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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028028

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇMemorandum

CREATOR'S NAME Richard H. Solomon

RECEIVER'S NAME General Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION re USLO

CREATION DATE 03/13/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

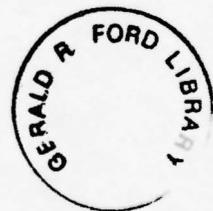
FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (10)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/07/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028029

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇNote

CREATOR'S NAME Ratliff

RECEIVER'S NAME General [Scowcroft]

CREATION DATE 03/12/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

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DATE WITHDRAWN 08/07/2008

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028030

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇMemorandum

CREATOR'S NAME W. E. Colby

CREATOR'S TITLE Director

RECEIVER'S NAME Henry A. Kissinger

RECEIVER'S TITLE Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

CREATION DATE 03/11/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028031

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇBiography

CREATION DATE 1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (10)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/07/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028032

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇBiography

CREATION DATE 1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

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DATE WITHDRAWN 08/07/2008

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NODIS
TOSEC 495

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: HABIB/LORD APPROACH TO PRCLO RE CULTURAL
PERFORMANCE

REF: SECTO 227

FOR SECRETARY FROM HABIB AND LORD

1. USING APPROACH WHICH YOU APPROVED, HABIB AND LORD CALLED IN HAN HSU TO REQUEST DELETION OF TAIWAN SONG FROM PRC'S PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE REPERTOIRE. HAN SAID THAT SONG HAD BEEN INCLUDED BECAUSE IT EXPRESSED FEELINGS OF CHINESE PEOPLE; TAIWAN WAS A PROVINCE OF CHINA AND U.S. HAD RECOGNIZED THIS IN SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. HE ADDED, NEVERTHELESS, THAT SINCE WE HAD MADE REQUEST, HE WOULD REPORT IT TO PEKING AND LET US KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY RESPONSE. HABIB EMPHASIZED THAT WE WERE SERIOUS AND HOPED FOR PROMPT PRC RESPONSE.

2. HAN SAID THAT AMBASSADOR HUANG CHEN PLANNED TO ATTEND INAUGURAL PERFORMANCE IN LOS ANGELES AND THAT HAN WOULD PROBABLY ACCOMPANY TROUPE DURING ITS ENTIRE U.S. TOUR. HABIB SEIZED OCCASION TO SAY WE WELCOMED THIS NEWS, ASSUMING A FAVORABLE PRC RESPONSE TO OUR REQUEST.

3. COMMENT: MEETING WAS CORDIAL AND WE STRESSED OUR CONSTRUCTIVE MOTIVATION. NEVERTHELESS, EVEN THOUGH WE DID NOT GO SO FAR AS TO STATE THAT TOUR COULD NOT TAKE PLACE UNLESS TAIWAN SONG DELETED, HAN WAS LEFT IN LITTLE DOUBT THAT TOUR IS IN JEOPARDY IF PRC DOES NOT ACCOMMODATE OUR REQUEST. INGERSOLL

BT
#7289

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08



3/20/75

3A

General: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

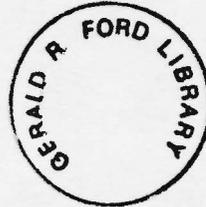
Message from Dick Solomon:

" On the Secretary's instructions which were relayed by phone via Larry Eagleburger, we are going to the Chinese today indicating that without some suggestion on their part about how to resolve the "Taiwan Song" issue, we will announce the indefinite postponement of their performing arts troupe next Monday.

Habib, Lord and Solomon are meeting with Han Hsu at the Department at 6:00 p.m. "

(Marilyn 4:00 p.m.)

Talking Points are attached.



General -

FYI: You are meeting w/ Han Hsu and Chi Ch'ao-chu at 7⁰⁰ p.m.

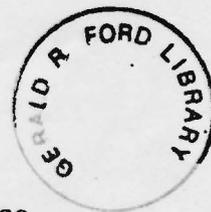
Lora

TALKING POINTS

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger 9/20/75 39
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5b(3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp to Det

1. The Secretary has instructed me to give you some final thoughts related to the proposed program of your performing arts troupe, and in response to Ambassador Han's remarks of yesterday.
2. Our sole purpose in requesting that the Chinese side delete the song about liberating Taiwan was to avoid stirring up a public controversy in this country which could not but complicate our efforts to resolve the difficult issue which remains between us. We are firm in our belief that performance of this song would be to the detriment of this objective.
3. Ambassador Han noted yesterday that the Chinese side considers the Taiwan question an internal matter to be resolved by the Chinese people. My government, in the Shanghai Communique, affirmed its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. It is precisely for this reason that we continue to feel it is inappropriate to inject this issue into a cultural exchange program prepared for the American people.
4. We have no question about the strong feelings of the Chinese side on the matter of Taiwan. However, it is a principle for the U.S. side to deal with the political issues which remain between our two governments in political channels. Thus, we cannot reconsider our position that the tour of the performing arts delegation cannot go forward as long as the song about Taiwan remains in the program.

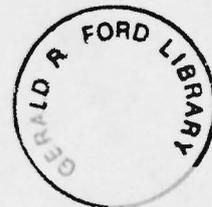
DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08
State Review
3/2/04



~~SECRET~~

5. At the same time, the American side has no desire to bring this issue to a point of public confrontation, with all the serious consequences which will flow from a postponement of the tour. We remain willing to work with the Chinese side in order to resolve this matter. Thus, we remain open to any suggestions the Chinese side might have about laying this issue aside and proceeding with the tour.

6. If no resolution is possible, however, we intend to ask the National Committee on U.S.- China Relations to announce at noon next Monday (March 24) that the tour of the performing arts troupe has been postponed indefinitely because of a difference of opinion about an item in the program.



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 028033

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTalking Paper

RECEIVER'S NAME General Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION talking points for meeting with China
delegation

CREATION DATE 03/20/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200130

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 5

FOLDER TITLE China unnumbered items (10)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/07/2008

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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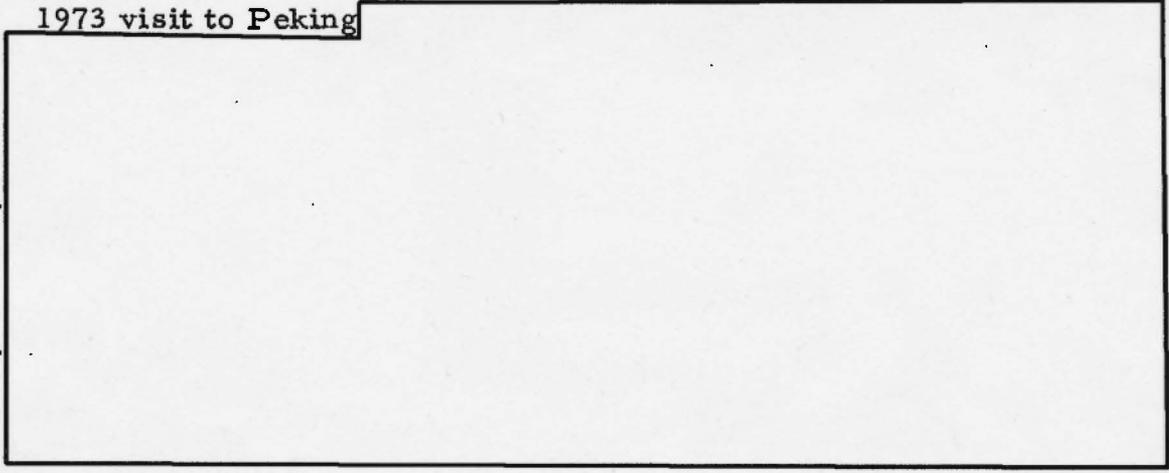
*China's disintegration mtg.
w/Gen. Scowcroft
3/20/75 - 7:00 pm*

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE

4

Talking Points

- Secretary Kissinger has asked me to raise one brief item of business with you.
- You will recall that when you visited San Clemente in early July, 1973 the Secretary, acting on an understanding he had reached with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai during his February, 1973 visit to Peking



[Some light items for casual conversation:]

- I noticed while driving by your Liaison Office the other day that you are remodeling the entrance. Is the work near completion? Are you going to be building a swimming pool in the parking lot this summer?
- Do you have any plans to return to Peking in the near future? I know Secretary Kissinger will want to give you a report on his current trip to the Middle East when he returns. We expect him back in about two more weeks.

DECLASSIFIED, with portions exempt
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 NSC/State Equities
 NLF DATE 7/6/09



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 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b) 3
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TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief of the Liaison Office
of the People's Republic of China
Hsieh Ch'i-mei, Counselor
Yang Yu-yung, Interpreter

Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,
Department of State
William H. Gleysteen, Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State for East Asian and
Pacific Affairs
Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,
National Security Council

DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *3/2/04*
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY *HR*, NARA, DATE *7/3/08*

DATE, TIME,
AND PLACE:

March 20, 1975; 6:00 - 6:20 p.m.
Department of State (Mr. Habib's office)

SUBJECT:

Demarche on the "Taiwan Liberation" Song
Issue Associated with the PRC Performing
Arts Troupe Tour

Ambassador Habib: Yesterday I promised to respond today to your
presentation -- unless you have something to add?

Ambassador Han: I don't think so.

(Ambassador Habib reads from prepared talking points.)

Ambassador Habib: I have been instructed to make the following
response to Ambassador Han's remarks of yesterday:

As I stated earlier, our sole purpose in requesting that the Chinese
side delete the song about liberating Taiwan was to avoid stirring up
a public controversy in this country which would be harmful to the
interests of both our countries. That was our sole purpose. We
are firm in our belief that performance of the song would lead to just
such a controversy.

Ambassador Han noted yesterday that the Chinese side considers the
Taiwan question an internal matter to be resolved by the Chinese

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (B) (1, 3)
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people. My government, in the Shanghai Communique, affirmed its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. We continue to feel it is inappropriate to inject this issue into a cultural exchange program prepared for the American people.

The U.S. is convinced that the political issues which remain between our two governments must be dealt with in political channels. It is therefore our position that we cannot allow the tour of the performing arts delegation to go forward as long as the song about Taiwan remains in the program.

At the same time, the American side has no desire to bring this issue to a point of public confrontation, with all the serious consequences which could flow from a postponement of the tour. We remain willing to work with the Chinese side in order to resolve this matter. Thus, we remain open to any suggestions the Chinese side might have about laying this issue aside and proceeding with the tour.

If no resolution is possible, because of the necessary administrative arrangements for the tour, we intend to inform the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations next Monday (March 24) that the tour of the performing arts troupe will have to be postponed indefinitely.

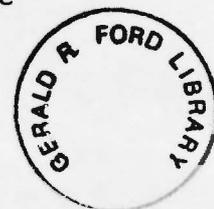
That is my statement, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador Han: I would just like to make a few personal comments. [Han reaches into his pocket for a small notebook which he consults as he makes his "personal comments."]

I am surprised at such a reply by the U.S. side. Just now Mr. Habib mentioned the so-called peaceful liberation of Taiwan. With regard to this question, the U.S. side is aware that Taiwan is part of China. As for what means we will use to resolve this internal matter, this is solely for us to decide.

Ambassador Habib: I was just quoting the Shanghai Communique, just to emphasize that my government is committed to this basic document in our relationship.

Ambassador Han: That [statement about peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue] is a unilateral wish on the side of the U.S. I just want to make this clear.



Ambassador Habib: I just wanted to make it clear that we were quoting from the Shanghai Communique.

Ambassador Han: So, the performance tour in the United States of the Chinese performing arts group is an important aspect of the cultural exchange program agreed upon by our two governments. In the Shanghai Communique the U.S. side undertakes to further develop people-to-people exchanges in culture and other fields. The U.S. reply is not in conformity with this commitment.

Ambassador Habib: Only if you read it that way. When you requested changes in the program of the Philadelphia Orchestra [which toured the PRC in September, 1973], we didn't read your request in such a way. I suggest you read our request in the same spirit.

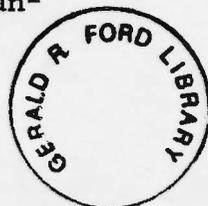
Ambassador Han: I think I made very clear yesterday that we consider the changes requested in the program of the Philadelphia Orchestra of an entirely different nature.

Ambassador Habib: I suggest we look at this in the same spirit. In this way we can avoid the problem which seems to be bothering you.

Ambassador Han: In the Shanghai Communique the U.S. side declares that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. Now the U.S. side objects to one song about the longing of the Chinese people for reunion with their compatriots on Taiwan. You have now gone further to postpone the tour. This increases our doubts about the U.S. commitment to the Shanghai Communique.

Ambassador Habib: We have no question about the strong feelings of the Chinese people regarding Taiwan, but cultural programs are not an appropriate mechanism for dealing with this issue. What I am suggesting is a way of avoiding this problem. I've given you assurances that we don't reject the Shanghai Communique. I suggest that if you look at this problem in the way we view cultural programs we can avoid this problem by looking at it in a common spirit. In this way we can proceed with the exchange program. I think this would be a way of resolving the issue which would be mutually satisfactory.

Ambassador Han: This is a question of principle to us. Mr. Assistant Secretary Habib, I must say that your reply is totally unjustifiable, and we reserve the right to make further comments.



Ambassador Habib: I'll appreciate your carefully considering my comments, doing whatever reporting you must make, and then hearing from you before Monday, as there are certain administrative arrangements regarding the tour which will either have to be made or not.

I'll await your further thoughts with great interest. Are there any other comments?

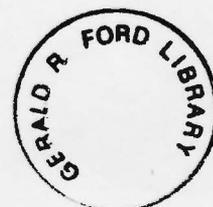
Mr. Lord: I just want to underline Mr. Habib's comment about how you interpret this issue. We think it would be regrettable to have you read into our position anything more than has been stated, namely that it would stir up a controversy. This is not a matter of any change on our part regarding the Shanghai Communique. I think you should not inflate this to a matter of principle.

Ambassador Habib: I think we have shown the way to a mutually satisfactory solution. So be in touch with me when you have considered my comments -- or if I'm away be in touch with Mr. Lord, Mr. Gleysteen, or Mr. Solomon.

Ambassador Han: We judge people by their actions rather than their words. I have made our position very clear. If there are any further comments, I'll let you know.

Ambassador Habib: We'll await hopefully any further comments you might have.

(The meeting concluded, and Assistant Secretary Habib and his associates escorted Ambassador Han and his party to the elevator.)



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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.53/2/04
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/3/04

SUBJECT: PERCY LETTER ON HUANG CHEN DINNER

FOR BORG/ADAMS FROM GOMPERT

TEXT OF MARC 17 PERCY LETTER TO KISSINGER AND COLBY
FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT. GENTLEMEN: SUMMARY: THIS MEMORANDUM IS BEING WRITTEN TO YOU AS A MATTER OF INFORMATION. IT CONTAINS THE POINTS RAISED WITH ME AT A RECENT DINNER MEETING AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE HEAD OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA LEGATION, AMBASSADOR HUANG. THE CONVERSATION REVEALED NO NEW INFORMATION AND IS ONLY OF INTEREST FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ISSUES ABOUT WHICH AMBASSADOR HUANG QUESTIONED ME.

ON FEBRUARY 13, 1975, DURING A DINNER IN OUR HOME GIVEN IN HONOR OF FORMER AMBASSADOR AGA HILALY OF PAKISTAN, HE INFORMED ME THAT HE HAD DINED THE PRECEDING EVENING WITH AMBASSADOR HUANG CHEN AND THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA WOULD SOON BE ISSUING AN INVITATION TO ME AND MRS. PERCY TO VISIT CHINA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUEST I HAD MADE ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS HERETOFORE. HE SAID I WOULD BE HEARING FROM THE CHINESE LEGATION SHORTLY.

THE NEXT DAY, MY OFFICE RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL FROM AMBASSADOR HUANG'S SECRETARY AND THE DATE OF MARCH 5TH WAS AGREED UPON WHEN THE PERCY'S WOULD JOIN THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR FOR DINNER AT HIS RESIDENCE.

ON ARRIVAL, WE WERE GREETED AT THE DOOR BY AMBASSADOR AND MRS. HUANG CHEN, MR. CHI CHAO-CHU, COUNSELOR, AMBASSADOR HAN HSU, MISS SHEN JO-YUN, FIRST SECRETARY, AND MISS WANG HUNG-PAO, ATTACHE. WE WERE USHERED INTO THE SITTING ROOM FOR A CUP OF TEA, MRS. PERCY BEING SEATED AT ONE END OF THE ROOM WITH MRS. HUANG CHU-LIN AND MISS WANG, AND I WAS SEATED WITH THE OTHERS AT THE OTHER END OF THE ROOM.



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AMBASSADOR HUANG SAID THAT HE HAD RECENTLY TALKED WITH AMBASSADORS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES AND THEY HAD BEEN GREATLY IMPRESSED WITH THE STATEMENTS I HAD MADE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH THEY FELT OUTLINED A POSITION THAT WOULD LEAD TO PEACE, AND THEY WERE UNIVERSALLY LAUDATORY IN THE COURAGE EXHIBITED BY A SENATOR FROM A STATE WITH A LARGE JEWISH POPULATION. WE DISCUSSED THE MIDEAST BRIEFLY AND AMBASSADOR HUANG ASKED ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE SOVIETS AND WHAT I FELT THEY WERE ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE ALSO ASKED ABOUT MY FEELINGS ABOUT A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE.

I OUTLINED MY OWN FEELINGS ABOUT THE SOVIET'S ATTEMPTED ROLE IN THE MIDEAST, MENTIONED MY HIGH REGARD FOR PRESIDENT SADAT AND THE GUTS HE HAD EXHIBITED IN REQUIRING 6,000 RUSSIAN MILITARY AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL TO LEAVE EGYPT ON 48 HOURS' NOTICE, AND HIS REFUSAL TO MEET SOVIET TERMS IN ORDER TO GAIN THEIR SUPPORT TO RESUPPLY EGYPT'S 1973 WAR LOSSES. I SAID THAT BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION WAS A CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A RECONVENING OF THAT CONFERENCE AT THE RIGHT TIME IN ORDER TO BRING THE SOVIETS INTO A FINAL SETTLEMENT, BUT THAT IN MY JUDGMENT WE SHOULD AVOID SUCH A CONFERENCE UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE DETAILS OF AN AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT, AS THE CONFERENCE COULD BE A DISASTER IF IT IS RECONVENED PREMATURELY. AMBASSADOR HUANG SEEMED TO AGREE WITH THIS AND MADE SOME DEROGATORY COMMENTS ABOUT THE SOVIET EXPANSIONIST INTENTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN FACT, HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THEIR INTENTION WAS WORLD DOMINATION AND HE ASKED WHETHER THE MOOD OF CONGRESS WAS SUCH AS TO SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE

MILITARY SPENDING, AS HE HAD HEARD. I TOLD HIM THAT ALL BUDGETS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO CLOSE SCRUTINY BUT THAT IT WAS MY BELIEF AND CONVICTION THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE SO FOOLISH AS TO REDUCE ITS MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND THAT WE DID NOT INTEND TO BE IN A SECONDARY POSITION MILITARILY TO THE SOVIET UNION AT ANY TIME. HE ASKED ABOUT THE HUGE THRUST CAPABILITY OF SOVIET MISSILE LAUNCHERS, AND WERE WE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THIS WHEN THE LARGER MISSILES ALL COULD BE "MIRVED". I INDICATED THAT WE CONSIDERED OUR ARSENAL SUFFICIENT AS A DETERRENT FOR ANY RATIONAL OPPONENT AND WHEREAS THE RUSSIANS DID HAVE GREATER THRUST, WE HAD FAR GREATER ACCURACY AND NUMBERS. I INDICATED THAT IN MY JUDGMENT THE RUSSIANS HAD NOTHING EVEN COMPARABLE TO OUR NUCLEAR SUBMARINE FLEET THAT WE CONSIDERED INVULNERABLE BY EVERY PRESENT STANDARD.

WE TALKED ABOUT MY MEETING THE CHINESE DELEGATION AT THE CORONATION OF THE KING IN KATHMANDU LAST WEEK AND THE RELATIVELY HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION THAT THE SOVIETS HAD, HEADED BY A DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM, THE RELATIVELY LOW-LEVEL DELEGATION WHICH WAS SENT BY INDIA,



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HEADED BY THEIR VICE PRESIDENT, AND THE RELATIVELY HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION SENT BY PAKISTAN, HEADED BY THE PAKISTAN PRESIDENT, AND BY AFGHANISTAN, HEADED BY MINISTER NAIM, THE AFGHAN PRESIDENT'S BROTHER AND PRINCIPAL ADVISOR, LOOKED UPON BY SOME AS NO. 2 IN THE GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR HUANG ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER, ANDREY GRECHKO, HAD BEEN IN KATHMANDU, AS THEY WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION HE HAD GONE THERE, AND I SAID NO. WE TALKED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN AND I INDICATED THAT WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT GROWING TENSION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES, INASMUCH AS SUCH CONFLICTS ALWAYS HAD THE POTENTIAL OF DRAWING MAJOR POWERS INTO A CONFLICT NOT OF THEIR OWN MAKING WHERE THEIR ALLIANCES HAD ALREADY BEEN FIRMLY ESTABLISHED. I INDICATED THAT WE WERE FRIENDS WITH BOTH AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN AND WERE ENCOURAGING THEIR LESSENING OF TENSION AND DIRECT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. AMBASSADOR HUANG COMMENTED ON THE STRONG SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA AND CONCURRED THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO LESSEN THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN. I INDICATED THAT THE PAKISTANIS SEEMED ANXIOUS AND WILLING TO HAVE A MUTUAL CESSATION OF ATTACKS ON THE AIRWAVES AND EARLY MEETINGS WITH THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES, BUT THAT AFTER NAIM HAD RETURNED TO KABUL THERE SEEMED TO BE A RELUCTANCE TO MOVE AHEAD, AS I THOUGHT HAD BEEN AGREED. AMBASSADOR HUANG MADE A STATEMENT IMPLYING THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE BEHIND THIS ATTITUDE.

DINNER WAS SERVED IN A BRIGHTLY LIGHTED DINING ROOM AT A ROUND "FAMILY-STYLE" TABLE WITH THE USUAL MULTI-COURSE CHINESE BANQUET FARE. AMBASSADOR HUANG OFFERED TO "CHUG-A-LUG" (MY PHRASING) A SMALL TUMBLER OF MEITAI WINE (OVER 100 PROOF), WHICH I THOUGHT MORE A RUSSIAN THAN A CHINESE CUSTOM, BUT I DECLINED ON THE BASIS THAT I WAS A LIGHT WINE DRINKER.

AMBASSADOR HUANG, RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE LONG MARCH, RELATED SOME OF THE TRAGIC EXPERIENCES HE HAD PERSONALLY SEEN, SUMMARIZING BY INDICATING THAT 300,000 HAD JOINED THE MARCH BUT ONLY 30,000 HAD FINISHED, THE MOST TRAGIC TOLL BEING TAKEN IN THE COLD, SNOW-CLAD MOUNTAINOUS AREAS. FOR THE MOST PART, AMBASSADOR HUANG CONTINUED TO QUESTION ME ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND CONTINUED TO BERATE THE SOVIETS IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE. I ASKED ABOUT WOMEN'S EQUAL RIGHTS IN CHINA, IN ORDER TO DRAW EVERYONE INTO THE DISCUSSION. THE CONVERSATION CONTINUED AFTER DINNER IN THE LARGE LIVING ROOM, MRS. PERCY AGAIN BEING SEPARATED OFF WITH MRS. HUANG, THIS TIME INTO ANOTHER ROOM. DURING THE COURSE OF THEIR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, MRS. HUANG



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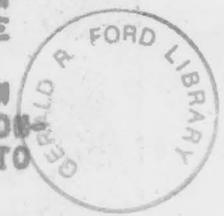
ASKED MRS. PERCY HOW MANY TIMES I HAD BEEN TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND WHEN. THIS RECONFIRMED MY ORIGINAL IMPRESSION THAT MY LONG-SOUGHT VISA TO VISIT CHINA, BEGINNING WITH MY ORIGINAL CONTACT THROUGH CAROL LAISE AT THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN KATHMANDU IN 1973, AND TWO VISITS WITH AMBASSADOR HUANG HERE IN WASHINGTON SINCE THEN TO TALK ABOUT A POSSIBLE VISIT TO CHINA, HAD BEEN DEFERRED BECAUSE OF MY KNOWN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH INDIA AND ALSO THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY ARE AWARE OF SOME OF THE CONTACTS I HAVE HAD WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON MATTERS RELATING TO SALT TALKS, JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND TRADE (ALL AT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST AND PREVIOUSLY REPORTED UPON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE).

AMBASSADOR HUANG WANTED TO KNOW WHAT I FELT THE SOVIET UNION WAS UP TO IN PORTUGAL, GREECE AND COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I TOLD HIM THAT I HAD NOT BEEN TO PORTUGAL SINCE THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE AFM AND WAS NOT PERSONALLY FAMILIAR WITH SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRY OTHER THAN TO GENERALLY PRESUME THAT THEY WELCOMED THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND WOULD TAKE EVERY ADVANTAGE THEY COULD OF THE CHANGE. TODAY IRAQ PRESENTED THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS COUNTRY FOR THEM TO USE AS A SPRINGBOARD INTO THE AREA, INASMUCH AS THEIR PREVIOUS STRONG POSITION IN EGYPT HAD ERODED SO DRAMATICALLY. THEIR ACTIVITIES IN IRAQ WERE A MATTER OF CONCERN TO US AS WELL AS TO IRAN, IRAN BEING MORE DIRECTLY AND ACTIVELY INVOLVED (THESE CONVERSATIONS, OF COURSE, WERE JUST BEFORE THE IRANIAN-IRAQ ACCORD WAS REACHED IN ALGIERS). I MENTIONED THAT THE IRANIANS WERE ALSO SUPPORTING OMAN AGAINST INSURGENT FORCES IN THE DHAR SECTION OF OMAN, AS WERE THE JORDANIANS, AND THAT THIS GUERILLA ACTIVITY WAS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO US AS WELL, IN THE STRATEGIC GULF AREA.

HE ASKED WHAT I FELT WOULD HAPPEN WITH RESPECT TO US TROOPS IN EUROPE AND WHETHER A CUTBACK IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES BY THE US WOULD AFFECT THIS AREA. I TOLD THEM THAT I HAD NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD LESSEN OUR RESOLVE IN THIS AREA, THAT WE CONSIDERED WESTERN EUROPE A FRONTLINE OF OUR OWN DEFENSE, AND THAT OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE WOULD BE VIEWED WITH GRAVE APPREHENSION BY EVERY WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE UK. AMBASSADOR HUANG CONCURRED AND EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF WESTERN EUROPE TO THE US, EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT WE WOULD KEEP OUR TIES CLOSELY THERE.

AMBASSADOR HUANG ASKED WHETHER I FELT THE UK WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE COMMON MARKET IN ITS REFERENDUM AND I INDICATED THAT THE DECISION DEPENDED UPON WHETHER THE BRITISH CITIZEN WOULD BE WILLING TO SACRIFICE IN THE SHORT-RUN IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THEMSELVES IN THE LONG-RUN. OBVIOUSLY, THE COMMON MARKET WAS CAUSING THEM SOME DISCOMFITURE IN THEIR ECONOMY AT HOME TODAY BECAUSE OF ITS RELATIVE UNCOMPETITIVENESS AGAINST GERMANY AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. BUT IN MY JUDGMENT, THEY NEEDED THE DISCIPLINE OF THE COMMON

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MARKET IN ORDER TO "SHAPE UP" AND GET RID OF THE LUXURY OF UNCOMPETITIVE PRACTICES. IT WOULD BE MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD STAY IN THE COMMON MARKET, AS I FELT THEIR POINT OF VIEW AND PERSPECTIVE WAS VALUABLE TO OTHER COMMON MARKET COUNTRIES.

I TOLD THEM THAT I AGREED WITH SENATOR MANSFIELD IN CERTAIN OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS BUT HAD ALWAYS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED THE MANSFIELD RESOLUTION TO UNILATERALLY WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM EUROPE. MY OWN MAIN CONCERN HAD BEEN THE UNFAIR PROPORTION OF COSTS BORNE BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF OUR COMMON NATO EXPENSES AND SO LONG AS WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY GERMANY, WERE WILLING TO PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE OF COSTS, THUS ELIMINAT-

ING THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT FOR US, OR AT LEAST MINIMIZING IT, I WOULD PERSONALLY BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF TROOPS STAYING IN EUROPE INTO THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. I FELT THAT DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION WAS TOO TENUOUS AT THIS STAGE AND NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS MBFR IN MUCH TOO PRELIMINARY A FORM NOW TO RELY UPON THEIR EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL RELATIONS.

AMBASSADOR HUANG, JOINED BY AMBASSADOR HAN, ENTERED INTO FURTHER DENUNCIATIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION, INDICATING THAT THEY HAD IN EFFECT TORN UP EVERY AGREEMENT THEY HAD EVER HAD WITH CHINA. HE INDICATED THAT IN 1961, THEY HAD PRECIPITOUSLY WITHDRAWN EVERY TECHNICIAN IN CHINA, HAD ABANDONED AND LEFT UNFINISHED PLANTS, SOME OF WHICH HAD JUST BARELY STARTED AND OTHERS THAT WERE HALF FINISHED, AND THAT THEY COULD NOT BE RELIED UPON.

I INDICATED THAT I PRESUMED SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF CHINA, IN THAT IT WOULD FORCE THE SOVIET UNION TO KEEP MORE FORCES ON THEIR EASTERN FRONT. AMBASSADOR HUANG CONCURRED. I ASKED WHAT THE SIZE OF THE SOVIET FORCE WAS ON BORDERS IT HAD IN COMMON WITH CHINA, AND AMBASSADOR HUANG INDICATED THAT THE NUMBER WAS APPROXIMATELY 1,000,000.

I DID TELL THEM THE STORY ABOUT THE CONVERSATION I HAD WITH AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN AT A WASHINGTON RECEPTION IN THE MIDST OF THE WATERGATE MATTER, SHORTLY AFTER I HAD PUT IN MY RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE CALLING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL PROSECUTOR. DOBRYNIN HAD SAID TO ME, SHAKING HIS FINGER, "YOU SHOULD SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON MORE". I REPLIED, "AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN, YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO KNOW THAT TODAY ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE, IN A FLOOR FIGHT AGAINST CHAIRMAN FULBRIGHT, I MANAGED A BILL FOR THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND WON A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION." HE REPLIED, "THAT'S VERY GOOD, WHAT WAS IT?" I REPLIED, "RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE." THE CHINESE SEEMED TO ENJOY THIS IMMENSELY. I FELT MY VISA REQUEST MIGHT ALSO HAVE NUDGED AHEAD, AS WELL.



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AMBASSADOR HUANG INDICATED THAT HE KNEW THAT I HAD A DESIRE TO COME TO CHINA AND THAT AN INVITATION TO MRS. PERCY AND ME WAS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION NOW IN PEKING. HE MENTIONED THAT SPEAKER CARL ALBERT AND MINORITY LEADER JOHN RHODES WOULD PROBABLY BE COMING OVER LATE IN MARCH AND THAT THIS WAS THE NEXT CONGRESSIONAL TRIP BEING PLANNED. I ASKED WHETHER WOULD BE NECESSARY, AS SENATOR MANSFIELD HAD SUGGESTED TO ME, THAT I PAIR OFF WITH A DEMOCRATIC SENATOR, AND HE SAID THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. I TOLD HIM THAT FROM MY STANDPOINT, A RECESS OF THE SENATE WOULD BE THE BEST TIME TO COME, BUT ALSO INDICATED THAT I WOULD NOT WANT TO COME AT A TIME THAT WAS EITHER INOPPORTUNE FOR THEM OR IF THE TIME WOULD BE SO SHORT AS TO PROVIDE ONLY A SUPERFICIAL OPPORTUNITY TO UNDERSTAND CHINA. I WOULD WANT TO DEVOTE SUFFICIENT TIME TO FULLY EXCHANGE IDEAS AND SEE ENOUGH OF THE COUNTRY TO HAVE A FEEL FOR IT. THEY MENTIONED THAT SENATOR JACKSON HAD BEEN THERE ONLY A FEW DAYS, IMPLYING THAT THIS WAS

INADEQUATE, AND INDICATED THAT SENATOR MANSFIELD ON HIS LAST TRIP HAD SPENT TWO WEEKS. I REPLIED THAT THE LATTER AMOUNT OF TIME WOULD BE MORE REASONABLE, IN MY JUDGMENT, INDICATING THAT OUR AUGUST RECESS PROVIDED THE LONGEST TIME SPAN I COULD BE GONE FROM WASHINGTON AND THAT THIS WOULD BE BEST FROM MY STANDPOINT. I ALSO INDICATED THAT I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HAVING OTHER MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY, SUCH AS MY DAUGHTER SHARON AND SON-IN-LAW JAY ROCKFELLER, ACCOMPANY ME (THEY KNEW THAT JAY HAD JUST RECENTLY BEEN THERE WITH A GROUP OF TWELVE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE PRESIDENTS), AND THAT IF THERE WAS PROVISION FOR SIX, THEN OUR DAUGHTER GAIL AND SON MARK WOULD ACCOMPANY US, AND IF A GROUP OF EIGHT WAS NOT TOO LARGE, OUR SON ROGER AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW PENNY WOULD BE INCLUDED, AS WELL. WE WOULD WANT TO COVER OUR OWN EXPENSES BUT WILL LEAVE THE NUMBER IN OUR PARTY ENTIRELY TO THEM. THEY INDICATED THAT ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE DISCUSSED WHEN WORD IS RECEIVED BACK FROM PEKING AS TO THE VISIT ITSELF.

WE HAD ARRIVED AT 7:30 AND EVEN THOUGH THE DIPLOMATIC HOUR OF 11:00 PM HAD NOT YET ARRIVED, KNOWING HOW DISTURBED MRS. PERCY WOULD BE TO BE SEPARATED FROM THE PRINCIPAL GROUP BY MRS. HUANG AFTER DINNER FOR SO LONG A PERIOD IN A SEPARATE ROOM, WITHOUT ANY INDICATION THAT AMBASSADOR HUANG INTENDED TO INVITE HER BACK INTO OUR MEETING, I SUGGESTED THAT WE DEPART AT 10:50, WHICH WE DID.

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P-7
TOSEC 916

I HAD SEVERAL REACTIONS TO THE MEETING. I WAS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THE PURPOSE, FROM THEIR STANDPOINT, WAS TO LEARN AS MUCH AS THEY COULD FROM ME ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY AND MILITARY MATTERS, WHETHER IT WAS TO ATTEMPT IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE TO SHATTER ANY ILLUSIONS WE WOULD HAVE THAT DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION WAS A VERY MEANINGFUL OR PRACTICAL POLICY, OR WHETHER IT WAS TO PROBE MY OWN DEPTH OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUES SO AS TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT WOULD BE WORTH THEIR WHILE TO INVITE ME TO CHINA THE PURPOSE MIGHT HAVE BEEN COMBINATION OF ALL THREE.

ON A PERSONAL NOTE, MRS. PERCY, WHO HAS BEEN A LEISURE-TIME STUDENT OF CHINESE HISTORY AND PARTICULARLY THE "TIBETIAN SECTION OF CHINA", AND PROBABLY HAD IMPRESSED THEM AT DINNER WITH HER DEEP INTEREST AND KNOWLEDGE, WAS FILLED WITH ENTHUSIASM AS SHE LOOKED FORWARD TO THE DINNER AND IN GOING TO CHINA, BUT LEFT VERY UPSET WITH THE WAY THEY HAD HANDLED HER. SHE FELT SHE HAD BEEN TREATED BETTER IN THE ARAB WORLD AS A WOMAN THAN BY THE CHINESE AND WAS FURIOUS, TO SAY THE LEAST. SHE FELT THIS WAY PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE COMMENTS MADE BY THEM DURING THE COURSE OF THE DINNER ABOUT THE EQUAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN CHINESE SOCIETY.

THE FOREGOING NOTES WERE DICTATED SEVERAL DAYS AFTER THE DINNER AND REPRESENT MY BEST RECOLLECTION OF THE CONVERSATION.

CHARLES H. PERCY. END TEXT. INGERSOLL



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TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY NR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08

1. PLEASE ASK WINSTON LORD AND PHIL HABIB TO CALL IN HAN HSU TO GIVE HIM (A) TEXT OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUSPENSION OF MIDEAST SHUTTLE AND (B) FOLLOWING ORAL PERSONAL REPORT FROM ME TO PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AND CHAIRMAN MAO.

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE SUSPENSTON OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS IS, OF COURSE, A SERIOUS DEVELMENT AND THE SECRETARY WISHES TO SHARE WITH OUR CHINESE FRIENDS HIS OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION.

3. THE DESIRE FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WAS STRONG ON BOTH SIDES, AS WAS -- AND IS -- THEIR DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER SUPERPOWERS. THE NEGOTIATION REACHED AN IMPASSE OVER LSRAEL'S DECISION NOT TO YIELD WHAT IT SEES AS STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TERRITORIAL POSITIONS IN THE FACE OF EGYPT'S DECISION THAT IT CANNOT MAKE MORE SUBSTANTIAL POLITIAL COMMITMENTS TO END THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF A FURTHER INTERIM AGREEMENT. WHEN THE SECRETARY RETURNS TO WASHINGTON, HE WILL CONSULT WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS AND CONDUCT A SEARCHING REVIEW OF THE SITUATION. WE



***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, SDD, SECFLC

~~SECRET~~

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WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PROCEED.

4. IT HAS BEEN APPARENT THAT ALL PARTIES IN THE AREA WITH WHOM WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT AND MEDIATION EFFORT. WE ARE OPEN-MINDED ABOUT THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND WILL BE REVIEWING THIS POSSIBILITY IN THE DAYS AHEAD.

5. FINALLY, THE SECRETARY MUCH APPRECIATED THE WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT HE HAD RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON FROM AMBASSADOR HUANG CHE. THE SECRETARY LOOKS FORWARD TO MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR HUANG CHEN SOON AFTER HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A JUST PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BROADER STRATEGIC PURPOSES WHICH THE SECRETARY HAS DISCUSSED OFTEN WITH HIS CHINESE FRIENDS. PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER WISH OUR CHINESE FRIENDS TO HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT THIS. END TEXT.

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TOSEC 954

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: TAIWAN SONG IN THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE PROGRAM

REF: TOSEC 865

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIS AND LORD

1. WE HAVE HAD NO RESPONSE FROM THE CHINESE TO OUR LAST PRESENTATION REPORTED REFTEL. IF WE HAVE NOT HEARD FROM THEM, WE PLAN TO CALL HAN HSU IN MONDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 24, REFER TO THE POSITION WE STATED IN THE LAST DISCUSSIONS, AND GIVE HIM A COPY OF OUR BASIC PRESS STATEMENT (FIRST ANSWER IN PARA 3 BELOW).

2. ASSUMING NO FAVORABLE PR-LO RESPONSE WE WILL USE THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE. (THERE WILL BE ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON NON-POLITICAL DETAILS.) PRESENT PLANNING IS THAT NATIONAL COMMITTEE WILL MAKE FIRST BRIEF ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH WILL BE COORDINATED WITH US.

3. Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE TOUR OF THE US BY THE PRC PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE?

A: A PRC PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE WAS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN

ITS TOUR OF THE US IN EARLY APRIL UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR US-CHINA RELATIONS. THIS VISIT WAS ONE OF THE EXCHANGES COVERED IN OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE RECENTLY LEARNED THAT THE REPERTOIRE INCLUDED A SONG WITH HIGH POLITICAL CONTENT WHICH WE CONSIDERED TO BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR A CULTURAL PRESENTATION UNDER SUCH SPONSORSHIP. WE THEREFORE ASKED THAT THIS ITEM BE DROPPED FROM THE REPERTOIRE, MAKING CLEAR THAT THIS IN NO WAY REFLECTED ANY CHANGE IN OUR SUPPORT FOR THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM AND FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA INFORMED US THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO ACCEDE TO THIS REQUEST, AND WE RELUCTANTLY CONCLUDED THAT THE TOUR BY THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE COULD NOT TAKE PLACE AS SCHEDULED.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08

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Q: WHAT WAS THE SONG?

A: THE SONG INCLUDED THE PHRASE, "WE ARE DETERMINED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN".

Q: WHY DID THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER THE SONG INAPPROPRIATE?

A: AS I SAID, THE SONG HAD HIGH POLITICAL CONTENT, AND WE THOUGHT IT INAPPROPRIATE FOR A CULTURAL PRESENTATION. WE HAVE AUTHORITATIVE CHANNELS FOR DEALING WITH POLITICAL ISSUES, AND WE BELIEVE CULTURAL EXCHANGES SHOULD BE KEPT FREE FROM POLITICAL CONTROVERSY. AS YOU KNOW, IN A PREVIOUS INSTANCE WE RESISTED THE INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL MATTER INTO THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM. (IF ASKED, MENTION THE PRESS PREVIEW FOR THE ARCHEOLOGICAL EXHIBIT.)

Q: IS THERE SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT THAT THE RECEIVING COUNTRY CAN "CENSOR" THE ACTIVITIES OF AN EXCHANGE GROUP?

A: NO

Q: WHAT REASON DID THE CHINESE GIVE FOR NOT ACCEDING TO THE REQUEST?

A: I DON'T WANT TO SPEAK FOR THEM.

Q: WAS SECRETARY KISSINGER CONSULTED ABOUT THIS PROBLEM?

A: THE MATTER WAS CONSIDERED AT AN AUTHORITATIVE LEVEL.

Q: HOW WILL THIS AFFECT THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM?

A: WE HOPE IT WILL NOT AFFECT OTHER EXCHANGES, AND SEE NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD.

Q: ISN'T THIS A MAJOR SETBACK IN US-PRC RELATIONS?

A: NO. WE CONSIDER IT AN ISOLATED EPISODE WHICH NEED NOT AFFECT AN IMPROVING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC, WHICH IS IN THE BASIC INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES. OUR INTENTION TO PROMOTE THE FURTHER NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY AND AUTHORITATIVELY STATED, AND THAT REMAINS OUR INTENTION.

Q: DOESN'T THIS INDICATE THAT THE PRC FEELS STRONGLY ABOUT THE TAIWAN QUESTION, AND EXPECTS THE US TO MOVE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM?

A: THE PRC HAS IN THE PAST CONVEYED ITS VIEWS TO US ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION, AS ON OTHER MATTERS, THROUGH OFFICIAL CHANNELS, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO RELY ON THAT CHANNEL.

Q: WHAT IS THE US POSITION ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION?

A: OUR POSITION IS THAT STATED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 3/2/04
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY LR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief of the People's Republic
of China Liaison Office, Washington
Hsieh Ch'i-mei, Counselor
Yang Yu-yung, Interpreter

Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,
Department of State
Oscar V. Armstrong, Director, People's
Republic of China and Mongolian Affairs,
Department of State
Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,
National Security Council

DATE, TIME,
AND PLACE:

March 23, 1975; 1:00 - 1:25 p.m.
Department of State (Mr. Habib's Office)

SUBJECT:

Further Demarche on the "Taiwan Liberation"
Song Issue

Ambassador Han: I am instructed to give a reply to your reply of
March 20. (Han pulls out a small notebook from which he proceeds to
read.)

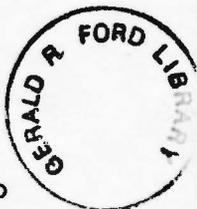
The tour of the United States by the performing arts troupe of China is
a major item in the people-to-people exchanges agreed upon by both
the Chinese and American sides.

In the spirit of promoting friendship and understanding between our two
peoples, the Chinese performing arts troupe has made active prepara-
tions, and the American people are also looking forward to the tour
[of the performing arts troupe].

However, making as an excuse the fact that there is a song "People of
Taiwan, Our Brothers" in the supplementary program of the performing

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arts troupe, the U.S. side has gone so far as to threaten an indefinite postponement of the tour. This is an unjustified position. The Chinese side cannot agree to this.

The song "People of Taiwan, Our Brothers" expresses the profound sentiments of the Chinese people, longing for their compatriots in Taiwan. In the Shanghai Communique, the U.S. Government agrees that there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China. If the American side is not retreating from the Shanghai Communique, there is no reason for it to object to the inclusion of such a song in the supplementary program of the Chinese performing arts troupe.

Moreover, from the very beginning the attitude of the United States side was not that of consultation. The U.S. asserted that either this supplementary item be dropped, or the tour be postponed indefinitely. This is the tune of an ultimatum. The facts demonstrate that it is the U.S. side itself that is pushing the issue to the point of no return.

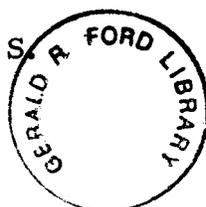
The U.S. side is fully aware of the Chinese government's position on, and approach to the Taiwan question. To us, the Taiwan question is a matter of principle, and we never yield to foreign pressure on matters of principle.

If the U.S. side clings to its unwarranted position of violating the spirit of the Shanghai Communique, the Chinese side will have no other alternative but to agree to an indefinite postponement of the American tour of the Chinese performing art troupe.

The U.S. side is well aware of the kind of effect this will bring about. The Chinese side hopes that the U.S. side will reconsider this issue. It is entirely up to the U.S. side as to how this issue will be concluded.

Mr. Habib: I very much regret the news that you brought. We were hopeful that you would have understood when we made this request in the initial stages it was made in the spirit of similar requests that you had made [of the American side in the past].

It was our hope that you would accept the request in that spirit. It was a request for cooperation, not to create an issue. As I said before, our request was based on a belief that inclusion of the song would create a controversy that would not be in the interest of the U.S. or of your own country.



Also, as I said before, our request does not reflect any change in our position as reflected in the Shanghai Communique. Nor does it reflect any change in the spirit with which we interpret the Communique, or support for efforts to further normalize our relations.

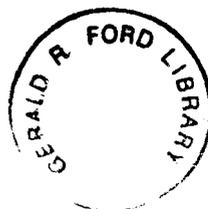
In view of your statement, and unless you are prepared to reconsider, we have no choice but to inform the National Committee on U.S. - China Relations that the tour of the performing arts troupe cannot go forward as scheduled.

This will inevitably become public knowledge. We will be asked about it. Therefore I will give you the statement we will use [in responding to public inquiries]. Although this episode is regrettable, I hope you will agree that it should not affect other aspects of our relations. That is our intention.

If you wish, I will read to you the statement we intend to use as this issue becomes public, following our informing the National Committee. We intend to say the following:

"A performing arts troupe from the People's Republic of China was scheduled to begin its tour of the United States in early April under auspices of the National Committee for U.S. - China Relations. This was one of the exchanges covered in official discussions between the United States and the People's Republic of China. We recently learned that the repertoire included a song with high political content, which we considered to be inappropriate for a cultural presentation under such sponsorship. We therefore asked that this item be dropped from the repertoire, making clear that this was in no way a reflection of any change in our support for the exchange program, and for normalization of relations on the basis of the Shanghai Communique. The People's Republic of China informed us that they were unable to accede to this request, and we reluctantly concluded that the tour by the performing arts troupe could not take place as scheduled."

I think there is still time to resolve this issue in a mutually satisfactory way in the spirit I previously suggested. But if the response you have brought me today is final, then we will have to inform the National Committee of the indefinite postponement of the tour tomorrow. We



have postponed doing so [informing the Committee], but administrative arrangements are such that we can no longer delay.

Ambassador Han: So, I was instructed to give you our reply, and our reply is very clear. I hope you will communicate this to your superiors, and give us a formal reply.

Ambassador Habib: I've given you a formal reply on instruction, but of course I will communicate your reply [to my superiors].

Ambassador Han: Of course I'll report your comments, and reserve the right for further comments. I hope you will study our reply carefully and reconsider.

Ambassador Habib: We had hoped this matter would not reach this stage, and ...

Ambassador Han: The U.S. side is requested to give us a reply by March 26.

Ambassador Habib: Mr. Ambassador, you don't understand. I'm giving you a formal reply now. Tomorrow I will inform the National Committee. Of course, I will report this conversation.

Ambassador Han: As our reply is very clear, I have nothing to add. Your position is unjustified.

Ambassador Habib: Why is it unjustified? This position has been presented to avoid a controversy. There was no political intent, and it was in the spirit of the Shanghai Communique. There was no implication of pressure.

This issue should not have reached this stage, but as it has, I will report this conversation.

(At this point the Chinese side arose and departed. They were escorted to the elevator by Mr. Habib and his associates. Before Ambassador Han boarded the elevator, Mr. Habib remarked that if he had any further thoughts to communicate to him he could be contacted as he would be remaining in town.)





Department of State

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E.O. 116521 003

TAGS: SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: TAIWAN SONG IN PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE REPERTOIRE

1. HAN HSU CALLED ON HABIB AND LORD SUNDAY AT 1:00 PM AND STATED UNDER INSTRUCTIONS THAT THE PRC CANNOT AGREE TO OUR REQUEST FOR DELETION OF THE TAIWAN LIBERATION SONG.

2. AMBASSADOR HAN STARTED BY READING THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

"I AM INSTRUCTED TO REPLY TO YOUR MARCH 20 REPLY. THE TOUR OF THE US BY THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE IS A MAJOR ITEM IN THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGES AGREED UPON BY BOTH COUNTRIES. IN THE SPIRIT OF PROMOTING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES, THE CHINESE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE HAS MADE ACTIVE PREPARATIONS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ALSO LOOKING FORWARD TO THE TOUR. HOWEVER, MAKING AS AN EXCUSE THE FACT THAT THERE IS A SONG "PEOPLE OF TAIWAN, OUR BROTHERS" IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAM OF THE TROUPE,

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES

BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/31/08





Department of State

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 STATE 006717

THE US SIDE HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO THREATEN AN INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT. THIS IS AN UNJUSTIFIED POSITION TO WHICH THE CHINESE SIDE CANNOT AGREE. THE SONG "PEOPLE OF TAIWAN," OUR BROTHERS" EXPRESSES THE PROFOUND SENTIMENT OF THE

CHINESE PEOPLE WHO ARE LONGING FOR THEIR TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS. IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE TE USG AGREED THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND TAIWAN IS A PART OF CHINA. IF THE US SIDE IS NOT RETREATING FROM THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THERE IS NO REASON FOR IT TO OBJECT TO THE INCLUSION OF SUCH A SONG IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE. MOREOVER, FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THE ATTITUDE OF THE US SIDE WAS NOT THAT OF CONSULTATION. THE US SIDE ASSERTED THAT EITHER THE ITEM IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAM BE DROPPED OR THE TOUR WOULD BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. THIS IS THE TUNE OF AN ULTIMATUM. THE FACTS DEMONSTRATE IT IS THE US SIDE ITSELF THAT IS PUSHING THE MATTER TO THE POINT OF NO RETURN. THE US SIDE IS FULLY AWARE OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENTS POSITION ON AND APPROACH TO THE TAIWAN QUESTION. TO US, THE TAIWAN QUESTION IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND WE NEVER YIELD TO FOREIGN PRESSURES ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE.

"IF THE US SIDE CLINGS TO ITS UNWARRANTED POSITION OF VIOLATING THE SPIRIT OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THE CHINESE SIDE WILL HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE THAN AGREEING TO AN INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT OF TE TOUR OF THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE. THE US SIDE IS WELL AWARE OF WHAT KIND OF EFFECT THIS WILL BRING ABOUT. THE CHINESE SIDE HOPES THAT THE US SIDE WILL RECONSIDER THE MATTER. IT IS ENTIRELY UP TO THE US SIDE AS TO HOW THIS ISSUE WILL BE CONCLUDED."

3. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, NEITHER SIDE GAVE GROUND.

4. WE WILL LET YOU KNOW AS SOON AS FINAL DECISION IS MADE ON HOW WE INTEND TO PROCEED. KISSINGER

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Department of State

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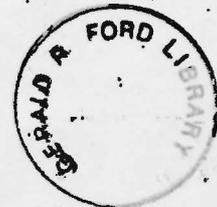
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SCUL, CH
SUBJECT: CHINESE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE

REF: STATE 64013

- 1) URGENTLY REQUEST REPORT ON MARCH 24 MEETING WITH HAN HSU (REFTEL). IF CHINESE WERE TO AGREE TO DELETE "TAIWAN LIBERATION" SONG AND TRIP IS ON, WE HAVE OVER ONE HUNDRED VISAS TO ISSUE AND I WOULD LIKE TO ISSUE A SHORT NOTICE INVITATION FOR A PRE-DEPARTURE RECEPTION.
- 2) AS POSSIBLE STRAW IN THE WIND, TWO MFA OFFICIALS JUST APPEARED AT USLO TO REQUEST THE WITHDRAWAL OF ONE RPT ONE TROUPE MEMBER'S PASSPORT. THEY ALSO COMPLAINED THAT REMAINDER OF VISAS NOT YET ISSUED.
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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/3/08

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 3/2/04
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY 152, NARA, DATE 7/3/08

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Han Hsu, Deputy Chief, of the People's Republic
of China Liaison Office, Washington
Hsieh Ch'i-mei, Counselor
Shen Jo-yun, Interpreter
Yang Yu-yung, Interpreter

Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff,
Department of State
William H. Gleysteen, Deputy Assistant Secretary
of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Oscar V. Armstrong, Director, People's Republic
of China and Mongolian Affairs, Department
of State
Richard H. Solomon, Senior Staff Member,
National Security Council

DATE, TIME,
AND PLACE:

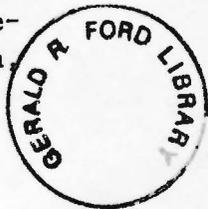
March 25, 1975; 4: 30 - 5: 00 p. m.
Department of State (Mr. Habib's Office)

SUBJECT:

Further Demarche on the "Taiwan Liberation"
Song Issue

Mr. Habib (reading from a prepared statement): In view of Ambassador Han's request on March 23, we have once again carefully reviewed our earlier position regarding the song, "People of Taiwan, Our Own Brothers" contained in the supplementary program supplied by the Chinese side to the National Committee on U.S.- China Relations. The synopsis of the song includes the statement, "We are determined to liberate Taiwan, and let the light of the sun shine on the island."

We would like to make sure you understand our position. In your statement on March 23, you referred to the song entitled, "People of Taiwan, Our Brothers." We would have no objection to the inclusion of a song which merely expressed feelings of brotherhood for the people of Taiwan.



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We cannot, however, agree to the inclusion in the program and repertoire of a song with such high political content as a reference to the liberation of Taiwan.

We have been instructed to re-emphasize that there is no change in our adherence to the policies outlined (read as "contained" in the second reading, as noted below) in the Shanghai Communique.

Our only concern with the Chinese side's program proposal is that introducing political content into a cultural context would create controversy harmful to the interests of both of our countries.

We urge that the Chinese side view our decision in this light and refrain from drawing any other conclusion.

If the Chinese side has any further thoughts, please call on us before noon tomorrow. Otherwise, we will inform the National Committee tomorrow afternoon, March 26, that the tour of the performing arts troupe will have to be postponed indefinitely. When the matter becomes public, we will be making a statement along the lines we read to you in our last meeting.

Ambassador Han: And if you don't mind we would like to check what you said.

(Mr. Habib re-reads his entire statement.)

Ambassador Han: I'll report your reply to our government. As for our position on the Taiwan question, it was made clear last time and I will not repeat it.

Mr. Habib: That is not at question. Neither is our position as expressed in the Shanghai Communique.

Ambassador Han: In order to save time I won't repeat myself, as last time I made our position clear.

Mr. Habib: After you have reported, we'll hear from you.

(At this point the Chinese got up to depart, and were escorted to the elevator by Mr. Habib and his associates.)

Comment: This meeting was decidedly more relaxed than the session on March 23. The Chinese conveyed the impression of great interest in quickly breaking off the meeting and reporting the message conveyed by Mr. Habib back to Peking.





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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SCUL, CH
SUBJECT: CHINESE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE

REF: A) STATE 66717 B) PEKING 5-2 C) STATE 56173

1) REFS A AND B CROSSED. DISREGARD REF B.

2) IN REVIEWING CABLES THIS ISSUE WE NOTE APPARENT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DESCRIPTION REF C WHICH MENTIONS SONG SYNOPSIS SAYING "WE ARE DETERMINED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN, AND LET THE LIGHT OF THE SUN SHINE ON THE ISLAND" AND HAN'S DESCRIPTION REF A WHICH REFERS TO "PEOPLE OF TAIWAN, OUR BROTHERS" AND PUTS EMPHASIS ON LONGING FOR TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS.

3) WE WONDER IF IT POSSIBLE CHINESE HAVE SUBSTITUTED A LESS OFFENSIVE SONG ABOUT TAIWAN IN EFFORT TO SALVAGE THE TRIP. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ANY SONG ON THIS SUBJECT POSES PROBLEMS FOR US, BUT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO KNOW IF CHINESE ARE SHOWING SOME GIVE ON THIS ISSUE.

BUSH

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DECLASSIFIED *State Review*
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 3/2/04
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 7/2/08





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TAGS: SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: PRC PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE

REF: STATE 67766

1. PRCLO DID NOT CONTACT DEPARTMENT BEFORE DEADLINE NOON MARCH 26, AND TO PLAY SAFE, WE WAITED SEVERAL MORE HOURS. WE HAVE NOW INFORMED NATIONAL COMMITTEE THAT TOUR CANNOT TAKE PLACE AS SCHEDULED, AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE WILL SHORTLY MAKE PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT.

2. SEPTEL CONTAINS PRESS GUIDANCE WE HAVE PREPARED FOR DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S USE. KISSINGER

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