

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN 

SUBJECT: China - the President

Following are several small points which should be covered with the President either before or on the way to China. They are all very unimportant, yet can help with his conditioning and understanding of how "flexible" we must be in China. As you will note, this information is not in any particular order.

1. Arrivals - Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai: After being greeted by the ranking person at the bottom of the ramp, the President and Mrs. Nixon will probably proceed down a line of dignitaries. At the end of the line, the President will find himself left standing virtually alone or with Mrs. Nixon as his host greets the other members of the official party. In Peking, due to the live television, this may end up being an awkward situation for the President. It will only last a minute or so, but he should be aware of the situation. My suggestion is that he just chat with Mrs. Nixon.
2. Stopping the Car: Kissinger would probably argue this, but I think the Chinese will stop the car if the President so requests. It probably would be best for the President to only ask that the car stop when he has a high level Chinese person with him. To try to order the car to stop when only the driver and the interpreter are there may have consequences -- at least for the driver and the interpreter! When the President does request the car to stop, he should do this in the form of a suggestion to the leader with whom he is riding. The President should know that the camera cars are far, far back in the motorcade and undoubtedly any move to

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try to get a picture will fail since the cameramen are so far away. We are not even sure that the cameramen will be allowed to move up to the front of the motorcade if it did stop.

3. Crowd Shots: As we have discussed, I think the best crowd shots will be in Shanghai. There are just naturally more people along the streets, plus the fact that it comes at the end of the visit when if things go right, we should be able to have a very friendly atmosphere. There may be some chance for a crowd shot in Peking but it probably will be in the form of the formal reception in the Square on the way through. I doubt very much if the President sees many crowds other than on his welcome day and in Shanghai the day before departure. I know for a fact that they plan on removing all the general public from the Forbidden City when the President visits there.
4. The President should be aware that we do have a documentary crew filming this visit. We will always have a crew member with Ollie. The film is ours and the President must clearly understand this. He should know that we control the film and how it is going to be released. Let him know that USIA plans to use it, as well as Hearst Movietone, who is our friend. We can make certain other friendly groups get it. We also plan on using the footage for political purposes, as you know.
5. Health: We must pound into the President's head that if he catches cold early on this trip it is going to be very difficult to shake it. Common sense is going to have to prevail constantly. This means lots of sleep, naps after lunch, dressing warmly when he goes outside and not staying up until all hours.
6. Listening Devices: I am sure that the President understands fully that everything in China will be bugged and that he has virtually no privacy. Even if he goes out to walk around the compound with Dr. Kissinger or Secretary Rogers, he runs the risk of being overheard.

7. Prime Minister Chou En-lai - The Guest House: At some point during our stay in Peking, the Prime Minister will undoubtedly call upon the President and meet with him at the Guest House. The Prime Minister has done this on both of Dr. Kissinger's previous trips and it is expected that he will want to meet with the President at the Guest House. Perhaps the President might even suggest to the Prime Minister on one occasion that they meet at the Guest House.
8. The President must know that the Chinese are always on time. As I am sure Kissinger has informed the President, everything he says and does will be read many different ways. If the President is late for some reason, the Chinese will read much into this and it will be considered as a signal. There must be a reason for everything the President does and if he is late, then he is trying to tell his Chinese hosts something.
9. Length of Events: All of the events are going to be too long in the President's mind. We have by very subtle suggestion and in the most diplomatic ways tried to shorten up the various events, but this is almost next to impossible. The Chinese are going to do things their way and at their speed.
10. Chou En-lai's Attitude toward Party Members: The Prime Minister will be very outgoing and friendly to all members of the President's party. The President will find this especially true of those who visited China before or have been working there with the advance group. The President should not be surprised to hear the Prime Minister speak of Taylor, Redman, Walker, Elbourne and the others who have made previous trips. As I may have told you, the Chinese consider each other as equals and only have divisions of responsibility but not divisions in terms of class structure. The Prime Minister's attitude will reflect this.
11. Movements: When the President moves around, whether it is at meetings or when he is out sightseeing, there will be a large number of people moving with him. We are working to keep all the support, aides, advancement and others as far away from the President as possible. We are also going to

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break down the official and unofficial parties so that they do not move with the President except when absolutely necessary. For example, when the President goes to the Wall, he will be in one group with Mrs. Nixon, the Secretary of State and Henry Kissinger. We will have all the other members of the party trailing far behind. Even with all our rules and precautions, the President is going to find a good number of Chinese (which is probably fine) and quite a good deal of confusion.

12. I know the President's reluctance to have me moving too closely around him. However, there may be times on this particular trip when I am going to have to get deeper into things than has been our normal practice recently. My strategy is going to be to try to use Mr. Han Hsu, the Chinese Director of Protocol to guide and direct the President. However, I can sense that there may be some reluctance on the part of Mr. Han Hsu to be ordering the President around. The next step would be to try to use an Aide which may work out fine. I will be the third option and will stay out of the way as much as possible.