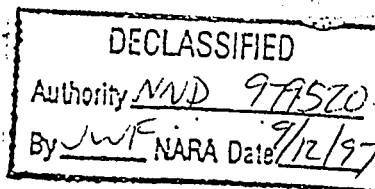


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONTOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLYMEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Prime Minister Chou En-lai
Tang Wen-sheng, Interpreter
Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger
Commander Jonathan T. Howe, NSC Staff
Mrs. Bonnie Andrews, Notetaker

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, November 14, 1973
7:35 a.m. - 8:25 a.m.

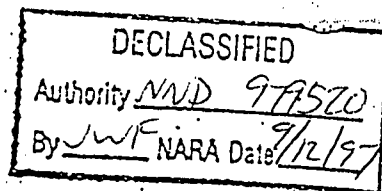
PLACE: The Guest House
Peking

* * *

Prime Minister Chou:

And only by viewing it in that manner can we remind ourselves not to slacken our vigilance. That is the same for the coastal areas, for they are bound to come by the flanks. And because they have been here before, they are more familiar with the coastal areas of China. And, therefore, we must envisage that there will be a period when we will have to be fighting alone and that will be the basic military concept.

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Before we had spoken about four quarters attacking us at the same time. We are not talking about that now.

Secretary Kissinger: You would be wasting your resources to be protecting yourselves against us.

Prime Minister Chou: So we are not going to go into detail now but we have put forward such a proposition. And under those circumstances, if as you envisaged it would be possible for you to cooperate with warnings, that would be intelligence of great assistance. And, of course, there are also communications networks. But this must be done in a manner so that no one feels we are allies.

Secretary Kissinger: I agree.

Prime Minister Chou: And, therefore, indeed that would require very good consultations. The word "concrete" consultations (in the communique) is a correct one indeed.

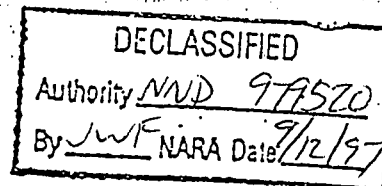
Secretary Kissinger: Mr. Prime Minister there is no way we can establish a hot line secretly.

Prime Minister Chou: Yes, I understand that.

Secretary Kissinger: But once the line is established, we can give it the purpose you described yesterday and that can be kept secret.

Prime Minister Chou: And because it is so concrete and complex an issue, we need to study it before we can consult you further. One of the levels of such consultation would be as the document yesterday said (referring to the Joint Communique) at "authoritative levels." That was your proposed sentence and we thought it should be used. It was also put into the language that will be published that we would engage, while not negotiating on behalf of third parties, in concrete consultations. Now that you are Secretary of State perhaps you may not find you have so much time as before. But we also appreciate the fact that you have stayed only one-half days in the other countries and you have stayed four days here. After traveling in a cyclone to the others, you stay here four days. And the result of that is

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that we are meeting here this morning. And, therefore, besides your coming in person, we will have contact with each other in the Liaison Office. That would be Ambassador Bruce here and Huang Chen there. And that would be done only through him and one interpreter. And he will know because he is a military man and he understands fighting. In this sense he will not be speaking in abstract ways and dwelling on grand principles. And on our part here, myself, Marshall Yeh, and the Vice Minister, Tsai Hung-ching, whom you met the other day, would be the only ones involved. Of course, when we go into the details of this work, then we might also want to add some others. Your side already includes the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the JCS and his assistant.

Secretary Kissinger: But your Ambassador should talk only with me. Because those who know do not know what I have told you. And, frankly, so that you understand, I will tell my colleagues only each step as we decide it -- not more. In that way there is the least danger of a leak.

Prime Minister Chou: Yes. Because we know that you can keep secrets, but you must be very strict when you want to do that.

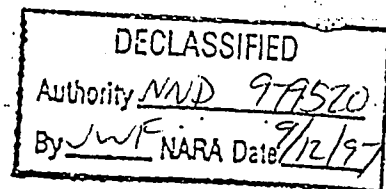
Secretary Kissinger: Yes.

Prime Minister Chou: And on our side, of course, the main persons would be myself and Marshall Yeh and also our assistants. And even if the decision would be made by our side, everything will be done with this channel.

Secretary Kissinger: We are confident that you know how to defend secrets.

Prime Minister Chou: Because these secrets are slightly different than the other subjects and must be treated accordingly. And also when there are communications through the air, they can be of various types. Because communication through the air are not confined to one type now but to various types and then people can decode the messages. And I think that is all I might say for now. And as for the next step, when we have finished considering the matter, we will ask Ambassador Huang Chen to contact you. Perhaps he will have to come back in the interim so we can discuss it.

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Prime Minister Chou: As for the matter you mentioned yesterday, the signing of the treaty for accidental war, that is the treaty that you signed last year on the visit to Moscow.

Secretary Kissinger: Yes, and you understand that we don't care about the treaty, we just wanted an excuse to sign a hotline agreement. And the Soviet Union could not object since they signed the same treaty with us.

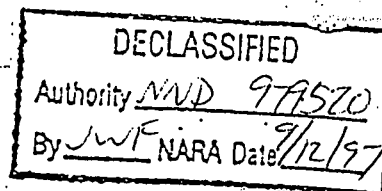
Prime Minister Chou: We will have to study such issues because taking the nature of our country if we want to adopt such a course of action that would have great impact internationally. They know we are not talking empty words.

Secretary Kissinger: Why don't I. . . . we have rewritten the treaty to adapt it to Chinese conditions. If you would want me to, I could leave a copy here or I could give it to your Ambassador in Washington.

Prime Minister Chou: If it is too inconvenient, it can wait.

Secretary Kissinger: The principal obligation of the treaty is that if either side launches, they can communicate it rapidly to the other side. And that also is our interest in suggesting it. It has the advantage of creating an obligation of informing each other of an unauthorized launch, of detecting something which is unidentified on radar. But we are also prepared to establish a hotline directly without a treaty. Our thought would be to link our end of the hotline to the satellite and then work out with you how

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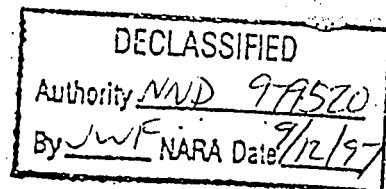


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this could go quickly and directly to you. Here are the two documents -- one is linking a hotline and an accidental war agreement. The other is simply the hotline. You can have both of them together or separately. [Hands over documents attached at Tab A.]

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MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA REGARDING
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS
LINK.

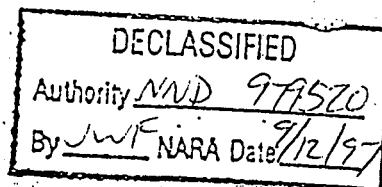
The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China have agreed to establish direct communications links between the two governments for use between the heads of government in time of emergency.

Each government shall be responsible for the arrangements for the links on its own territory. Each government shall take the necessary steps to ensure continuous functioning of the links and prompt delivery to its head of government of any communication received by means of the links from the head of government of the other party.

Technical arrangements for establishing and operating the links will be the subject of an additional memorandum of understanding between the two governments and shall form an integral part of this memorandum.

Done in duplicate in the English and Chinese languages at

_____, this _____ day of _____, 1972.



AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The United States of America and the People's Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Parties;

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

East Party undertakes to maintain and to improve, as it deems necessary, its existing organizational and technical arrangements to guard against the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under its control.

Article 2

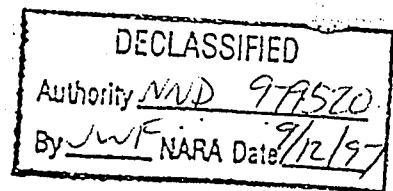
The Parties undertake to notify each other immediately in the event of an accidental, unauthorized or any other unexplained incident involving a possible detonation of a nuclear weapon which could create a risk of outbreak of nuclear war between them. In the event of such an incident, the Party whose nuclear weapon is involved will immediately make every effort to take necessary measures to render harmless or destroy such weapon without its causing damage.

Article 3

The Parties undertake to notify each other immediately in the event of detection by warning systems of unidentified objects, or in the event of signs of interference with these systems or with related communications facilities, if such occurrences could create a risk of outbreak of nuclear war between the two countries.

Article 4

Each Party undertakes to notify the other Party in advance of any planned missile launches if such launches will extend beyond its national territory in the direction of the other Party.



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Article 5

Each Party, in other situations involving unexplained nuclear incidents, may inform the other Party or request information when, in its view, this is warranted by the interests of averting the risk of outbreak of nuclear war between the two Parties.

Article 6

For transmission of information, notification and requests for information, the Parties, at their own discretion, may use any communications facilities, including any Direct Communications Links, depending on the degree of urgency.

Article 7

The Parties undertake to hold consultations, as mutually agreed, to consider questions relating to implementation of the provisions of this Agreement, as well as to discuss possible amendments thereto aimed at further implementation of the purposes of this Agreement.

Article 8

This Agreement shall be of unlimited duration.

Article 9

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

Done at _____ on _____ 1972,
in two copies, each in the English and Chinese languages, both
texts being equally authentic.