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JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE • UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

JANUARY 1, 1979

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1, 1979.

The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communique and emphasize once again that:

- --Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.
- --Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.
- --Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.
- --The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China

and Taiwan is part of China.

--Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China will exchange Ambassadors and establish Embassies on March 1, 1979.

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STATEMENT BY FONALD REAGAN UPON AMBASSADOR GEORGE BUSH'S RETURN FROM JAPAN AND CHINA August 25, 1980 Los Angeles, California

Ten days ago George Bush and I met with you here in Los Angeles on the occasion of his departure for Japan and China, a trip he undertook at my request. As we stressed at the time, the purpose of the trip was to provide for a candid exchange of views with leaders in both countries on a wide range of international topics of mutual interest. Ambassador Bush returned last evening, and has reported his findings in detail.

We are both very pleased with the results of his extensive discussions. In a series of meetings with distinguished leaders in Japan, including Prime Minister Suzuki, Former Prime Ministers Fukuda, Kishi and Miki, Foreign Minister Itch and Minister of International Trade and Industry Tanaka, he had the opportunity to hear their views and recommendations concerning the future of U.S.-Japanese relations.

Our Republican Party Platform stresses that Japan will remain a pillar of our policy for Asia, and a Reagan-Bush Administration will work hard to insure that U.S.-Japanese relations are maintained in excellent condition, based on close consultation and mutual understanding.

Japan's role in the process of insuring peace in Asia is a crucial one, and we must reinforce our ties with this close ally. Japan is our second most important trading partner, and we are her first. We have close ties in other fields, too. A most important example is the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty which recently marked its twentieth anniversary.

Understanding the Japanese perspective is important for the success of American policy. As Ambassador Bush will tell you in detail, he found Japanese leaders unanimous in their view that the United States must be a strong, reliable, leading partner.

I appreciate receiving their views, and I am grateful to them for the courtesies extended to Ambassador Bush. I would also like to express my appreciation to, and regard for, U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield, who also extended many courtesies.

Of equal importance was Ambassador Bush's trip to China, where he held a series of high-level meetings. As I said on August 16, "we have an obvious interest in developing our relationship with China, an interest that goes beyond trade and cultural ties. It is an interest that is fundamental to a Reagan-Bush Administration."

The meetings in Beijing provided for extensive exchanges of views. George has reported to me in great detail the points of similarity and agreement, as well as those of dissimilarity and disagreement. Since the objective of the trip was to have just such an exchange without necessarily reaching agreement, I believe that the objective was reached.

We now have received an updated, first-hand of China's views, and the Chinese leaders have heard our point of view. While in Beijing, Ambassador Bush and Richard Allen met at length with Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, as well as with other top foreign policy experts and military leaders. I appreciate the courtesies which the Chinese leaders extended to our party, and I also wish to thank U.S. Ambassador Leonard Woodcock for his kind assistance.

We now maintain full and friendly diplomatic relations with China. This relationship began only a few years ago, and it is one which we should develop and strengthen in the years ahead. It is a delicate relationship, and the Reagan-Bush Administration will handle it with care and respect, with due regard for our own vital interests in the world generally, and in the Pacific region specifically.

China and the United States have a common interest in maintaining peace so that our nations can grow and prosper. Our two-way trade has now reached approximately \$3.5 billion annually, and China's program of modernization depends in a major way on Western and U.S. technology.

Along with many other nations, we and China share a deep concern about the pace and scale of the Soviet military buildup. Chinese leaders agree with Japanese leaders that the United States must be a strong and vigorous defender of the peace, and they specifically favor us bolstering our defenses and our alliances.

It is quite clear that we do not see eye to eye on Taiwan. Thus, this is an appropriate time for me to state our position on this subject.

I'm sure that the Chinese leaders would place no value on our relations with them if they thought we would break commitments to them if a stronger power were to demand it. Based on my long-standing conviction that America can provide leadership and command respect only if it keeps its commitments to its friends, large and small, a Reagan-Bush Administration would observe these five principles in dealing with the China situation.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR THE FAR EAST

First, U.S.-Chinese relations are important to American as well as Chinese interests. Our partnership should be global and strategic. In seeking improved relations with the People's Republic of China, I would extend the hand of friendship to all Chinese. In continuing our relations, which date from the historic opening created by President Nixon, I would continue the process of expanding trade, scientific and cultural ties.

Second, I pledge to work for peace, stability and the economic growth of the Western Pacific area in cooperation with Japan, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan.

Third, I will cooperate and consult with all countries of the area in a mutual effort to stand firm against aggression or search for hegemony which threaten the peace and stability of the area.

Fourth, I intend that United States relations with Taiwan will develop in accordance with the law of our land, the Taiwan Relations Act. This legislation is the product of our democratic process, and is designed to remedy the defects of the totally inadequate legislation proposed by Jimmy Carter. 19

- More -

By accepting China's three conditions for "normalization," Jimmy Carter made concessions that Presidents Nixon and Ford had steadfastly refused to make. I was and am critical of his decision because I believe he made concessions that were not necessary and not in our national interest. I felt that a condition of normalization—by itself a sound policy choice—should have been the retention of a liaison office on Taiwan of equivalent status to the one which we had earlier established in Beijing. With a persistent and principled negotiating position, I believe that normalization could ultimately have been achieved on this basis. But that is behind us now. My present concern is to safeguard the interests of the United States and to enforce the law of the land.

- 3 -

It was the timely action of the Congress, reflecting the strong support of the American people for Taiwan, that forced the changes in the inadequate bill which Mr. Carter proposed. Clearly, the Congress was unwilling to buy the Carter plan, which it believed would have jeopardized Taiwan's security.

This Act, designed by the Congress to provide adequate safeguards for Taiwan's security and well-being, also provides the official basis for our relations with our long-time friend and ally. It declares our official policy to be one of maintaining peace and promoting extensive, close, and friendly relations between the United States and the seventeen million people on Taiwan as well as the one billion people on the China mainland. It specifies that our official policy considers any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means a threat to peace and of "grave concern" to the United States.

And, most important, it spells out our policy of providing defensive weapons to Taiwan and mandates the United States to maintain the means to "resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion" which threaten the security or the social or economic system of Taiwan.

This Act further spells out, in great detail, how the President of the United States, our highest elected official, shall conduct relations with Taiwan, leaving to his discretion the specific methods of achieving policy objectives. The Act further details how our official personnel (including diplomats) are to administer United States relations with Taiwan through the American Institute in Taiwan. It specifies that for that purpose they are to resign for the term of their duty in Taiwan and then be reinstated to their former agencies of the U.S. government with no loss of status, seniority or pension rights.

The intent of the Congress is crystal clear. Our official relations with Taiwan will be funded by Congress with public monies, the expenditure of which will be audited by the Comptroller General of the United States; and Congressional oversight will be performed by two standing Committees of the Congress.

"You might ask what I would do differently. I would not pretend, as Carter does, that the relationship we now have with Taiwan, enacted by our Congress, is not official.

I am satisfied that this Act provides an official and adequate basis for safeguarding our relationship with Taiwan, and I pledge to enforce it. But I will eliminate petty practices of the Carter Administration which are inappropriate and demaning to our Chinese friends on Taiwan. For example, it is absurd and not required by the Act that our representatives are not permitted to meet with Taiwanese officials in their offices and ours. I will treat all Chinese officials with fairness and dignity.

I would not impose restrictions which are not required by the Taiwan Relations Act and which contravene its spirit and purpose. Here are other examples of how Carter has gone out of his way to humiliate our friends on Taiwan:

 Taiwanese officials are ignored at senior levels of the U.S. government.

 The Taiwan Relations Act specifically requires that the Taiwanese be permitted to keep the same number of offices in this country as they had before. Previously, Taiwan had 14 such offices. Today there are but nine.

 Taiwanese military officers are no longer permitted to train in the United States or to attend service academies.

- Recently the Carter Administration attempted to ban all imports from Taiwan labeled "Made in the Republic of China," but was forced to rescind the order after opposition began to mount in the Congress.

 The Carter Administration unilaterally imposed a one-year moratorium on arms supplies even though the Act specifies that Taiwan shall be provided with arms of a defense character.

-- The Carter Administration abrogated the Civil Aviation Agreement with Taiwan, which had been in effect since 1947, in response to demands from the People's Republic of China.

I recognize that the People's Republic of China is not pleased with the Taiwan Relations Act which the United States Congress insisted on as the official basis for our relations with Taiwan. This was made abundantly clear to Mr. Bush, and, I'm told, is clear to the Carter Administration. But it is the law of our land.

Fifth, as President I will not accept the interference of any foreign power in the process of protecting American interests and carrying out the laws of our land. To do otherwise would be a dereliction of my duty as President.

It is my conclusion that the strict observance of these five principles will be in the best interests of the United States, the People's Republic of China and the people of Taiwan.

The specific implementation of these duties will have to await the results of the election in November, but in deciding what to do I will take into account the views of the People's Republic of China as well as Taiwan. It will be my firm intention to preserve the interests of the United States, and as President I will choose the methods by which this shall best be accomplished.

* * * * *

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED w/CONFIDENTIAL Attachment

May 28, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: JIM LILLEY

SUBJECT: Suggestions for Mr. Meese's Toast Tonight

The attached memo for Mr. Meese (Tab I) is self-explanatory. Request that you pass it to him as soon as possible in view of its use at the dinner tonight, 28 May.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward Tab I to Mr. Meese.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo from RVA to Mr. Meese

UNCLASSIFIED w/CONFIDENTIAL Attachment

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



UNCLASSIFIED WITH SECRET ATTACHMENTS

May 26, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: JIM LILLEY

SUBJECT: Background for Dinner with Chinese 28 May

Recommend you forward attached package to each U.S. invitee. The package is self-explantory.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the memorandum to Messrs. Meese, Baker and Deaver and forward package to them.

Approve

____Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I - Memo to Meese, Baker and Deaver

Tab A - Paper on US-Chinese Relations Tab B - Chinese Biographies

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FROM LILLEY

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

RE: 5328/attached Lilley 7 Oct memo

This is what I hope is by now a famous package. Janice Schecter has advised that Mr. Lilley has no preference as to whether this goes into System II or becomes a further part to #5328.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 7, 1981

- F/90013

MEMO FOR:

JANET COLSON

FROM:

CAROL CLEVELAND Carol

I assume that this is a System II item add-on since I am not sure if the original submission was retained in System II.

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JAMES LILLEY TO RICHARD ALLEN

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Reagan Reportedly Urged to Visit Taiwan, Peking to Spur Unity Talks

By MICHAEL PARKS, Times Staff Writer

PEKING-President Reagan is being urged by some of his China advisers to visit both Peking and Taiwan in an effort to get negotiations started between the Chinese Communists and Nationalists, according to informed sources here and in Taipei.

Under this proposal, Reagan would stop in Taipei en route to Peking on the trip he wants to make to China next year, the sources said, adding that the proposal is under active discussion but not yet in the planning stage.

"It would be the sort of spectacular that Reagan loves," a member of a congressional delegation that visited Peking recently said in seeking an assessment of the reaction here and in Taiwan to such an American initiative and of the outlook for negotiations between the Chinese Communists and hationalists.

Reagan, it is said, would attempt to persuade President Chiang Ching-kuo, the Nationalist leader and son of the late president Chiang Kai-shek, to enter direct talks with Peking with a minimum of precon-' ditions.

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to get the negotiations started. Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.),

who brought a Senate leadership delegation to Peking last month as a "precursor for the President" and was accompanied by a top White House aide, proposed that Reagan, as an old friend of Taiwan, act as a mediator in bringing the two Chinese sides together, comparing his possible role to that played by former President Jimmy Carter in the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations.

Hatfield's proposal drew qualified acceptance here last week, with the Chinese Foreign Ministry welcoming an American initiative to get talks started but saying a solution. would ultimately be reached by the two Chinese parties themselves. In Taipei, the reaction has been wary." with officials emphasizing their objections to any talks with Peking at present.

"Obviously, considerable groundwork would have to be done carefully and quietly, before Reagan could embark on such a mission," a Republican congressional staffer said on a visit here, asking that he not be quoted by name. "Right now, Then he would be expected to try we are in the talking stage and have total deniability, but we are asking preliminary concessions necessary the President to authorize prelimin-

ary preparations. Bringing the two Chinese parties together would then become a priority in American foreign policy."

Other sources said that only when there are "good indications of success" would the proposal be put formally to Reagan for approval. They added that the President's principal China advisers are already involved and are intrigued with the . possibility.

U.S. mediation between the Chinese Communists and Nationalists . is strongly opposed by some specialists in Sino-American affairs who see the United States plungingitself back into the Chinese civil war, which it tried and failed to mediate earlier and from whose entanglements it has been attempting to escape ever since, over a period of more than three decades.

"One of the things we did when we normalized relations," ad aide to Carter reflected during Carter's re-. cent visit to China, "was to get out of the middle of their civil war-not entirely, but for the most part. Why should we get back into it?"

A Reagan mediation trip-even as an informal proposal-poses dift ficult problems in both Peking and Taipei.

The Chinese Nationalists know

they would come under acute American pressure in any U.S.sponsored negotiations with the Communists. "We are not blessed with a strong Jewish community, like the Israelis, to protect us," an official said in Taipei, "but the danger to our survival is even greater."

Yet, fallure to respond positively, particularly to an old friend like Reagan, would lose the Nationalists vital support in the United States.

"We can't even say we would rather he not come," another Nationalist official commented,

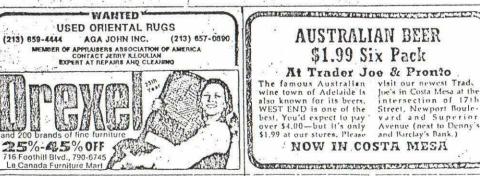
Peking, on the other hand, regards the substance of any negotiations as something to discuss directly with the Nationalists without

outside mediation. But it has to welcome any U.S. intervention as ultimately beneficial to its cause of reunification of Taiwan with the Chinese mainland because it would mean that the Nationalists would no longer have total American protection and, on the contrary, would be subject to U.S. pressure.

For Reagan, as one American source explained it, a mediation effort would neatly match the strategically necessary relationship he wants to develop with Peking with his old friendship for Talwan. Further, it would be a diplomatic coup comparable to Carter's role as the honest broker in the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations at Camp David.

American diplomats, who have largely been bypassed in the preliminary probing of the reaction here and on Taiwan, tend to see such an effort as doomed because of the adamant Nationalist stance and the substantial concessions that would be needed from Peking jus get the talks started. They also have warned that a failure could set back Sino-American relations.

The State Department position has been that the future of Taiwan. held by the Chinese Nationalis's since their loss of the mainland in 1949 to the Communists, is a question best left to the Chinese themselves to resolve.



Afghan Labor Pinch, Unrest Seen in Draft of Veterans Under 35

By TYLER MARSHALL, Times Stall Writer





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