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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

21 April 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

THROUGH : Chairman, National Intelligence Council

FROM :
Assistant National Intelligence Officer for East Asia

SUBJECT : Vice President Bush's Trip to China

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1. Further to my memorandum of 19 April, the following is the Chinese response on the Vice President's trip:

- As regards timing, early May would suit the Chinese.
- The Chinese ask that both sides refrain from provocative actions or statements prior to the Vice President's visit.
- The Chinese urge earliest explicit response to their presentation of key points of differences on March 18.
- "Only if the US side expresses its determination to respect the sovereignty of China and to stop interfering in its internal affairs in a concrete and explicit manner instead of an abstract and vague (ambiguous) way, will it be possible to achieve positive results in the discussions between the two countries and prevent the Vice President's visit from becoming an unproductive one."

2. State's reply to the foregoing included these points:

- We are determined not to be pressured into an unsatisfactory formulation on the Taiwan issue in order to have a satisfactory Vice Presidential visit.
- Accordingly, the Chinese are being told that we recognize that our Taiwan arms sales is the central issue between us, and the Vice President will address this.
- We believe it essential that both sides approach the Bush visit with the view that there would be no negative outcome which would setback the US-China relationship.

State Dept. review completed.

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-- we are prepared to try and reach agreement on a joint communique before and during the visit.

3. Attached are texts of both messages cited above.



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Attachments
NODIS Traffic from State

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SECRET NODIS Cable from Beijing (late Friday night)

SUBJECT: Visit of Vice President Bush to China

1.(Secret)

2. The Chinese government has expressed appreciation for the President's suggestion tht Vice President Bush visit China to discuss questions of mutual concern particularly the current serious threat to Sino-American relations with Chinese leaders and has officially welcomed and accepted the proposal. Any time in early May will be suitable, though the Chinese have scheduling difficulties on May 6 and 7. China asks that both sides make an effort to calm the atmosphere prior to the visit by refraining from provocative actions or official statements. In the meantime, the Chinese urge the earliest possible response to their presentation of March 18 in order to insure that progress is registered in the US-Chinese talks on Taiwan issue and the ground work is laid for a successful visit by the Vice President. China also requested early suggestions from the US on the timing and duration of the Vice President's visit as well as information on the composition and size of the delegation accompanying him. At the Chinese request press handling of any announcement of the visit should be coordinated with them in advance.

3. Charge was called to Minister of Foreign Affairs at 1100 AM 4/17 to receive the formal Chinese government response to the US proposal that Vice President Bush visit Beijing from Vice minister Xhang Wenjin. Also present on the Chinese side were Han Xu, Zhang Wenpu, Wang Hongbao, and (interpreter) Yang Jiechi. Charge was accompanied by pol external chief Tomsen.

4. Before reading a prepared statement (para 6) Xhang made the following informal remarks:

- The leaders of China would like to express appreciation for the letters from the President and the Secretary to which they attached "much importance." In his letter, the President proposed that Vice President Bush would visit China "so that on behalf of the President Vice President Bush would have discussions with Chinese leaders on questions of mutual concern particularly on the current serious threat to our relationship." With regard to the proposal "the Chinese leaders would like to express their appreciation."
- China's leaders would welcome a visit by Vice President Bush to China in the near future. As regards timing, any time in early May would suit us. However, if he should come on the 6th or 7th of May, he may not be able to plunge into work immediately given the Chinese leaders schedule at that time. We would appreciate hearing from you regarding specific dates, how large the delegation will be how long it will be here and any special interests which the Vice President may have. Since Vice President Bush is so familiar with Peking and China I am sure he will put forward appropriate ideas.

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-- We do not normally announce visits at an early date. If you decide to do so, please let us know beforehand so that we may be prepared for questions from foreign correspondents here.

5. In response Charge told Xhang that the Chinese answer constitutes a "positive step" and would be received with appreciation in Washington. Charge informed him that he would immediately report Xhang's statement to Washington and expressed the hope that in the near future we would be able either in Beijing or in Washington to provide more concrete details on the visit. Charge added that while we could not guarantee against press leaks we would do our best to coordinate press notification of the visit with the Chinese in advance.

6. Xhang then read the following prepared statement:

We have noted that the US side attached great importance to the Vice President's visit to China and that it hopes the serious differences existing between our two countries will be resolved through his visit. It is with this understanding that we accept the US proposal and agree to Vice President Bush's visit to China in the near future. In our view Sino-US relations are now at a major turning point. The Vice President's visit will be of key importance to the future course of these relations. We hope that the coming high level meetings will yield substantive results so that Sino-US relations may develop in a favorable direction and not contrary wise. Should the Vice President's visit end in failure, this would be detrimental to our bilateral relations in addition to the prestige of the Vice President himself. In order to assist the success of the Vice President's visit it is important for the two sides to make full preparation with regard to the substantive issues through formal discussions or informal discussions and contacts prior to the visit. (Departing from the prepared text, Xhang remarked that informal discussions could take place in various formats such as the Ambassador's recent lunch and noted that the US seemed to agree to this approach.) As the Chinese side has already made clear its position on key points of differences between the two sides in its March 18th presentation, we hope that the US side will give an explicit response as soon as possible. (Again departing from his prepared text Xhang said the US side should not necessarily provide a response in documentary. Rather the US side should give us a response on substantive issues.) I would like to return here to the question of US arms sales to Taiwan. Only if the US side expresses its determination to respect the sovereignty of China and to stop interfering in its internal affairs in a concrete and explicit manner instead of an abstract and vague (ambiguous) way, will it be possible to achieve positive results in the discussions between the two countries and prevent the Vice President's visit from becoming a unproductive one.

7. After reading the statement Xhang continued his informal remarks stating that as a final point we would like to express the hope that the two sides will attempt to maintain a calm favorable atmosphere for the Vice President's visit "I mean to refer to actions rather than remarks." He noted and stated a Chinese desire for no more "surprises or troubles before the Vice President's visit." He concluded by adding that at the same time the Chinese have no intention to suppress the freedom of the press and that he was not referring to press commentary but to actions or official statements by the US Government.

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8. Charge responded that he would immediately report Xhang's remarks to Washington. He added that the Department of State had already assured the Chinese embassy that there would be no "surprises" prior to the Vice President's visit and that those assurances should be taken seriously.

9. Comment: we continue to believe that as Ambassador Hummel has previously urged, an early response to the Chinese presentation of March 18th could help clear the air, put the ball back into the Chinese court, and advance substantive preparations for the Vice President's visit. Also, request answers to Chinese queries re timing, duration, and composition of accompanying party for the Vice President's visit, as well as suggestions for press handling to be discussed with the Chinese.

END OF MESSAGE

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SECRET NODIS Cable from State to Beijing (104153)

SUBJECT: Vice President's Trip to China

1. (Secret)

2. We are naturally pleased that the Chinese have accepted the Vice President's visit and expressed their appreciation for the letters from President Reagan and the Secretary. At the same time, we are determined not to be pressured into an atmosphere or put in a position in which the success or failure of the visit is to be judged by whether or not a mutually acceptable communique is issued during or as a result of this visit or that formulations to their liking on the Taiwan issue must be agreed to. The Chinese must understand this. They must also understand that while we will make every effort to respond to their requirements and position, we can not countenance a one sided outcome if we are to maintain our international credibility, uphold our own principles, and sustain political support for our China policy at home.

3. This said we can certainly agree that on our side we will do nothing to harm the atmosphere for this visit, indeed as the Chinese have correctly pointed out, we have provided assurances on this already. We are also prepared to use the time before now and the Vice President's arrival to see if we can narrow our differences and make progress toward an agreed joint statement. We do not under estimate the difficulties but we are mildly encouraged that we and the Chinese foreign ministry now seem to be on the same wave length, i.e., that the best approach is an informal one.

4. With this as background Charge should make an early appointment to see Vice Foreign Minister Xhang and make the following presentation:

- The President and the Vice President welcome China's statement of appreciation for the letters sent to the Chinese leadership by President Reagan and Secretary Haig.
- They welcome China's acceptance of our proposal that the Vice President visit China in early May for discussions on the President's behalf.
- They believe this visit offers a major opportunity to further understanding between our two governments at the highest levels and to exchange views on a variety of bilateral and international issues.
- The US fully recognizes that the Taiwan arms issue is the central bilateral issue between us and the Vice President will be well prepared to address that issue.
- The President has made clear in his letters to the Chinese leadership that the US respects and understands the position of the Chinese government on this issue.

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- The President and the Vice President trust the Chinese leadership also respects and understands that the US has its own principles in addressing this issue rooted in history.
- In his recent letters the President made a number of important points which bear both on the main area of differences between us and the strong desire of the US to create an enduring and cooperative relationship between the US and China.
- His suggestion that Vice President Bush travel to China on his behalf was an important further manifestation of his desire to advance the relationship and address areas of differences in a constructive face-to-face exchange of views.
- Vice President Bush looks forward to visiting China for this purpose. He feels very strongly that the fundamental aim of this visit should be to improve and deepen high level understanding.
- To do this he considers it essential that both sides create and maintain an uncontentious atmosphere and that there be a positive approach to the visit on both sides. He believes it will not be productive or conducive to success to speak of risks or the possible failure.
- Indeed, we believe it is essential that both sides approach this visit with the view that there would be no negative outcome which would be viewed as setting the US-China relationship back. This would serve the interests of neither side. Clearly the aim is to improve communications and promote a positive atmosphere in which progress toward a resolution of US-Chinese differences can be achieved and the Vice President is looking forward to making this important effort on the President's behalf.
- On our side we will not be measuring the success of the visit by the precise degree of progress registered toward an agreement on a joint communique dealing with the Taiwan arms issue but rather by the degree to which both sides are able to create a climate of understanding in which future progress in that area can be made.
- The US will make every effort to insure that the atmosphere for the visit is positive. Assuming both sides will take this approach we are confident the success of the visit will be assured.
- We naturally recognize that if the two sides can reach agreement on a joint communique before or during the visit the impact would be dramatic. We are prepared to work to this end in the intervening weeks on a formal or informal basis. (Note: at this point you should do as Xiang did and state informally that we too believe that informal approach is best.)
- We will welcome any new initiatives from the Chinese side and will seek to provide future ideas of our own as to how we might narrow our differences and develop an approach looking to an outcome acceptable in both capitals.

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- Such an outcome will, of course, have to be one which is not only acceptable to both sides but will enable each side to generate the domestic support necessary to sustain any agreement reached, in practice as in principle.
- Regarding timing, please explore the possibility of arriving in China (perhaps Cian or Suchou) May 5 or 6. Then arriving in Beijing either the evening of May 7th or morning of May 8th. Party will have been travelling for two weeks and would look forward to a change to rest in China before talks in Beijing. However, the Vice President is flexible in this and wants to do what is convenient for the Chinese and realizes that Protocol might not permit the party to arrive in a city other than Beijing.
- If the Chinese prefer the party would plan to arrive in China at Beijing on date of Chinese suggestion but would prefer no later than May 8th -- FYI events in prior stop, New Zealand, end 1100PM May 4th.
- Information on the official party will be provided soon.
- We would appreciate receiving confirmation from the Chinese side as soon as possible as to whether the visit as we have outlined it and the dates proposed are acceptable. If so we would propose that the two sides make joint announcement later this week (the week beginning April 19th) the announcement we would propose is as follows: "The US Government and the Chinese Government have agreed that during his trip to East Asia beginning this month the Vice President of the United States George Bush will visit Beijing from May 6 to May 10th for talks with Chinese leaders. The suggestion for the Vice President's visit was initiated by President Reagan and communicated to the Chinese leadership which extended the invitation."
- In our own supplementary press guidance we would characterize the visit as an indication of the importance we place on the US-Chinese relationship and of our desire to further understanding between our two governments at the highest levels. We would not characterize as a mission to resolve the Taiwan arms question. But we would express our expectation that the issue would be thoroughly discussed along with other matters of mutual interest of both an international and bilateral nature.

5. Should you receive a response to our proposal for a joint announcement you should say that you will report to your government and be back quickly to the Chinese.

END OF MESSAGE