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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D C 20301

12 APR 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: U.S. Security Assistance to the Republic of China:
NSSM 212 (C)

(U) The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I have reviewed the NSSM 212 study response in light of developments of the past year and recent relevant studies by CIA/DIA and DIA.

(TS) Although the significant imbalance of forces available to the PRC and ROC is essentially unchanged, both studies cited in your memorandum reflect a lower threat level than NSSM 212. In particular, the December 1975 study concludes that the PRC would be unable to mount a successful non-nuclear invasion of Taiwan much before 1980. Neither study sees much near term likelihood of a major military confrontation between the PRC and the ROC; however, the PRC's advantage will continue to increase as Taiwan faces difficulties in procuring modern equipment.

(TS) The present stability accords with U.S. objectives in the area, and approval of weapons systems sales to the ROC should foster continuation of that condition; however, increases in PRC technological capabilities and potential military activities in the Taiwan Strait area should also be recognized and considered in the weapons system approval process. The intent is not to maintain a quantitative balance, but to maintain a qualitative balance similar to the present PRC-ROC force relationship.

(TS) The Department of Defense continues to view Option III—Upper Range, Limited ROC Access to New Weapons, as the preferred guideline for providing military equipment to the ROC. That option continues to offer the greatest flexibility in maintaining ROC confidence while not presenting major obstacles to normalization of U.S.-PRC relations. A revised listing of appropriate categories and types of military equipment for sale to the ROC for Options II, III, and IV of NSSM 212 are attached. The revised listings reflect approval of weapons systems over the last year, and changes made appropriate by the recent CIA and DIA threat analyses. In particular, the additions to Option III reflect

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Sec Def Cont Nr. I-1073

ROC defensive capability improvements which are necessary to maintain the relative qualitative balance of PRC and ROC forces.

(S) As indicated by footnotes in the attachment, there are several outstanding requests from the Department of Defense for approval of sale of military equipment items to the ROC. Several have been pending decision for more than a year. While the complex nature of the problem which their approval presents is clearly recognized, particularly with regard to overall China policy considerations, the decisions are not made easier by the passage of time. It would be highly desirable to reduce the decision process time from the viewpoints of the impact of extended delay on both the U.S.-ROC relationship and our respective planning and programming functions.

(TS) As I noted in my 11 February 1975 memorandum, the continued existence of the U.S.-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty and the DoD security responsibilities which devolve therefrom, require that we recognize that any significant limitations of ROC defensive capabilities result in imposition of greater and more rapid response requirements upon U.S. forces. This factor must be given greater consideration in the approval process governing the provision of military equipment to the ROC.

A. P. Clement
Deputy

Attachments
Revised Options (TS/S)

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ANNEX C I (REVISED)

OPTION II - FREEZING ROC ACCESS TO CURRENT TYPES AND LEVELS

The following is an illustrative list of the kinds of equipment which could be made available to the ROC under Option II:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
F-5E aircraft	completion of present co-production program of 120 and approval of additional aircraft but <u>only</u> to replace other older aircraft on one-for-one basis.
F-104 aircraft	as replacement for currently held F-104's or other models.
High speed patrol boats	5 authorized; no additional except as replacements; Harpoon mi. siles <u>not</u> provided.
Improved HAWK battalion	already approved; no increase beyond current second battalion approved.
S2E ASW aircraft	sale of 16 approved; no additional except as replacement.
SEA CHAPARRAL Missile	surface ship point air defense; 4 destroyers equipped; 20 missiles purchased; additional purchases pending. Approve only replacement items.
AIM 9E missile	air-to-air missile; approve only replacement quantities.
UH-1H helicopter	Co-production of 236 approved; total production of 118 scheduled by end FY 1977; approve continued production to 236.

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OPTION III - LIMITED ROC ACCESS TO NEW WEAPONS
LOWER RANGE

The following is an illustrative list of the kinds of equipment which could be provided to the ROC under the lower range of Option III:

A. Equipment approved for sale to ROC. Increase levels as indicated.

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
F-5E and F-5B aircraft	132 aircraft already approved; approve additional 80 requested.*
SEA Chaparral Missile	surface ship point air defense; 4 destroyers equipped; 20 missiles purchased; approve to equip surface combatant ships.
AIM 9E air-to-air missile	additional levels as required to support increased F-5E levels.
High speed patrol boats	up to 5 already approved; would approve up to additional 10.
T-53 engine	Co-production assembly approved; approve gear box modification to adapt to ROC-designed T-CH-1 fixed-wing trainer aircraft.*
MK 46 torpedo	for ASW use by surface ships.
Improved HAWK Battalion	two battalions already approved; could approve one additional.
VULCAN air defense artillery	20mm Gatling gun for ROC Army point defense to replace obsolete 40mm AAA; sale of six self-propelled VULCAN guns recently approved; approve additional requests on case-by-case evaluation.
Improved Air Operation Center	Provides semi-automated capability for integration of elements of air defense system; improves capability to control increased number of intercepts.

* Awaiting State approval/comment.

B. Equipment not approved for or possessed by ROC. Approve system and levels as indicated.

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
HH-3E helicopter	long-range search and rescue; approve up to 8.
Improved reconnaissance aircraft	could be F-104, or F-5 with optical and/or side-looking radar for stand-off reconnaissance without over-flight; approve up to 8.
HARPOON missile	Surface-launched missile only to counter growing PRC Styx missile craft capability and activity in Taiwan Strait; approve systems A/R to support levels of high speed patrol boats approved.*
TOW missile	Optically tracked wire-guided anti-tank missile for ground or air use (UH-1H helicopter). UH-1H TOW capability would decrease requirement for M-48 tanks requested by ROC, and improve coastal defensive capabilities against Styx missile craft. Levels provided should not impinge ground force mobility provided by UH-1H. **
AH-9J missile	capability upgrade of existing AH-9E missiles

* Awaiting State approval/comment.

** Awaiting NSC approval.

ANNEX C-III (REVISED)

OPTION III - LIMITED ROC ACCESS TO NEW WEAPONS
UPPER RANGE

Would include all items of equipment listed in Annex C II (although perhaps in greater numbers) and in addition:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
C-130 transport aircraft	to replace current fleet of C-119 transport.
SH-2 helicopters	for ASW and anti-ship missile defense.
ASROC (anti-submarine rocket)	anti-submarine missile launched from surface ships with homing torpedo.
Shipboard fire control systems	to upgrade surface ship air defense capabilities.
Improved SONAR systems	to improve destroyer ASW capabilities to counter PRC capability to establish blockade of Taiwan and Peng-hu Islands.
Precision guided munitions	early PGM technology to counter PRC maritime threat, such as Styx missile craft; maximum range capability of 10NM.
Radar homing and warning systems	to provide a passive ECM capability for air defense aircraft.

ANNEX C IV (REVISED)

OPTION IV - SUBSTANTIAL ROC ACCESS TO NEW WEAPONS

Would include all items of equipment in Annex C II and III,
and in addition:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CURRENT</u>
Improved follow-up fighter aircraft	could be F-16 or F-18.
All-weather fighter/ bomber	could be F-4E, F-14, or F-15.
Improved reconnaissance aircraft	probably RF-4C.
MK 37 torpedos	for use by submarines.
P-3 ASW aircraft	P-3 is four-engine, long range and long endurance aircraft.
Convert selected destroyers to guided missile destroyers	
Laser-guided bombs	