



H. R. Haldeman Diaries Collection, January 18, 1969 – April 30, 1973

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February 25th. The President called me up at about 7:30 this morning, was upset about the toast because, for tonight, because the research group had given 800 words instead of the 200 that he wanted, and hit the point that the hardest work is editing, and that what they should do is take one idea and develop it. He then went through the, oh, I'll have to do it all myself routine, and apparently proceeded to do so, since he's dictated the toasts down that he's going to give. He also debated whether to read it or not, depending on what Chou's going to do, but ended up deciding that he would read it. At that point Henry came in and there was some discussion about the communiqué, the main problem being the paragraph on Taiwan.

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DECLASSIFIED - E.O. 13526, Sect. 3.4: by MS, NARA, June 12, 2013  
Audio Cassette 36, Side B, Withdrawn Item Number 2 [AC-36(B) Sel 2-1]  
Duration: 47 seconds

Henry said that they had worked three hours last night from midnight to 2:45 to get three, the first three sentences worked out. Now they're down to the last sentence of the paragraph, and that's the impasse. They discussed considerably what, how they could work out wording for the final paragraph. Henry feels they'll take until midnight tonight at least to get that all taken care of. He's really groping for the right word to cover the point of removing or reducing troops on Taiwan.

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The President commented that it was fascinating the way Chou picks up colloquialisms and jumps on each one of them that is raised, and he obviously was sort of fascinated with that.



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He made the point that, as Henry was talking about the fact that he'd have to go through this thing all night tonight again, that you two are young, and don't need sleep. He said he had had a very tough time sleeping and he really did look tired this morning, not really as sharp as he has the past mornings. He's also in kind of a strange mood. As he discussed all these things and sort of brooded over the problems he was dealing with, the lack of understanding of him by the press and others that are here.

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Audio Cassette 2, Side A, Withdrawn Item Number 2 [AC-36(B) Sel 2-2]  
Duration: 57 seconds

They talked about the skill of Chou's performance in the meetings and the fact that there was a real contest between the two men with great subtlety on both sides. As an example, the President sited his comment to Chou that you don't know me so you shouldn't trust me. The subtlety of it being that I feel the same regarding you, which, he was sure, was not lost on Chou. Henry pointed out that the Marshall, at dinner last night, expressed enormous gratitude for the briefing we gave him on intelligence and so on, and that he had reported that to Chairman Mao, who was also very impressed. He said no one had ever dealt with them in such a straight forward fashion before, and that they deeply appreciated it. Then, the Marshall made the point that it's going to be two against one in this whole thing, and the question is which two against which one.

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We discussed the plan for the communiqué release and decided to go ahead and do it Sunday night, as they had been generally recommending. Then the President, after Henry left, said he hadn't talked with Henry about it yet, but that his plan was that he would go out and announce to



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the press that we have a communiqué, turn it over to them, then have Henry there to brief on it. So it's probably the way he'll go.

After this morning's session, the President worked on his toasts for tonight and dictated it, then had the visit to the Forbidden City, which worked out pretty well since it was snowing hard. We were able to cut it down, so that he was only there about an hour and a half, and covered as much as he really needed to cover. Then back to the Guest House, he had us back up again, or had me back up and then Henry came in for--. I was reviewing the news summary and general reports, and then Henry reported that he, Chou had just come over here to meet with him, but they had postponed this afternoon's 3:00 meeting to 4:00, and that Chou had instructed Chow to work out the communiqué with Henry. And they were going to meet at 2:30 and try to get it done before the 4:00 meeting. At least the one tough paragraph; they still have a few sections on trade and so on that Henry says they can easily finish up tonight.

The President's attitude was much more positive than it had been this morning, and we reviewed some of the domestic news as well as the coverage of the trip. And then, I think, he took a break for Riland and some rest before the 4:00 meeting.

The afternoon session today kept getting delayed more and more as Henry kept working on trying to get his communiqué thing worked out. And, having originally been set for 3:00, then moved to 4:00, then moved to 4:30, it ended up starting at 5:50. The President had me up at about 4:30 to 5:30, just killing time, waiting for it to start, and he was just sitting there on an alert basis, waiting to go to the meeting whenever Henry finished his thing and they were ready to meet. So it's kind of a long wait for him.



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He got into a considerable discussion during that time of the Rogers problem. He's particularly upset now, because Henry's told him that Rogers has come in with a rewording of the communiqué, that revises even the State Department wording. And he's submitted his material, saying that he, we must not go any further than what he's said, which is, of course, totally presumptuous of him. The whole thing re-raises the basic Rogers problem, in that the President's raised the question of whether we can keep him on through the Soviet visit, and is concerned that we're not going to be able to work it out with him. He mused over how to handle it, and I told him that the only possible way is that the President's going to have to sit down and talk with him, and just flatly explain to him how the thing's going to work, and make him understand it. I think that will work, but the problem is getting the President to do it, and I'm not at all sure that he will. He seems to be aware and in agreement that this is the only way we can do it, but I don't know whether that will stick when that gets down to working it out. He is at least more aware of the Rogers problem now than he has been, and I think that'll help in Kissinger's general problems.

The dinner went well tonight, and both the President's and Chou's toasts were very good. The President did end up reading his, and it's good he did, because it came over better. Chou made a strong commitment to Chinese-American friendship, and Henry felt that was significant, especially in the way he phrased it. After dinner, we got back, or before dinner, as a matter of fact, the President called Rogers, Henry, and me over while we were waiting for the picture taking session. And told Rogers that there would be a plenary session at the airport tomorrow at Chou's request, and Bill didn't seem to spark much to that. He obviously was in pretty bad spirits. Then the President said that, or let Rogers raised the question about another meeting with Mao, and the President said he didn't think there was going to be one and sort of was leading Henry



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on. And Henry took the bait in the wrong direction and told Rogers the reason was that Mao wasn't well, which we're not supposed to say anything about.

Then later tonight after the dinner the President had Henry and me up in his room and wanted to talk about the Rogers problem, and told Henry he was concerned about having told Rogers about Mao, and decided that I should go see him and get that straightened out. Tell him that he's not to say anything to anybody about it, and so on. Then the President spent quite a little time agonizing about how to get Rogers in line on the communiqué, etcetera. Henry left to go down for another meeting on the Taiwan section, came back up about a half an hour later, with a victory. He has the statement basically the way we had ended up wanting it, so the President approved it. Henry's now got that locked, which means we will almost certainly have a communiqué by tomorrow, which puts things in good shape.

We talked about the question of another Mao meeting and agreed, as I told Henry earlier, that there was no need for one from our viewpoint, and, except to satisfy the egos of Pat Nixon and Bill Rogers, and that certainly didn't justify paying any price for meeting. The Chinese didn't want it, and we shouldn't have it. Henry said he would try to work out something, get Chou to meet alone with Rogers tomorrow afternoon at Hangzhou to try to satisfy him, but I think we've got a real problem there because it's purely a matter of his ego. There's no way to undo that. He's mad that he didn't get to see Mao, and the only way we can correct that is to let him see him, which isn't going to happen. So, I don't think there's any way around that situation. This obviously is a matter which is weighing quite heavily in the President's mind, which is really a shame considering all he's got to deal with at this point, but with the communiqués locked, that will be pretty well behind him. I told him that the only way he can handle this was to call Rogers in tomorrow, with Henry, show him the communiqué, say this is it, tell him he expects him to



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back it up, period, and go on from there. I don't know whether he'll do it or not, but I'm going to push for that tomorrow.

End of February 25th.