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MEMORANDUM

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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February 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI 25.
SUBJECT: NSC Weekly Report #129

1. Opinion

I am attaching a paper on our China policy (Tab A) prepared by Mike Oksenberg, who is leaving the NSC to return to the University of Michigan; however, he will remain available to us as a consultant.

2. Fact

The following decisions were reached at my meeting with Cy and Harold this week:

-- As a result of several cables from Embassy Moscow, Cy will send more specific guidance on your views on US-Soviet relations.

-- Cy and Harold will develop guidance for your signature on the withdrawal of 1,000 nuclear warheads from Europe.

-- On the question of land-attack SLCM, Harold will make clear in his testimony that no production decision has been made.

-- Cy now joins me in recommending that the Vice President represent you at President Tito's funeral, assuming that Tito does not recover.

-- Cy, Harold and I will be discussing further the possibility of a politically-oriented, quick intervention capability in the Persian Gulf. This issue will be held closely.

3. Implementing Your Instructions

February 6

-- In response to a report from our interests section in Havana on Cuba-Soviet relations after Afghanistan, you asked for an assessment.

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● A report from State concludes that we simply do not know enough at this point to determine whether or not the Cubans would be receptive to the initiatives contained in the report. We will continue to monitor the situation.

-- In response to Cy's report in his evening notes on his meeting with Evron on Israeli oil supply, you noted that we should encourage US Jews and others to put pressure on the UK.

● We understand that prominent US private citizens who are Jewish have approached government and political leaders in the UK who are also Jewish. Also, British Jewish organizations have made similar approaches. The response has been uniformly negative on the oil supply question.

4. National Security Affairs Calendar (Attached at Tab B)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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Good & Wise
C

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February 14, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MICHEL OKSENBERG
SUBJECT: China Policy: Accomplishments and
Tasks Ahead

At Zbig's suggestion, I offer some thoughts on your China policy.

Your Role

As I organized my files for my successor, I was reminded of the extent to which the policy is your personal achievement:

-- In June 1977, you stipulated to Cy, Zbig, et al, your terms for normalization, which we met exactly.

-- In June 1978, you specified the date on which you would like to announce normalization -- Dec. 15, 1978 -- saying it should come before SALT. (I had forgotten this prescient injunction until reviewing my files!)

-- You gave January 1 as the target date in the draft recognition communiqué Woodcock tabled in Nov. 1978. Zbig had recommended January 15, and Cy recommended not conveying a date.

-- In Feb. 1979, you insisted we not go overboard in criticizing China's incursion into Vietnam.

-- You made sure the trade agreement was sent up in timely fashion, and you insisted Harold's trip take place. (et)

Your Accomplishments

I feel confident future historians will see your China policy as the most enlightened and effective one our country ever had. In the recent past, Roosevelt's policy

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was too romantic; Truman's too reactive; Eisenhower's, Kennedy's, and Johnson's too hostile; Nixon's too manipulative; and Ford's too timid. Your policy has been distinctive for its insistence on realism, reciprocity, and long-run considerations. (C)

The new relationship has yielded many publicly identifiable benefits (other important gains must remain confidential):

-- We enjoy good relations simultaneously with both China and Japan, an unprecedented development and an enormous plus in our strategic picture globally and in Asia.

-- With our China relations in order, we can concentrate our resources on our real adversary; our new China relationship has enhanced our diplomatic flexibility.

-- Trade is increasing on a realistic basis; impressive student, culture and scientific exchanges are underway.

-- China is beginning to participate in international forums dedicated to solving transnational problems: checking the arms race, protecting the environment, eradicating communicable diseases, etc.

-- And all of this has occurred while the relations of the American people with Taiwan have expanded and while Taiwan's trade and prosperity increases. (TS)

So there is a lot for which you should and can take credit, and my trips around the country convince me your policy is widely supported. (C)

Your Tasks in 1980 and Beyond

This is not to say China policy is all clear sailing from here. These aspects of our China policy require your continued, personal attention:

-- Now that the competitive aspects of our relations with the Soviet Union have sharpened, it is tempting to use China tactically. Your China policy has been successful, however, because you approached Beijing from a historical, strategic perspective, and you should continue to eschew playing the so-called "China card".

I agree

-- The phenomenal growth in our China relations during 1979 entailed both sides making large numbers of commitments.

Rather than seeking to expand the relationship, the task for 1980 is to consolidate our gains and ensure that previous commitments are met. Since some of our commitments were made over objections within the US Government (such as declaration of China as a friendly country, extension of Ex-Im credits and sale of non-weapon military equipment), your continued support will be very important.

Tues

-- Our sprawling, somewhat undisciplined bureaucracies have proposed innumerable projects to the Chinese, all of which end up on the same policy-maker's plate in Beijing. The Chinese are overloaded with proposals we have made, and you have to convey to them -- perhaps through Zbig -- what our priorities are.

-- You must ensure that our policy, particularly toward Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, does not inadvertently and seriously undercut our China policy. Some in our Government might push us in that direction.

-- Some skeptics question the utility of our China connection, and it is important for you, should the issue arise, to make clear to the American people that the relationship is mutually beneficial and will be in our interest in the next four years. I suspect this question will arise in the course of the campaign, and you should demand from the NSC a thoroughly explored, good answer to this question.

-- Finally, you should encourage thinking in the government about several complex issues in our China relationship: what kind of security and economic relations will really serve our interests? How can we better nest our China relationship among our other relations, particularly Japan, the USSR, India, and Western Europe? China policy has been successful because it was well thought through. We have now reached the end of our road map, and if we are to avoid the "ad hockery" that plagues us elsewhere, you must demand now that planning begin for your second term. (c)

*We should not
push now for
new achievements
with PRC*

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NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS CALENDAR

Ongoing

MBFR (Round XX) in Vienna.

US/UK/USSR Negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban in Geneva.

Committee on Disarmament is meeting in Geneva.

Reuben Askew, Special Trade Representative, is visiting Cairo and Israel, through February 25.

United Nations Ambassador Donald McHenry is visiting the Middle East, through February 21.

James T. McIntyre, Jr., Director of the Office of Management and Budget, is visiting Cairo, through February 18.

Week of February 17 - 23

February 17

Autonomy Negotiations are scheduled in Cairo, through February 14.

Aristides Royo, President of the Republic of Panama, will pay a private visit to the United States.

February 19

SCC Meeting on Iran.

February 19-22

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance will visit Bonn for a meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Genscher.

February 20

Daniel arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya, will be visiting the United States. A meeting with you has been scheduled this date.

February 21

SCC Meeting on Iran.

PRC Meeting on Law of the Sea.

Looking Ahead

February 26

Exchange of Ambassadors between Egypt and Israel.

Late February

Prince Sihanouk will visit the United States.

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Late February/
Early March

Andreas van Agt, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, will pay a private visit to the United States.

March 1-3

Charles W. Duncan, Secretary of Energy, will visit Saudi Arabia.

March 5

Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, will visit Washington. A meeting with you has been scheduled on this date.

March 9-16

Franz-Josef Strauss, Minister President of Bavaria and CDU Chancellor Candidate, will be visiting the United States. A meeting with you has been tentatively scheduled.

March 13-14

Special Consultative Group on TNF in Brussels.

March 18

Standing Consultative Commission (SCC XVII) reconvenes in Geneva.

April 5-11

Leopold Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, will make a private visit to the United States. A meeting with you has been requested.

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