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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

SECRET NOD693

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
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P 081043Z SEP 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8919

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 TAIPEI 06065

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: MNUC, TW  
SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP TO NUCLEAR TEAM VISIT; DEMARCHE TO  
PRESIDENT CHIANG

REF: A, STATE 225046, B, TAIPEI 6040

1. AFTER CONVEYING "GOOD NEWS" ON ANOTHER SUBJECT (REF B) TO PRESIDENT CHIANG I THEN REFERRED TO THE RECENT VISIT OF THE U.S. NUCLEAR TEAM AND SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF A REVIEW OF THE TEAM'S FINDINGS AND FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, I HAD BEEN REQUESTED TO DELIVER TO THE PRESIDENT A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THIS SUBJECT AND TO SUPPLEMENT THIS WITH SOME ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS. (PRESENT WITH THE PRESIDENT AT THIS MEETING WERE VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CHIEN AND PRESIDENT'S AIDE, JAMES SOONG.)

2. AS SOON AS THE PRESIDENT WAS AWARE OF THE SUBJECT I WISHED TO DISCUSS, HE SAID THAT HE HAD DESIGNATED THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER AND ASKED THAT I APPROACH THEM. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MUST REALIZE THAT ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS HE, THE PRESIDENT, HAS FORMALLY DECLARED (INCLUD-

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STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW

Retain Class'n  Change to \_\_\_\_\_

Declassify in part and excise as shown

EO 12958, 25X( ) ( )

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Reference \_\_\_\_\_

IPS by \_\_\_\_\_ Date JUL 10 2002

(Obtained)

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ING IN TESTIMONY IN THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN) THE POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, I.E., THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAS NO INTENTION OF MANUFACTURING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THIS POLICY REMAINS UNCHANGED.

3. RECOGNIZING THAT THIS WHOLE MATTER INVOLVED MANY HIGHLY TECHNICAL QUESTIONS THE PRESIDENT SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN READY TO TOLERATE MANY INVESTIGATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES. THE GROC HAS ACTUALLY ALREADY DONE EVERYTHING IN THIS FIELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.S. GOVERNMENT REQUESTS AND OFFERED FULL COOPERATION. ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, U.S. SCIENTISTS HAVE WORKED SIDE BY SIDE WITH THOSE FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND WORK HERE HAS GONE ON OFTEN UNDER U.S. DIRECT SUPERVISION. NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS OFFERED TO WORK IN SUCH A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT, THERE IS NOTHING THAT IS NOT OPEN TO U.S. SURVEILLANCE.

4. THE PRESIDENT ADDED THAT WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS DOING IN THIS FIELD VIS-A-VIS THE ROC IS DEALING A SERIOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOW TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EXPERTS OF THIS COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT NEVERTHELESS THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE EFFORTS TO AVOID A PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT OF THE U.S. ATTITUDE AND ACTIONS AND DOES NOT WANT TO HAVE THE PUBLIC INCITED BY THEIR LEARNING OF THE ACTIONS AND DEMANDS BY THE UNITED STATES.

5. THE PRESIDENT, REFERRING TO MANY CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENTS ALREADY MADE, SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST TAKE THE PRESIDENT'S WORD. IN ANY CASE, IF THERE ARE QUESTIONS THAT REQUIRE FURTHER DISCUSSION OR SOME NEED FOR INFORMATION REMAINS UNSATISFIED, THE NATURE OF THIS SHOULD BE MADE QUITE CLEAR. MOREOVER SOMEONE COULD BE SENT FROM THE U.S. TO WATCH OVER THE ROC PROGRAMS DAY BY

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DAY. NEVERTHELESS HE SAID HE WOULD TAKE THIS ONE MORE OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM HIS BASIC POSITION WHICH IS THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL NOT MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE THEN ASKED ME TO PURSUE THIS MATTER WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IF I WISHED TO GO FURTHER INTO THE MATTER.

6. I ACKNOWLEDGED WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID. I THEN MADE REFERENCE TO THE NEW LAW UNDER WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MUST OPERATE AND NOTED THAT HE IS REQUIRED BY LAW TO SATISFY HIMSELF ON A NUMBER OF POINTS IF CERTAIN MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT ARE TO BE EXPORTED BY THE UNITED STATES TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY. I REFERRED ALSO TO THE VARIOUS AGREEMENTS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE REACHED IN THE SPRING OF 1977. I THEN ONCE MORE REFERRED TO THE LETTER FROM SECRETARY VANCE AND THE TALKING POINTS AND ASKED THE PRESIDENT WHETHER HE AGREED TO RECEIVE THESE; HE ASSENTED AND I HANDED OVER BOTH DOCUMENTS WITHOUT HAVING PREVIOUSLY READ THEM ALOUD.

7. COMMENT: PRESIDENT CHIANG, ONCE HE KNEW THAT I WISHED TO DISCUSS THE NUCLEAR QUESTION, WAS MORE OBVIOUSLY ANNOYED AND DISTURBED THAN I HAVE EVER SEEN HIM IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS OR ANY OTHER ISSUE. IN PART NO DOUBT HE RESENTS THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, IN SPITE OF HIS REPEATED PERSONAL REASSURANCES THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL NOT MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NEVERTHELESS KEEPS QUESTIONING HIS GOVERNMENT'S, AND THEREFORE HIS, GOOD FAITH AND INTENTIONS ON THIS SCORE, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. HIS DISTRESS MAY ALSO RELATE TO HIS FEELING THAT SOME OF HIS SCIENTISTS (PERHAPS GENERAL TANG ABOVE ALL) HAVE PUT HIM ONCE AGAIN INTO THIS EMBARRASSING POSITION. HE BELIEVES TOO THAT THE U.S. BECAUSE OF ITS UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE LATTER'S EXTREME

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VULNERABILITY, GIVEN OUR CHINA POLICY, IS DEALING WITH

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THIS GOVERNMENT IN A FASHION WHICH FEW OTHER COUNTRIES  
WOULD TOLERATE.

8. IT NOW APPEARS THAT GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT BUSINESS  
ON NUCLEAR MATTERS WILL HAVE TO BE CONDUCTED LARGELY WITH  
THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS IS WHAT APPARENTLY WAS MEANT  
TO BE CONVEYED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S ORAL MESSAGE TO  
ME ON AUGUST 26 (TAIPEI 5736). I ANTICIPATE THAT THE NEXT  
STEP IN THE DIALOGUE THAT I INITIATED TODAY WILL BE AN  
INTERVIEW WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER (OR POSSIBLY WITH VICE  
MINISTER CHIEN). THERE IS NO QUESTION OF COURSE THAT THE  
PRESIDENT WILL READ OVER WITH GREAT CARE THE LETTER FROM  
SECRETARY VANCE AND THE TALKING POINTS. THEREAFTER, WE  
WILL PROBABLY RECEIVE BOTH SOME ORAL RESPONSE FROM THE  
FOREIGN MINISTER AND PROBABLY A WRITTEN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT  
OF THE SECRETARY'S LETTER. MEANWHILE AND AFTERWARD WE WILL  
HAVE TO CONTINUE AS IN THE PAST TO MAKE OUR JUDGMENTS ON  
THE BASIS ALSO OF THE OTHER INFORMATION WE ARE ABLE TO  
GATHER.

9. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I WAS NOT ABLE TO VOLUNTEER  
THE INFORMATION IN PARA 5 OF REFTEL A, WHICH I HAD INTENDED  
TO SAY TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY RATHER THAN WAITING FOR  
HIM TO REPEAT HIS ALREADY MANY TIMES REPEATED OFFER. WE

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WILL TRY TO CONVEY THE CONTENTS OF THAT PARAGRAPH TO THE  
GROC IN ANY CASE BUT I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT FURTHER SERIOUS  
CONSIDERATION WILL BE GIVEN TO THE PRESIDENT'S MUCH  
BROADER INVITATION.    UNGER

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