

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Walter Judd
Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Thursday - January 23, 1975
1:05 p. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

Judd: I appreciate your seeing me. I was never able to meet with your predecessor. I see you have a very busy schedule.

President: A delegation of Soviet journalists is coming in. Then the Northeastern Governors to talk about energy.

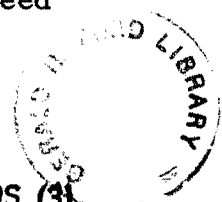
Judd: I want to mention three things about China and the Middle East. The rumors are that you will agree to establish full diplomatic relations with Peking on your trip there this year. I hope not, for three reasons: One, there is no need to. There are no advantages to gain that we don't already have. The Liaison Offices can do everything that is needed. I agree with the improvement of relations so far as it can be done while maintaining diplomatic relations with Taiwan. In Peking they need us now more than we need them. While Chou is on top, it is not a real victory for them yet, because there has been no purge of their opponents. I think a major reason he prevailed to the extent he did was because he established relations with the United States. They won't break relations with us, because that would weaken them against the Soviet Union. So I think let's keep things just as they are.

Teng is the best administrator they have. Chou is as tough as they come. He's clever; I think his illness is mostly practical. Diplomatic relations are not really necessary, because we have now what we need from them.

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E.O. 13526, SEC. 3.6
MDC MEMO, W/MA, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY: [signature] MARA, DATE 5/10/14
State Review 3/10/14

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



President: I have not focused on this yet. I've been too busy with the economy and energy. I respect your views and I will consider them carefully.

Judd: We have leverage now and we should keep it that way. Taiwan is a showcase for us, and it keeps the people on the Mainland in trouble for that reason. It is a model for an underdeveloped country. If we could have full relations with both -- fine. But they won't permit that. Secretary Kissinger has said that we won't improve relations with our enemies at the expense of our friends. If we give up Taiwan, it would hurt our policy all over Asia -- especially in Korea.

Let me go to the second point. When Secretary Kissinger went to Peking and came back, that's okay. But if he stops in other places, that is bad if it doesn't include Taiwan -- that's a signal. When he goes and you go -- don't visit other countries and exclude Taiwan.

The third point is this: I think you and Secretary Kissinger should tell Japan and the others strongly that we may have to use force, but don't do it publicly. Public threats are the worst possible thing for the Arabs. They would kill themselves for face and to avoid embarrassment. Samson is a good case. Do it privately, not publicly.

President: I assume you read what Secretary Kissinger actually said in the Business Week interview.

Judd: Sure, they pressed him into a corner.

President: And the press keeps at it.

Judd: But you, too, said something.

President: Mine was in the context of food versus oil.

Judd: I thought you used the word "weapon."

President: Only in that sense. We are working very hard on the Middle East; I hope both sides can be realistic, and we have a chance to see some progress.

Judd: It is a terrible problem because both sides are right. It has to be raised above the level of justice to that of wisdom. It is better for both.

[The conversation ended.]



P/Walter Judd

23 Jan 75 1:05 pm

J Opposite you seeing me. I was unable
able meet w/you yesterday. I see you
have busy school.

P See you what evening in Thomas Curran

J These things: PRC, NLF,
Rearms are you with expect full
relations on your trip. I hope not for
3 reasons: (1) We need to - we advantage
we don't have. FRO can do everything needed.
I agreed w/department of relations as far as
can be done except while entering dip relations
w/ Taiwan. They need no more more than
as need them. While China is on trip, it not
a real victory because no purge. I think a
major reason he prevented to extent he did was
he would be established relations w/ U.S. They
won't break relations w/ us because that would
weaken us than against U.S. He's buy things
just as they are. They is a best administration
China is tough as they come - even. His illness
another political. Dip relations not necessary - we
have some what we could learn from them.

P Not focused on this yet. Been too busy w/ every
+ every. I respect your views + will consider
them carefully.

J We have been very slow & we should keep it
that way. Taiwan is a showpiece & it keeps
paying a war in trouble for that reason.
It a model for underdeveloped country. If we could
have full relations w/ both - fine. But they
won't permit that. K has said we want improve
relations w/ our enemies at expense of our friends

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/10/04

BY WJ NARS DATE 5/10/04



amazing
If you give up Taiwan it would hurt all over
China - esp in Korea.

1st point. When K went to Peking & back - ok.
But if he stops other places, that is bad if it
doesn't include Taiwan - that is a signal. When
he goes & goes - don't visit others of exclude
Taiwan.

2nd point. I think you & K should tell Japan & c
others strongly and may have to use force, but
don't do it publicly. ~~But~~ Public threats are
a worst possibility for Arabs. They would
hate themselves for force & avoid embarrassment.
Samson is a good case. Don't promise, not
publicly.

P I am sure you told what K said.

T Sure, they pressed him into a corner.

P And they keep at it.

T But you too said something.

P Mine was in a context of good will.

T I think you used word "open"

P Only in that sense. We working very hard
on all E, I hope both sides can be realistic

T It is a terrible job because both sides are
right. It has to be imposed above a level
of justice to that of weakness. Better for
both

