point is what line and policy to pursue. We consider that it is in the interest of the people of the world to point out the source and danger of the war, dispel illusions of peace, fully arouse the people, make all preparations, unite with all the forces that can be united with and wage a tit-for-tat struggle. Hegemonism is not to be afraid of. It is weak by nature. It bullies the soft and fears the tough. Its expansion in all parts of the world bears the seed of defeat. The outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon. In this regard, the consistent policy of the Chinese Government and people is: Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony. We base ourselves on independence, self-reliance and millet plus rifles.



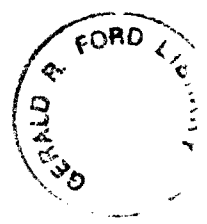
The people are the makers of history. Mankind always advances in storm and stress. The road is tortuous, the future is bright. We are full of optimism and confidence in the future of mankind.

President Ford's visit to China is a major event in the present international relations. It is beneficial for leaders of the two countries to have a direct exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. We wish President Ford a successful visit.

In conclusion, I propose a toast  
to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples,  
to the health of President and Mrs. Ford,  
to the health of the other American guests, and  
to the health of all comrades and friends present  
here!



II. Tuesday, Dec. 2, 1975





Teng/Ford/HAK  
10:10 - 12:30 pm



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Vice Premier of the  
People's Republic of China  
Ch'iao Kuan-hua, PRC Foreign Minister  
Wang Hai-jung, Vice Foreign Minister  
Huang Chen, Chief of the PRC Liaison Office  
in Washington  
Lin P'ing, Director, Department of American  
and Oceanic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs  
T'ang Wen-sheng, Deputy Director, Department  
of American and Oceanic Affairs, Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs  
Ting Yuan-hung, Director, United States Office,  
Department of American and Oceanic Affairs,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Chao Chi-hua, Deputy Director, United States  
Office, Department of American and Oceanic  
Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Tsien Ta-yung, Political Counselor, PRC  
Liaison Office in Washington  
Shih Yen-hua (Interpreter)  
Lien Cheng-pao (Notetaker)  
Sui Chu-mei (Notetaker)  
  
Gerald R. Ford, President of the United  
States of America  
Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
George Bush, Chief of the United States  
Liaison Office in Peking  
Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State  
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,  
Department of State  
Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member, *RHS*  
National Security Council

DATE AND TIME:

Tuesday, December 2, 1975  
10:10 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~ (XGDS)

~~SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)  
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, SEC. 1.5  
NSC MEMO, NUMBER, STATE DEPT. QUADRANTS, STATE DEPT. 9/16/03  
BY: [redacted] . [redacted] DATE 11/2/03



PLACE: Great Hall of the People  
Peking, People's Republic of China

SUBJECT: Approaches to Dealing with the  
Soviet Union

(The press entered the room and photographs were taken.)

Vice Premier Teng: Have you solved the problem of jet lag yet?

The President: Our stop in Alaska was very helpful. It was a delightful evening last night -- very pleasant.

Vice Premier Teng: I hope you had a good rest last night.

The President: The long night was very helpful. It was very pleasant here this morning with the sun out. I am looking forward to going out this afternoon.

Vice Premier Teng: I hope you have the opportunity for a short excursion.

I hear that the foreign press has been commenting on my vice of chain smoking, so I have taken out a cigarette for them. (Laughter) Our Foreign Minister has the same bad habit I have. I tried for ten years to fight this habit, but I have always failed.

The President: If you don't mind, I will smoke a pipe.

Vice Premier Teng: I suppose people who don't smoke at all, like the Doctor, are the best people in the world. Those who smoke pipes are second best; and we who smoke cigarettes are the worst.

Secretary Kissinger: My wife smokes. Her nurse tried to help her stop. The result was that the nurse stopped, but she didn't.

Vice Premier Teng: It seems that heaven is helping us with your visit -- with the weather.



The President: I was thinking this morning how beautiful it would be [here] in the springtime with the trees and the flowers. The shrubbery is very nice now, but in the summer it would be beautiful.

(The press was escorted from the room.)

Vice Premier Teng: Before we begin, I would first like to express on behalf of the Chinese Government once again our welcome to Mr. President and your party on this visit.

The President: Thank you.

Vice Premier Teng: Yes, and also the international situation has gone through ten thousand changes. Each of our countries are in different positions, and we believe it is beneficial for our leaders to have constant contact with each other and exchange views.

Yes, and since our two countries have different social systems we naturally have different views, but it doesn't exclude our searching for common points, searching for improving our relations on the basis of the Shanghai Communique.

And we believe in having deep exchanges on matters. It does not matter if we have different views or even if we quarrel sometimes. And perhaps the Secretary will remember that Chairman Mao once told him: small quarrels can lead to big unity.

The President: Mr. Vice Premier, on behalf of all the Americans who have come with me let me express our appreciation for your warm welcome and your gracious hospitality.

Let me bring up one point I mentioned as we drove in from the airport to the residence yesterday. If we are interested at all in the question of whether we should issue a public statement, we should turn this question over to the two Foreign Ministers. If we are going to have one, they can discuss it this afternoon or tomorrow.

Vice Premier Teng: I agree with that. Yes, we can leave that to those two who have always specialized in that work, including quarreling. (Laughter)



The President: They are experts in that field.

Mr. Premier, let me say that the development of our relations since 1971, coming to this point, have had an historic significance. The American people are very supportive of the developments that have taken place in the last four years. After a period of some twenty years when there was little or no contact, and many periods of difficulties, the American people believe in and support the developments that have taken place.

We have to further our commitment to normalize our relations, but our two countries have to look at the broader international situation, as it affects not only our two countries but also the world as a whole.

We fully recognize that there are significant differences in our social systems. We do not believe that those differences should impede or interfere with our efforts to develop an understanding internationally. As you indicated, there are areas of disagreement, but it is important to discuss them calmly and objectively. There is an old saying from our Congress -- Ambassador Bush will remember this -- we used to say that you can disagree without being disagreeable.

Mr. Vice Premier, we feel that these discussions, whether between you and myself, or between the two Foreign Ministers, have to be conducted in periods of calm as well as in periods of difficulty. It should be a continuing relationship. In that way we can deepen it and strengthen it. We also feel that where we have a significant mutual interest we should work closely together, and where that interest is expressed by both of us we should continue to work together and not one withdraw after we have agreed to begin to pursue the same objective.

I would hope if we have any new ideas for discussion that we can open them up and have frank discussions concerning such areas. I would be very anxious to know from your side if there are such areas we can explore and discuss, and opportunities to work together?

Vice Premier Teng: We are willing to hear the opinion of Mr. President. And it is precisely proceeding from various points that Mr. President just mentioned that we attach importance to this visit. So perhaps we should go on as you suggested, into the first suggestion you made yesterday.



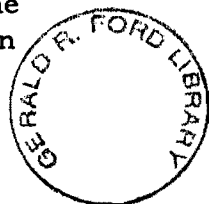
The President: Let me say a few comments first if I may. The United States feels that our relationship has come a long, long way since its initiation several years ago. It indicates that we can cooperate and work for a better world -- to prevent the expansionism that others may have as their objective.

The efforts that were made in 1971 and 1972 by President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger show great wisdom and courage in the renewal of those relations and normalizing them. The security of your country and our country can be enhanced by the movements which have taken place in these last three or four years. This relationship must have a growing vitality. This gives us an opportunity to discuss the broad international issues as well as our commitment to normalize our relations.

Let me assure you, Mr. Vice Premier, that the United States does not consider the People's Republic of China as the fifth in our list of priorities. We, of course, do feel that our relations with other nations are important, but we attach a special significance to the relationship that we have with the People's Republic of China. As you mentioned [in the welcoming toast], I have on a number of occasions said publicly in the United States how important I feel this relationship is. Many outstanding diplomats and distinguished world leaders have told me that one of the most significant diplomatic efforts certainly in many, many years was the resumption of our relations.

Despite this breakthrough and the significance of it, as I said earlier, I do not think we should disguise our differences. But our areas of agreement are important and give us an opportunity to work more and more closely as we work to develop a world of security and peace on a global basis. Since the 1940s, the United States has opposed expansionism, hegemonism, whether territorial or economically. An equitable world system must be founded on a basis of mutual understanding and economic prosperity, and I can assure you we are anxious and willing to discuss all aspects of this situation which are of mutual interest to our people as well as yours.

And may I say that the American people believe that our best interests depend upon us being strong at home and cooperative abroad. The United States will maintain its strength, and it will seek to broaden



its interests diplomatically and through economic cooperation. We will consult and not confront as we work to maintain security and world peace.

The American people and this Administration, Mr. Vice Premier, feel very strongly that we should resist expansionism whether it should be in Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or elsewhere. And I believe there is solid evidence that we will resist expansionism by other countries whether militarily, economically, diplomatically, or whatever. The American people will resist expansionism anywhere in the world. And we look forward to working cooperatively with other nations that share our views about the expansionism of any other nation.

Vice Premier Teng: We are equally interested in exchanging views on such issues of broad range. And I believe Mr. President and other American friends must have taken note of what I said in the toast last night. There are many points in common between our two countries. And as we have said many times, and especially Chairman Mao repeated many times, in the relations between our two countries there are bilateral issues, especially Taiwan, but the problems we consider most important are the international issues. Because now the issue that is confronting the people of the world is the international question, and especially the danger of war. And to speak frankly, the question we are mostly concerned with is Soviet expansionism.

On this issue, of course, we each have our own views which are not entirely the same. However, we feel it is always good for each side to put forward its views, to have a frank exchange which would enable the other side to further study the views put forth by the other. And that is also what we have expressed many times. The first words President Nixon said to Chairman Mao when he came to China were that he had come out of the self-interest of the United States. And we believe that such an attitude expressed by the American side of frankness and sincerity is the basis for having a frank exchange of views. As Chairman Mao once said to the Doctor, our common task that we face is how to deal with that SOB. (Laughter)

Secretary Kissinger: I thought he said "bastard." (Laughter)



Vice Premier Teng: So the question that we have been discussing is how we should deal with this bastard. Which is the best way, the most beneficial way? And as we discussed last night at the banquet, this is both the most important point in common, and also a point where our differences are not small.

The President: Mr. Vice Premier, Secretary Kissinger has outlined on other occasions the complex but I believe understandable approach we are taking to this mutual problem. Our method of approaching the problem is one of negotiations and a very firm attitude backed up by firm and adequate strength. We feel that we have a sound policy in reaching that approach. You have a different approach, but the end result is the same: to prevent the expansion of the Soviet Union whether it is to the East or to the West. We will resist in either direction.

We do not disguise or hide the fact that we are negotiating with the Soviet Union to stabilize the international system and to improve our bilateral relations. This is in our best interest in a context where in a conflict it might be very, very difficult to contain the resort to nuclear weapons. If we can reduce tensions, it enables us in the United States to mobilize the support necessary to be a vital force in resisting Soviet expansionism.

Even though we make this effort to relax tensions with the Soviet Union, and even though we seek to stabilize the international scene, let me assure you that we will resist expansion in either the East or West -- any military expansion by the Soviet Union -- and with our nuclear capability.

Let me conclude by simply saying that the decision on such matters is made by the President, and not by the American press.

Vice Premier Teng: May I say that we believe that it is necessary to have a full set of tactics for dealing with Soviet expansionism, a whole series of tactics. We also believe that tactics are guided by strategy and firmness of principle. Tactics should be flexible and with many aspects, but we also believe that if tactics should exceed a limit they





affect strategy. This also includes an evaluation of the nature of the Soviet Union.

Of course, we are willing to first have the views of Mr. President on this issue.

The President: Mr. Vice Premier, we have no illusions about the objectives of the Soviet Union. The United States for a long period of time has forcefully met actions by the Soviet Union. We did so in the case of Berlin. In the Middle East we have effectively moved to reduce the influence, the impact of the Soviet Union. We have sought to do so in other parts of the world, and we will continue to do so.

The situation in Africa at the present time is a good example of how we meet the actions of the Soviet Union to expand its influence and control in Angola. The United States feels that wherever they seek an advantage, whether it is economically, territorially, or diplomatically, we will meet that challenge. I believe our record is very clear, and we shall do so in the future.

We seem to agree on an overall global strategy, and yet we may have differences as to tactics. We understand that on occasion our tactics are different from yours, and sometimes yours differ from ours. But there should be an understanding [of our different tactics], and if it is desirable we should integrate our tactics whenever possible.

It is important for the development of our tactics that we get the full backing of the American people. They have supported what we are doing in Western Europe and the Middle East. They believe in a strong national defense to resist expansion by others. Our tactics have to be understood by them, and that is why we have taken the initiative to strengthen our Western allies and we have taken the initiative in the Middle East. The American people believe it is the best solution in the world to have peace, and that is why they are supportive of what we are doing and what we have achieved, whether it is in one part of the world or another.

Vice Premier Teng: On this issue we were able to have a comparatively deep exchange of views when Dr. Kissinger was here last time. Especially Chairman Mao in his discussion with Doctor made clear our



basic views. At that time Mr. Bush was also present, and I believe the President must have received a good report and the minutes of the conversation. We have always held that there exists at present the danger of a new war, and if it breaks out it will be a world war. We have always believed that in the contemporary world there are only two countries qualified to fight such a war, the Soviet Union and the United States; and we believe at present the danger comes from the Soviet Union.

As for the global strategic situation, we also feel that at present the United States is in a defensive position and the Soviet Union is in an aggressive position. We also feel that the contemporary situation is very similar to the state of affairs prior to the outbreak of World War II. To put it plainly, we believe that to a very great degree the Soviet Union has taken the place of Hitler.

The President: Mr. Vice Premier --

Vice Premier Teng: Of course, at the present time we are faced with the question of how to cope with Soviet expansionism and the danger of new world war. During the period before the Second World War, there was also a dispute and different opinions on how to cope with a similar situation. Then the main representatives of one approach were Chamberlain and Daladier. They took one set of steps -- one set of tactics. However, in England Churchill took an opposite approach. We believe at present there are many arguments and many opinions which are a basis for strategy; and the procedure [of the contemporary debates] to a great extent is similar to the points of procedure before the Second World War.

And we have noticed in the opinion of the world today that many people are naturally recalling the history of the period prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. Of course, there is also the argument that if Britain as a representative [of the West] had adopted a strong attitude against Hitler it could have stopped him. In the light of the present situation, if we think that by taking tactical measures against the Soviet Union we can prevent them from launching a new world war, we don't think that is probable [of success].

However, we believe that at that time [of Hitler] if the Western world represented by England had not adopted a policy of appeasement --



as the Doctor has mentioned several times -- if Britain had adopted a different attitude when Hitler entered the Rhineland and Czechoslovakia, if the West had adopted a firm policy at that time in dealing with such events, then it would have been possible to hold Hitler back. That is [it would have been possible] to hold off for a certain period of time the outbreak of the war. If at that time the West had adopted a correct strategy and tactics, and had placed the stress on the strengthening of its own strength, and not tried to direct the evil waters of Hitler against the East, then the situation might have taken a different tack when the war broke out.

At the time that the war broke out there was only France who had a relatively strong defense -- the Maginot Line.

Secretary Kissinger: Unfortunately, it was at the wrong place.

Vice Premier Teng: The basic point is that the West had not made sufficient and appropriate preparations. Hitler maneuvered through Belgium and the Maginot Line collapsed. It was of no use at all; and at the same time Britain just made a great showing at Dunkirk. They just slipped away from the war.

And when we compare the present position of strength of the Soviet Union with that of Hitler at that time, we can see that Hitler was not in relation to the Soviet Union so very strong. And if we view the nature of the Soviet Union in the present day, as we see it -- although you may not see it this way -- we believe that in essence the Soviet Union bullies the soft and fears the strong.

In his day Hitler had to resort to blackmail. The Soviet Union is doing the same now. During his day -- the days of Hitler -- the West adopted a soft policy and Hitler a strong one, and he had a very great aim [strong objective]. At that time the West, represented by Britain -- aside from itself not making active preparations -- the West represented by Britain also directed Hitler to the East, and they took practical steps to feed Hitler to his full. In this way they strengthened him in the field of defense, and also in economics. And this also led to the strengthening of Hitler's preparations.

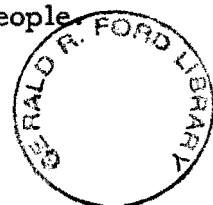


The President: Mr. Vice Premier, let me comment. We agree with you that the Soviet Union in many respects is comparable to Hitler in the 1930s. But I think there is somewhat a different situation today. Under no circumstances will you find the United States in the 1970s adopting a similar position [to Britain's in the 1930s] now or in the future. The American people have learned the lesson that weakness invites war. And as a result, the United States is strong today, and we will continue to be strong not only in strategic weapons but in conventional weapons. We will continue to strengthen our relations with the Western allies including our nuclear capability.

I took a very strong stand in our meeting in Brussels this spring indicating that we would not permit Portugal to be a member of NATO if it was dominated by the wrong leadership. Now the situation has improved somewhat, and I believe this is clear evidence of our willingness to stand up to any erosion of our position in Western Europe.

We feel very strongly that the political situation in Italy must be strengthened; and we have been working very closely with the CDU in order to improve their political situation. It is vitally important that we continue to strengthen NATO. We also feel that it is vitally important to strengthen the other nations in the south and east in NATO -- Greece and Turkey. And I believe that we have been able to convince the Congress that Turkey is a strong and important ally and their strong and continued participation in NATO is in our vital interest. Also in Greece.

I am convinced that the people of the Western allies -- France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy -- feel as I do that they must improve their military capability, improve it and their resolve to meet any challenge that may come from the Soviet Union. I don't see any similarity now to the 1930s. We have greater resolve and military capabilities to oppose any country like Hitler. I believe that our record is very clear in resisting any territorial expansionism; and let me say we will continue such a policy. The recent investigations in the United States have brought out [the facts] that we did resist in Chile, in Iraq, in Portugal, and Italy. You should know from me that these investigations have not weakened our ability to act or eroded the will of the American people.



We learned a lesson from the weaknesses of Great Britain in the 1930s. At that time the United States was unprepared; but having learned from World War II, we will be strong in nuclear as well as in conventional weapons. I have pointed out in the United States that military weakness invites aggression. And the American people are well aware of their history.

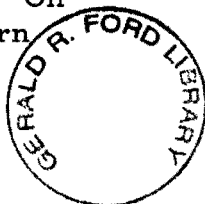
Our military budgets will continue to grow, and we will maintain the strength to meet aggressors. And no one should conclude that because of any investigations or Watergate that America is not prepared to meet its obligations strongly and forthrightly on a worldwide basis. During all of my time in the Congress, 25 years, I was known as a hawk not a dove!

Secretary Kissinger: Translate that into Chinese! (Laughter)

The President: That is an over-simplification, but what it indicates is that I believed then and I believe now that the best way to maintain peace and security is for the United States to stay strong and meet head-on the expansionists. This Administration is not pushing the Soviet Union to the East. We want to work with you to contain any expansionist efforts by the Soviet Union.

Vice Premier Teng: May I inquire whether or not you discussed during the conference at Rambouillet whether or not to adopt necessary measures from a strategic perspective to avoid strengthening the Soviet Union economically and in technique [technologically]?

The President: The principal purpose was to concentrate on strengthening the economic viability, the industrial capacity of five major industrial powers, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy -- and the United States. We felt it was extremely important that these six countries work together to strengthen their economic solidarity and to hasten the time when they all will come out of the present economic recession and strengthen our capabilities to meet the challenge in the economic area of the Soviet Union. We did not encourage our European friends to increase their economic activities with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we urged them to slow down. We feel that the Western



countries ought to be more reserved -- to slow down their economic relations with the Soviet Union.

Secretary Kissinger: I think that the Chinese side has to understand, Mr. President, that our credits to the Soviet Union were \$500 million over three years, and they were tied to specific projects which we can control. The Japanese and Europe have given \$5 billion on open-line credit which they have no way of controlling. And it is not correct that we are strengthening the Soviet Union technologically. We have just refused three applications for computers for Intourist which we thought they could use for weapons programs. Our grain sales have been designed to limit their strategic reserves by putting a ceiling on the purchases they can make in any one year.

Vice Premier Teng: According to our materials, from 1970 to the present day, the six countries that you mentioned at Rambouillet have provided to the Soviet Union around 200 major projects of technical assistance. And from 1970 their total credit to the Soviet Union has reached a figure of \$16 billion, and especially in the recent two years it has reached \$10 billion.

Secretary Kissinger: But very little from the United States.

Vice Premier Teng: We have also taken note of this example: It is said that the largest truck factory that Italy has assisted the Soviet Union in establishing -- it is named after Togliatti -- that the major amount of equipment in the factory, some say three quarters of it, is said to be of United States' technology. Perhaps the figures may not be correct, but it is said that the major part of technology belongs to the United States. And in the 200 projects which we have just mentioned which were undertaken by the six countries -- we may say five if we do not count the United States -- many of these projects are undertaken by multinational corporations. And it is said that among these, much technique [technology] is from the United States.

And in the grain aspect, I think it is the United States that is the major provider. And as we said to Doctor the last time, we believe the true strategic weakness [of the Soviet Union] lies not in its weapons but in its economic strength. Its weak points are that they lack sufficient



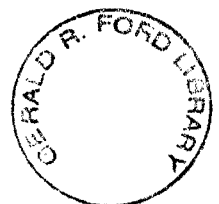
grain, and they lack new technique [technology] and equipment in their industrial projects. And it is in this that the six countries are making up for their weaknesses, helping their war capability. That is what we are concerned about.

The President: On grain, in Helsinki Secretary Brezhnev asked to buy an additional 20 million tons. I put a lid on it -- stopped the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. They have purchased since that time four to five million tons. Consequently, as they have had a very poor harvest, they have had to substantially revise their effort to increase their supply of meat. This is also a result of our denying them the purchase of the 20 million extra tons.

As to the trucks, the United States refused to let the Ford Motor Company negotiate and construct a plant there. Following that, Fiat [of Italy] did move in and made the deal with the Soviet Union, but the United States did say no despite criticism at home. So we are minimizing our activities in the economic field, and will continue to do so.

Vice Premier Teng: Anyway, if we should say that in a capitalist society whether or not a certain company would want to, through such investment, earn money and gain profits -- that is proceeding from their own interest -- that is one thing. But the question is whether from a strategic perspective you believe that through such measures you can bind the Soviet Union and increase their technical reliance on the West. If we are to speak about balance between you and the Soviet Union, we believe this can tip the balance. That is, if you make up for the weakness of the Soviet Union by your own strong points, we do not think that would be beneficial strategically. While from figures the amount provided by the United States is relatively small compared to the other countries, we think the attitude of the United States is crucial as it will affect the five others.

When Chancellor Schmidt came here, I told him the following story: 1,700 years ago in China there were three kingdoms. The king of one of the three kingdoms -- this is in the story The Romance of the Three Kingdoms -- was the king of Wei. His official title was Wu Ti of Wei, the Martial Emperor of Wei. And his name was Tsao Tsao. He was a great military man, a great statesman, and a great man of letters.



During this war of confusion between the three kingdoms, there was a general named Liu Pu who was the most outstanding and most courageous. During the war he was defeated and surrendered to Tsao Tsao. This general, when he surrendered, suggested to the king, "With your wisdom and leadership and my bravery in battle, we could conquer the world. May I lead the forces?"

But this man Liu Pu was a very controversial person. He had turned to many sides; he had made many reversals in his loyalty many times.

The King [Tsao Tsao] met another man who told him this general [Liu Pu] is like an eagle which when he is hungry will work for you, but when he is well fed he will fly away. And it seems to me that the present day Soviet Union is like that General Liu Pu: When he is well fed he will fly away. I said to Chancellor Schmidt, when you have fed the Soviet Union to its full it might not only fly away but it might fly back to take a peck at you. (Laughter)

The President: As I said earlier, at Rambouillet we told our European allies to be reserved in granting credits to the Soviet Union. The United States is not overly eager to give credits to the Soviet Union. We have been very limited in granting credits, but at the same time I think we should mention, Mr. Vice Premier, where we have tried to take strong action -- as we are doing now in Angola. You should sustain what you have been doing in Angola so that we can have a joint approach to containing the Soviet Union. I respectfully suggest that we try to meet these challenges in Angola. This is a place where we can work together in meeting the expansionism of the Soviet Union.

We have indicated how we have tried to meet these challenges. I would like to find out from you how you have met the challenges of the Soviet Union in Angola and Southeast Asia?! We have to have a joint effort economically, militarily, territorially, and otherwise.

Vice Premier Teng: We can continue with our views during the next session, not only on Angola but the Middle East.

Mr. President, to go back to the issue I just mentioned, the point is that we believe economic issues themselves are not necessarily economic





issues. They are military and political issues. Because we feel there have been historical lessons. We have had the historical lesson of having had Hitler fed well before he launched the war; and among the nations that fed Hitler, perhaps it was the United States that fed him the most. And among the Western technique [technology] that is [now] provided [the Soviet Union] by the five countries, a sizeable amount is American technology. We believe that without your agreement they could not do this as the United States has the greatest say.

For instance, the question of exploiting Siberia: The Japanese have expressed a willingness to help the Soviet Union to tap its oil and natural gas. We said to the Japanese, if you want to help the Soviet Union then we do not think it of great strategic consequence; the strength of Soviet resources is of no great consequence to China.

But we also told the Japanese they should not go it alone but to work with the United States, because we believe that perhaps the United States would think it over as to whether it would be beneficial to launch into such a project. Because we believe that the strength of the Soviet Union in Siberia economically would of course result in strengthening it in a way in the East that it would be directed against not only China but also against Japan and the United States. Of greater importance is its [Soviet's] forces against the United States and Japan in the East. Of course, they are spear-headed against China, too.

The President: Mr. Vice Minister, you are correct that we have not encouraged the Japanese to proceed. We have been cautioning them to give it thought and we have not given any credits. As I indicated earlier, some of our allies ought to be more cautious in giving credits, and I am encouraging them not to be so forthcoming.

I suggest at our next meeting we hear of the direct efforts your country is taking to meet head-on the expansionism of the Soviet Union. We want to know your thinking. In periods of relative calm in the international situation, we should continue our discussion and work together, and not just during a period of crisis. And, Mr. Vice Premier, I would hope that the two Foreign Ministers could continue [in the future] to discuss not only these issues we discussed today, but others as well. It would indicate our concern with the international scene as a whole.



Let me indicate that it is fair to say that when the United States takes strong action in the Middle East to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union, as we did in the 1973 war, we forthrightly met the challenge of the Soviet Union. Since then we have constantly sought to lessen the influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. It is helpful for you to understand what we have done, and not to criticize us. We have lessened the influence of the Soviets among the Arab nations. It is not easy for us to understand why we are criticized for being forthright and strong. It is difficult for us to understand why we're criticized.

We have been talking about history, Mr. Vice Premier. It is true that the West made some mistakes against Hitler, but it is fair to say when Poland was invaded, the West did respond. History also shows that in the East the response came only after the invasion began. So we all made mistakes. Let's not repeat them in the future.

Vice Premier Teng: We can discuss this next time. Perhaps we should call it a day, otherwise our stomachs will make revolution. (Laughter)

Another small matter, Mr. President, before we leave. When we meet the press should we describe the meeting that the two sides had as a candid exchange of views on a wide range of international issues? We discussed the international situation in broad terms and had a candid discussion which was beneficial.

Secretary Kissinger: If we say "candid" it means that we were shouting at each other. (Laughter)

The Foreign Minister has to give us another adjective.

The President: Should we use "constructive"?

Vice Premier Teng: Then we can just say we had "beneficial" discussions.

Secretary Kissinger: "In a candid atmosphere!" (Laughter)

Vice Premier Teng: So, Mr. President, we would suggest since you are an early riser, we will meet at 9:30 tomorrow morning and at your residence. Is that acceptable?



SECRET/SENSITIVE

18

Secretary Kissinger: "Mutually beneficial."

The President: Very acceptable.

(The meeting adjourned.)

SECRET/SENSITIVE



Mao/Ford/HAK  
4:10 - 6:00 p.m.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Chairman Mao Tse Tung  
 Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-P'ing  
 Vice Premier Li Hsien-Nien  
 Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua  
 Ambassador Huang Chen,  
 Chief of the PRC Liaison Office  
 Vice Foreign Minister Wang Jai-Hung  
 Chang Han-chih, Interpreter,  
 Deputy Director, MFA  
 Tang Weng-shen, Interpreter,  
 Deputy Director, MFA  
 Nurse/Interpreter

President Gerald R. Ford  
 Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger  
 Ambassador George Bush,  
 Chief of the United States Liaison Office  
 Mr. Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the  
 President  
 Mr. Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning  
 Staff, Department of State

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, December 2, 1975  
 4:10 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

PLACE: Chairman Mao's Residence  
 Peking, People's Republic of China

(At approximately 3:00 p.m. the Chinese informed the United States party that Chairman Mao wished to see President Ford. The President, his wife and daughter, and other members of the United States party left the President's villa at 4:00 p.m. and drove to Chairman Mao's residence through a front gate of the Forbidden City complex. They were greeted at the entrance to the

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 STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, 5440 Div. ens 9/16/03  
 BY           , NARA, DATE 4/13/12



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 CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

residence by Vice Premier Teng and the other Chinese officials and were escorted into the Chairman's den. The Chairman stood up to greet the American guests. While photographers took pictures, he shook hands and exchanged brief greetings with each of the following: President Ford, Mrs. Ford, Susan Ford, Secretary Kissinger, Ambassador Bush, Mr. Scowcroft, Under Secretary Sisco, Assistant Secretary Habib, Mr. Lord, and Mr. Solomon. After these greetings and pictures, the American guests left the room except for President Ford, Secretary Kissinger, Ambassador Bush, Mr. Scowcroft, and Mr. Lord. The Chinese officials present were those listed above. The group sat in a semi-circle on large arm chairs and the conversation began.)

Chairman Mao: So how are you?

President Ford: Fine. I hope you are too.

Chairman Mao: I am not well. I am sick.

President Ford: I think you look very well, Sir.

Chairman Mao: My appearance is not so bad. And how is Mr. Secretary of State?

Secretary Kissinger: I am very well. I am happy to be here.

Chairman Mao: And how are all the other American friends?

President Ford: They are all very healthy. We had a very good discussion this morning, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Mao: So what did you discuss?

President Ford: We discussed the problems we have with the Soviet Union and the need to have parallel actions as we look at the overall circumstances internationally, the need for your country and mine to work in parallel to achieve what is good for both of us.

Chairman Mao: We do not have much ability. We can only fire such empty cannons.



President Ford: I do not believe that, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Mao: With regard to cursing, we have some ability in that respect.

President Ford: We can too.

Chairman Mao: And you also? Then we shall reach an agreement.

President Ford: We can also use force against a country which causes much trouble.

Chairman Mao: That is not bad. Then we have reached another agreement.

President Ford: We were very specific this morning in discussing whom we were talking about.

Chairman Mao: It can be none other but the Socialist Imperialists.

President Ford: There was some strong language used this morning, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Mao: (pointing to Teng) That is, you criticized him.

President Ford: We strongly criticized another country

Chairman Mao: The one in the North.

President Ford: Yes

Chairman Mao: Your Secretary of State has been interfering in my internal affairs.

President Ford: Tell me about it.

Chairman Mao: He does not allow me to go and meet God. He even tells me to disobey the order that God has given to me. God has sent me an invitation, yet he (Secretary Kissinger) says, don't go.

Secretary Kissinger: That would be too powerful a combination if he went there.



Chairman Mao: He is an atheist (Secretary Kissinger). He is opposed to God. And he is also undermining my relations with God. He is a very ferocious man and I have no other recourse than to obey his orders.

Secretary Kissinger: We are very glad.

Chairman Mao: Yes indeed. I have no other way out, no way at all. He gave an order (Secretary Kissinger).

President Ford: To God?

Chairman Mao: No, to me.

(Chairman Mao speaks with Ambassador Huang in Chinese.)

How are things going, Mr. Huang Chen? Are you still going back (to the United States)?

Ambassador Huang: I listen to the Chairman's instructions.

Chairman Mao: Mr. President, do you want him?

President Ford: We certainly want him back. Our relationship has been excellent. It is important that the Ambassador be back and that Mr. Bush be here in Peking.

Chairman Mao: (to Ambassador Bush) Are you staying?

Ambassador Bush: Just a few days.

Chairman Mao: You have been promoted.

President Ford: Yes, he has been. We are going to submit a name for a replacement within a month.

Chairman Mao: We are very reluctant to let him go.

President Ford: He is an outstanding person and that is why I have asked him to come back to the United States. But we will replace him with an equally good man.

Chairman Mao: That would be good. And it seems to me that it will also be better for Huang Chen to go back to the United States.





Ambassador Huang: I will firmly carry out the Chairman's instructions. I do want to come back (to China) because I have been abroad too long. But I will do what the Chairman says.

Chairman Mao: You should stay there one or two years more.

Ambassador Huang: All right, I definitely will go back and firmly carry out the Chairman's instructions.

Chairman Mao: There are some young people who have some criticism about him (Ambassador Huang). And these two (Wang and Tang) also have some criticism of Lord Chiao. And these people are not to be trifled with. Otherwise, you will suffer at their hands -- that is, a civil war. There are now many big character posters out. And you perhaps can go to Tsinghua University and Peking University to have a look at them.

President Ford: I would not understand the signs.

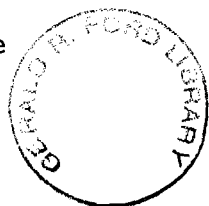
I hope your telling the Ambassador to stay two more years means that we are going to continue the good relations between our two countries, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Mao: Yes. Yes, relations between our two countries should continue. It seems to me at present there is nothing very much between our two countries, your country and mine. Probably this year, next year, and the year after there will not be anything great happening between our two countries. Perhaps afterwards the situation might become a bit better.

President Ford: In the meantime, Mr. Chairman, I think we have to work in trying to achieve better coordination on the international scene, with emphasis on the challenges from some countries such as the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao: Yes. Anyway we have no confidence in the Soviet Union. And Teng Hsiao-P'ing does not like the Soviet Union either.

President Ford: We have similar feelings as to their overall designs to expand on a worldwide basis -- territorially, economically and otherwise. But we are going to meet the challenge.



Chairman Mao: Good. We are also going to meet their challenge.

President Ford: We expect on a bilateral basis, Mr. Chairman, to improve our relations after next year. We think that is the time real progress can be made on a bilateral basis.

Chairman Mao: You mean between us?

President Ford: Yes.

Chairman Mao: That would be good.

President Ford: In the meantime, Mr. Chairman, if your country and mine work to meet the challenge, in the East and West, from the Soviet Union, it will develop greater support in the United States toward continued progress for normalization between the United States and the People's Republic.

Chairman Mao: Good. Anyway, this is just talk. And how the Soviet Union will actually act is something we will still have to wait and see.

President Ford: Mr. Chairman, in the meantime we will have to convince the Soviet Union by what is done by the United States and the People's Republic -- not words, but backed up by action. We will continue to keep the pressure on them. I hope the pressure from the East will be strong like our actions on our side.

Chairman Mao: Just firing of some empty cannon, cursing.

President Ford: We will do more than that, Mr. Chairman, as we have in the past. And the American people expect their President to be firm. We have, and we will in the future. More than words and more than empty cannons.

Chairman Mao: So you have solid cannons?

President Ford: Yes, and we will keep our powder dry unless they seek to challenge us, and then it will not be kept dry.



Chairman Mao: That is all right. That will not be bad. Yes, now you peacefully coexist.

President Ford: But that does not mean that we will not meet a challenge of any expansionist country. As a matter of fact we have met those challenges and will continue to do so.

Chairman Mao: That is good. Shall we reach an agreement?

President Ford: (nodding yes) And we can with an effort that achieves the same result. You put pressure from the East, and we will put on pressure from the West.

Chairman Mao: Yes. A gentleman's agreement.

President Ford: That is the best way to achieve success against a person who is not a gentleman.

Chairman Mao: They are not gentlemen.

President Ford: Those are kinder words than we used this morning.

Chairman Mao: I thank Mr. President very much for having come to see me. And I hope that in the future our two countries can be friendly to each other.

President Ford: Mr. Chairman, that is the great hope of the American people and myself. I want it clearly understood that the historic steps taken over the last three years by your country and my country are fully supported by the American people. They recognize, as we do, that there must be strength to prevent actions by expansionist countries such as the Soviet Union. We will maintain our military capability and be prepared to use it. In our opinion this is the best way to maintain the world in a stable and better position.

Chairman Mao: Good. So we don't have any conflicts.

President Ford: That's correct. And if we do have conflicts, we can sit down and discuss them and understand them and hope to eliminate them.



Chairman Mao: Indeed. Yes, there are bound to be conflicts because our two countries, China and the United States, have different social systems and different ideologies.

President Ford: But that should not interfere with our capability for looking at the broad international scene and working in parallel and working firmly for results that are in the best interests of both countries and all the peoples.

Chairman Mao: (After a brief coughing spell.) For instance, we have not had discussions, conversations with the Soviet Union like the ones we have had with you. I went to Moscow twice and Khrushchev came three times to Peking. On none of these occasions did the talks go really well.

President Ford: Mr. Chairman, I have met with Mr. Brezhnev twice. Sometimes the talks went well, sometimes badly. I think this is an indication of our firmness because we do not agree to all that they propose, and we will not. We are going to be firm and have the military capability to be firm. They understand it, and I think it is in the best interests of your country and our country if we are firm, which we intend to be.

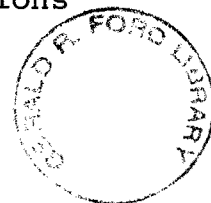
Chairman Mao: Good.

How are your relations with Japan now? Better than before?

President Ford: Yes they are. As you know Mr. Chairman, I visited Japan about a year ago. It was the first time a President in office visited there. About a month ago the Emperor and Empress came to the United States, the first time their Majesties came to our country. We feel relations with Japan are the best they have been at any time since World War II.

Chairman Mao: Japan also is threatened by the Soviet Union.

President Ford: I would agree and therefore, Mr. Chairman, I think it is important that China and Japan have better and better relations -- just as Japan and U.S. relations are getting better, in fact the best they have been.



Chairman Mao: And for Japan, its relations with you come first and their relations with us are second.

President Ford: Are your relations with Japan very good?

Chairman Mao: They are not bad. Nor are they so good.

President Ford: You want them to be better, don't you?

Chairman Mao: Yes. They have a pro-Soviet faction that is opposed to talking about hegemony.

Secretary Kissinger: Or just afraid.

Chairman Mao: Yes, indeed.

President Ford: How are your relations with Western European countries, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman Mao: They are better, better than our relations with Japan.

President Ford: It's important that our relations with Western Europe as well as yours be good to meet the challenge of any Soviet expansion in Western Europe.

Chairman Mao: Yes. Yes, and on this we have a common point there with you. We have no conflict of interests in Europe.

President Ford: As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, some of us believe that China does more for Western European unity and the strengthening of NATO than some of those countries do for themselves.

Chairman Mao: They are too scattered.

President Ford: Some of them are not as strong and forthright as they should be.

Chairman Mao: As I see it, Sweden is not bad. West Germany is not bad. Yugoslavia is also good. Holland and Belgium are lagging a bit behind.



President Ford: That's correct. And the Soviet Union is seeking to exploit some weaknesses in Portugal and Italy. We must prevent it, and we are trying to do so.

Chairman Mao: Yes, and now Portugal seems to be more stable. It seems to be better.

President Ford: Yes, in the last forty-eight hours it has gotten very encouraging. The forces we support have moved with great strength and taken the action that is needed to stabilize the situation.

We agree with you that Yugoslavia is important and is strong in its resistance against the Soviet Union, but we are concerned about what might happen after Tito.

Chairman Mao: Yes, perhaps after Tito it will be Kardelj.

Secretary Kissinger: But we are concerned about outside pressures and within the country. And we are working on this now. Various factions are working with outside groups:

Chairman Mao: Yes, it has so many provinces and it is made up of so many former states.

President Ford: I had a very interesting trip, Mr. Chairman, to Romania this summer, and I was impressed by the strength and independence of President Ceausescu.

Chairman Mao: Good.

President Ford: We are very concerned about the situation in Spain as well, Mr. Chairman. The King we do support. We hope he will be able to handle the elements that would undermine his regime. And we will work with him in trying to have the necessary control of the situation during this period of transition.

Chairman Mao: Yes. And anyway we think it would be good if the European Common Market accepted them. Why doesn't the EEC want Spain and Portugal?

President Ford: Mr. Chairman, we urged the NATO alliance to be more friendly to Spain even under Franco. And we hope with the new King that Spain will be more acceptable



to the NATO alliance. In addition we feel that the EEC ought to be responsive to movement by the Spanish Government toward unity with Western Europe as a whole. We will work in both directions as much as we can.

Secretary Kissinger: They are not radical enough for the Europeans.

Chairman Mao: Is that so? Yes, in the past they had fought each other. Yes, and in the past you did not curse Franco.

President Ford: No. And we support the new King because the whole southern belly of Western Europe must remain strong -- Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia. All that must be strengthened if we are to meet any expansionist efforts by the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao: Good. Yes, and we think Greece should get better.

President Ford: Yes, they went through a difficult time, but the new government we feel is moving in the right direction and we will help them. And we hope they will come back as a full partner in NATO.

Chairman Mao: That would be good.

President Ford: There is a radical element, of course, in Greece that would not be favorable from our point of view and would tend to weaken NATO and give encouragement to the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao: Oh?

President Ford: As we move further east in the Mediterranean, Mr. Chairman, we think the Sinai Agreement has helped reduce the Soviet influence, but we recognize there cannot be any stagnation in advancing toward a broader peace. As soon as the next election in the U.S. has taken place we expect to move with vigor to try and achieve a broad, just and permanent peace in that area.

Chairman Mao: Permanent peace would be difficult to achieve.



President Ford: Yes they have not had it there for centuries. But the effort to achieve it, a successful effort, would eliminate a great deal of Soviet influence in that area of the world. If there is stagnation, that gives the Soviet Union the opportunity to stir up trouble. Therefore, we are convinced that there must be continual movement. And the Sinai Agreement has helped us develop good relations with Egypt. And if we move forward after the next election and help move others toward a broader peace, it will have a significant impact in keeping the Soviet Union's influence out of that part of the world.

Chairman Mao: I don't oppose that.

President Ford: As we move into the subcontinent, we expect to have influence there with our base in Diego Garcia. Of course, we continue to improve our relations with Pakistan. We have lifted our arms ban so that they can help themselves and develop sufficient military capability to convince India that it would not be a successful venture if the Indians should attempt any military operation.

Chairman Mao: That would be good.

President Ford: What is your appraisal, Mr. Chairman, of the situation in Bangladesh?

Chairman Mao: The situation there now is better, but it is not yet stable. And we are prepared to send an ambassador there. Perhaps he will take some time in getting there.

President Ford: Are you concerned that India will move in and take any military action against Bangladesh to take advantage of the current situation?

Chairman Mao: There is such a danger, and we must beware.

President Ford: India has been known, Mr. Chairman, to do some unwise things against other nations. I would hope that they would not do it here (Bangladesh).





Chairman Mao: Indeed. If they should take such action in that area we would oppose it.

President Ford: We are working with Pakistan and Iran to prevent any such action, and we would condemn any such action by India.

Chairman Mao: Yes. We have reached another agreement.

President Ford: I am sure you are as concerned as well as we about the Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean, and of course their efforts on the east side of Africa. These developments are vigorously opposed by us. I speak here of course about Angola where we are taking forthright actions to prevent the Soviet Union from getting a stronghold in that part of that great continent.

Chairman Mao: You don't seem to have many means. Nor do we.

President Ford: I think we both could do better, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Mao: I am in favor of driving the Soviet Union out.

President Ford: If we both make a good effort, we can.

Chairman Mao: Through the Congo -- Kinshasha, Zaire.

Vice Premier Teng: (Talks in Chinese to the Chairman)  
The complicating factor here is that of South Africa, the involvement of South Africa. This has offended the whole of black Africa. This complicates the whole matter.

Chairman Mao: South Africa does not have a very good reputation.

President Ford: But they are fighting to keep the Soviet Union from expanding, and we think that's admirable. We are putting substantial money through Zambia and Zaire. We believe that if there is broad action by ourselves, the People's Republic and others, we can prevent the Soviet Union from having a very important naval facility and



controlling substantial resources in Angola. And we are violently opposed to the substantial participation of Cuba. They now have five to six thousand troops in Angola. We think that's not a healthy thing; and the Soviet Union.

Vice Premier Teng: You mean you admire South Africa?

President Ford: No. They have taken a strong stance against the Soviet Union. And they are doing that totally on their own, without any stimulation by the United States.

Vice Premier Teng: In Angola.

President Ford: South Africa is against the MPLA.

Chairman Mao: This is a question that needs study.

President Ford: Time is of the essence.

Chairman Mao: It seems to me that the MPLA will not be successful.

President Ford: We certainly hope not.

Secretary Kissinger: If the other two forces get enough discipline and we can give them equipment, then we can prevent them (the MPLA) from being successful. They (the FNLA and UNITA) need training from those who understand guerrilla war. We can get them the equipment if others give them the training.

Chairman Mao: We supported them in the past through Tanzania, but Tanzania has a hold on certain things that were supposed to go through. Perhaps now we should work through Zaire.

Vice Premier Teng: Perhaps it is better through Zaire.

Secretary Kissinger: Through Zaire. And the Chinese side could perhaps use its influence with Mozambique. It would have a moral significance in Africa if Mozambique did not support the soviet group, the MPLA. (There is discussion among the Chinese).



Chairman Mao: But, you know, Mozambique supports the MPLA. It would probably be difficult.

Vice Premier Teng: Impossible.

Secretary Kissinger: I know. They may not understand what they are doing because they also look up to China very much.

Chairman Mao: We might make a try

Secretary Kissinger: I don't think Mozambique understands the issue in Angola. They need advice and they listen to China more than to us.

Chairman Mao: We can make a try.

Vice Premier Teng: We can make a try but it might not necessarily be effective.

Secretary Kissinger: That's true.

Chairman Mao: Zaire is probably more reliable.

Secretary Kissinger: Zaire should be a base for active assistance. We can't get help from Mozambique, but maybe they will stay out of it. We can't get help from Mozambique, but maybe at least they will stay neutral.

Chairman Mao: We can make a try.

President Ford: I say again that time is of the essence because the other two forces need encouragement. They were doing well up until recently. There is a stalemate at the moment. It would be tragic if the MPLA should prevail after the efforts that have been made by us and by you and others.

Chairman Mao: That's hard to say.

So you think that's about all?



- 16 -

President Ford: I might say in reference to Angola, just before I left Washington I approved another \$35 million to help the other two forces. This is a solid indication to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union and defeat the MPLA.

Chairman Mao: Good. (Chinese photographers enter room and take movies.)

President Ford: I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to discuss the world situation and indicate our desire to expand our bilateral relations and work in parallel on many, many problems on the global scene.

Chairman Mao: Yes there are now some newspaper reports that describe relations between us two as being very bad. Perhaps you should let them in on the story a bit and maybe brief them.

Secretary Kissinger: On both sides. They hear some of it in Peking.

Chairman Mao: But that is not from us. Those foreigners give that briefing.

President Ford: We don't believe all we read in our papers, Mr. Chairman. (The photographers leave the room.) I think it is vitally important that both countries create the impression on a world-wide basis that our relations are good. When I return to the United States I will report that they are good, and I hope your people will do the same. It's not only important to have good relations, but to have the world believe that they are good.

Chairman Mao: We can go at it bit by bit.

President Ford: We will work on it, too.

Chairman Mao: So.



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- 17 -

(The group stood up and the American guests shook hands and said good-bye with the Chairman as the photographers took pictures. The Chairman then indicated that he would escort the President to the outside room. With the help of the nurse, he walked with the President to the outer room where once again the American guests said good-bye to the Chairman as pictures were taken. President Ford thanked the Chairman and said that he thought that the talks were mutually beneficial. Secretary Kissinger said that he was glad that the Chairman obeyed his orders, i.e. not to go to heaven. President Ford said that he hoped to straighten the Secretary out so that the Chairman could go to heaven, but he and the Secretary added that they hoped that this would not be soon. Chairman Mao indicated that he could not go since he was under orders from the Secretary. Secretary Kissinger said that he would maintain those orders. The other Americans thanked the Chairman and said good-bye. The party was then escorted outside by Vice Premier Teng and the Chinese officials. The Americans entered their cars and drove away.

The Chinese later issued a press announcement of the meeting which is attached at TAB A.)

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I. 3 Dec 75

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT

B 1

PRESIDENT FORD MEETS CHAIRMAN MAO

Peking NCNA in English 1445 GMT 2 Dec 75 OW

[Text] Peking, December 2, 1975 (HSINHUA)--Chairman Mao Tsetung this afternoon met with President Gerald R. Ford of the United States of America, Mrs Betty Ford and members of President Ford's party. The members of President Ford's party who took part in the meeting were Susan Ford, daughter of the President; Dr Henry A. Kissinger, secretary of state; George Bush, chief of the U.S. liaison Office in China; Brent T. Scowcroft, assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Joseph J. Sisco, under-secretary of state; Phillip Habib, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; Winston Lord, director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff; and Richard Solomon, senior staff member on the National Security Council.

After shaking hands with each of the American guests, Chairman Mao had earnest and significant discussions with President Ford on wide-ranging issues in a friendly atmosphere. Taking part in the discussions on the American side were Henry A. Kissinger, George Bush, Brent T. Scowcroft and Winston Lord.

Taking part in the meeting and discussions on the Chinese side were Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nion, vice-premiers; Chiao Kuan-hua, foreign minister; Huang Chen, chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States; Wang Hai-jung, vice-foreign minister; and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih, deputy department directors of the Foreign Ministry.





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