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JCS 2118/292-2

17 April 1981

Pages 7 - 13, incl.

REPORT BY THE J-5

to the

JOINT CHIEFE OF STAFF

On

UNITED STATES-CHINA SECURITY RELATIONSHIP (U)
Reference: JCS 2118/292-1

#### DECISION

- 1. At their meeting on 28 April 1981, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, after making amendments, approved the recommendations in paragraph 11 of this report.
- 2. Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), was sent as JCSM-159-81, 11 May 1981, to the Secretary of Defense.
- 3. This decision replaces the paper. Holders are requested to descroy the superseded paper in accordance with security regulations.

DECLASSIFIED
BY Joint Stoff
DATE Oct 15, 1998

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JCS 2118/292-2

(Paper revised by Decision) ( ) (1) (1) (1) (2)

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UNITED STATES-CHINA SECURITY RELATIONSHIP (U)	j
THE PROBLEM	2
1. (8) To provide JCS views on the United States-China	3
security relationship and to propose to the Secretary of	4
Defense that an interagency study be initiated to review	5
that relationship.	. 6
FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM	2
2. (U) On 18 December 1978, President Carter announced	8
that, as of 1 January 1979, the United States would recognize	9
the PRC as the sole legitimate government of China. The	10
President indicated at that time that normalization was not	11
motivated by the idea of an alignment against any third	12
country and that improved relations did not indicate a	13
strategic alliance.	14
3. (U) In January 1980, the Secretary of Defense visited	15
China. This visit served to highlight the security aspects	16
of the new United States-China relationship. The visit also	17
laid the basis for the sale of military-related equipment	18
and technology, as well as increased defense-related contacts	19
and exchanges.	20
4. (U) In May 1980, the PRC Vice Premier visited the United	21
States. This visit gave substance to the framework established	22
by the Secretary of Defense and solidified the first steps	<u>23</u>
in the new security relationship between China and the	24
United States.	<u>25</u>
5. (3) On 21 July 1980, the Chief of Staff, US Army, proposed*	26
that the Secretary of Defense recommend an interagency	<u>27</u>
review of United States-PRC security relations in light of	<u>28</u>
the increasing number of issues being generated by expanded	<u>29</u>
contacts with the Chinese.	<u>30</u>

\* Attachment to JCS 2118/292

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military aspects of the security relationship requires a searching interagency review.  10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  1. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to IDS liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.	6. (6) On 27 August 1980, the Joint Chiefs of Staff requested*	'
Full implications of the United States-China relationship.  DISCUSSION  7. (U) For discussion, see Enclosure A.  CONCLUSIONS  8. (U) The assessment and conclusions in Enclosure A should be adopted as JCS views on the military implications of the United States-China security relationship.  9. (U) The complex interrelationship between civilian and military aspects of the security relationship requires a searching interagency review.  10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  11. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	that the Director, Joint Staff, initiate, in collaboration	
DISCUSSION  7. (U) For discussion, see Enclosure A.  CONCLUSIONS  8. (U) The assessment and conclusions in Enclosure A should be adopted as JCS views on the military implications of the United States-China security relationship.  9. (U) The complex interrelationship between civilian and military aspects of the security relationship requires a searching interagency review.  10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  11. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to IDS  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	with the Services, a broad in-house study to address the	
7. (U) For discussion, see Enclosure A.  CONCLUSIONS  8. (U) The assessment and conclusions in Enclosure A should be adopted as JCS views on the military implications of the United States-China security relationship.  9. (U) The complex interrelationship between civilian and military aspects of the security relationship requires a searching interagency review.  10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  11. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to IIS  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	full implications of the United States-China relationship.	
CONCLUSIONS  8. (U) The assessment and conclusions in Enclosure A should be adopted as JCS views on the military implications of the United States-China security relationship.  9. (U) The complex interrelationship between civilian and military aspects of the security relationship requires a searching interagency review.  10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  11. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Mortheast Asia Branch, J-5	DISCUSSION	
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10. (U) Enclosure A should be provided to the Secretary of Defense for use in the interagency review.  RECOMMENDATIONS  1. (U) It is recommended that:  a. (U) Enclosure A be approved.  b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to IDS liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	searching interagency review.	1
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conclusions, be sent to the Secretary of Defense.  c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under  JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	b. (U) The memorandum in Enclosure B, with its Appendix	19
c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be furnished to other agencies except as authorized under  JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders of unified or specified commands except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	and Enclosure A (less its Annex), reflecting the above	20
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JCS MOP 39.  d. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to commanders  of unified or specified commands except as authorized  under JCS MOP 39.  e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except  as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	c. (U) Copies of the memorandum in Enclosure B NOT be	22
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e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US  liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except  as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	of unified or specified commands except as authorized	26
liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except  as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	under JCS MOP 39.	27
as authorized under JCS MOP 39.  Action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	e. (U) Copies of this paper NOT be sent to US	28
Action Officer: COL J. A. Smith, USA Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	liaison officers assigned to NATO activities except	<u> 29</u>
Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	as authorized under JCS MOP 39.	30
	Northeast Asia Branch, J-5	31

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ENCLOSURE A

JCS ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED STATES-CHINA SECURITY RELATIONSHIP (U)

(58 pages)

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Enclosure A

# JCS ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED STATES-CHINA SECURITY RELATIONSHIP (U)

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1. Introduction	:	8
2. General Considerat	ions	16
3. Spectrum of United	States-China Relations	18
4. Conclusions		41
5. Recommendations		43
ANNEX POSSIBLE AREAS OF SECURITY COOPERAT	UNITED STATES-PRC	A-1

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JCS ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED STATES-CHINA SECURITY RELATIONSHIP (U)	1
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A. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (U)	3
1. (2) Purpose. The purpose of this study is to provide	4
a JCS assessment of the United States-China security relation-	<u>5</u>
ship for use in an interagency review.	<u>6</u>
2. (U) Overview	7
a. (U) Introduction	8
(1) (S) Sino-Soviet estrangement has provided opportuni-	9
ties for China and the United States to consider a	10
security relationship that would serve the interests	· u
of both. Common concern for the Soviet Union's	12
military expansion stimulated the relationship and	13
led to the normalization of diplomatic relations.	14
Subsequently, the United States-China security relation-	<u>15</u>
ship has assumed both global and regional significance	16
and has expanded to include a number of converging and	<u>17</u>
parallel interests. The implications of United	18
States-China relationships extend to other Asian	19
nations, whose views must also be considered as the	20
pace and direction of the future US security relationship	21
with Beijing is determined.	22
(2) (2) The United States regards China as an increas-	23
ingly important nationone that contributes to the	24
global balance, primarily by occupying Soviet forces	25
along its border, and to Asian stability, by dampening	26
North Korean aggressiveness and inhibiting Vietnamese	27
adventurism. By continued development of its relation-	20

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ship with China, the United States hopes to increase

channel China into activities that reinforce political,

economic, and military stability in the Western Pacific.

Soviet concern about the USSR's Asian flank and to

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The United States also seeks to profit from China's capabilities to counter Soviet influence wherever possible in the Third World.

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- power, in the military sense, with distinct military and economic weaknesses vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. China seeks in its security relationship with the United States the preservation of its territorial integrity from Soviet aggression and the acquisition of modern technology to assist in development of its economy and industrial production base. Beijing, in pursuing its interests, supports a strong NATO, opposes expansion of Soviet influence in Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf, seeks to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula, and operates to contain Vietnamese adventurism in Southeast Asia.
- (4) (6) Nonetheless, despite the common Soviet threat and frequently converging mutual interests, both the United States and China have independent national objectives that sometimes conflict. These divergent interests, limited Chinese resource capabilities, and the unpredictability of China's leadership will circumscribe the potential of a more formal security relationship. Moreover, until it is resolved, the issue of Taiwan likely will constrain the relationship.
- b. (U) Spectrum of United States-China Relations
  - (1) (1) The spectrum of possible security relations is theoretically very broad, ranging from the kind that existed before diplomatic normalization to extremely close relations. The implications for future US policy are outlined below in a brief assessment of

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three possible courses of action: Continuation and/or gradual expansion of the current United States-China security relationship; a retrenched or reduced security relationship; and a significantly enhanced United States-China relationship.

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(2) (2) Continuation or Slight Expansion of Current United States-China Security Relations. Continuation or slight expansion, over time, of the current relationship would aim to encourage a common approach to mutual security matters and contribute to deterrence of Soviet military expansionism in Asia, with minimum negative impact on other Asian nations. Such relations would reinforce Beijing's capability and willingness to act independently of Soviet influence and would dampen prospects for development of any Sino-Soviet relationship inimical to US interests. For the United States, continuation or slight expansion of its security relations with China offers the minimum risks, given China's domestic and foreign policy uncertainties. It also provides room for expansion and US security policy flexibility. As a result of a gradually expanded relationship, major near-term improvements in China's military capabilities are unlikely. Nevertheless, late in this decade, its defensive capabilities and credibility as a deterrent to the USSR could improve.

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(3) (3) Retrenched Security Relations. A retrenchment 1 of the existing United States-China security relation-2 ship would be viewed as a fundamental change in US 3 policy that would reduce China's perceived effectiveness 4 as a counterweight to the USSR and decrease the <u>5</u> apprehension of the Soviets concerning a United <u>6</u> States-China axis against them. China's leadership <u>7</u> would likely limit its broad support for US policy and 8 9 actions and would be wary of what such a policy implied for United States-Soviet relations. A <u>10</u> hardening of the US technology transfer policy would 11 threaten China's modernization program and dim consider-12 ably its prospects for internal economic development. 13 A retrenchment in US security relations with China 14 would cause some unease and concern among friendly 15 Asian nations largely because of China's anticipated 16 17 negative response to such a change. Most Asian nations, however, would view favorably the prospect of 18 a China with continued limited military and economic <u> 19</u> 20 capabilities. Beijing's attitude toward Taiwan and 21 its friends would likely take on a more rigid, less 22 flexible approach. (4) (8) Significantly Enhanced Security Relations. <u>23</u> A highly active, significantly enhanced United States-24 <u>25</u> China security relationship would seriously complicate Soviet military planning in Asia. Moscow would view a <u>26</u> 27 greatly expanded relationship as a danger to its 28 security, seeing much closer links as part of a US-backed global system directed against the USSR. 29 China would view favorably the enhanced relationship 30

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	as improving its security and facilitating development	:
	of its technological and industrial infrastructure.	3
	Beijing's willingness to oppose Soviet military	:
	expansionism would be reinforced, while the prospects	:
4	for Sino-Soviet rapprochement would be further reduced.	. :
	(5) (2) Any US assistance program aimed at significantly	9
	improving China's military capabilities, however,	
	would remain limited by Beijing's inability to absorb	1
	large amounts of modern technology. Even with major	9
	transfers of US technology and materiel, China's	10
	military forces would remain severely outclassed by	<u>u</u>
	Soviet forces through the end of the decade. In	13
	addition, the near-term military threat to Taiwan	1:
	likely would not increase substantially. A significant	14
	expansion of the present United States-China security	15
	relationship would be very disturbing to friendly	16
	Asian nations, particularly Japan. Most do not trust	17
	China and believe Beijing would sooner or later	J. <u>E</u>
	attempt to achieve at least a degree of hegemony in	19
		20
	the region.  (U) Summary of Major Conclusions	21
	a. (8) The current United States-China relationship has	22
	thus far benefited both countries. It provides a basis	23
	for further improvement. US ties with China have compounded	24
	uncertainty for the Soviet Union, increased its concern	25
	for a two-front war, and complicated its planning	26
	Chicata shility to	27
	influence global affairs will continue to be limited, the	28
	influence global attaits will continue to be 1 miles.	==

United States must not establish unrealistic objectives

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regarding China and the role it can or should play in world events. The United States should, instead, build a strategy that improves current and projected Chinese military capabilities, attempts to focus those capabilities toward mutually advantageous goals, and prevents China from becoming an impediment to any future United States-Soviet relationship the United States may seek to develop. b. (8) A stable, independent, and friendly China could serve US interests by, among other things, countering Soviet expansionism and influence in Asia and elsewhere; supporting stability in Asia, especially on the Korean peninsula and in the China Sea; strengthening PRC defenses against the Soviet Union; and expanding dialog on a number of other areas of common interest. To accomplish this, the United States should proceed cautiously and discretely, pacing the relationship according to the overall state of United States-China relations, the views of US allies and friends, China's willingness and ability to participate, US domestic implications, and changes in the world situation. c. (8) The United States should continue carefully to explore what steps are necessary to assist China in laying the foundation for building and maintaining a military force that is sufficient for its defense needs relative to the Soviet Union and that supports US strategic objectives. Any steps must include due consideration of their potential contribution to the

development of Chinese strategic weapons and power

projection capabilities.

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d. (8) The United States should conduct affairs with	=
Taiwan in a manner that considers PRC sensitivities and	2
reflects both the strategic importance of China and the	3
continuing value of Taiwan to the United States. The	4
United States should seek to promote a peaceful resolution	5
of the Taiwan issue, and in doing so demonstrate to Taiwan	6
and the PRC that it is in their mutual interest to cooperate	2
and the PRC that it is in their mutual indeterring	8
with the United States and its allies both in deterring	9
Soviet expansion in Asia and defending against the Soviets	10
in wartime.	11
e. (8) Military dialog with China should be broadened to	12
include a wider range of matters of mutual interest and	13
at lower levels in the Defense Establishment. This	
expanded dialog could include a selective program of	14
military observer exchanges, professional discussions,	<u>15</u>
and student exchanges at certain military schools.	16
f. (8) All aspects of the United States-China relationship	17
should be fully reviewed and evaluated. Such an evaluation	18
could best be accomplished through the interagency process.	19
(U) Recommendations	20
a. (6) The United States should proceed cautiously and	<u>21</u>
discretely in continuing to develop a security relationship	22
with China, with the objective of improving Chinese	23
military capabilities in accordance with mutually	24
advantageous goals.	<u>25</u>
b. (8) The United States should encourage progress	26
toward a stable, secure China that can contribute to	27
regional stability and mutual security objectives.	28
c. (8) An interagency review of the United States-China	29
security relationship should be conducted as a matter of	30
security relationship should be commended to	31

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priority.

в.	THE	UNITED	STATES-CHINA	SECURITY	RELATIONSHIP	(	U
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### 1. (U) Introduction

a. (2) The purpose of this study is to provide a JCS assessment of the United States-China security relationship for use in an interagency review.

### b. (U) Global Aspects

- (1) (\*\*) Development of the United States-China security relationship must be considered in the context of its global and regional significance and implications. Foremost is the increasing military threat that the Soviet Union constitutes to the United States and the Free World. Either unilaterally or in concert with Soviet Bloc countries, the USSR has the military capability to seriously threaten the physical security of the United States and its allies.
- (2) (2) Soviet military expansion in several areas of the world during the past decade has provided a clearer focus for US concern and stimulated efforts to deal more effectively with this growing threat. In addition to focusing attention on improving its own warfighting capability, the United States has been encouraging greater emphasis on collective security.
- (3) (3) Recent development of the United States-China relationship has, for the most part, been stimulated by a mutual concern for the Soviet Union's military expansion and use of surrogates throughout the world. This concern has caused China and the United States to look to each other to halt advances in, and to eventually reduce, Soviet influence.

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(4) (6) The United States and the People's Republic of	<u> 1</u>
China (PRC) have several other parallel or converging	2
interests. China has moved to dampen North Korean	<u>3</u>
aggressiveness and inhibit Vietnamese adventurism,	4
emphasized more normal state-to-state relationships	<u>5</u>
with its neighbors and other Third World countries,	<u>6</u>
refrained from creating tensions with Taiwan, reduced	2
support to Communist insurgencies in Southeast Asia,	8
and moderated destabilizing activities among overseas	9
Chinese communities.	1.0
(5) (\$) From a global perspective, China operates	11
from a position of distinct inferiority to the	12
Soviet Union but pursues a strategy that, while	13
seeking to keep the USSR off balance, gains time	14
to pursue civil and military modernization programs.	15
Chinese military deployments and force structure,	<u>16</u>
both conventional and strategic, focus on deterring	17
Soviet or Soviet-backed Vietnamese expansionism.	18
Concurrently, China is encouraging a larger and more	<u>19</u>
forceful US global role to deter and counter the	20
USSR.	21
(6) (#) However, the United States-China relationship	22
and the policies that implement that relationship	<u>23</u>
should not be viewed only vis-a-vis the Soviet military	24
threat. The relationship must be based on achieving	25
broad US and Chinese national interests, as well as	26
those of other nations with which the United States	27
shares common aspirations.	28
(7) (8) Despite China's increasingly cooperative	29
stance in world affairs, the United States, as it	<u>30</u>
develops and refines its relationship with China, must	31

be sensitive to the concerns of other nations so that the results of new links do not create instability nor foster a sense of abandonment. Each proposed initiative needs to be examined with respect to its implications and possible damaging effects, especially among China's neighbors. Many Asian nations may increasingly view a strong modernized China as a greater threat than the Soviet Union.

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#### c. (U) Background

- (1) (2) Sino-Soviet estrangement provided opportunities for the United States to consider normalizing relations with China and the potential benefits that could accrue with such a move. As the split between Moscow and Beijing deepened (with armed border incidents occurr ng in 1969), the United States and China saw possibilities in a Sino-United States relationship that could provide a counterpoise against Soviet expansionism.
- (2) (U) During the 1970s, the US approach to relations with China and the Soviet Union was transformed from a framework based on equilibrium or equidistance to one providing for closer alignment with China. By the end of the decade, the United States and PRC had completed diplomatic normalization and initiated a number of contacts and exchanges adding substance to the relationship.
- (3) (3) China's industrial modernization and economic progress, in large measure, depend on domestic stability, the deflection of a significant external threat, absorption of foreign technical and economic

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assistance, and broadened trade relationships. The	1
Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, together with Soviet	2
efforts to exacerbate tensions in Southwest Asia and	3
the Middle East, are examples of common areas of	<u>4</u>
concern between the United States and China.	<u>5</u>
(4) (U) US View of the United States-China Relationship	<u>6</u>
(a) (U) General	7
1. ( The United States seeks to defend itself	8
as far from its boundaries as possible and	9
supports political and economic independence of	10
as many nations as possible. In global competi-	<u>11</u>
tion with the Soviet Union, the United States	12
seeks as many allies and friends as possible, a	13
policy that stimulates a closer security relation-	14
ship with Beijing.	<u>15</u>
$\underline{2}$ . (%) Since the early 1970s, US and Chinese	16
interests have increasingly converged, largely	17
though not exclusivelybecause of common	18
preceptions of a growing Soviet menace. Thus,	19
the United States seeks to maintain and further	20
develop cordial relations with China, but not at	<u>21</u>
the expense of other interests. China should	22
not become an impediment to any future United	<u>23</u> .
States-Soviet relationship that the United	24
States seeks to develop.	<u>25</u>
3. (*) The United States views China as contrib-	26
uting to a number of its interests: Support of	27
NATO, advocacy of stability in Northeast Asia,	28
support of Pakistan, and aid to Afghan resistance	<u>29</u>
elements. China is considered potentially	30
halpful to the United States in its attempts to	31

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areas, such as Southwest Asia.

insure unimpeded access to important resource

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4. (6) The United States has become increasingly	-
interdependent with a number of important Asian	2
trading partners, especially Japan. The success	3
these partners have achieved enhances United	4
States prosperity and security. Strengthened	5
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economic interdependence with Asian states also assures US economic access to both markets and	- 2
resources. Through good economic relations with	8
the United States, China may be encouraged to	9
become at least partially integrated into the	10
Free World economic system. A close relationship	11
with China also may assist the United States in	12
influencing the pace and character of Chinese	13
economic development. Moreover, economic ties	14
could encourage China's cooperation with its	15
Asian neighbors and the United States in a wider	16
range of mutually beneficial relationships.	17
(U) Current US Political/Economic Objectives	18
1. (9) A secure, friendly, successfully moderniz-	19
ing China that contributes to global balance and	20
stability in Asia in close consultation with the	21
United States.	22
2. (#) Improved bilateral relations, to include	23
expanded economic, political, and cultural ties	24
that reinforce Chinese ties to Organization of	25
Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)	26
countries while insuring maximum US benefit.	27

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(b)

3. (\$) Chinese participation in international

forums seeking solutions to common problems.

(c) (d) Current Global ob Section of the Control of	-
1. (6) Deter attacks against the United States	2
and against vital US interests worldwide,	3
including sources of essential raw materials and	4
associated lines of communication.	5
2. (8) If deterronce fails, fight at whatever	9
level of intensity is necessary to terminate the	7
conflict quickly, insuring that the US postwar	8
position is superior to that of any adversary.	9
3. (8) Prevent political and economic coercion	10
of the United States, its allies, and friends by	11
any enemy.	12
(d) (U) China's Role in Current US Strategy To	13
Support Global Security Objectives*	14
1. (>) Global conflict the United States will	15
encourage Chinese military initiatives that	16
would, in cooperation with US/allied actions,	17
tie down Soviet forces on the Asian landmass,	18
interdict lines of communications to Soviet	19
bases in the Pacific area, and prevent reinforce-	20
ment of Soviet forces in the Indian Ocean and of	21
the Northern and Baltic Flects. (There is	22
considerable doubt that China could or would	23
exercise this strategy even with massive US	24
assistance.)	25
2. (2) Regional Conflictthe United States will	26
encourage and support Chinese measures to halt	<u>27</u>
aggression by North Korea, Vietnam, or other	28
nations against the United States or its allies.	29
3. (3) Peacetime-the United States will, to the	30
extent possible, selectively improve cooperative	31
security measures and military-to-military contacts	32
with China to increase Soviet concerns about its	33
Asian flanks and to inhibit Vietnamose adventurism.	34

\* JCSN-270-80, 23 October 1980, "Joint Strategic Planning Document for FY 1983 through FY 1990, Part I (U)"

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(5)	(U)	China's	View	of	the	Unite	d_State	:s-China
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### (a) (U) General

1. (8) China's long-term objective is to become a powerful socialist state, able to defend itself against any potential aggressor. China aims to protect its territorial integrity and to become established as the dominant influence in Asia, while increasing its role in international affairs. Beijing hopes eventually to replace US and Western influence in Asia and to reverse expansion of Soviet influence and limit Japanese, Vietnamese, and Indian influence in the area. China would then encourage the United States to shift its attention to Soviet ambitions in Europe and the Middle East. 2. (8) As a developing nation, China faces complex economic problems. Limited financial assets continue to force difficult economic trade-offs. Having exploited most of the technology obtained in the 1950s and early 1960s from the USSR, China is now turning to the West for technology to increase development of its economy and industrial (including military) production base.

#### (b) (U) China's Political/Economic Objectives

1. (2) China stresses the formation of a broad united front of the United States, Western Europe, Japan, and moderate Third World countries against Soviet expansionism. The Chinese view themselves essentially as a regional power, in the military sense, with distinct military and economic weaknesses vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

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China defines its relationship with the United States as long term and strategic. This leads to China's interest in obtaining US technology and developing a relationship with the US defense establishment. While serious criticism of US policy has moderated, China will not hesitate to criticize US actions deemed contrary to its national goals. The PRC continues to publicly call for the withdrawal of US forces from the Republic of Korea and has not hesitated to criticize US actions relating to Taiwan. 2. (1) The high priority China attaches to modernization gives important weight to economic links and to technology and capital transfers from free market economies. Internationally, China has shown interest in joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), in obtaining "most favored nation" status in trading matters, and in creation of regional tree trade areas in China. The PRC expects that the United States will be a prime source for the type of economic infrastructure equipment and technology required to achieve modernization over the next 20 years. (c) (U) China's Defense/Security Objectives

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1. (8) China's Defense/Security Objectives

1. (8) China's most important security objective remains deterrence of Soviet aggression and, should deterrence fail, preservation of its territorial integrity and national interests.

The PRC will take strong action in defense of its territorial claims, including Taiwan.

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It recognizes its military resources are inferior to those of the Soviet Union and encourages the United States and its allies to counter Soviet military activities.

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2. (2) China views containment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) influence as necessary to reduce Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. China seeks to prevent any major conflict on the Korean peninsula to minimize the possibility of Sino-United States confrontation and to keep North Korea from turning to the Soviet Union in event of war.

3. (2) China, in pursuing its interests, supports a strong NATO to oppose the Soviet Union and its allies; is aiding resistance forces in Afghanistan; opposes the expansion of Soviet influence in Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf area; and encourages anti-Soviet activities in several other areas of the world.

## 2. (U) General Considerations

a. (\$\mathbb{F}) At present, the United States, unilaterally, is not capable of simultaneously detending Western Europe, Southwest Asia, and Northeast Asia. US strategic requirements demand improved US military capabilities and expanded cooperation among allies, friends, and potential friends. The evolving US relationship with China opens up new opportunities for cooperation that may assist in exploiting Soviet concerns about the USSR's Asian flank and that may serve to help deter Soviet expansion and aggression in the area. The Annex provides an illustrative list of politico-military and equipment-technology actions that may be pursued with the PRC, along with a preliminary judgment of gains and risks of those actions.

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b. (U) In an examination of the United States-China	1
security relationship, the following factors must be	2
considered:	3
(1) (3) China has national interests and objectives,	4
many of which do not converge with nor parallel those	<u>5</u>
of the United States or China's neighbors. Where	<u>6</u>
China views its interests at stake, it will not	7
compromise easily.	<u>8</u>
(2) ( $\pmb{\sharp}$ ) The political and economic aspects of the	9
relationship are extremely important and carry	۱ <u>٥</u>
their own strategic connotation. China's ability	11
to play a significant constructive role in US global	12
strategy rests largely in its ability to help deter	13
Soviet military expansionism. However, that ability	14
is circumscribed to the degree that China is a conti-	15
nental power, with a very limited ability to project	16
forces or directly influence global events.	17
(3) (2) The unity and stability of the PRC leadership	18
remains a major unpredictable element. Although	19
Chinese leaders have generally worked together to	20
protect and enhance basic PRC strategic, political,	21
and economic interests, political infighting has	22
disturbed the orderly conduct of foreign affairs.	23
(4) (8) Divergent mutual interests and limited	24
Chinese resources and capabilities will constrain	25
the potential of the relationship. The United States	26
should recognize those divergencies and limitations	2.7
and factor them into the development of any cooperative	28
security or defense arrangement.	29
(5) (5) The current Taiwan situation is a fundamental	30
problem between China and the United States and will	31
constrain the relationship until resolved.	32

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3. (*) Spectrum of United States-China Relations. In
theory, the spectrum of possible security relations between
the United States and China is very broad, ranging from
virtually none at all to exceedingly close. To identify and
examine the possible activities, events, and implications
that could characterize a specific relationship within this
broad spectrum, three general courses of action or cases are
outlined below. The cases are illustrative in nature and
address general situations that could occur in US security
relationships with China. They are not designed as discrete
options but rather as guidelines that could form the basis
for recommending a direction in the US national security
policy for China.

- a. (U) <u>Case 1</u>. This case describes a continuation or slight expansion of the current United States-China security relationship.
  - (1) (U) Such a relationship would be characterized by:
    - (a) ( ) Selective transfer of certain technology identified as having both military and/or nonmilitary end-use. It would exclude technology that would contribute to development of nuclear weapons or delivery systems, electronic warfare, intelligence-gathering equipment, or significant power projection capability. The transfer of certain selected items on the Munitions Control List would also be authorized. 26 <u>27</u> These items are presently limited to nonlethal military support items. Items requested would be

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addressed on a case-by-case basis and subject	
to review by appropriate US Government agencies for	3
their security implications to the United States	:
and to other nations as well. Emphasis would be on	4
the contribution the item makes to China's economic	5
infrastructure development.	9
(b) ( Selective, but gradually expanding, contacts	
between US and Chinese defense officials. These	. 5
contacts are controlled at the DOD/Ministry of	9
National Defense level and are being pursued	<u>L</u> C
generally on a guid pro quo basis. Discussions	Ü
have occurred on a variety of security-related	12
issues, largely centered on logistic, technological,	1
or training matters. They have excluded, thus	14
far, reference to operational matters. Contacts	1!
are expected to broaden to include a wider range of	10
matters of mutual interest and at lower levels in	1
the defense establishment. These contacts could	16
include a selective program of military observer	19
exchanges, professional discussions, and student	20
exchanges at certain military schools.	21
(U) US Interests Affected By This Relationship	22
(a) (U) Political/Economic Interests	2.3
1. (2) The present relationship encourages	24
China to participate in the world community	25
in a reasonable and cooperative manner.	26
China has supported US efforts to enhance	2
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its conventional state-to-state relations	1
with a number of Asian nations. China has	2
attempted to limit Soviet influence in India	3
and has considerably reduced its support to	4
insurgent movements in less developed countries.	5
China has also garnered support to oppose	<u>6</u>
Soviet insurgencies.	. 7
2. (2) Although the present relationship	<u>8</u>
encourages China's participation in the world's	. <u>9</u>
markets, the PRC economy is hampered by lack of	10
foreign exchange and managerial expertise. If	11
these economic problems are solved, China could	12
become an increasingly significant market for	13
the Free World.	14
(b) (p) Defense/Security Interests. The current	<u>15</u>
relationship encourages a common approach to mutual	16
security matters and contributes to deterrence of	17
	18
Soviet military expansionism in Asia and the	19
Western Pacific. The US strategy in Europe is	20
enhanced by the fact that some 45 Soviet divisions,	21
approximately one-quarter of the ground forces, are	22
deployed along the border with China. Under	23
present circumstances, China is unlikely to seek	24
rapprochement with the Soviet Union. The thrust	25
and pace of current Chinese military programs are	==

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not likely to upset the regional balance of power

in East Asia substantially.

## (3) (U) Implications

(a) (3) The maintenance of US-PRC defense	2
relations, at the current or slightly expanded	3
level, offers minimal risks, given the uncertainties	4
level, offers minimal tibes, given the such	<u>5</u>
of China's domestic and foreign policies. Such	6
relations would reinforce Beijing's capability	<u> 7</u>
and willingness to act independently of Soviet	
influence and would dampen prospects for develop-	. 8
ment of any Sino-Soviet relationship inimical to	9
US interests. If movement toward Sino-Soviet	10
rapprochement occurs, a Case 1 relationship	11
would provide flexibility for readjusting	12
security policies toward China.	<u>13</u>
(b) (b) Pursuit of a defense relationship with	14
China within carefully defined limits could help	<u>15</u>
to prevent or dispel exaggerated expectations	16
among Chinese leaders that could be counter-	17
productive to United States-China relations over	18
the long run. A slow and carefully measured	19
progression along current policy lines would	20
likely survive, relatively intact, all but the	21
most drastic change in Chinese leadership.	22
(c) (g) The capability of China to absorb technology	23
and to integrate modern material into its civilian	24
	25
and military systems is seriously limited. The	26
success of the United States-China security	27
relationship involving technology transfer will	28
be measured in Beijing by its compatibility with	29
The Chinese are	=-

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China's modernization programs. The Chinese are

aware of the difficulties and potential waste of 1 prematurely attempting widespread application <u>2</u> of advanced technologies; their main interest 3 will be primarily in the longer term payoffs. 4 (d) (d) Major near-term improvements in China's 5 military capabilities and materiel are unlikely 6 to occur as a direct result of this relationship. <u>7</u> Nevertheless, the credibility of China's defensive 3 capabilities, primarily Chinese conventional forces, 9 late in the decade will be affected by the degree 10 of access granted by the United States or other 11 Western nations to rivilian and defense-related 12 technologies. The access allowed under the 13 current relationship would permit gradual improve-14 ment in China's defensive capabilities above that 15 which the Chinese would be able to accomplish on 16 their own. Of equal importance would be assistance 17 aimed at improving Chinese military and logistic 18 19 support concepts. (e) (9) The capability of China to project meaning-20 ful military power beyond its borders would 21 continue to be constrained for many years. 22 Improvement of PRC military capabilities against 23 Taiwan would be minimal over the short term; 24 beyond 5 years, the potential danger may increase, 25 depending upon the specific US technology transfers 26 to the PRC, as well as the policy approach taken 27 by the United States toward Taiwan and Beijing's 28

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reaction to it.

(f) (8) Despite normalization of US relations	=
with the PRC, Taiwan has remained stable, prosperous,	_
and secure, although the potential for instability	3
does exist. Tensions in the Taiwan Strait are at	4
a 25-year low. Taiwan will continue to request US	<u>5</u>
arms sales to insure its security and to symbolize	<u>6</u>
a US commitment to that security. Continuation of	<u>7</u>
the present security relationship between the	8
United States and China is not likely to seriously	9
jeopardize Taiwan's situation or status. Continued	10
US arms sales to Taiwan, however, could disrupt	11
the United States-Chinese relationship.	12
(g) (8) While problems exist, Japan has sought	13
• •	14
to develop a broad network of relationships with	15
Beijing to help create a stable China, strengthen	16
its ties with China, and promote China's opening	17
toward the West. Although Japan has advised US	_
caution from time to time regarding US relations	18
with China, Tokyo's policies are congruent with	19
those of the United States, and continuation of	20
the current United States-China link likely would	21
find approval in Tokyo.	22
(h) (91 Both North and South Korea have exhibited	23
mixed reactions; each has expressed apprehension	24
and at reduced commitment by its	25

principal supporter. The North may see 12522	_
benefiting indirectly from China's acquisition	2
of US technology and from increased contacts	3
with Japan. The ROK sees the relationship as	4
lessening tensions on the peninsula and improv-	5
ing ROK economic opportunities with China.	<u>6</u> ·
(i) (%) Vietnam and Laos oppose any Sino-United	7
States relationship and continue to strengthen	8
ties with the Soviet Union. The Association of	<u>9</u>
Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), by and large,	10
accepts the present security relationship and	11
views it as helpful to Asian stability; the	12
nations generally do not view the current relation-	13
ship as threatening. Several have expressed	14
apprehension, however, as to its longer term	15
implications.	16
(j) (g) In South Asia, India views any improvement	17
in China-United States relations as potentially	18
threatening. It tears a Washington-Beijing-Islamabad	19
axis arrayed against it. India has moved as close	20
to the USSR as it is likely to. However, if the	21
United States-China relationship grows stronger,	22
India will be more likely to improve its security	23
ties with the Soviet Union. Pakistan and most	24
other South Asian nations support a closer United	<u>25</u>
States-China relationship, seeing it as inhibiting	26
India and the USSR from exerting undue influence	27
over them.	28
(k) (3) In Southwest Asia and the Middle East,	29
reaction to the United States-China security rela-	30
tionship is generally independent of political align-	31
ments with East and West, although some anti-Soviet	32

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countries would encourage the relationship	1
because it inhibits the USSR. Most countries in	. 2
Africa and the Americas would be indifferent	3
to a close United States-China relationship,	4
although those at the extremes would either	<u>5</u>
criticize or welcome it.	<u>6</u>
(1) (2) Western Europe and NATO countries have	7
encouraged United States-China security ties and	8
will likely continue so long as perspective and	9
balance are maintained. The relationship allows	10
for West European consultations on critical	$\overline{n}$
matters, and it allows them to benefit as well.	12
Most consider China an important factor in Asian	13
stability. They view Chinese forces arrayed along	14
the Soviet border as helping to deter the USSR in	15
a modest manner, although remaining skeptical, but	16
hopeful, as to their impact in a NATO-Warsaw Pact	<u>17</u>
war.	18
(m) (m) The Soviet Union has developed strategic	<u>19</u>
and conventional military capabilities that enable	20
it to fight, and possibly win, a conventional war on	<u>21</u>
the NATO central front and pose a threat to the	22
survivability of at least a portion of the fixed	<u>23</u>
land-based US strategic forces. It has, since the	24
early 1970s, expanded its influence by developing	25
new relationships with many states, especially in	26
Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Moscow perceives	27
the Sino-United States relationship as a threatening	28
two-front anti-Soviet alliance and, in conjunction	29

	with Japan, as an incipient littple bitterie.	_
	This alliance is viewed as a new attempt to	<u>2</u>
	contain the USSR and to provide an additional	<u>.3</u>
	counterweight against Soviet international	4
	aspirations. US support to China is considered by	<u>5</u>
	the USSR as leading to eventual buildup of China's	<u>6</u>
	military industrial potential, modernization of	<u>7</u>
	its Armed Forces, and modification of its defensive	8
	strategy. The likely response of Moscow to the	9
	current Sino-United States security relationship	10
	is to consolidate ties with its allies and protector-	11
	ates in Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle	12
	East and continue to improve its own military	13
:	capabilities to insure its position of superiority.	14
	(n) (p) The greatest problem for US planners	<u>15</u>
	in orchestrating the Case 1 scenario would stem	<u>16</u>
	from defining the degree of growth in the security	17
	relationship. The pace of the expansion would no	18
	doubt affect China's perception of the value of	19
	the relationship, and, accordingly, the development	<u>20</u>
	of this expansion must provide sufficient flexibility	<u>21</u>
	to extract the maximum advantage for US interests.	22
b. (U)	Case 2. This case describes a retrenched United	<u>23</u>
States	-Chinese security relationship.	24
(1)	(U) A retrenched security relationship would	<u>25</u>
be d	characterized by:	<u>26</u>
	(a) (🖍) A return to an "evenhanded" US policy	27
	vis-a-vis China and the USSR. It would begin	28
	with a gradual retrenchment in the transfer of	29
	technology, accompanied by return to a strict	30

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interpretation of commodity and munitions list	=
categories for China as a Communist country.	<u>2</u>
Chinese requests for export of military end-	3
use or related items would likely be refused;	4
communications satellite arrangements would be	5
delayed and perhaps canceled. Equipment requested	<u>6</u>
would nonetheless be considered on a case-by-case	7
basis. The United States would not provide China	<u>8</u>
with military arms. The United States would	9
conduct trade with China based on COCOM (Coordinating	10
Committee) regulations and would withdraw support	11
for China's "special status."	12
(b) ( More formal, less flexible contacts between	<u>13</u>
governments. Contacts among defense officials from	14
both countries would not progress beyond current	<u>15</u>
levels. A decrease in frequency, detail, and	16
importance in contacts would probably occur	17
over time. Visits would likely be pro forma	18
and without significant substance. Meaningful	19
exchanges of information would be even more	20
limited and restricted to only very selected	21
individuals.	22
(c) (p) Increased demands that Japan significantly	23
improve its defense capability and provide increased	24
support to other allies in the Pacific area. The	25
United States would encourage Japan's assumption of	26
more responsibility for Asian security and improved	<u>27</u>
shility to restrict Soviet moves in the region.	28

<u>2</u> <u>3</u>

	1
(2) (U) US Interests Affected By This Relationship	
(a) (U) Political/Economic Interests	2
1. (4) A more distant relationship with China	3
could reduce Soviet apprehensions concerning a	4
United States-China axis against the USSR.	<u>5</u>
Moscow would be less likely to take positive	<u>6</u>
action to break the United States-China linkage.	7
A reduction in the United States-China relation-	8
ship would be looked upon as a fundamental	9
change that would adversely affect US flexibility	10
vis-a-vis China and likely cause apprehension	$\overline{n}$
among Asian nations.	12
2. (9) Loss of technology infusion from the	13
United States and/or the West would inhibit	14
present Chinese plans for internal economic	15
development and discourage participation by	16
China in Asian Free World markets. Political	17
and economic access to China would decrease, as	18
would US potential to influence political or	19
economic matters.	20
(b) (U) Defense/Security Interests	21
1. (8) Curtailing development of United States-	22
Chinese security relations would reduce the	23
perception of China's effectiveness as a counter-	24
weight to the Soviet Union. It would likely	25
slow also the development of any Chinese strategic	26
military capability against the United States	27
but would have little effect on the threat to	28
China's land-linked neighbors.	29
2. (#) US Asian allies would look with some	30
relief at a continuation of China's limited	31
power-projection capability but would also	32
be apprehensive of a China unfettered by US	33
	-

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the United States and China concerning congruent	2
security interests, such as in Pakistan,	<u>3</u>
Afghanistan, and elsewhere, would likely	4
be reduced.	<u>5</u>
(3) (U) Implications	· <u>6</u>
(a) (>) A US retrenchment in China policy would	7
increase the chance of Beijing's normalizing its	· <u>8</u>
relations with the Soviet Union. However, a	9
major rapprochement, resulting in cordial Sino-	10
Soviet relations, would remain unlikely; funda-	11
mental differences will remain stumbling blocks.	12
However, some compromises involving mutual influence	13
in Asia and in border issues could occur. The	14
inability to obtain US technology could, if	<u>15</u>
accompanied by similar readjustments by other major	16
Western nations, lead Beijing to turn reluctantly	17
to Moscow for technological assistance.	18
(b) (b) Reduction in the current security relationship	19
would confuse China's leadership and could become a	20
major point of internal dissension. The Chinese	21
might seek to prevent a rupture in political	22
relations with the United States that would lead to	23
resumption of past hostilities. On the other hand,	<u>24</u>
the Chinese likely would limit their broad support	<u>25</u>
for US policy and actions. Chinese leaders would	26
be particularly wary of what such a policy implied	27
for United States-Soviet relations.	28
(c) (g) A hardening of US policy toward technology	29
transfer to China would pose a potentially serious	30
threat to Beijing's modernization programs,	<u>31</u>
particularly if accompanied by similar readjustments	32

influence. Prospects for cooperation between

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by other major Western nations. Chinese reaction	<b>-</b>
would be very negative in any case. Prospects for	2
China's internal development would dim considerably.	3
(d) (g) There would be no immediate impact on	4
Chinese military capabilities, but qualitative	<u>5</u>
improvements would be seriously constrained.	<u>6</u>
China's conventional military forces would become	<u> 7</u>
increasingly inferior relative to the Soviet Union	8
and would thus make the PRC more vulnerable to	9
Soviet pressure. The ability of China to project	1 <u>0</u>
military force beyond its borders would remain	<u>11</u>
severely limited.	12
(e) (s) The Taiwan issue could take on a new	13
significance. The PRC, anticipating a US	14
shift in policy, likely would assume a more rigid	15
posture with Taiwan and with the island's	16
political and economic friends. Taiwan's	17
leadership would welcome such a retrenchment,	18
but the island would still face similar inter-	19
national problems.	20
(f) (F) A retrenchment in US policy would cause	21
unease and concern in Japan. Tokyo considers that	22
it is in Japan's best interests, and those of the	<u>23</u>
United States, that China be drawn closer to the	24
industrialized demogracies by encouraging China's	<u>25</u>
pragmatic course and supporting Chinese	26
modernization. To do otherwise, the Japanese fear,	27
could risk reversal of China's current moderate	28
political and economic orientation and give impetus	29
to possible Chinese accommodation and reconciliation	<u>30</u>
with the Soviet Union.	31

<u>2</u> 3 4 <u>5</u> <u>6</u> <u>7</u> 8

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(g) (g) On the Korean peninsula, the North	1
would likely favor US retrenchment with China	2
and view events as improving prospects	3
for continued Chinese support for the North's	4
reunification goals. The ROK would look upon	<u>5</u>
the move as enhancing the US commitment to	<u>6</u>
its defense but would feel more threatened	2
by a North Korea less restrained by China.	8
(h) (P) Communist Indochina would favor retrench-	9
ment in United States-China relations, seeing it	<u>10</u>
as strengthening the Soviet position in the	11
world. ASEAN states would be less concerned	12
over the long-term PRC ability to seek hegemony in	13
the area, but fears of renewed PRC support for	14
local insurgencies would increase. Thailand,	<u>15</u>
especially, would view the threat as increasingly	16
dangerous.	17
(i) (2) In South Asia, the deterioration in	18
United States-China relations would likely not	<u>19</u>
serve to loosen Indian-USSR ties. India would feel	<u>20</u>
more confident about its position in the region;	21
Pakistan and most others on the subcontinent, much	22
less.	23
(j) ( Middle Eastern and Southwest Asian countries	24
yould view the evence independently of East-West	<u>25</u>
competition and would generally pursue their own	<u>26</u>
nterests. Reaction in Africa and the Americas	27
ould probably be very similar. Some might see	28
pportunities in moving closer to the United	<u>29</u>
tates.	<u>30</u>

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(k) (🔊 West European and NATO nations could	<u>1</u>
assess the situation as another confusing signal	2
assess the situation as another some assess	<u>3</u>
and see the directional change as another example	
of US wavering. They might also see such action as	4
a US move toward detente with the USSR at the	<u>5</u>
expense of both Europe and China. On the economic	<u>6</u>
side, Europe would be inclined to take over the	2
previous US role, but could find the Chinese	8
more difficult to deal with than earlier.	9
(1) (8) The Soviet Union would view its strategy	10
vis-a-vis its two major antagonists as correct and	11
continue to pursue present basic policies. Some	12
compromises with China might occur, but none that	13
would likely alter the objectives and thrust of	14
Soviet activities. The USSR could be more sanguine	15
about its eastern flank, an attitude that could	16
lead to reduction of Soviet forces along the	17
Chinese border. It would likely view its prospects	18
in the Pacific as improving. Confidence of the	19
Soviet Union in its performance throughout the	20
world would likely increase and with it some	21
corresponding expansion of its influence, unless	22
the United States moved to counter it.	23
. (U) Case 3. This case describes a significantly	24
nhanced United States-Chinese security relationship.	25
(1) (1) A significantly enhanced security relationship	26
(1) (2) A significantly eminined security which	27

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adequately defend themselves sooner against the Soviet conventional threat. China's access to technology and items of equipment contained in the munitions and commodity control lists would be significantly expanded to include offensive weapons that serve mutual interests. The United States would not categorically deny assistance or access to items that could improve China's power projection capabilities.

- (a) (3) High- and mid-level People's Liberation Army (PLA) and US military exchanges would occur with increasing frequency and lead to regular joint consultations concerning a wide variety of logistic, training, intelligence, and operational matters. Chinese military personnel would attend US military schools, including participation in high-level studies such as the Army War College Senior Fellows Program.
- (b) (a) Military personnel would be assigned to the US Embassy in Beijing to oversee military equipment transfers and perform liaison duties. Formal agreements concerning security matters such as military aircraft landing, ship visits, etc., would be encouraged and implemented. Selective combined planning would take place.

(c) (c) Active, coordinated, and integrated	:
civil/military efforts to lay a basis for a	2
modern Chinese defense industry would be formulated.	
Pormal cooperation against Soviet and Soviet	9
surrogate-backed activities and efforts to involve	:
China in multilateral security arrangements in	9
Asia would be undertaken.	
(2) (U) US Interests Affected By This Relationship	9
(a) (U) Political/Economic Interests	9
1. (9) A much closer relationship could reduce	10
the threat to US interests in Asia and stimulate	11
cooperation between China and the United States,	12
its allies, and its friends in the region. It	1.
could prompt the USSR to become more accommodating	14
with the United States on political and economic	15
issues. US flexibility, however, would be	16
constrained by its close identification with PRC	17
policies vis-a-vis Vietnam, India, and China's	18
•	19
irredentist claims.  2. (%) A much closer relationship with the	20
— · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	21
United States would likely enhance the	22
influence of China with, and respect from, its	23
neighbors. Such a relationship could provide	24
the framework for continued cooperation and	25
consultation on a variety of foreign policy and	==

balance-of-power issues. China would likely	1
become more fully integrated into the region's	2
economic markets, providing expanded trade	3
opportunities for the United States, Japan, and	4
the ASEAN countries. Although China's economic	5
problems might persist, longer-term Chinese	6
economic policies would likely become more	2
compatible with those of the West and would	8
reinforce other positive aspects of the closer	9
·	10
relationship.	11
(b) (U) Defense/Security Interests  1. (*) The primary long-term interest served	12
through close, active cooperation with the PRC	13
would be greater movement toward a balance to	14
the Soviet global threat. It could decrease the	15
direct threat opposite NATO Europe. The NATO-	16
Warsaw Pact balance, however, should be independent	1.7
of reliance on China. Enhanced cooperation	18
	19
would likely gain for the United States greater	20
insights into Chinese military strategy and	21
could create the potential to influence Chinese	2.2
decisionmaking. Chinese focus on more conventional	2.
modes of international behavior would further	24
deter support for "revolutionary activities"	2
throughout the world.	26
2. (2) A much closer relationship could cause	27
North Korea to realign itself more with the	28
Soviet Union, thus decreasing China's ability to	29
control activities on the Korean peninsula. The	30
relationship would seriously complicate soviet	

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military planning in Asia. The Soviets would be much less likely to consider redeployment of forces from the Chinese border toward NATO. They could, however, move to enhance or reinforce their own capabilities and those of Vietnam in Southeast Asia to counter the relationship and expected Chinese military improvements. Even under these circumstances, in the event of a major US-USSR confrontation, China would not likely grant US access to PRC facilities unless Beijing itself was already actively involved in the military conflict or perceived such involvement to be imminent.

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# (3) (U) Implications

(a) (6) A significant expansion of US-PRC defense relations would reinforce PRC willingness to oppose Soviet expansion, further lessening prospects for eventual Sino-Soviet rapprochement. Beijing would, however, exercise restraint in pursuing such ties, mindful of the danger of antagonizing Moscow too much and precipitating a rash Soviet response.

(b) (\$\sqrt{s}\$) Chinese leaders would for the most part welcome expanded ties, seeing in them the opportunity to enhance the security of China and to facilitate development of its technological and industrial infrastructure. Depending upon the the nature and pace of expansion, there would be danger of exaggerated expectations by some Chinese leaders, with a

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The state of the s

possible backlash detrimental to United States-Chinese	
relations over the long run. Similarly, concern by	3
conservative civilian and military groups could	
exacerbate internal Chinese disputes, leading to	4
doubts as to the proper extent of United States-	5
Chinese ties and of the Western orientation of	9
China's modernization programs.	3
(c) (g) China's capability to absorb modern	٤
technology will remain limited for the next few	9
years, imposing limits to significant external	10
assistance programs nimed at improving Chinese	ij
military capabilities. This absorptive capability	12
is likely to improve later in the decade.	13
(d) (g) Expanded US defense ties would facilitate	14
nodernization of Chinese military forces over the	15
	16
long run. However, major near-term improvement,	17
possible with large-scale infusion of materiel and	18
echnology, would likely be beyond Chinese, and	
perhaps US, capability to support. Even with major	19
ransfers of US or Western technology and materiel,	20
leijing's Armed Forces would remain severely	21
outclassed by Soviet forces until at least the end	22
of the decade. Their potential for successfully	23
ttacking Soviet forces across the border would	24
emain marginal at best. China's capability for	<u>25</u>
projecting military force, while still quite	<u>26</u>
imited, could be significantly improved in the	27
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(e) (8) The near-term PRC military threat to	±
Taiwan would likely change little. Late in	2
the decade, improved Chinese air and naval	3
capabilities would potentially increase the	4
danger to Taiwan. Taiwan would view events	<u> 5</u>
with increasing alarm and would intensify its	<u>6</u>
efforts to find friends and allies. If it saw	. <u>7</u>
events moving rapidly against it, Taiwan might	B
attempt to peacefully settle its problems with the	9
PRC. Provision of weapons to the PRC could lead to	<u>10</u>
greater flexibility in providing military arms to	<u>11</u>
Taiwan, within limits tolerable to Beijing.	12
(f) (8) A significant expansion of present US	<u>13</u>
policy to permit sales of weapon systems to	14
China would be very disturbing to Japan. Tokyo is	<u>15</u>
not sanguine at the prospect of weapons sales to	16
China by the West, including the United States,	<u>17</u>
although some Japanese may believe it to be	18
inevitable. Japanese leaders are not inclined	19
toward a trusting view of Beijing. They are aware	<u>20</u>
of the swings that have characterized Chinese	21
domestic and foreign policies and would not be	22
entirely confident that, in a decade or so, the	<u>23</u>
successors to the present Chinese leadership would	24
not adopt aggressive regional policies or a posture	<u>25</u>
of outright hostility toward Japan itself.	26

<u>1</u> <u>2</u>

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(g) (g) North Korea would be concerned that	
China would reduce its support for Pyongyang,	
increasing the likelihood of acceptance of a	
two-Koreas policy. The North would attempt	
to optimize its benefits from China's new technology	
but would likely look more to the Soviet Union to	. !
counter its "wavering" Chinese neighbor. Seoul	
would initially be very apprehensive as to the	. !
North's benefiting technologically, but could see	9
some longer term utility if China became less	Π
supportive of the North and more willing to deal	1.
with the South.	12
(h) (s) Vietnam and Laos would condemn any enhance-	1
ment of the United States-China security relationship,	14
would move toward the USSR, and would reluctantly	15
permit additional Soviet access to basing in the	16
area. ASEAN countries would see short-term benefits	17
to containment of Vietnamese expansionism but would	18
have longer term concern over the PRC achieving	19
regional hegemony.	20
(i) (🎢) In South Asia, significant enhancement of	21
the United States-China relationship would lead	22
India reluctantly to move more closely toward	23
Moscow to offset expected increases in Chinese	24
influence. Others would privately be encouraged,	25
looking for closer United States-China ties to	26
inhibit Indian dominance over them.	27

(j) (3) Reaction in the Middle East/Southwest	<u> </u>
Asian region would be independent of East-West	2
lines, with each country pursuing its own interests.	3
Reaction in Africa and the Americas would likely be	4
similar, but with less political movement.	<u>5</u>
(k) (g) Depending on how fast and how far the	<u>6</u>
relationship developed, West European and NATO	2
nations would generally approve of the direction of	8
the relationship and see it as contributing to a	<u>9</u>
more favorable balance of world power. They would	10
be disturbed, however, that the pace and intensity	$\overline{n}$
might reduce US attention and resources devoted to	12
European interests, particularly those concerning	13
oil matters. They would not want a United States-	14
China relationship to threaten European detente	<u>15</u>
with the Sovietsa policy accorded high priority	<u>16</u>
by most Western European nations. They would fear	17
that the world's free market economies would be	18
adversely affected by the diversion of large	19
conomic assets to China, and the dangers of rapid	20
djustment to the balance of power over which they	21
may have little control. They would not be sanguine	22
n the face of a possibly hegemonic China operating	23
n a vital area of the world. Consultations with	<u>24</u>
hese nations would be absolutely essential.	<u>25</u>
1) (% Moscow would likely view a close Sino-	26
nited States security relationship as transcending	27
egional matters and as increasing significantly	28
he danger to its own security. It would likely	<u>29</u>
iew the relationship as spearheading the emergence	30

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Japan, and NATO countries, directed against the USSR. Faced with such a situation, Soviet planners would reexamine their military capabilities and consider continued improvement to redress the perceived new imbalance. They might also attempt to reach an accommodation with one or more of the participants.  (m) (P) In such an accommodation, decoupling Western Europe would likely be viewed by the Soviet Union as the easiest course of action; secondly, decoupling Japan; then, depending on the state of relations, either China or the United States. The Soviets would probably see the United States as the country more inclined to bargain. On the other hand, assuming the USSR views its own political economic situation as sufficiently strong, it could attempt to escalate the situation and challenge the forces against it with renewed military strength.  4. (U) Conclusions a. (P) The current United States-China relationship has thus far benefited both countries. It provides a basis for further improvement. Us ties with China have compounded uncertainty for the Soviet Union, increased its concern for a two-front war, and complicated its planning efforts. Since it is likely that China's ability to influence		of a US-backed global system, including China,	1
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Since it is likely that China's ability to influence		uncertainty for the Soviet Union, increased its concern	25
Since it is likely that shift of the same		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<u>26</u>
global affairs will continue to be limited, the United 26		Since it is likely that China's ability to influence	<u>27</u>
<del>-</del>		global affairs will continue to be limited, the United	28

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States must not establish unrealistic objectives regarding

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China and the role it can or should play in world	1
events. The United States should, instead, build a	2
strategy that improves current and projected Chinese	<u>3</u>
military capabilities, attempts to focus those capabilities	4
toward mutually advantageous goals, and prevents China	<u>5</u>
from becoming an impediment to any future US-Soviet	<u>6</u>
relationship the United States may seek to develop.	<u>7</u>
b. (א) A stable, independent, and friendly China could	8
serve US interests by, among other things, countering	9
Soviet expansionism and influence in Asia and elsewhere;	10
supporting stability in Asia, especially on the Korean	11
peninsula and in the China Sea; strengthening PRC defenses	12
against the Soviet Union; and expanding dialog on a	13
number of other areas of common interest. To accomplish	14
this, the United States should proceed cautiously	15
and discretely, pacing the relationship according to	16
the overall state of United States-China relations,	17
the views of US allies and friends, China's willingness	18
and ability to participate, US domestic implications,	19
and changes in the world situation.	20
. (3) The United States should continue to carefully	21
explore what steps are necessary to assist China in laying	22
he foundation for building and maintaining a military	23
orce sufficient for its defense needs relative to the	24
oviet Union and that supports US strategic objectives.	<u>25</u>
my steps must include due consideration of their poten-	26
ial contribution to the development of Chinese strategic	27
	20

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d. (9) The United States should conduct affairs with	1
Taiwan in a manner that considers PRC sensitivities and	2
reflects both the strategic importance of China and the	3
†	4
continuing value of falwaii to the billied bearing	<u>5</u>
United States should seek to promote a peaceful resolution	<u>6</u>
of the Taiwan issue, and in doing so demonstrate to Taiwan	
and the PRC that it is in their mutual interest to cooperate	7
with the United States and its allies both in deterring	8
Soviet expansion in Asia and defending against the Soviets	9
in wartime.	10
e. (6) Military dialog with China should be broadened to	17
include a wider range of matters of mutual interest and	12
at lower levels in the Defense Establishment. This	13
expanded dialog could include a selective program of	14
military observer exchanges, professional discussions,	15
and student exchanges at certain military schools.	16
f. ()*) All aspects of the United States-China relationship	17
should be fully reviewed and evaluated. Such an evaluation	18
could best be accomplished through the interagency process.	19
(U) Recommendations	20
a. (2) The United States should proceed cautiously and	21
discretely in continuing to develop a security relationship	22
with China, with the objective of improving Chinese	23
,	24
military capabilities in accordance with mutually	25
advantageous goals.	26
b. (#) The United States should encourage progress	_
toward a stable, secure China that can contribute to	27
regional stability and mutual security objectives.	28
c. (6) An interagency review of the United States-China	29
security relationship should be conducted as a matter of	<u>30</u>
priority.	31

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ANNEX	-
POSSIBLE AREAS OF UNITED STATES-PRC	2
SECURITY COPPERATION	3
This annex lists a broad range of possible actions and	4
ctivities that could have an impact on the United States-China	5
ecurity relationship. It should be clearly understood	<u>6</u>
hat the individual actions, as well as the identification	. 7
f gains and risks accompanying each, are the result of a	8
ery limited appraisal. The Joint Chiefs of Staff do not	9
ecessarily endorse those activities that it has not	LO
pecifically approved. The actions or activities are	11
isted herein solely to stimulate further analysis during	12
no recommended interagency review.	13

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Annex

I. CONSULTATIONS (U)

COMPENT		Mould Likely confirm Soviet suspicions.	Should have proposals for follow-on contacts well planned.	Advise discretion in following Chairman, JCS, visit; allow impact to sink in.
SOVIET REACTION**	Public opposition; warming.	.1	trend. Same as above.	Accelerate deliberations to include regional counter plans to possible US-Chinese cooperation.
CHINESE CAPABILITY**	Can reciprocate. Linked to recent internal struggle,	Can reciprocate. May be seen as attempt to influence Chinese internal affairs.	FIA has no direct counterpart.	FLA may be unable to reciprocate.
RUSK	Perceived over- commitment.	Possible frustration if no per- ceived forwerd	Roesibly seen as greater US commitment than intended.	Oxuld contribute to potential FLA opposition to US ties.
GADN	Maintain momentum of relations.	Build on 1980 Visits; continue mutual assess- ments.	Open US-Chira to working military level contacts.	Open ties for CINCPAC that could benefit efforts in intelligence, plarming, and coordinating allied/friendly efforts.
FURPOSE	Establish nev US Admin relationship with Chinese Minister of National Defense	Ontinae momentum with new people.	Begin formal military con- tacts between joint staffs.	Establish theater ties between People's Liberation Army and CINCPAC.
POLICY*	No change	No change	No change Likely	No charge Likely
ACTION I	SECOFF visits	USD/ASD-level Visits	Chairman, JCS, visit	CINCRAC visit to China

\* In the absence of clearly defined policy, a change reflects a deviation from current guidelines. \*\* These entries include information that is SECRET-NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS.

SECRE	POLICY	PURPOSE	GAIN	RISK	CHINESE CAPABILITY	SOVIET REACTION	COMPENT
T Service Chief Visits to Ching.	No charge likely	Open working contacts between Services.	Framework for Service contacts as part of larger policy.	Same as for CINCPAC.	Internal discussion in PIA may hinder utility.	Would see as consistent with view of emerging US-China collusion.	Occrdinate closely with Chairman, CINCPAC visits. Anny first.
Fegular OSD- Fegular OSD- Ievel level discussions.	No charge likely	Institution- alize contacts. Framework for working-level Security Con- sultations Conference (SCC). Test extent of	Regular channels of commication Maintain pulse of developments	Perceived as joint planning vehicle. May become platform for Chinese thetoric.	Recent appointment of Geng Biao as MND indicates support for regular consultation with US.	View as collusion but possibly see as gain if US records frus- trated in deal- ing with China.	Semi-armual alternate host.
DNALS		Chinese willing- ness to cooperate in security metters.					
Regular Service-to- Service and major command consultations.	No change Likely	Facilitate professional contact, exchange of views on operational/doctrinal matters.	Regular pattern of contacts, consultations on common interest items.	Possible adverse reactions of Asia alliesmilitary establishment. Chinese may cooperate only	Chinese security consciousness may inhibit regular exchanges.	Diplomatic moves and plans to counter closer US-Chinese ties. Exploit Asian fears.	Key is to approach con- sultations as equals—identif early what the mutual gains ar

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COMPENT	Goal should be consultation, not agreements. Confirm credibility to consult or cooperate.	Potential area of for large US as payoff.  Requires carefulz centralized a monitoring by USG, delicate understanding of Chinese persibilities.
SOVIET REACTION	Diplomatic moves to undermine cooperation backed by expanded military capability in East Asia.	Would see as part of mid-to long-term program to upgrade Chinese capabilities against USSR. Step up wide range of measures to counter-reinforce borders; approach Soviet sympathizers in PLA.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Probably hesitant to participate in multi- lateral forum unless recognized as leading member.	Chinese systems have limited compatibility with US. Difficult to merge current US methods with Chinese decentralized system.
RISK	May be unable to establish meaningful dialogue. Other Asian may reject proposal	Overinvolvement in Chinese military development. Lack of understanding on part of US may hinder relations with FIA.
CAIN	Identify, discuss common interests; confront specific differences. Multilateral co-operation against Soviets.	Improve Chinese ability to support forward defense. Allow US to monitor and possibly influence direction of Chinese military improvements.
PURPOSE	Establish multi- lateral forums for discussions of common strategic issues.	Enhance Chinese support capabilities: set ties for possible future cooperation.
DELICATIONS	No change	Degree of US involvement probably requires new policy consensus, if not policy change
ACTION	Orsultations arong China- Japan-SBAsia- US	Onsult with Chinese on development of combat support/ service support systems
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	ayoffs cese cese control	i co
COMPEN.	Potential payoffs for US-Chinese Third Morid cooperation need to be explained more fully. Possible key to complex N-S versus E-K priority.	Fruitful area of cooperative effort, requiring careful consideration.
SOVIET REACTION	Probable increase in involvement, moves to reassure clients.	Octim impressions Pruithing of collusion; step area of up measures to cooperation offset US-Chinese effort, cooperation, requiring consider consider
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Provide direct small arms/advisory assistance to cc Ligrous areas. Influence in revolutionary movements recently diminished by pragmatic changes in government.	Chinese could use meetings to explain its strategic goals rather than engage in open dialogue.
RISK	Replace Soviet with Chinese in:fluence; results may be urpredictable.	US tendency to give more then required. Chinese reluc- tance to share Chinese exploitation of technical data. Com- promise of allies in exchanges.
GAIN	Chinese insights into revolutionary movements. Shift attention of revolutionary movements from Soviets to Chinese on US. Part of global, cooperative effort.	US access to Chinese intel- ligence info; US can selectively feed Chinese information.
PURPOSE	Explait common interests in countering/ reducing Soviet influence in Third World.	Share intelligence and views on Soviets; Cain Chinese perspective on Soviet influence/strategy.
DELICATIONS	Policy adjustment to facilitate arms, tech transfers to Chinese	Requires new State/ LOO approval consultation with Congress
ACTION	Collective security assistance to Third world to oppose Soviet-backed activities	Intelligence sharing programs strategic assessment meetings
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Annex

II. MILITARY-TO-HILITARY CONTACTS (U)

ACTION	POLICATIONS	PURPOSE	GAIN	RISK	CHINESE CAPABILITY	SOVIET REACTION	COMMENT
Bilateral doserver excharge	No change	Increase mutual understanding: learn more about PLA.	Better knowledge of Chinese cap- abilities/dis- positions.	Minimal risk. Need to find way for Chinese to afford.	Expensive for Chinese to fund their part of exchange.	See as part of larger pattern of US-Chinese cooperation.	fraditional form of inter- change among nations' Services.
Expand Oorps No charge of Engineer contacts	No charge	Expand professional contacts based on civil works ties.	Overlap with civil ties. Contribute to Chinese economic infrastructure. Means of facing systems differences in approaches to common problems.	Chinese absorb US contributions with little tangible return.	Indigenous methods/ s systems limits compatibility with US methods.	No direct objection.	Interrelationship among civil/military activities offers flexibility in working militarelationship.
Exchange training course material	No change. Ourrent OSD memorandum requires prior OSD (ISA) permission.	Facilitate professional excharges.	Intelligence gain for US. Better Chinese understanding of US systems. Possible influence on Chinese doctrine development.	Lack of US control over agencies who may make materials available.	Chinese reticence in distributing internal documents. Problem of face over concern that indigenous systems may appear backwards relative to US.	No direct reaction. May seek to exploit Chinese sources to gain access to US materials.	Specific program to allow access to unclassified meterials.

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	INCIMA	Ship visits flexible pol/mil	diplomatic tool. Should be pursued.			Flexible	tool, similar	wisits.	Requires	US-Chinese	coordination	1 3 10 1 2 4 2	be the most	level of	assistance needed.	
	SOVIE: REACTION	increase pace of own maval expansion. New	assistance to Vietnamese. Requests to Chinese for	Own visits. Increase pres- sure or ASEAN	for port visits.	Indicate direct	Concern. Increase wree.	sure on ASEAN	for similar	Possibly cos-	tive border	Increased	suspicion of collusion			
CHINESE CAPABILITY	The of Persons	modern ships. Have indicated continued	Cojection to sup- visits while US sells arms to Talwan.			Probably limit US	access to well- known air fields.	areas. Attempt	to exploit US	pand technology,	than actual image of cooperation.	Chinese likely to	be unable to reciprocate.	•		
ŭ Z	994	demands tied to	sales to Taiwan.			Allies	adversely;	some risk	promise.			Disclosure	matters be-	important;	risk of	material.
GAIN	Orinese formal	acceptance of US Navy presence. Intelligence cain.	Sign of coperation in countering ex- panded Soviet		•	Chinese indication of willingness to	cooperate with US.	Intelligence gain. Knowledge of	Chinese air fields.	Promote mutual understanding.		Chinese intro-	duced to stand- ard US military	education system; influence doctrinal	development of PLA.	
PURPOSE	Indicate normal-	ized military relations with China. Lay	basis for potential fleet support.	· .		ized military	relations.	ness to consider	military co-	operation with Chinese.		Provide	variety of technical and	courses to	Chinese Fulitary.	•
POLICY IMPLICATIONS	No change.	Anouncement of visits seen as indicator	of new commitment.		4	Some indicator	of new commit-	visits.			•	Yes:	if funded by FMS/	International	Education	and Trauning
SEON TON	THE Ship visits	SABLE	то го	REIGN	TACATE	\T1(	ONA - 7	ıLS				Parti- cipation		ou programs	×	
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COMMENT	Begin with individual exchanges. FRO program offers good initial source of exchange of ficers.	Key to success of survey is to approach as equal partner; recognize Chinese sensitivities
SOVIET REACTION	Incorporate opposition into propaganda campaign against US-Chinese collusion. Direct against US Asian friends and allies.	Voice strong opposition to US-chinese collusion. Speed up measures to strenghten security posture elsewhere ——
CHINESE CAPABILITY	May be too expensive for Chinese to fund their side without US assistance (PMS or DMET).	seen as direct Strong reservation sscalation of over full scale Ss-Chinese survey. Talitary co- speration.
RISK	Chinese may attempt to provide little in return for own exchanges.	Seen as direct escalation of US-Chinese military co-operation.
GAIN	Intelligence gain. Absorb Chinese techniques for inner-Asian theaters. Begin orientation of US Pacific communders.	in-depth Enhance knownit of ledge of Chinese military system; ties in basis for amms develop sales/security assistance decisions, military planning.
FURPOSE	Promote mutual understanding, contribute to development of overall relationship.	Provide in-depth assessment of Chinese military capabilities in order to develop cooperative effort.
POLICY	Yes: in order to authorize assignments and funding	Yes: symbol of direct military involvement
ACTION	Individual and unit exchange	Security Assistance Survey Team
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COMPENT	DOD must respect Chinese sensitivities to appearances of aid/ advisers. Emphasize treatment as equals. Coordinate closely with DMO.	logical step in progression of professional exchanges—rade subject to favorable development of relationship at less involved levels.
SOVIET REACTION	Direct warnings to US and China about deferse cooperation.	Direct Soviet propaganda reaction. Step up efforts to undermine US-Chinese cooperation; attract Asian allies.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Chinese may hesitate to allow full-scale LOO: see as indicator of interference. Other countries will request similar facilities.	Training in China very expensive.  Chinese hesitancy to allow US troops in country.  Sensitivity of other Asian countries to Chinese training outside China.
RISK	Raise Chinese expectations too high.	Benefits may not be long lasting-not corrersurate with long-term cost of cormit- ment implied.
GAIN	Direct coordination with Chinese MND. Centralized country coordination capability.	Direct contact with Chinese units. Possible influence on development of Chinese capbilities. Chinese familiarity with US operations.
PURPOSE	In-country office to facilitate defense cooperation.	Promote matual understanding, move toward possible interoperability.
POLICY	Yes: implies arms sales; direct military cooperation	Yes: involves direct military exchanges, assistance
NCT10N	Deferse Cooperation Office (DOO)	Ombined bilateral training

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COMPENT	Would represent culmination of security relationship. Undertaken only under conditions of impending conflict/carefully coordinated with allies.	Wuld represent culmination of security relation- ship. Considered as measure against Soviets only under conditions of impending	
SOVIET REACTION	Intense reaction matched by build- up of capabilities. Require more detailed planning to counter US- Chinese co- operation.	Onsider directly threatening to security in East Asia. Probably take indirect steps to hinder US movement of units.	
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Hesitant to share planning resources, capabilities.	Training in Chinese territory. Chinese will attempt to exploit US equipment, systems. Unlikely to move to exercises short of impending conflict.	
RISK	International reaction, especially emong allies suspicious of bilateral ties. Chinese may not commit assets, exploit US strength.	International reaction to cooperation. Large-scale connibunt of resources may detract from other priorities.	
GAIN	Close coordination with Chinese against Soviets. Us understanding of Chinese capability and intent in war against Soviets. Influence Chinese planning.	Close coordination with Chinese in event of global conflict with Soviets. Clear understanding of Chinese capabilities would support US plaming.	
PURPOSE	Promote Chinese-US Coperation in global Conflict.	Promote inter- operability. Batablish capability to conduct combined operations. Promote Chinese IS cooperation in global	continct.
DELICATIONS	Yes: major policy charge	Yes: major policy change	
ACTION	Combined military planning	Combined military exercise	

# III. BOULPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER (U)

COMPENT	Greatest continued impact would be on US system.	Mitually beneficial purchase.	Chirese now have agreement to purchase French
SOVIET REACTION	Soviets probably assume favorable US treatment for Chinese.	No direct re- Mutually action. On- beneficial sider as part purchase. of general military buildup.	View as part of long term, general buildup.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Chinese unfamiliar with US transfer mechanisms.	Purchase of shorthaul aircraft may be on margin of priority for Chinese purchases. Can absorb technically.	Lack of funds pre- cludes large-scale purchase. May look to coproduc- tion agreement.
RISK	Ohinese may attempt to exploit by excessive demands for high technology.	Improve lift capability for operation against Taiwan and land-connected Asian nations.	Improve lift capability for operations against land-connected Asian states.
GAIN	Greater policy flexibility: allow case-by- case assessment.	Step toward improving chinese ability to move and supply FIA. Benefit to US sales. Spinoff contribution to Chinese economy.	Contribute to upgrading Chinese combet doctrine. Sale benefits to US. Spinoff benefits to civilian economy.
PURPOSE	Place Chinese in category that dis- tinguishes it from Soviet Bloc.	Enhance Chinese internal mobility.	Enhance ground force mobility.
POLICY	1980 NSC directive	No change: sales under negotiation	No change: unamed version on current ap- proved export control letter
ACTION	Separate control categories for technicology transfer transfer	Sport-haul cargo air- craft (C-130)	Utility helicopters

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COMENT	Items could include bridge- laying equipment, combat vehicle ergine/transmission upgrade equipment, and air defense search radars. Items must exclude those on Military Critical Technology List.	Good area short 5 of arms sales for 1 US-Chinese cooperation 2 Should not include 5-2A or E-2C.	Considered in response to formal OSD request for possible
SOVIET REACTION	Respond with warnings to Asian countries of US-Chinese collusion.	Move to counter new Chinese capability. Forced to improve OPSEC.	Take measures to adapt to possible policy reaction in US.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	chinese lack funds for major purchases. Locking for models to copy.	Possible Chinese mobility to adapt to applicated system.	Able to absorb second and third generation equipment. State of art is beyond Ohinese requirements.
RISK	Overload Chinese economic system: will give China capability to produce both military and civilian items.	Chinese may transfer technology to North Korea or others.	Chinese may transfer technology to North Korea or others.
GAIN	Oninese experience in dealing with US firms, bureuctacy. Sales to US firms. Oninese familiarity with US equipment.	Improved Chinese early warming system, Open door for co- operation with US.	Enhanced Chinese antiarmor capebility.
PURPOSE	Demonstrate movement on both sides toward closer ties within current limits.	Enhance Chinese intelligence capabilities in support of US.	Enhance ground defense capability.
DPLICATIONS	No change: greater emphasis on active ties	Technically covered by export control letter but would require high-level approval	Yes, if Chinese request beyond first and second generation
ACTION	Actively encourage and assist Chinese purchase of dual-use equipment approved for sale	Recon- naissance equipment, aerial communi- cation systems, Side Locking Airborne Radar	Optics; image intensify- ing equip- ment

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COMENT	Effort to charge guide- lines should focus on two objectives— enhancement of Chinese capabilities and multilateral cooperation.	Would represent mejor step towards direct military cooperation. Leaves much room for meneuvering in relationships.	Requires controlled. centralized US managament. Initial items could include: F-8 upgrade equipment. antitank quided missiles (ATGMs), air-to-air missiles, air-to-air missiles,
SOVIET REACTION	Actively oppose, especially by pressuring NATO allies. May also deneral similar access.	Low-level opposition consistent with opposition to increased formal contacts.	Increase direct and indirect efforts to counter expanded sales.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Willingness to absorb whatever can be bought from West. Will shop for best buys.	Leck of funds for defense modernization may preclude participation for some time.	Will attempt to make minimam purchases, keep market alive at minimam cost.
RISK	Loose competition among members to sell technology to China.	Requests may strain US system.	US may not or destrate policy effectively. China could use against US friends.
GAIN	Greater Chinese access to technology. Set up framework for common approach to military assistance.	Facilitate access to US military equipment, training. Step toward normalized military relations.	Enhance access to modern weapons system/ improve combat capabilities.
FURPOSE	Pacilitate and Greater coordinate multi- access lateral efforts mology, to enhance framewordhinese military common capability. to mili assista	Allow same access to US military facilities, goods as other nonallied, friendly nations.	Permit arms sales to China.
POLICY	Yes: inter- national approval by manbers.	Yes	Yes: major decision
ACTION	Revise Coordinating Committee guidelines to facilitate ate multilateral transfer of technology	Eligibility for PMS and IMET	Remove restrictions on arms sales to China
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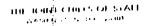
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COMPENT	Priority to AUGN and air defense. May include armor upgrade items.	ate ity ain i-
SOVIET REACTION	Adapt tactical doctrine to accommodate improved AIGM, air defense. Upgrade Asia forces to retain edge.	Move to compensate directly for new Chinese capability in order to retain margin of superiority.
CHINESE CAPABILITY	Priority weapons purchases. Lack of funds would preclude large-scale purchases. Looking to develop production capability. Begin with 2d/3d-generation equipment, not state of art.	Lack of funds. Attempt to exploit small number of copies. Time required to adapt/train pilots/crews and development of doctrine will slow down Chinese deployment.
RISK	Chinese exploit access to US technology, circumvent sales agreements. Basis for updated weapons industry.	Enhance capability against Taiwan. Ohinese circumvent pur- chase agreement and produce on com. US involvement in training and teaching ment in training and teaching
GAIN	Resitive step toward offsetting Soviet ground threat. Introduce US weapons systems—allow to break away from old Soviet designs.	Enhanced Chinese ability to counter Soviet armor threat. Step toward development of modern combat coctrine.
PURPOSE	Enhance ground force capabilities against Soviets.	Significantly enhance Chinese ground force capability, in particular antiarnor.
POLICY IMPLICATIONS	Yes: congressional approval to amend arms export control letter	Yes: direct arms transfer
ACTION	Allow sale of conven- tional ground force weapon systems	Attack heli- copters

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A-14

Annex

# ENCLOSURE B







MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: United States-China Security Relationship (U)

1. (S) Since US recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in December 1978, the United States-China relationship has expanded rapidly. Although manifested primarily in increased contacts between high-level defense officials, that relationship has also resulted in a number of policy decisions impacting on security issues. Authorization for increased Chinese commercial ship visits to US ports, granting of overflight routes to the Civil Aviation Administration of China, and approval to sell certain types of military-related equipment to China are examples. These contacts and decisions; though, have occurred in the absence of a broad national policy providing direction and purpose to the evolving relationship.

2. (S) A need clearly exists for a comprehensive national policy review addressing the role of China in US security. That need is underscored by the complex interrelationships between the civilian and military aspects of US policy and the serious Soviet challenge faced by the United States over the next occade—a challenge characterized by an increasingly assertive Soviet foreign policy. Soviet military planners have devoted a significant share of their not unlimited resources to forces opposite China. Thus, any expanded security relationship between the PRC and the United States will likely influence Soviet strategy. Management of that relationship could be one of the more significant security tasks of the 1980s.

 (U) From a security standpoint, the interagency review should address, but not be limited to:

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- a. ( The role of China in US security.
- b. () Areas of possible military cooperation, with assessment of gains and risks.
- c. (8) Actions the Chinese are now taking or could take that would serve US interests, e.g.:
  - (1) (S) Countering Soviet expansionism and influence in Asia and elsewhere.

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- (2) (27) Supporting stability in Asia, especially on the Rolean peninsula and in the China Sea.
- (3) (8) Strengthening PRC defenses against the Soviet Union.
- (4) (5) Expanding dialog on a number of other areas of common interest.
- (5) (2) Cooperation in global conflict.
- d. (9) Integration of military and civilian initiatives in development of a long-range policy.
- 4. (p) The assessment in the Annex to the Appendix was conducted by the Joint Staff in conjunction with the Services, PACOM, and DIA. It provides an overview of the major elements and implications of a United States-China security relationship and is submitted as the JCS contribution to a more comprehensive interagency policy review.
- 5. (D) The Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend that:
  - a. (\*) The United States proceed cautiously and discretely (in continuing to develop a security relationship with China, with the objective of improving Chinese military capabilities in accordance with mutually advantageous goals.
  - b. (8) The United States encourage progress toward a stable, secure China that can contribute to regional stability and mutual objectives.
  - c. (8) A memorandum, substantially like that in the Appendix, with its Annex, recommending that an interagency review be conducted as a matter of priority, be sent to the Secretary of State.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

hon/the

THOR HANSON Vice Admiral, USN Director, Joint Staff

Attachments

# Enclosure A (less the Annex)

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Enclosure B

APPENDIX TO ENCLOSURE B

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject: United States-China Security Relationships (U)

1. (#) Since US recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in December 1978, relationships between the two nations have expanded rapidly. In addition to increased contacts between government officials, a number of policy decisions that impact on security issues have been made during that brief period.

- 2. (3) Since the relationship has been of strategic benefit to both China and the United States, and in view of the potential for expansion of security aspects of our relation—ship with China, it is an appropriate time to review our national policy regarding China. From a security standpoint, an interagency review should address, but not be limited to, actions the Chinese are taking or could take that would serve US interests; the role of China in US security; areas of possible defense cooperation between the two nations; and the integration of military and civilian initiatives in the development of our long-range policy.
- 3. (\*\*) The attached assessment was conducted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, provides an overview of the major elements and implications of a United States-China security relationship, and is submitted as a contribution to a more comprehensive interagency policy review.
- 4. (U) I look forward to participating in an interagency review of such importance and hope you find our contribution helpful.

Enclosure A, less Annex

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Appendix to Enclosure B

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