THE FOLLOWING MATERIALS ARE FOR EYES ALONE OF

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AND

DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
PRESIDENT'S MANUAL FOR CHINA TRIP

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For President Nixon
and Dr. Kissinger

By H. P. Hoose
Los Angeles, Calif.
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PROLOGUE

This series of memoranda comprising a "President's Manual for China Trip" are the writer's response to a letter dated November 29, 1971 to him from Dr. Henry A. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger's letter was in answer to an earlier one from me to the President, offering my services for the preparations for the President's trip to China and proposing that I be included in the President's entourage for the visit. Dr. Kissinger invited me to participate in a small and confidential meeting of experts on China outside the government in advance of the trip, and also added "we would welcome any suggestions or recommendations regarding the President's trip to China prior to the meeting." Copies of Dr. Kissinger's letter and of my own earlier letters and materials sent to the President are included in the Appendix to the within memoranda.

This prologue to the following series of memoranda, voluntarily prepared and submitted by a very busy and highly successful lawyer after over four hundred hours of intensive work by him and drawing upon a lifetime or experience with and against the Chinese, poses and answers the following questions:

(1) Why should these memoranda be "eyes alone" for President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger?

(2) In this critical and busy time, with the China trip only a few weeks away, its preparation intensive, and other vital national and international matters also pressing, why should the President and Dr. Kissinger personally take the necessary hour or so to read this material, themselves?

(3) Just who is this man Hoose, and why should his analyses, reports and materials comprising a "President's Manual for China Trip" be of any particular value?

(4) What does this man Hoose want in return for this massive voluntary work, and can he be trusted as to complete security; loyalty to the U.S.A.; and personal loyalty to the President?

The answers are as follows:

-1-
TOP SECRET
For President Nixon
and Dr. Kissinger

By H. P. Hoose
January 15, 1972

PROLOGUE

[Continued]

1. The material should be "eyes alone" for
President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger

The materials are not theoretical, and they
are not "studies" or otherwise general in nature. They are in
large measure specific and concrete proposed actions, statements
and conduct for consideration by the President and Dr. Kissinger.
Two full length speeches which the President might wish to give
in whole or in part in Peking are included, with footnote references
to matters of psychological impact upon the Chinese people. Suggested
strategy and tactics for use in China are discussed with complete
candor. U.S. domestic political impacts and advantages of various
procedures in China are stressed, as are a number of international
and bi-national aspects. These materials range from proposed primary
and secondary motivations on our part, through very frank analyses
of our opponents and their motives; their intimate characteris-
tics, as Chinese; Mao's favorite tea; his manners; Chou's favorite
wine; the wines of China; the portions of Chinese classics, proverbs,
folklore and customs which are useful to us; and good Chinese table
manners for our President. The materials include an analysis of
Mao's reading preferences, and draw conclusions that are not pleasant.
Moreover, the Manual includes ideas as to how we can destroy or erode
Chinese communism by "friendly dialogue," and how to help President
Nixon win the next election through what is done and what is to be
avoided on this trip.

My approach has been the rather tough-minded
one of a lawyer, helping to prepare a case for maximum presentation.
The Manual actually is a form of "trial brief" for the President.
It relies, as it must, upon accurate and factual materials - but it
calls our evidentiary glass "half full" instead of "half empty."
The materials are loaded with things which may be used to make an
impact upon the minds of the Chinese people. And the treatment is
far too candid and much too pragmatic to be seen by anyone other than
the President and Dr. Kissinger. If some of the things in these
memoranda were to leak out into other branches of government, and via
them to the press (as with the recent leaks involving the conferences
on the Indian-Pakistan war, for example), great harm would occur to
our country and also to President Nixon's excellent foreign policy
in Asia, as well as politically.

I personally believe that policy is the way to
peace with honor and security for America, and also the way to assist the Chinese people gradually to overthrow communism and revert to their personal warm, human and individualistic basic character.

For the above reasons, I earnestly urge that these materials be treated on an "eyes alone" basis for the President and Dr. Kissinger.

2. The President and Dr. Kissinger actually will conserve time if they will take the hour or so necessary, and read the enclosed materials.

These memoranda may take an hour or so to read, initially. But they are designed to conserve the time of the President and Dr. Kissinger. Most of the proposals and materials are in outline or topical form, and easy to follow. A mass of data has been compressed, and the Manual should be a useful "trial brief" both in preparation for and also in China. It is designed for quick reference before meetings, and also is a form of "How to Do It" manual and quick source book for giving speeches to or conducting private talks with the Chinese. It also is a quick "crib" on Chinese history, culture and manners.

3. and 4. The questions as to just who Hoose is, and as to the value of the materials, security and loyalty, and any possible quid pro quo hoped for by Hoose, are answered as follows:

The basic answer to the identity portion of the question is that because of my circumstances of birth and growing up in China, living intimately among the Chinese and studying, working, fighting and playing among and with them, and then serving as a U.S. Naval Intelligence officer in China, followed by many years of handling law matters with and against them, I have acquired and have an instinctive and inherent ability to think as the Chinese do, and almost to read their minds. That special ability is now offered, on a voluntary and confidential basis, to My President and to my own country, America.
The ability to think as the Chinese do and almost to read their minds, which I have developed over the years by being in effect bi-cultural through the circumstances described, is in addition to my Chinese language ability and also is entirely different from what we Americans think of and mean when we speak of someone's being experienced in something. For example, the American term used by Dr. Kissinger in his kindly letter to me, "experts on China," is not what I am describing. Perhaps I may qualify as an expert on China, and I believe that probably I am, by reason of long study and experience. But I am more than that. I am also culturally Chinese; and that makes it possible to think, communicate and receive communications with and among Chinese, in a manner which is so entirely Chinese that it is not easy to describe to other Americans who do not happen to be bi-cultural. Much of what I am trying to describe here in American terms will be seen in the memoranda submitted here. But fortunately, what I am talking about also has been the subject of some study by two scholars and writers, one of Chinese origin and one of occidental origin. The following quotation helps to indicate the Chinese quality I have, and which I offer now to my country and to my President:

Professor Ping-ti Ho, the James Westfall Thompson Professor of History at the University of Chicago, in his article entitled, "Salient Aspects of China's Heritage," [China in Crisis, China's Heritage and the Communist Political System, Vol. 1, Bk. 1, p. 31], University of Chicago Press (1958), touched on the peculiarly Chinese cultural and character aspect I am describing, in this way:

"Besides, Confucius and his exponents throughout the ages all took special pains to understand, and succeeded in gaining deep insight into, human psychology. The following observation made by an American psychiatrist who has interviewed Chinese intellectual refugees in Hong Kong is worth noting:

"'Chinese culture has - possibly at the expense of technological advance - always emphasized the human aspects of life, and particularly the nuances of personal relationships. Children are taught to be sensitive to psychological currents about them, in order to learn how to behave appro-
"...privately toward others. In the educated adult, this sensitivity is expected and required. Most Chinese intellectuals whom I knew, as subjects or as friends, impressed me with their consistent skill in perceiving the emotion at play between one person and another, as well as their tendency to make use of this understanding in seeking their life objectives. They conducted human relationships as one practices a highly refined art. In this sense, I believe that thought reform could be viewed as the totalitarian expression of a national genius." (Ping-ti Ho, Salient Aspects of China's Heritage, supra, p. 31; citing and quoting Robert J. Lifton, "Brainwashing in Perspective," New Republic, May 13, 1957, p. 25).

Because many of my friends were Chinese as I grew up in Peking, and my daily life was involved with the Chinese in a very substantial way, I became and still am bi-cultural. I am an intensely loyal American, and a tough-minded, well trained and experienced American lawyer who has had the good fortune to achieve success in my practice. Culturally, I am an American. But also and simultaneously, culturally I am Chinese. That is one reason why I have had great success in dealing with and against the Chinese, on behalf of some of my American clients.

So I represent to my President and to his able top advisor on foreign affairs that I can think as the Chinese do, and almost can read their minds. It would be reasonable for them to wonder if, perhaps, I am some kind of a nut. As my record and status reflect, I am not. I am not a crackpot, a freak or a spiritualist of any kind. To the contrary, I am and for over twenty-two years have been an exceptionally successful American lawyer, with an annual personal gross income ranging between $150,000.00 and $250,000.00 per year, and many substantial and well-known clients. I have the highest standing among lawyers given by a national lawyers' rating service; have held offices of responsibility with the bar, in service and social groups, and in my Church; and, I believe, I have a degree
of social prominence in my community; am married to a lady who is welcomed into and a member of our most exclusive clubs and social service organizations; my daughters "come out;" and I live in a house valued at around half a million dollars. Those are intimate facts, but I am soliciting an intimate relationship in seeking to serve the President and Dr. Kissinger.

My general sound character and good American qualities as to patriotism, reliability and views are reflected in some detail in the Appendix to these memoranda. My proven top security clearance and qualifications and my deep loyalty to America are shown in my U.S. Naval Intelligence file [U.S.N., Bupers. File No. 212334], and by the fact that during the Second World War I was one of those entrusted with perhaps one of the two most sensitive secrets we Americans had during that war, the details of which I cannot report here, but which are reflected in some of the U.S. Navy and other government files. My qualities as to integrity, loyalty and patriotism are also known to my friends, Patrick J. Hillings and Bob Finch, who are well known to the President, among others.

Now, as to what quid pro quo or reward I may seek in wanting to serve voluntarily and on a confidential basis, not only as reflected in the massive work which I have put into the attached memoranda but also on a part-time voluntary basis, continuously, my hopes and interests are the following:

(a) I want very much to be involved in a constructive and responsible manner with my country and my President, in this historic series of moves by President Nixon in his Asian foreign policy. I feel that the entire Asian and Southeast Asian policy now being carried out by President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger is brilliant, well conceived and exciting. Moreover, I am convinced that historians will recognize the present moves with respect to China as among the greatest and most astute moves by America in the field of foreign affairs in our era, and the beginning of the erosion and ultimate failure of Chinese communism - which I feel cannot survive in China, if we expose it to our free flow of information. I know that I have a great deal to contribute to my country and to the President and
Dr. Kissinger, during this new era; and I earnestly hope that I can be accepted by them.

(b) I want very much to be a part of the President's team and included in his entourage, on the China trip. I believe that the accompanying memoranda reflect that I am well able to pay my own way, by serving as one of the advisors and one of the experts on China, on the trip. I also want very much to have an active and responsible part in the follow-up work, as we try to build further in the same directions, after the China trip by President Nixon.

(c) I earnestly hope that President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger may decide to have me officially sworn in and appointed to serve on a part-time and voluntary basis, as a special advisor to the President on China, to serve under and report through Dr. Kissinger. I want to work with Dr. Kissinger during this historic period. May I say frankly, I respect him. We are similar guys. I, too, have a university faculty background, having lectured in law both at the University of California's Hastings College of Law, and also at the School of Law, University of Southern California. We are both students, but also we are both tough pragmatists, with an external capacity to be pleasant, but with an inner toughness, and great love for our country. I would be proud to work for a man of Dr. Kissinger's qualities, and may be one of the few men around who can work as hard as he. As for the President - and I am being very candid, as I was above in connection with the intimate facts of my family and law practice - I am convinced that President Nixon will be remembered as a great president, chiefly because of his great and courageous moves in foreign affairs. I would be exceedingly proud to serve President Nixon, as an advisor.

JANUARY 15, 1972

Respectfully submitted,

Harland Pettus Hoose
INTRODUCTION

1. Table of Contents and Index Tabs

To provide facility for quick reference, a Table of Contents follows. Also, index tabs indicate key materials.

2. Origin of Within Materials

The within materials and suggestions have been prepared by Harned Pettus Hoose in response to a letter to him from Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, dated November 29, 1971, a copy of which is included in the appendix materials hereto. In that letter, Dr. Kissinger invited Hoose to take part in a proposed small and confidential meeting of experts on China outside the government in advance of President Nixon's trip to China to gain added perspectives and suggestions on the efforts to establish a dialogue with the People's Republic. Dr. Kissinger also stated in the letter, "...we would welcome any suggestions or recommendations regarding the President's trip to China prior to the meeting." The within materials are in response to that invitation by Dr. Kissinger.

The following materials were described generally and outlined in part in a December 27, 1971 memorandum [nine pages] submitted by Hoose to Dr. Kissinger by mail under double cover, with the internal cover marked "Top Secret," a copy of which is included in the appendix materials hereto. It is anticipated that the within materials will be hand-delivered to Dr. Kissinger.

3. Security and Security Measures

Hoose at present is not inside the government. However, his lifetime of working with and against the Chinese (variously as a child and then a student in Peking, subsequently as a U.S. Naval
INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

3. Security and Security Measures (Cont'd)

Reserve intelligence officer in China during World War II and since approximately 1949, as an American attorney heavily involved in negotiations with and against various Chinese on behalf of substantial American business and other groups) has included top secret and sensitive work for the United States government and top security clearance [See U.S. Navy BURPERS File No. 212334 on Hoose]. See also appendix materials hereto for details as to Hoose's security capacity and also as to his extensive China background, including lifelong knowledge of language and customs.

Hoose is determined to maintain security as to the within materials, including not only their content but also their existence, excepting only as the President or Dr. Kissinger, themselves, may determine otherwise. So pending detailed instructions from Dr. Kissinger or his staff as to security procedures, and to preclude such outrageous and potentially harmful security breaches as encountered by our government in the Ellsberg and Anderson incidents, the following procedures, reported by Hoose in the first person, have been self-imposed:

(a) Total and rigid non-disclosure as to my present participation as an outside government consultant and advisor. No one, including my family, my law partners and staff [excepting only the government and ex-government officials who recommended me to the President and Dr. Kissinger: Bob Finch, Patrick J. Hillings and Murray Chotiner] even knows that I have volunteered my services to the government and am involved in some of the work. My family, law partners and staff think that my extensive time and work in this matter are in regard to my Asia law practice.

(b) Rigid control as to work and work product. In this assignment, I am doing all of the work personally, even including all of the typing and xeroxing or other copying of the product. That approach is tedious and relatively slow, but assures security at my end of the project. All notes and waste items are being burned by me in my fireplace. Only three copies of the within and back-up materials [see appendix hereto] exist at my end: (i) The President's
INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

3. Security and Security Measures (Cont'd)

(b) Rigid control as to work, etc. (Cont'd)

set; (ii) Dr. Kissinger's set; and (iii) my set, which is kept either on my person or in my safe. I anticipate hand-delivering items (i) and (ii) as and when so instructed by Dr. Kissinger or his staff in response to my December 27, 1971 memorandum to him described in Paragraph 2., hereinabove.

4. Nature and Purpose of the Within Materials

(a) The Writer's Major Premises and Analysis of China and the Chinese People

(1) We (U.S.A. and the Nixon Administration, its government) are implacably and unalterably opposed to communism, and will oppose it both internally and also externally, in all of its forms.

(2) We have entered an era in which both our own internal circumstances (economic, political and social) and also our international relations and related aspects (world opinion, various military and economic capacities, ideological developments, various national interests of our own and of our allies and opponents) now make it in our own interest to avoid direct military action to the extent possible and honorable, and to combat communism and other enemy expansionism by (i) maintaining and further developing our economic and military strength and by (ii) conserving such strengths, to the extent possible, and by trying to assure secure and honorable peace in the world through building and supporting various countervailing national powers capable of and willing to a. prevent internal and external attacks or resist the same, and b. prevail against any such attacks, all without our direct military intervention, to the extent possible. Simply stated, in Asia we need a China strong enough and friendly enough to offset any threat to us by USSR or by any future militaristic group in Japan; and we need a Japan similarly strong enough and friendly enough to offset any threat to us by China and/or Russia; and we need to reduce the USSR threat to a point at which it is just sufficient to offset any threat to us by China and/or Japan. The threats envisaged are, variably, military, economic and/or ideological; and the respective degrees, natures and crisis points or crests of such threats, of course, will vary as to each of the three countries [China, Japan and USSR], and from time to time.

(3) We seek world peace with security and honor, initially, by establishing balances of power to whatever degree may be necessary to reduce and prevent wars; and
INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

4. Nature and Purpose of the Within Materials

(a) The Writer's Major Premises (Cont'd)

then, hopefully, by international and people-to-people dialogues and economic, cultural, scientific and similar exchanges, in the course of which we hope that the various peoples involved will develop genuine mutual goodwill and understanding to the degree that they will be able to make war unthinkable and militant governments unacceptable to their people.

(4) The government of the People's Republic of China is and has been our enemy, but is now willing to change some of its outward and external attitudes towards us for reasons of its own self interests. Those self interests now coincide, in some aspects and to some degrees, with our own present self-interests. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has demonstrated since 1949 that it is the de facto government of the approximately 800,000,000 people in China. It seems clear now that Chiang Kai-shek cannot "return to the mainland," and that he would not be welcomed by the people there, in any event. It is in our own interests, now, to communicate with the Chinese people. Such communication also serves world peace. If we are to communicate with the Chinese people, it must be through and with the cooperation of the government of the PRC. The reasons are complicated, of course, but simply stated the PRC is willing at present to effect at least a dialogue with us, probably chiefly because it fears USSR and also is concerned with what it believes is the "new militarism" of Japan. Some internal changes also may be in process in China. But we would be foolish at present to assume that any such changes, if they are in process, represent any diminution in the PRC's [and its people's majority's] religious fervor as to their communism-nationalism, or that the PRC has any warm feelings for us. The motives of PRC, of course, are pragmatic and self-serving. In short, we represent a possible balance against the immediate threats by USSR and against PRC's belief that Japan presents a future threat to China. Whatever the PRC's motives, its present willingness to effect and maintain at least a dialogue affords us important opportunities which are mentioned below.

(5) The people of China at present are loyal to the government of PRC. There are exceptions, of course (racial minorities; surviving members of landlord and mercantile classes, and some of the old intelligentsia, for example). But even such exceptions are proud of the Chinese achievements, and are pleased that westerners have been ejected from their former favored positions on the mainland. Moreover, such exceptions have no military means of resisting; and the great majority of the Chinese people support their present government and are (for the present) more or less cooperative.
subjects of the PRC massive thought control programs and policies. We must recognize that with the described exceptions, probably the Chinese people on the whole are physically better off than they were before the communists, in terms of food, clothing, shelter, medical care and similar basic needs.

But the PRC and its communist adherants and supporters are vulnerable in an important area with respect to the people of China, and the PRC's own acute awareness of that vulnerability is shown in the PRC's rigid censorship, the massive propaganda programs, the repeated slogans and exclusion of outer contacts. The vulnerability lies in the inner fabric of the Chinese personality, and the fact that Mao, et al are attempting to impose traits upon the Chinese which are contrary to their long cultural tradition and traditional beliefs. I do not refer to national pride or to the universal Chinese pleasure in China's ejection of encroaching foreign influences. As to those elements, Mao et al are secure with the Chinese people. And we must think in terms of dealing with a China which with or without the communists will try to retain its independence as a nation, and probably will seek to expand economically and otherwise, as in the past. However, the traits Mao, et al are trying to eradicate in the Chinese - which are also the traits offering us a great opportunity, through communication with the Chinese, to bring about the fall of communism in China - are the following: A passion for individuality; a great respect for personal dignity; a deep-rooted sense and principle of what the Chinese call "Li," which to them means a combination of high ethics, dignity, moral standards, gentle deportment, approved forms of behavior among human beings and similar things; close family ties; and respect for parents, traditions, scholars and elders; and a robust delight in family, village and national traditional holidays, and in free and animated conversation, gossip and other forms of communication, as well as in a multitude of games and pastimes.

The traits described above are in the mainstream of Chinese culture, and date back thousands of years. They are so powerfully enmeshed in the Chinese personality that they have survived centuries of foreign cultural and military invasions, variously absorbing and overpowering or rendering neutral a number of counter-cultures at least as powerful as the present Chinese communist "cultural" onslaught. The basic Chinese traits have variously absorbed, eliminated or survived the competing cultural strains of India; the mongols; various nations of Tatars; the Manchus; all of the great western powers; and the impacts of all of the nations in which the present Over Seas Chinese now live. Those basic traits, of which we have named a few above, are antithetical as to most of the present teachings of Mao, et al, excepting only national pride and pride in ejecting encroaching foreigners. The Chinese communists have tried for over twenty-two years to eradicate those traits, and to supplant them with opposite traits which can, Mao, et al hope, keep the Chinese communists, in the way Mao applies that pernicious doctrine, permanently.

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The national traits Mao, et al are trying to eliminate in the Chinese are incompatible with communism and with the "beehive" culture the communists are trying to impose on the Chinese. They also are the traits which make the individual Chinese men and women attractive to other people and which make the Chinese a great people. During China's relative isolation for the past twenty-two years, the Chinese communists have been able to impose a thin veneer of non-Chinese Maoist communism values upon the Chinese. Of course, some of the people at least in their conscious mental levels have adopted that veneer. Millions of the people have seemed to accept the communist veneer, variously for survival, to avoid trouble, in acquiescence for the quid pro quo of fuller bellies, and the like. But Mao, et al are playing with cultural dynamite in trying to suppress those basic Chinese traits; and the re-entry of the U.S.A. into communications with China, with our own parallel love of individuality, candor in talk, respect for China's ancient culture, love of our families, and similar traits -- including respect for human dignity -- all constitute a lighted American match now moving into proximity to that Chinese cultural dynamite.

One of my major premises in preparing the within material for the use of President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger is the fact that renewed communication between us and the Chinese people, in addition to serving our American interests and world peace by helping in the balances of power in Asia, also inevitably will help the great and likeable Chinese people to revert to and openly manifest their traditional character traits, and reject communism, probably initially in its present militant form, and eventually in its entirety. That does not mean that we want for the Chinese, or that they would accept, a return to their folorn days of warlordism, western encroachment inside their country, the "unequal treaties," and similar manifestations of the decay of their recent Ch'ing Dynasty. The Chinese are entitled to have their own independent nation, a full member of the world's family of nations. But the Chinese people deserve far better than the rigid, grim, stultifying thought-control and militant suppressions now imposed upon them by the communists. One need only to read China's history and to know the underlying deep cultural strains of the Chinese people to know that they are capable of having and deserve to have a relatively benevolent government, allowing individuality and the other national traits to the people. Such a government and such a people can also be of value to us, in our national interests and in achieving long-range, secure and honorable peace in Asia and elsewhere in the world.

President Nixon's journey to Peking is a dramatic symbol and an excellent first step in achieving the above goals for ourselves, the Chinese and the world. In what we hope can be the cultural, educational, scientific,
and economic follow-ups to the President's journey, we can hasten the return of the Chinese people to full enjoyment and exercise of their traditional national character traits and life styles, but without the hunger and other suffering and without the rotten aspects of the decayed Ch'ing Dynasty and the western excesses of those days and of some of the post-Ch'ing days.

We must take the opportunity offered because of the current concerns by the PRC government as to Russia and Japan, and exact as our benevolent "price" for the implicit appearance of balanced power our dialogues with China suggest, the exchange of scholars, students, scientists, tourists, news correspondents, businessmen, and the like. Possibly, economic assistance eventually may be possible, for example in connection with flood control, hydro-electric systems, highway construction, crop techniques and similar things. The key concept here is that by cultural and other exchanges, we can assist the Chinese people gradually in returning to their traditional values and ethical criteria.

Another major premise here is the fact that communism (whether academic, parlor, Russian, Maoist or otherwise) cannot survive in an open and unrestricted contest with our freedoms, liberties, private enterprise system and individualistic concepts. Ours are the more powerful beliefs; and they are mirrored in substantial degree by the traditional Chinese character traits. Examples of the relative force of our beliefs and free processes include East Germany and West Germany. Other examples exist in Asia and Europe. The point is that through the new dialogue, initially, and then hopefully through continued and greater mutual exposures, our stronger ideologies [which are consonant with the traditional Chinese character traits and values, but are the antithesis of the Maoist-imposed traits and values, excepting for nationalism and Chinese national independence and respect] eventually can first dilute and then prevail over the militant and stifling communist ideologies in China.

Mao, Chou, et al have succeeded, relatively, in filling the Chinese bellies. They have tried to restrict and govern the Chinese thoughts. People with full bellies and informed minds are hard to control ideologically. We now have a chance, if the present trend towards communication with China continues, to affect the Chinese thoughts, and to expose them again (i) to their own great traditions and (ii) to great traditions and beliefs as to individual and social freedom which are well advanced in America and in some other parts of the free world. Such a thrust by us at this time will be better than great armies in helping the Chinese people resume their basic traditions and beliefs. That is the vulnerability of the Chinese communists, and Mao, et al know it. That is why
they exercise such strict censorship and employ the propaganda technique of the repeated slogan. Also, that is why Mao Tse-tung has denominated America's past great educational and medical contributions, all actually given without strings and a part of the American trait of spontaneous generosity, as "cultural aggression." [See, for example, Mao Tse-tung, "Farewell, Leighton Stuart," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, p. 439, f.n. 1]. But in this instance, too, if we succeed it will not be for territorial possessions or military conquest, but for the Chinese people's wellbeing, and through their advantage, in the interest of world peace.

At the end of the Chinese Ming Dynasty, when the decaying empire could not cope with powerful brigands who threatened Peking, a strong group of Manchus was invited into the city to protect it from the brigands. The Manchus stayed, and founded the Ch'ing Dynasty. Today, a China concerned with the threats of Russia and the potential dangers of a rapidly growing Japan, through China's communist government has invited us into Peking to protect it from dangers to PRC. Although entirely without territorial or military designs upon China and motivated by a desire for continued dialogue, a China strong enough to help in maintaining peace in Asia and friendly enough to want to do so, let us hope and plan to remain in communication with the Chinese people sufficiently to enable and help them to evolve towards a new "Dynasty" for themselves, based on principles of Chinese national sovereignty, independence and dignity, with traditional ethical, moral and life style traits, allowing them their historic personal and individual dignity, full family ties and great human values.

Those are the major premises upon which the within materials are based.

(6) Summary and Application of the Major Premises

So the following materials are based on the concepts that although our own reservations are many and our own motives are mixed, in our dialogue and through President Nixon's journey to Peking, we must stress the positive between China and America in all of our actions, speeches and other manifestations. Shared and common cultural, historical and other interests must be voiced by our President and his team. The traditional friendship between both peoples is the key thing to stress. There are many unhappy memories, incidents and events between the two nations, of course, and many differences exist. But they must be omitted, ignored or smoothed over, to the full extent possible. Bygones must be said to be bygones.
Dignity must be afforded our opposites. The Chinese people and their present government are inordinantly concerned with their dignity, because of past indignities suffered by the Chinese people in their Ch'ing Dynasty and post-Ch'ing Dynasty contacts with the western world.

The within materials are designed to recognize the dignity and pride of the Chinese people and their culture, and in that way to help the present government of the PRC to feel justified before its own people and the world, in dealing with us [even though one of our inner motives is to achieve the eventual weakening of the Chinese communist system]. The following materials also are designed to awaken the old and genuine affection and respect between Americans and the Chinese people.

So the within materials are not necessarily the whole story. They are the good part of the story. They are not a judicial analysis, if you will, but instead they are a lawyer's trial brief, to assist him in winning a majority vote by the jury [the people of China, America and the world] in a very important case undertaken by the lawyer [President Nixon]. The verdict sought by the lawyer is enormous, far reaching and historic: World peace, starting with peace in Asia and security for Americans, with dignity and honor. Since an important part of the jury is Chinese, the trial brief provides many materials with special meanings to the Chinese, including references to their culture, folklore, traditions and folklore. And because some of the most cogent evidence in a trial consists of the confessions or admissions of the opponent, the materials include pro-American and pro-peace and pro-communications statements by Mao Tse-tung, himself, as well as other items favored by Chou En-lai and other Chinese, ancient and modern.

Our trial brief contains collections, extracts and quotations from many Chinese sources. It includes references to Chinese customs, culture, classics, folklore, and similar things, and also Chinese wines, drinking customs and other matters of appeal to the Chinese segment of our jury.

(b) Materials Included

The table of contents and the subject index tabs indicate the range and scope of the materials. Rather than providing a scholarly or theoretical report, I have tried to make this a ready-reference kit for the President and for Dr. Kissinger. The materials range from suggested speech materials I know will appeal to the Chinese [because I have lived among them for twenty-two years, and have worked with and against them all of my life, and have learned to think and react as they do] through lists of items which can be mentioned in casual conversa-
sations, and to such things as Mao Tse-tung's favorite books and Chou En-lai's preferred wines.

If I can have the privilege of accompanying the President and his team to China, I am sure I can supplement the materials with similar suggestions made on the spot to meet developments as they occur, and can quickly help the President and Dr. Kissinger in adapting some of the enclosed materials and other aspects of Chinese culture to various situations as they arise. However, I have endeavored to make this kit complete, in itself, as a trial brief or reference book for the President and Dr. Kissinger on this historic journey to China.
SUGGESTED SPEECHES AND COMMENTS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON IN CHINA, WITH SPECIAL APPEAL TO AND IMPACT ON THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
SUGGESTED SPEECHES AND COMMENTS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON IN CHINA, WITH SPECIAL APPEAL TO AND IMPACT ON THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

1. PRELIMINARY COMMENTS AS TO PURPOSE OF FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS

If the President's various speeches and comments can contain some references to Chinese traditions, writings, folklore, proverbs, history, culture, and the like, his substantive messages will be better received and understood by the Chinese. The Chinese, themselves, frequently use allegory, symbolism and similar references in their own speeches and articles. Mao's talks and writings are replete with such illustrations and usages. The following suggested themes, proposed speech excerpts and phrases can be adapted by the President and his speech writing and other advisers to any proposed substantive comments. Some of the suggested materials also might be appropriate for the President's off-hand comments during private discussions. Key terms and concepts are foot-noted for the President's convenience in relating them to the Chinese or other source. Also, see other sections, infra and supra, for other items which may be useful in speeches or in private talks.

2. SUGGESTED GENERAL GREETINGS AND OPENING THEMES FOR SPEECHES

A. First Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme

Chairman Mao; Premier Chou; [any other chief dignitary who may be present, by name and title, as desired]; Honorable officials and representatives of the People's Republic of China; and the great people of the Chinese nation:

During the past few months, the contending East Wind and West Wind have calmed greatly. Only a few scattered and diminishing gusts remain, and even they soon will cease to blow between your people and ours.

1. Mao Tse-Tung, speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Nov. 18, 1957), quoted in 2nd edn., Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, at p. 157: "...There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, 'Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind.' I believe...the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism."
A. First Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

The only winds encountered by the jet aircraft which carried the American President half way around the world to visit China today [this week] were the steady jet streams of renewed friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States.

Through me, the American people send their warm greetings to the Chinese people. When it became known in my country that I would soon visit China, as the guest of your government and people, the American people expressed their approval of this renewal of communication and constructive dialogue between our two countries, by an overwhelming majority, as expressed in our newspapers, on radio and television, in objective public opinion polls and in most of our political circles.

You Chinese have a wise old saying: "Within the four seas, all men are brothers."² We Americans have similar sayings and beliefs. Another old Chinese proverb tells us: "Brothers do not fight."³ We Americans agree with that old saying, also.

Since August 30th, 1784 - almost 188 years ago, and only one year after our own final peace treaty in the American War for Independence - when the Americans and Chinese first met each other officially in Canton, China,⁴ the American people have had a special feeling of friendship for the Chinese people. That feeling has persisted in the hearts and minds

². si hai zhi nei, jie xiongdi ye [Pinyin rendition]
³. shou-zu buxiang zheng [Pinyin rendition]
⁴. American Diplomacy in the Orient (1903). John W. Foster
of Americans throughout the years. As the President of my country, and also as an individual American, today [this evening] my own heart is full with the memories of our two nations' long and special friendship. Perhaps later during this visit to China I may have an opportunity to recall with you the many historic, cultural, educational, ideological and other reasons for the special friendly relationship between your people and mine. But for the moment, I must touch on other matters affecting the People's Republic of China and the great people of China, on the one hand, and the United States of America and its great people, on the other hand.

We must admit frankly to each other that in the past, especially in the period of the unequal treaties between our ancestors, some events between our two nations were not satisfactory. The then young American republic at that time joined in some treaties which it too later rejected, as did your own people. But even in those days, the United States of America made many earnest and sincere efforts to protect the national, cultural and economic integrity of China from some excesses on the part of others.5

Also, as we renew our old friendship and as we open our new exchanges of views and constructive dialogue today [this evening], we must recognize that our two nations have been isolated from one another for almost twenty-three years. And some differences and misunderstandings still exist between us.

5. For example, the efforts under President Lincoln and thereafter to champion China's rights and to limit encroachments by other powers; the Open Door Policy; and similar things: See Buss, The Far East, The Macmillan Company, N.Y. (1955), pp. 126-130.
A. First Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

We Americans desire gradually but steadily to resolve all of our differences and misunderstandings with China. In our newly resumed dialogues, let us work together as brothers in this world, to heal our respective wounds, to resolve all of our differences and to resume our long relationship as mutually friendly powers. Let us confer and work as equals, with mutual respect as members of the great brotherhood of mankind. It has been estimated that China has about 25 percent of the world population and about 4 percent of its wealth; and that the United States has about 6 percent of the world population and about 35 percent of its wealth. Acting in cooperation for peace among all of the nations, together our two nations consist of about one-third of the world population and we control about forty percent of the world's wealth. That can be a powerful and effective unity of friendly cooperation between the two nations in support of peaceful relations among all of the peoples of the world.

Two more of your wise old Chinese proverbs, both of which are echoed by similar sayings and beliefs in my country, should guide China:

6. See footnotes 2 and 3, supra ["Within the four seas, all men are brothers;" and "Brothers do not fight."]

7. Ross Terrill, Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1971, p. 120
A. First Suggested Alternative General Greeting
or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

and the United States from this day forward:

"Forget old grievances;” 8 and

"Do not blame the past." 9

Your Chairman Mao, in writing about the Western powers and
the United States, has said: "...we should unite with their people
and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business
with them and prevent any possible war...." 10

Chairman Mao has also written: "Certain ties do exist
between the Chinese people and the American people. Through their
joint efforts, these ties may develop in the future to the point of
'closest friendship.'" 11

The American people and I heartily endorse those two
statements by Chairman Mao.

Friendship between the People's Republic of China, the
United States, and their respective peoples does not mean that either
side will or can abandon its other friends. What we propose is
eventual friendship among all peoples and all nations, starting
here and now.

8. bunian jiue [Pinyin rendition]
9. jiwang bujiu [Pinyin rendition]
10. Chairman Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among
    the People (Feb. 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 75; quoted in
    Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, 2nd edtn., p. 129
11. Chairman Mao, Why It Is Necessary to Discuss the White Paper,
A. First Suggested General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

By first reducing and then eventually eliminating the differences between the People's Republic of China and the United States, and by resuming our traditional friendship, we jointly can take a giant initial step toward world peace and understanding among all of the peoples, nations and governments of the world.

Respectful and thoughtful dialogue, ready and regular communication and friendly relations between us do not mean that we can or will agree on all matters. Not all brothers are twins.

The people of China and the United States have many things in common. But we have and always will have certain national aspects which are entirely different. We must learn to understand each other's differences; use friendly and peaceful means to contend; and live together in this increasingly small world, as equal nations with mutual respect and regard for each other and for all other nations and peoples in the world.

China is a communist country. Its ideologies, social system and economic organization are both communist and Chinese. The United States is a democracy with a constitutional republic form of government. Our ideologies, social system and economic organization are based on private enterprise and traditional American concepts of individual freedom and liberty. In such areas our two nations are far from being twins. Nevertheless, our two peoples and our two nations are members of the brotherhood of mankind. And we must treat each other as such brothers.

Let us from now on work together as equal but different
nations for the betterment of mankind and for world peace.

Perhaps, as a start, we can find ways for more of my people to visit you, and to study, work, talk and trade with you. On behalf of my country, I invite you to send men and women from among your people to America, to visit us, and to study, work, talk and trade with us.

I assure you that your people will be welcomed in our country by the vast majority of our people.

Next, our two governments must find additional ways of implementing our renewed friendship. Our continued dialogues will lead to such additional ways, I am sure.

Gradually but surely, the Chinese and American people, through their respective governments and also on a people-to-people basis, will find ways to release the dark waters of mistrust and suspicion which have built up behind the mountains of prejudice and anger between the two great peoples, during the past twenty-three years or more. Those dark flood waters for too long have threatened the green vallies of our traditional national friendships.

Let us emulate the great Chinese legendary hero, the Great Yu [rhyme it with the French word for thou, Tu], who more than 2,000 years before our era (around 2250 B.C.), in the period when Emperor Shun reigned, successfully coped with a huge deluge and flood. You will remember that he saved the people from the floods of the nine rivers by cutting through nine mountains, and releasing the dark and pent-up flood waters to the sea. Like the Great Yu, let us Chinese and Americans cut through our nine mountains of prejudice and
anger of the past twenty-three years, and release the flood waters of our nine rivers of mistrust and suspicion into the sea.\textsuperscript{12}\hspace{1em} There, in the vast ocean which washes the shores of both of our nations, which both nations call the Pacific or peaceful Ocean,\textsuperscript{13}\hspace{1em} our traditional national friendship will be cleansed and renewed.

[End of First Suggested General Greeting, etc.]


\textsuperscript{13} Pacific Ocean: Taiping Yang (Pinyin rendition)
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme

Chairman Mao; Premier Chou; [any other chief dignitary who may be present, by name and title, as desired]; Honorable officials and representatives of the People's Republic of China; and the great people of the Chinese nation:

On August 30th, 1784 — almost 188 years ago, and only one year after my own country had formally concluded its War for Independence in which we won freedom for the still struggling and formative new America, an American merchant ship sailed uninvited into your Chinese port of Canton. Although uninvited, the American traders were received cordially by your countrymen in Canton, and fair trading took place between them.

That was the first known contact between your great people and mine.

14. Morison & Commager, "The Growth of the American Republic," Vol. I, p. 227: "There was not even an Anglo-American armistice until 20 January, 1783, the day that England and France ceased hostilities; and the definitive peace was not concluded until 3 September 1783;"

15. John W. Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient" (1903) Houghton Mifflin Company, p. 27: "...on the 30th of August, 1784, the American ship The Empress of China, of New York, commanded by Captain John Green, with Samuel Shaw as supercargo, bore the flag of the United States for the first time into the port of Canton, China."
The first official contact between the governments of China and the United States occurred in 1786, when the man who had been the first American to trade with China was designated as the young American government's consul in Canton.

In his first report to the American government, our first consul in China reported his initial impressions of the great Chinese people, in these words which are retained in our governmental archives:

"...they are a set of as respectable men as are commonly found in other ports of the world. They are intelligent, exact accountants, punctual to their engagements, and...value themselves much upon maintaining a fair character." 17

That first impression gained by the Americans in their dealings with the Chinese was the beginning of a remarkable epic of reciprocal affection and respect between the peoples of both countries, who have numerous personal characteristics, human values and feelings which they share in common.

In 1844, the American President of that period, John Tyler, sent an official emissary to China bearing a personal letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of China, in Peking. The letter sought direct and formal relationships between

16. Consul Samuel Shaw, whose appointment and enabling budget were approved by the Continental Congress on January 27, 1786, and who was commissioned as Consul to Canton by Secretary Jay on January 30, 1786. See Foster, Ibid, pp. 27, 32-33.

17. Shaw's report was dated December 31, 1786. Ibid, pp. 34-35.
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

the United States and China. The American emissary tried to obtain permission from the Chinese government to go to Peking, but his request was denied, probably in large measure because, unfortunately, our American forefathers were seeking for our country the same unequal rights earlier unfairly seized from China by other western powers, and in some measure, because my people were almost strangers to the Chinese and were uninvited guests.

A careful and fair examination of the two nations' common history between 1844 and 1949, when our two peoples and their governments sadly ceased their regular and direct contacts, discloses that the vast majority of the contacts and dealings between the Chinese and the Americans involved mutual respect and genuine efforts to cooperate in many ways, as friends. Our commonly shared national histories reflect many things between our two peoples and between our two governments which were good.

However, as we begin now in this sincere effort on our part and on your part to heal any wounds suffered by both nations in their recent fraternal differences, we must recognize that a careful and fair examination of our common history also discloses that the two brother nations of China and America, like more than a few actual brothers in the world, also have had some bad aspects in their relationships.

18. Ibid., pp. 83-85
their relationships in the period between 1844 and 1949.

When my own country was a very young Republic, it is true that our forefathers a few times joined with other western powers in the unequal treaties with old imperialist China, and there were some excesses which my country and people later were among the first to disavow and reject. Today, both as an American citizen and also as the President of the United States, I reconfirm our rejection of the excesses of that period in our common history. The United States government, of course, formally abolished extraterritoriality during the Second World War. The old "unequal treaties" have long been without validity or affect.

Of course, while candidly recognizing the things that were bad, it is only fair for all of us to remember that even in the most difficult days between 1844 and 1949, the bad was greatly exceeded by the good. The American people and their government throughout that period, consistently opposed any foreign domination of China; defended the Open Door policy; turned back indemnity funds for the education of Chinese students; struggled with and for the Chinese people in times of flood and famine in China; constructed and helped the Chinese people construct great hospitals and universities; welcomed your students into our own country; and gladly received and honored immigrants from China to America, where today approximately
one quarter of a million people of Chinese descent live as American citizens, participating fully in our national affairs, in all walks of life. Our present-day Americans of Chinese ancestry include a United States Senator, which is one of the highest and most honored public positions in our land. Thousands of Americans of Chinese ancestry are working and living in my country, variously as doctors, lawyers, scientists, judges, major businessmen and in other similar fields of special achievement in the intellectual fields. And tens of thousands of Americans of Chinese ancestry who are citizens of the United States are involved in our small merchant and labor enterprises, and are Americans of whom we are proud.

Past wars with third powers should be forgotten, especially when the successor governments are friendly and sincere, as we know they are. But in reviewing the common history of China and the United States, we must remember also that for many years the Chinese people and the American people stood together against a one-time invader of China.

With all my country and people have done in friendship for China, yet the scales of benefits given weigh heavily in favor of the great Chinese people. Among many other things we have received as gifts from China to America and the world, our lessons and gains

20. Senator Hiram Fong, Hawaii
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

from the incomparable Chinese cultural, philosophical and artistic heritage of China must be named first.

We Americans and the western world are in your debt, among other things, because of your longest continuous cultural development in the history of mankind, and because we have borrowed much of it from you.

The Americans include the study of some of your ancient scholars and philosophers in our universities, today. English translations of their works may be found in our bookstores and in our libraries. We Americans have become acquainted with the greatness of your cultural heritage and the wisdom of many of your scholars, through the writings of our own scholars, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American essayist and lecturer who wrote in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and through the works of other western scholars who studied and greatly admired your Chinese wisdom. Among such writers have been Diderot; Voltaire; Goethe; Leibnitz; and Christian Wollf.

Your Chinese art styles have deeply affected some aspects of American architecture; landscaping; furniture design;

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21. Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803-1882. See, for example, his essay entitled "Spiritual Laws," in which he quotes from Confucious.

22. See Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, pp. 639-640; 693
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

and even some of our clothing styles.

High on our list of priceless gifts from China to the United States, of course, are the one quarter of a million American citizens now among us who are descendants of the Chinese. Working at all levels of our society, as I have indicated, they, like their brothers and sisters in China, are remarkably industrious, steadfast in their work, talented and law-abiding.

In America, as elsewhere in the world, we value your silk and its connected applications; we use the ink you discovered before 200 B.C.; we drink the tea first mentioned in your literature around 300 A.D.; we organize our libraries much in the way yours were first organized in the period of around 600 A.D.; we print our books in ways conceptually adapted by our western world ancestors from your ancient printing processes; we use the principles of the magnetic compass, used by you prior to the year 1122 A.D.; 23 we celebrate our own Independence Day, July 4th, with the firecrackers you Chinese invented; we call our great winds the name you taught us, "Typhoon;" 24 and we follow your Chinese ways in many of our activities, from kite flying to the printing of our great newspapers, and philosophy. Small wonder that the American people and their government since their beginnings have had genuine admiration and affection

23. For all of the references to China's history and culture, see the materials herein and the pull-out sheets, entitled "Outline of Chinese History and Culture, etc."
24. Typhoon: From the Cantonese term for "Big wind." See Webster's etc.
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting
or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

for their Chinese brothers and sisters.

And since genuine affection given often generates
and nurtures genuine affection returned, I believe it is accurate
to say that history provides us with much evidence that the Chinese
people long have reciprocated the genuine affection and respect of the
Americans.

Notwithstanding the difficulties between us and
between your government and mine since 1949, some of which difficulties
remain to be reduced or resolved, our two peoples have retained their
underlying mutual regard. I shall speak briefly of some of our
differences, in a moment.

But as we work to diminish our differences, we must
keep in mind the fact that since that day in August, 1784, when
Americans first met the Chinese in Canton, a remarkable person-to-
person respect and warm regards for each other have been written by
the two peoples on the pages of history and upon the hearts and
memories of our two great peoples.

In addition to what I have mentioned above, my
people have again and again through the years poured out their
affection for your people, in the form of medical, educational, famine
relief and other worthy causes. In the past, we have welcomed
thousands of Chinese in our universities in America; we welcomed
your great founding father, Sun Yat-sen, as a visitor to our country.
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting
or Opening Theme (Cont'd)
during his lifetime; and we have been pleased that in the past you
reciprocally welcomed large numbers of our own students, scholars,
doctors and similar people.

I wish all of you could have witnessed the
pleasure and approval expressed in the American newspapers and on
our radio and television facilities, throughout our land, when it was
announced that I would visit China, as the guest of the Chinese people
and of the People's Republic of China. That showed that in spite
of our differences and difficulties since 1949, my people, too, have
preserved their special regard for the Chinese people. And I am hopeful that what I see here in China will enable me to report to my
country that the Chinese people, also, have preserved their special
regard for the American people.

Why, then, have the two nations experienced
differences and difficulties since 1949? What happened to cause
such good friends to become estranged?

Perhaps the answer to that question comes in two
parts:

First: Some of our differences, although not
so great that the isolation of two peoples from each other was
necessary, perhaps were pursued by both sides so relentlessly and
unswervingly that relatively minor initial differences led each side
away from the other at an ever-increasing tangent, until both sides

25. Sun Yat-sen, during the period in which he was working to
obtain financial and other support for his movement to
foster a revolution against the Ch'ing Dynasty and to establish
a republic, travelled in America. Durant, Our Oriental Heritage,
p. 810; Li Chien-nung, Political History of China (Stnfrd Edn.1956)
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

may have been surprised to see how very far apart they had grown.

There is a wise old Chinese saying that illustrates my point:

"When shooting an arrow, the difference even of 1/100th or 1/1000th of an inch at the starting point will make a difference of one thousand miles at the end."

[The Chinese say it (in their Pinyin romanization) as: Cha zhi hao-li, shi zhi qian li]

We must find ways not to let the small differences between us at the start lead us one thousand miles away from each other. Perhaps, gradually, both nations can find ways first to reduce such small differences, and eventually to eliminate them entirely.

Second: The second part of the answer to what caused such good friends as China and America to become estranged deals with a more basic and serious difference: Our deep and permanent differences in ideologies and in social and economic systems, which confronted both countries beginning in 1949. These differences neither China nor America is willing to change or eliminate, because they are a part of the national fabric of each nation. But the time has come for both nations and both peoples and their two governments to work and communicate reasonably with each other to find ways to cooperate and live together in the world as friendly national brothers, and at the same time avoid letting our basic ideological and economic differences interfere with our mutual respect, friendship and trust.
B. Second Suggested Alternative General Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

A wise old Chinese saying teaches us:

"Within the four seas, all men are brothers."

[The Chinese say it (in their Pinyin romanization) as: Si hai zhi nei, jie xiongdi ye]

The Chinese and the Americans are brothers within the four seas, but they are not twin brothers. They are different in their ideologies and in their socio-economic systems. Let us not insist that China and America be twins. And let us learn to respect and coexist with the differences between the two brothers.

China is a communist country. Its ideologies, social system and economic organization are both communist and Chinese. The United States is a democracy with a constitutional republic form of government. Our ideologies, social system and economic organization are based on private enterprise and traditional American concepts of individual freedom and liberty. In such areas, our two nations are far from being twins. Nevertheless, our two peoples and our two nations are members of the brotherhood of mankind. And we must learn again to treat each other as brothers.

Your Chairman Mao Tse-Tung has written, in regard to the Western powers and the United States:

"...we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war..."26

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I agree with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung on that point.

And I have come to China as the invited guest of the people and the government of the People's Republic of China, seeking through this renewal of communication and a dialogue with your leaders to find ways to begin the gradual but steady process of reducing and finally eliminating all of the differences between China and America which honorably and properly can be reduced and then eliminated. I am here, also, seeking through our renewed communication and dialogue, to find ways to assure that your great nation and mine can coexist peacefully and with mutual respect even in regard to the basic differences between us which we cannot entirely eliminate, because those differences are ones which are parts of our respective national fabrics.

Neither China nor America will consider abandoning their respective basic ideologies and socio-economic systems. Neither nation can or will abandon its other friends. I am sure that both China and America intend to continue to honor their treaties with third nations.27 The friendly relations I seek here, moreover, are not exclusive to China and the United States of America. We seek here the beginnings of worldwide peace, worldwide peace, and among all nations and countries, without exception,28 a true brotherhood of mankind.

27. The writer suggests this deliberately ambiguous term, "third nations," to preserve to us all possible alternatives as to Taiwan, etc.

28. As is obvious, assurance for Japan, South Vietnam, South Korea, etc., and also for USSR, et al.
B. Second Suggested Alternative Greeting
or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

So I am well aware of the difficult task that lies before us. We are undertaking a long march together back to peace between us and among each of us and all nations in the world. I do not underestimate the heights of the mountains we must cross on our long march back to peace, nor the dangers of the great rivers of world tensions we must ford together, nor the potential menaces to peace we must encounter in crossing the treacherous and dangerous grassy marshlands of already diminishing military actions at certain points in the world. But today, here in Peking, we can join together in taking the first and most important steps on our new long march to peace.

Even though I am so well aware of the difficulties ahead and of the differences in China's and America's joint histories, today, here in Peking, my heart and mind are full with memories of the good things in our common histories, since that day in August, 1786, when the Chinese and the Americans first met in Canton. I am filled with optimism for our two nations' future relations, mainly, because this occasion is entirely different from my people's first arrival in and subsequent visits to this great country.

The great difference is exemplified by your forefathers' refusal to invite the American emissary to Peking in 1844.

29. The "long march" reference is to the famous long march by Mao and his supporters. It is an emotional thing in their minds, and the reference in this context can help dramatise our appeal.
30. All of the named hazards were encountered and overcome in the course of Mao's and his supporters' long march.
B. Second Suggested Alternative Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

to confer with the government of China of that era. The American emissary of that day was an uninvited guest. He was not welcome because of circumstances in that period which are now behind us. But on this great occasion, today in Peking, an American President - representing our American nation and the hopes of the American people and of mankind for world peace - is with you as your invited guest.

On this historic occasion - the first time in our two nations' long relationship that an American President has been in China - I did not come in an American merchant ship in search of trading privileges, or-as an American emissary seeking to force his way into Peking to negotiate unequal treaties.

I stand here on your soil, not seeking territorial encroachment, concessions or any other advantage. I - and through me, the people of America - am here in the interest of peace and understanding between our nations, and the nations of the world. I stand here both extending to you and receiving from you the first handclasp of renewed mutual and brotherly respect; the joint recognition by China and America of the territorial, political, cultural and other integrities of both nations, and of our respective allies and respective friends.

The first American ship to touch China's shores in 1784 was named the Emperor of China. In that period, the ship's
name was intended by the Americans as a gesture of respect to China. But that name is one from the days of imperialism and feudalism. That name represents concepts which now are obsolete. Today, we do not speak of emperors, empires or imperialism, either as to China or as to America.

It is significant and symbolic that today I entered China, as your invited guest, in an American jet aircraft named, "Spirit of '76." That name honors our American memory and tradition of our country's emergence as an independent nation, and our own Declaration of Independence in the year 1776. To my own countrymen, the Spirit of 1776 means such things as independence; courage; unity among our people; self-reliance; self-determination by a free people, without foreign encroachment or interference with our internal affairs, in any form; and the giving and receiving of respect as to foreign nations.

So today, as President of the United States, I come to you in the Spirit of '76, both physically in the jet aircraft bearing that name, and also ideologically, asking that our two nations deal with one another and with all other nations, in the spirit of 1776.

It is fitting that I have arrived on this date, because in my country we celebrate the birthday of our founding father, George Washington, on February 21st. We respectfully invite you
B. Second Suggested Alternative Greeting
Or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

Chinese to join with us Americans, in spirit, in honoring the memory and principles of George Washington. His principles also can be described by the phrase, "The Spirit of '76".

It is all the more fitting that not only am I here as your invited guest on the date of our American day honoring the memory of our founding father, George Washington, but also that I have the honor to be here in Peking at a time not far from the date on which your great Chinese revolutionary leader and founder of modern government in China, Sun Yat-sen, is especially remembered in Peking and throughout China.

Sun Yat-sen and your and our memories of him also are closely linked with the ancient and modern capitol of China, Peking.

It was here in Peking, from December 31, 1924 until his untimely death on March 12, 1925, that Sun Yat-sen conducted his last conferences with his colleagues, gave his last wise counsels, wrote his last words, served his nation and his people during his final days, and then passed away on the 12th day of March, 1925. Sun Yat-sen's remains lay in state in your governmental buildings here in Peking, while the people of Peking, China and the world mourned his death and honored his memory.31

B. Second Suggested Alternative Greeting or Opening Theme (Cont'd)

As all Chinese know, for a time the remains of Sun Yat-sen were entombed in your beautiful Western Hills. Later, his remains were removed to the permanent monument and tomb in his honor, in Nanking.

Because we are here together in Peking on this historic occasion, and because at this time of year both your great revolutionary leader and one of your founding fathers, Sun Yat-sen, and also our great founding father, George Washington, are especially remembered and honored by their own peoples, I make this respectful suggestion and request to my Chinese hosts:
May we all join together spiritually this week in honor of the memories of both great leaders, Sun Yat-sen and George Washington; and may our joint honoring of the two great men - one a Chinese and the other an American - also symbolize this beginning, this first step, in China's and America's joint long march back to our traditional relationship as friends.

On behalf of my own nation and my own people, as the President of the United States and also as an individual American, I thank you for inviting Mrs. Nixon, my accompanying American officials and assistants, and me, to Peking.

Thank you.

32. Ibid, p. 478-479
SUGGESTED SPEECHES AND COMMENTS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY 
PRESIDENT NIXON IN CHINA, WITH SPECIAL APPEAL TO AND 
IMPACT ON THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT 

[CONTINUED]

4. COMMENT ON THE TWO SUGGESTED SPEECHES, ABOVE

The two suggested speeches provided above are intended as examples of the kind of speeches, addresses, messages, comments and arguments which appeal most to the Chinese.

They also are intended to meet our own American needs for dignity and honor as a nation, and to be acceptable to as many of the American political viewpoints as is possible under the circumstances. Also, I have endeavored to have the proposed speeches follow President Nixon's policies, as reported in the press and as the President has discussed his policies in public. I have had in mind various delicate circumstances involving our allies and also the USSR. Another criterion I have had in mind is that it is likely President Nixon's speeches will be reported via world-wide television and radio. That gives us a terrific chance to make an impact, and certainly calls for some dramatic phrases and comments in support of American policies. Probably, the President Nixon journey to Peking and most of its anticipated aspects, including the President's speeches, involve the most significant event in world affairs in our era. President Nixon's speeches should reflect that, and they must appeal to the Chinese national instincts and character traits, as well as meet the blunt standards of the modern Chinese communist, who
4. **COMMENT ON THE TWO SUGGESTED SPEECHES, ABOVE (CONT'D)**

makes a ritual of admitting and facing past faults (real or imagined), and announcing curative or corrective plans.

Because of that Chinese communist attitude, and also because of the avalanche of anti-American propaganda issued by the People's Republic for over twenty-two years and attacking the U.S.A. for the unequal treaty episodes and also for our so-called "spiritual aggression" and "cultural aggression" [all of our kindly acts in the past, as to China], I have suggested the direct approach indicated in the two suggested speeches: In effect, those days of the unequal treaties were wrong, but they are past, and we no longer expect unequal treaties, etc. The approach will be recognized by President Nixon as the trial lawyer's defensive tactic of "confess and avoid," i.e. admit the minor fault, but justify or explain or counter with our own points.

As to the appeal to the Chinese instincts and character, I can warrant that the two proposed speeches meet that need. The Chinese, themselves, rely heavily on historic references; the quotation of proverbs and other old Chinese sayings; quotations and points from the writings of Chairman Mao [I had to search like hell to find the few materials which are friendly to us, even with some judicious use of "..."] indicating omissions, of course. Most of Mao's seemingly kindly remarks are in speeches and writings in which he then proceeds to attack us and our views]; references to folklore and the classics; allegory and sentimental symbolism; and the like.
4. COMMENT ON THE TWO SUGGESTED SPEECHES, ABOVE (CONT'D)

Mao's own speeches and writings are examples of the types of speeches which have special appeal to the overwhelming majority of the Chinese (excepting, only, some of the older intellectuals, and even they like the historic and classical references). Readers of Mao's materials will notice that he tends to use the approach involving allegories, symbolism, "slogans," folklore, twice-told-tales, proverbs, and so on. The style in some ways is like the old Testament [Now, in the old days, in the city of Gomorrah, there lived a man with two sons, etc.].

The popular Chinese political speech style is right out of the traditional Chinese story telling technique, and is a part of the charm of the Chinese. For example, Mao's speech and story about The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains [see my memorandum herein, entitled "Direct Quotations from Mao Tse-Tung, etc." ] is pure old Chinese market place story telling style. The Chinese love it, and remember the messages rendered in that manner. I often have watched large crowds of intensely interested Chinese following just such a yarn as it was told in the market place by a professional itinerant story teller. The Chinese novels which Mao prefers originated as such stories.

The above thoughts illustrate why successful and persuasive speeches to the Chinese people are rich in old lore, anecdotes, historic references, symbolism and proverbs [e.g., in my suggested speeches, the long march; crossing mountains and fording rivers; etc.] I respectfully urge the President to adopt that style in his speeches and (excepting with Chou En-lai, an intellectual) in private talks. If President Nixon will use that style in speeches, and if he is
4. COMMENT ON THE TWO SUGGESTED SPEECHES, ABOVE (CONT'D)

fairly reported in the Chinese press and on their radio and TV, I am sure that the President's message will not only be read and re-read in hundreds of thousands of villages in China, and at the peasant and peasant army private level which really counts for us in the long range, but also will be repeated as market place story art form, in hundreds of thousands of villages.

That hope is why I have included many suggested points which may induce the People's Republic officials to give the speeches full distribution, such as our frank and candid regrets as to the unequal treaty era and similar things, with a true and accurate yarn or two, complete with proverbs, etc., thrown in to help sustain the message.

If the President's speeches along the lines suggested are given wide distribution among the Chinese people, I feel that we shall have struck a hard blow against Chinese communism, and the gradual erosion of that anti-Chinese [and anti-our way of life] system will have been started by President Nixon. Mao, et al are doing a very dangerous thing for their teachings by exposing the Chinese people to our President, our ideas, and hopefully, to our students, tourists and business people. They must indeed be desperate with their concern as to other dangers, e.g. Russia, to welcome us into China at this time. I do not think that Chinese communism can survive being exposed to our own free intellectual exchanges, and through us, the reminders to the Chinese people of their own individualistic culture.
4. COMMENT ON THE TWO SUGGESTED SPEECHES, ABOVE (CONT'D)

If some of my materials, prepared and gathered herein as a sort of "trial brief" for my "clients," President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger, can help as a ready-reference or quick source tool in the course of this journey to Peking [the opening step in a sort of "trial" between our ideologies and those of Mao, and also probably the most astute and far-reaching move toward international peace with honor and security by any leader in our era], then my hundreds of hours of voluntary and secret work in this matter shall have served their purpose.

I also earnestly hope that on the basis of some of the within materials, and as we get better acquainted, President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger will decide that I can be of great help on the Peking mission, as well as after it in the follow-up stage, and that I may be included on the team, on a voluntary and confidential basis.

5. ADDITIONAL SPEECH AND PRIVATE TALKS MATERIALS

A number of the within memoranda contain lists of and references to other items, such as Chinese proverbs, Mao's writings, and the like, which could be suitable for inclusion in speeches or remarks by the President in or in regard to China.
DIRECT QUOTATIONS FROM MAO TSE-TUNG
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE
HIS OWN POINTS, IN SPEECHES OR IN
PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS
1. Ties With America (and the West) - Desire for Peace

"Certain ties do exist between the Chinese people and the American people. Through their joint efforts, these ties may develop in the future to the point of the 'closest friendship.'" Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume IV, p. 443 - "Why It is Necessary to Discuss the White Paper."

"To achieve a lasting world peace, we must further develop our friendship and co-operation with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries. We must endeavour to establish normal diplomatic relations, on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit, with all countries willing to live together with us in peace." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, pp. 127-129 of 2nd edn., quoting from "Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," September 15, 1965

"Our country and all the other socialist countries want peace; so do the peoples of all the countries of the world." Ibid. [Caveat to President Nixon: Mao goes on to charge that war is craved by "certain monopoly capitalist groups in a handful of imperialist countries which depend on aggression for their profits." By this, he means U.S.A. The point is easy to rebut, as we in the U.S.A. are not "monopoly capitalists:" we are not imperialistic, and in fact have relinquished areas, e.g. Okinawa, Philippines, etc.; and certainly do not make profits by war (huge assistance programs, Europe and Asia, etc.).]

"As for the imperialist [sic] countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 129 of 2nd edn., quoting from "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket edn., p. 75
DIRECT QUOTATIONS FROM MAO TSE-TUNG
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE
HIS OWN POINTS, IN SPEECHES OR IN
PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

[CONTINUED]


"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 325 of 2nd edn., quoting from "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan" (August 13, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 16

Note: This could be used to urge correction by the government of the People's Republic of its anti-American policies, to conform to the Chinese people's interests.

3. China's Hope for Foreign Aid

"We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 365 of 2nd edn., quoting from "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work" (January 10, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 241.

Note: The following quotation and story, stressing the ability of generations of Chinese to move mountains by hand and hoe, can be used in (i) admiring the Chinese energy and willingness to work, but (ii) suggesting that since we Americans have developed great earth-moving equipment which can move mountains in a few days (as, for example, in our housing and other construction work), America with its great technology and China with its great and energetic people can join together in moving mountains within a few days - that is, in joint construction work in China, dams, roads, etc., for mutual benefit. Mao's story as to moving mountains by hand and hoe labor for generations is as follows:

"There is an ancient Chinese fable called 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains.' It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as
3. **China's Hope for Foreign Aid (Cont'd)**

**Mao's Story of The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains (Cont'd)**

The Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, 'How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains.' The Foolish Old Man replied, 'When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?' Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?' Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, pp. 378-379, 2nd edn., quoting "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" (June 11, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 322.

4. **Mao's Willingness to Consider All Sides to Questions**

Note: The following quotations can be used in trying to persuade Mao to consider the American view as to the mutual problems of America and China - to consider and carefully examine the points urged by President Nixon:

"In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 405, 2nd edn., quoting "On the Chungking Negotiations" (October 17, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 54
4. Mao's Willingness to Consider All Sides to Questions (Cont'd)

"We must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 415 2nd edn, quoting "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., pp. 66-67.

5. Equality for Women

Note: The following quotation might be helpful in pointing out that both America and China are working for equality for women. In our nation, many judges, statesmen, leaders, etc. are women, and so on. Our Court's have been enforcing equal rights for our American women.

"Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labour front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. This should be done as quickly as possible." Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, pp. 559-561 2nd edn., quoting "Introductory Note to 'On Widening the Scope of Women's Work in the Agricultural Cooperative Movement" (1955), The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, Chinese ed., Vol. I.
CHINESE PROVERBS AND COMMON SAYINGS
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE
HIS OWN POINTS, IN SPEECHES OR IN
PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

By H. P. Hoose
1/9/72
CHINESE PROVERBS AND COMMON SAYINGS
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE
HIS OWN POINTS, IN SPEECHES OR IN
PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

1. Let America and China Now Be Friends - Forget Old Grievances,
and Related Thoughts, as Supported by Chinese Proverbs (Pinyin)

"Let us forget old grievances." (Bu-nian Jiu-e)
"Do not blame the past." [Let bygones be bygones] (Ji-wang Bu-jiu)
"Things of the present are right, and things of the past were wrong." (Jin Shi Zuo Fei)
"Within the four seas, all men are brothers." [All are brothers throughout the world] (Si Hai Zhi Nei, Jie Xiong-di Ye)
"Those travelling in the same boat help one another." [We are all in the same boat] (Tong Zhou Gong Ji)
"Old friends should not be neglected." (Gu-jiu Buyi)
"Old friends are best, new clothes are best." (Ren shi jiu-di hao, yishang shi xin-di hao)
"[Let us] cast away our armor and return to the farm." [We should cease our hostilities] (Jie Jia Gui Tian)
"Brothers do not fight." (Shou-zu Buxiang Zheng)
"[Let us] furl the flags and silence the drums" [Let us stop fighting one another] (Yan Qi Xi Gu)
"Let us have] singing, dancing and peace." (Ge Wu Shengping)

2. China and America need each other's help, and must draw
closer together, as supported by the Proverbs (Pinyin)

"Water in remote areas cannot be used to fight a close fire." [A distant source of help cannot relieve an emergency] (Yuan shui bujiu jin huo)
"A single palm cannot clap and make a sound." [One cannot get along without assistance] (Gu zhang nan ming)
"Those travelling in the same boat help one another." [We are all in the same boat] (Tong Zhou Gong Ji)
3. Proverbs Which Might Be Used with Respect to the Taiwan Situation (Pinyin)

Note: The following proverb might be used as a gentle rebuke to the People's Republic as to and a request that it ease off a bit in its constant oral attacks on Chiang Kai-shek and Taiwan, to allow time to help resolve the problem:

"The one who succeeds becomes the ruler; but the one who is defeated becomes (is regarded as) the robber." (Cheng ze wei wang, bai ze wei kou)

Note: The following proverb might be stated in connection with America's desire that the Taiwan situation be resolved peacefully by the People's Republic:

"[One should or can] recover a territory without using weapons nor losing a life." (Buxue ren er ke-fu)

4. Proverbs Applicable to China's Need, Realistically, to Fear the USSR and Its Military Strength (and, by implication, China's Need to Fear Our Own Military Strength) (Pinyin)

"The new-born calf does not fear the tiger." [Implication: the young People's Republic foolishly claims not to fear USSR's military strength - and our own] (Chu sheng zhi du buwei hu)

"A solitary spear and a single horse." [Implication: China is facing danger alone] (Dan qiang pi ma)

5. A Proverb to Illustrate that China, Russia and America are All Equal Powers (that is, equally strong) (Pinyin)

"Equal in strength, like the three feet of a caldron." [The situation involves three equal powers] (Dingzu zhi shi)

6. A Proverb Illustrating that China Needs to Study America More Carefully to Really Know It, and Must Not Base Its Judgment on Superficial Knowledge (Pinyin)

"[You have been] looking at the flowers while galloping by on horse-back." (Zou ma kan hua) [This is especially applicable, since the reference to "galloping by" suggests, also, that China has been militantly engaged while just glancing at the U.S.A. (flowers), and should get off of its warlike horse and really get acquainted with us].

7. A Proverb Suggesting that the Chinese Officials Must Speak Frankly with President Nixon, and Vice Versa

"Terms should be made clear when the parties meet face to face." (Dang mian yan ming)
8. **A Proverb Illustrating that China's Charges that the U.S.A. Has Military Designs in Asia are Unfounded (or that any Fear of Suspicion on China's Part is Unfounded)** (Pinyin)

"The people of Chi [a state in ancient China] worried that the sky was about to fall." [i.e., a baseless anxiety] (Qi ren you tian)

9. **A Proverb Illustrating that if China Wants Us to Believe, For Example, that It Desires Peace or Intends Well, It Must Act Peaceful, etc. (i.e., If You Don't Want to Be Suspected, Act in a Manner Clearly Above Reproach)**

"One should not fix his shoes in a melon field, or straighten up his hat under a plum tree." [That is, if you don't want to be thought a melon thief or a plum thief, don't lean down to fix your shoes in a melon patch, or reach up to adjust your hat under a plum tree] (Guatian lixia)

10. **A Friendly Proverb, Indicating Instant Friendship With Someone Just Met**

Perhaps the President might wish to make some such remark to Premier Chou:

"[I have] met someone and feel just as if he were and old friend." (Yi jian ru gu)

**GENERAL NOTE, APPLICABLE TO ALL OF THE ABOVE PROVERBS:**

The Chinese would appreciate it and would get the particular point involved, if the President should include a proverb or two [in English, but attributing the comment to "an old Chinese proverb or saying"] in his comments or to support a point, from time to time.
REFERENCES TO CHINESE FOLKLORE, CLASSICS AND LITERATURE
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE HIS OWN POINTS, IN
SPEECHES OR IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS
REFERENCES TO CHINESE FOLKLORE, CLASSICS AND LITERATURE
FOR USE BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO URGE HIS OWN POINTS, IN
SPEECHES ON IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

1. Introduction

President Nixon will grasp the purpose of this memorandum instantly if he will please think of it as a sort of legal pleading: Points and Authorities in support of his contentions to be made by him in China. Thus the cited and quoted "legal cases and statutes" in this instance are various references to or quotations from Chinese folklore, classics and literature. The materials are arranged with the probable point or contention to be urged by President Nixon stated first, and then followed by the applicable reference to Chinese folklore, classics or literature, to illustrate or support that point or contention.

The above application also applies to the separate memoranda, included in this collection of materials I have prepared, similarly providing Chinese proverbs or old sayings, Mao's own writings and similar sources. In those instances, too, the particular proverb or quotation from Mao Tse-Tung can be used as the "authority" or "legal citation" to support or illustrate the particular contention the President desires to urge.

2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon Supported by Such References

(a) The People's Republic should open its doors and admit into China, our newsmen, scientists, professors, students and tourists. Also, the People's Republic should allow its own people to come to the United States.

The supporting or illustrative references:

"An emperor knows how to govern when poets are free to make verses, people to act plays, historians to tell the truth, ministers to give advice, the poor to grumble at taxes, students to learn lessons aloud, workmen to praise their skill and seek work, people to speak of anything, and old men to find fault with everything." (Address of the Duke of Shao to King Li-Wang, circa 845 B.C. This quotation is from the Book of Rites. See Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, p. 635, and f.n. 1, p. 988)
2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon Supported by Such References

(a) The People's Republic should open its doors and admit into China, our newsmen, scientists, professors, students and tourists. Also, the People's Republic should allow its own people to come to the United States (Cont'd)

The supporting or illustrative references (Cont'd)

"My wall rises only to the height of a man's shoulders, so that anyone can look over and note the excellence of the building within. But my master's wall is many cubits in height, so that one who cannot find the gate cannot see the loveliness of the temple nor the noble adornments of the priests within. It may be that only a few will find the gate." (Confucius, from his Writings. See L. Adams Beck, The Story of Oriental Philosophy, p. 297)

Note: As used here, the low wall is an obvious reference to the U.S.A., and the high wall describes China.

"I have heard the sayings, 'Call the wavering with courtesy; cherish the remote [peoples, i.e. foreigners] with kindness.' When kindness and courtesy are invariably shown, there are none but what will be won." (From the Confucian classic, the Tso chuan, p. 149, quoting Kuan Chung. See John King Fairbank, The Chinese World Order, p. 24, and p. 293, fn 7 [Essay by Lien-Sheng, Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order]

"Chinese envoys to Liu-ch'iu [Ryukyu Islands] were in all cases men of high scholarly attainment... they were men of prestige and cultural refinement, often selected from among members of the Hanlin Academy, or eminent historians and literary figures. Each envoy took along a few private secretaries who were friends on his own social and cultural level. These men often combined the skills of poet, painter, musician, doctor of medicine, and calligrapher...."

"....One student of medicine gave instruction in Chinese medical texts and traditional medical arts... The Liu-ch'iu king also engaged scholars to tutor the students, already selected, who went to China in the years following an investiture mission to study for three years in the Imperial Academy (Kuo-tzu chien)." (Discussing the Ming period, 1368-1680, Ibid, pp. 156-157 [Ta-Tuan Ch'en, Essay in the work edited by John King Fairbank, supra]
2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon Supported by Such References

(a) The People's Republic should open its doors and admit into China, our newsmen, scientists, professors, students and tourists. Also, the People's Republic should allow its own people to come to the United States (Cont'd)

The supporting or illustrative references (Cont'd)

"If you stand on a mountain and talk to the people in the valley they cannot hear you."
(Ancient Chinese saying. See Brian Brown, Chinese Nights Entertainments, Brentano's, N.Y. 1922, p. 191

Note: As used here, the intended reference is to the fact that China cannot hope to make its voice heard in the world, if it remains secluded on its mountain.

Long, long ago, on the top of a mountain called the Flower-and-Fruit Mountain, a stone monkey emerged from a square-shaped stone egg. Before long, he was crowned king by the ordinary monkeys and animals which crowded around him. The monkey king decided to travel in search of wisdom, and see the world. A famous magician in a distant land taught the monkey king how to fly up into the sky, and to make enormous jumps, hundreds of miles at a time. Soon, the monkey king felt better and stronger than anyone else, and he decided to make himself Lord of the Sky. At the request of the Dragon prince, Lord Buddha agreed to intervene and control the monkey king. The two of them found the monkey king at the cloud palace of the Lord of the Sky. Lord Buddha quietly asked the monkey what he wanted. Arrogantly, the monkey said he wanted to be Lord of the sky, and demonstrated his trick of taking a great leap out of sight and then back. The stone monkey asked Lord Buddha, can you do that? Lord Buddha smiled and said, "I will make a bargain with you. Stand in my hand, and if you can jump out of my hand, you shall be Lord of the Sky. The stone monkey stepped onto the hand of Lord Buddha, and then leaped hundreds of miles, to the ends of the earth. There, he saw five great red pillars, standing on the edge of space. To prove to Lord Buddha that he had been that far, the stone monkey made a mark on one of the red pillars. Then he jumped back to Lord Buddha, who asked, "When are you going to begin your jump?" The monkey king said he had made his jump, and described the great red pillars at the ends of the earth.
2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon Supported by Such References

(a) The People's Republic should open its doors and admit into China, our newsmen, scientists, professors, students and tourists. Also, the People's Republic should allow its own people to come to the United States. (Cont'd)

The supporting or illustrative references (Cont'd)

[Story of the stone monkey king (Cont'd)]

He also described the mark he had made on one of the red pillars, at the end of the earth. Lord Buddha held out his hand to the stone monkey king, and said, "Look at my finger." The monkey looked, and on one of Lord Buddha's fingers was the very mark the monkey had made on the great red pillar. "You see," said the Lord Buddha, "the whole world lies in my hand. You could never have jumped out of it. When you jumped, you thought you were out of sight, but my hand was under you all the time. No one, not even a stone monkey king, can ever get beyond my reach. Now go back down to earth, and learn to keep your proper place.

(Chinese Folklore. See Brian Brown, Chinese Nights Entertainments, Brentano's N.Y. 1922, p. 201; and the story was heard by the writer of this memorandum, while a child in Peking)

Note: If the applicable subject should come up in the President's private talks, in urging the men of the People's Republic to allow their people to come to the United States, President Nixon could comment, in substance, that even the stone monkey king in Chinese folklore found he was still in Lord Buddha's hand, at the end of the earth - and that the Chinese studying or teaching in America also would still be safe [or would still be responsive to their own people in China].
2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon supported by Such References

(b) Any Two or More Nations With Interests in Asia, Which Persist in Fighting Each Other (Whether Militarily, Economically, or Otherwise) Will Be in Danger from Third Nations in the Area.

The supporting or illustrative reference

"The ruler of the powerful state of Ch'in, after gradually vanquishing and absorbing such of the other rival States as had not already been swallowed up by his own State, found himself in B.C. 221 master of the whole of China, and forthwith proclaimed himself its Emperor. The Chou dynasty, with its eight hundred years of sway, was a thing of the past, and the whole fabric of feudalism melted easily away.

"This catastrophe was by no means unexpected. Some forty years previously a politician, named Su Tai, was one day advising the King of Chao to put an end to his ceaseless hostilities with the Yen State. 'This morning,' said he, 'when crossing the river, I saw a mussel open its shell to sun itself. Immediately, an oyster-catcher thrust in his bill to eat the mussel, but the latter promptly closed its shell and held the bird fast....Meanwhile up came a fisherman and carried off both of them. I fear lest the Ch'in State should be our fisherman." Herbert A. Giles, History of Chinese Literature, D. Appleton and Co., 1923, p. 78

Note: If applicable in the course of a private conversation, the above famous story from the approximate year of 240 B.C. could apply to any combinations of Russia, China, Japan, U.S.A., India, Pakistan, etc., of course.

(b) Avoidance of War

The supporting or illustrative reference.

"There has never been a good war." (Meng Tsu, whom we call Mencius, 371-287 B.C. See Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, p. 685, and fn. 179, p. 990)
2. The References to Chinese Folklore, Classics and Literature, and the Contentions by President Nixon Supported by Such References

(d) Contrary to What Mao Tse-Tung Insists in His Writings, Weapons Are More Important Than Manpower in War (e.g., China Must Give Serious Consideration to the Superior Weapons of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Respectively)

The supporting or illustrative reference

Sun Tzu, the great military strategist and tactician of China in the sixth century B.C., whom Mao Tse-Tung admires and likes to quote, said the following:

"If their arms are not good, the soldiers might as well have none. If the cuirass is not stout and close set, the breast might as well be bare. Bows that will not carry are no more use at long distances than swords and spears. Bad marksmen might as well have no arrows. Even good marksmen, unless able to make their arrows pierce, might as well shoot with headless shafts. These are the oversights of incompetent generals. Five such soldiers are no match for one." (Sun Tzu, in the Ping Fa, or Art of War. See Herbert A. Giles, History of Chinese Literature, D. Appleton & Co. 1923, pp.44, et seq.)

(e) Reference to Other Materials in the Within Collection of Memoranda

See, also, the memorandum which is a part of the within group of memoranda, entitled "Chinese Proverbs and Common Sayings for Use by President Nixon to Urge His Own Points, in Speeches or in Private Discussions." Many of the proverbs also are from various Chinese classics, or a part of Chinese folklore.
SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA, WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD NEWS COVERAGE
SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA, WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD NEWS COVERAGE

1. Introduction - Reference to My Prior Memo of December 27, 1971

The highlights of the following suggestions were covered in the December 27, 1971 Memo from Harned Pettus Hoose to Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, entitled "Suggestions and Recommendations Regarding the President's Trip to China," which was mailed from Los Angeles to Dr. Kissinger at the White House on December 27th, airmail special, under double cover [external cover showing only addressee and marked "personal;" and internal cover marked "Top Secret.".] The double cover mailing procedure was followed to protect security of the contents, which were kept general in nature, and pending further instructions from Dr. Kissinger or his staff as to safe procedures to govern my submission of potentially sensitive suggestions. That earlier Memo is developed further herein.

2. Purposes of Within Proposals

If we can obtain the cooperation of the Chinese, it is suggested that the following public ceremonies involving President Nixon and the Chinese officials would:

(a) Dramatize the Nixon visit and symbolize its purposes.
(b) Afford excellent television, radio, wire service and weekly news magazine subject matter for viewers and other news consumers in China, in the United States and throughout the world.
(c) Please the Chinese in the People's Republic, and remind the Chinese there of their early ties with and cultural, educational and scientific contributions from U.S.A.
(d) Not unduly offend Taiwan.
(e) Be acceptable to most of the political viewpoints in U.S.A.

3. Suggested Public Ceremonies

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington and Sun Yat-sen

Each man is an approved hero in his own country. In America, we celebrate George Washington's birthday on Monday, February 21, 1972. President Nixon will be in China on that date. Sun Yat-sen is closely identified with the city of Peking. His last days were spent there. He arrived in Peking to attend political conferences, on December 31, 1924. There he conducted his last
conferences with his colleagues, gave his last ideas, wrote his last words, worked for modern government in China, and then passed away from cancer on March 12, 1925. The palace in Peking, theretofore closed to the public, was opened and Sun Yat-sen lay in state during a period of national mourning. The Chinese at the time conducted elaborate memorial ceremonies in Peking. Sun Yat-sen's remains were buried in the Western Hills, just west of Peking. Later, his remains were removed to the elaborate tomb and permanent memorial in the Purple Mountains, Nanking.

The fact that Sun Yat-sen's date of death was March 12th, in combination with George Washington's birthday celebration of our own on February 21st and the facts that Sun Yat-sen was closely identified with the city of Peking in his last days and President Nixon will be there, all make it appropriate that both Washington and Sun Yat-sen be honored in a public ceremony.

Sun Yat-sen's wife is still alive, and in China. She may be in Peking. It could be so arranged, for the ceremony.

Mao Tse-Tung, in his speeches, writings and as quoted by Edgar Snow, has expressed admiration for George Washington. The Taiwan Chinese and Chiang Kai-shek's government also revere Sun Yat-sen, and have memorials also in his honor. Probably, Sun Yat-sen is the one modern Chinese jointly revered both by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China.

Amusingly, Mao in his writings has praised Washington in a backhand manner: "The U.S. government still has a veil of democracy, but it has been cut down to a tiny patch by the U.S. reactionaries and become very faded, and is not what it used to be in the days of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln." Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. IV, p. 445. Mao's applicable footnote comment identifies Washington, et al, as "...well-known bourgeois statesmen in the early days of the United States." Ibid, f.n. 2. As reported by Edgar Snow and also elsewhere, Mao favors us with admiration for George Washington. So the joint celebration in Peking in honor of both Washington and Sun Yat-sen should be acceptable to the People's Republic.

I suggest that the ceremony involve brief comments [as to which it should be agreed in advance by both sides, that no
SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA, WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD NEWS COVERAGE

3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington and Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

controversial remarks would be included, but only brief references to Washington, Sun Yat-sen, their common circumstances as fathers of their respective modern governments and similar things] and the laying of memorial wreaths. That could be done in Peking, either at any Peking monument, park or statue of Sun Yat-sen, or at the Western Hills' former grave site. Ideally, the ceremony should be in Nanking, at the massive and impressive permanent memorial and tomb of Sun Yat-sen.

Of some interest is the fact that Mao Tse-Tung has expressed his admiration for George Washington's military record, tenacious manner of fighting and similar things. Naturally, the Chinese like to refer to Washington as a "revolutionary," and tend to contrast him with our present leaders. But this type of thing can be avoided in the ceremony, especially if we can get the People's Republic to exchange proposed "remarks" with us, in advance.

We should note in connection with Sun Yat-sen that the Chinese know him under a number of names, and accordingly some of the streets, parks and similar things in his honor carry names other than Sun Yat-sen, as follows:

(1) **Sun Yat-sen** (the name known to westerners, usually recognized by the Chinese when used by us, and the Cantonese pronunciation)
(2) **Sun Wen** (his original name, given at birth)
(3) **Sun I-hsien** (his courtesy or attainment of manhood name, or "tzu." This is the Peking or national language pronunciation of the Cantonese version, Sun Yat-sen)
(4) **Chung shan ch'iao** (the name assumed by Sun Yat-sen when he fled to Japan during the revolutionary period. Literally, it means "the woodcutter of Chung shan." Many of the streets and parks, etc. in honor of Sun Yat-sen bear the name, "Chung shan.")

In our own comments and in any talk given by President Nixon, it would be appropriate and probably easier for him to refer to "Sun Yat-sen." [Pronounce it "Sun," exactly as in sunshine; "Yat," as in yacht; and "sen," as in send.]
TOP SECRET
For President Nixon
and Dr. Kissinger

SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA,
WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD
NEWS COVERAGE

3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington
and Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

Thumbnail Biography of Sun Yat-sen

If it is decided to conduct this proposed
public ceremony jointly in honor of George Washington and Sun Yat-sen,
I can supply a detailed memorandum as to Sun Yat-sen's life, stress­
ing contacts with our country and culture. It could be available
within a few days after being requested by Dr. Kissinger, or if I am
included as a member of the team on the Peking mission, I can supply
it within an hour or less in Peking. The following thumbnail sketch.
may suffice at this time:

Sun Yat-sen was born in 1866, in the
district of Hsiangshan, Kwangtung Province [the Province in which
Canton is located]. His father was Sun Tao-ch'uan. His mother was
a Yang. The parents had three sons. Sun Yat-sen was the youngest.

Sun Yat-sen's father was a poor farmer.
For generations, the Sun family had existed frugally, as tenant
farmers. As a boy, Sun Yat-sen worked with his family on the modest
farm. In his childhood, he is reported to have been fascinated by
stories of reformers and revolutionaries, who urged changes from the
Ch'ing Dynasty conditions. The young boy received some schooling
from an uncle. In the meantime, Sun Yat-sen's older brother (15
years his elder) had migrated to Hawaii, where he worked initially
as a laborer and later with cattle. By Chinese standards of the day,
the brother prospered, and became a "rich cattleman on a small
island near Hawaii."

When twelve years old, Sun Yat-sen was
sent by his parents to Hawaii, under the care of his older brother.
The young boy attended a missionary school conducted by an Anglican
Bishop in Honolulu, from 1879 to 1882. That was prior to the U.S.
annexation of Hawaii, which occurred July 8, 1898. However, American
missionaries had been on the islands, with increasing cultural and
financial influence there, since 1819; and Sun Yat-sen was deeply
involved with American cultural and political influences during his
student days there. He became a Christian during his period in the
Anglican missionary school.

In the fall of 1883, Sun Yat-sen returned
SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA,
WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD
NEWS COVERAGE

3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington
and Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

Thumbnail Biography of Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

to Asia. He attended to diocesan school of the Church of England,
in Hongkong, briefly. Then he transferred to Queen's College, which
provided highschool level training. In 1886, Sun Yat-sen entered
Po-chi Hospital School in Canton. There he made several friends
who were members of the revolutionary secret society which was
opposed to the Ch'ing Dynasty and urged reforms, San tien hui
(Triad Society). His revolutionary work began at that time.
He graduated from the medical college, as the first Chinese graduate.
An attempt to practice medicine in the Portugese colony, Macao
(near Hongkong) was unsuccessful. He ran into problems as to the
issuance of a medical license in Macao.

During his periods of revolutionary work
against the Manchu Dynasty (Ch'ing), Sun Yat-sen formed and spiritually
led the secret societies, Hsing Chung Hui and T'ung men Hui. He
was especially bitter against the Manchus and their corruption,
tyrranny and arbitrary methods, especially after China's defeat by
Japan during the Ch'ing Dynasty period, and advocated a republic as
the only means of national salvation.

For ten years after the defeat by Japan,
Sun Yat-sen worked among the overseas Chinese. His revolutionary
league was headquartered at various points outside of China, with
secret branches in China. He returned to China in 1912, and until
his death worked in and out of agreement with various War Lords,
from whom he sought military assistance for his revolution. He
was not a distinguished administrator. However, he developed great
power as a social philosopher, idealist, propagandist and inspirer
of revolution. Sun Yat-sen's books are accepted by the Taiwan
government as gospel, but are variously accepted or eliminated as
of historic interest [the incipient revolution] by the People's
Republic, selectively. His San Min Chu Yi, or Three People's
Principles, is the Kuomintang (Chiang's party) manual. The three
principles were inspired by Lincoln's "government of the people,
by the people, and for the people," and in Chinese became nationalism,
democracy, and a sufficient livelihood for all. The last of the
3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington and Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

Thumbnail Biography of Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

three principles is regarded by the People's Republic as Sun's support for socialism, initially, and then communism. The Chiang government insists that the third principle favors an improved condition of capitalism merged with state support for key industries.

Sun Yat-sen worked for years for the fall of the Manchus and the reformation of China's government. The Manchu or Ch'ing Dynasty fell in 1911, and the Republic of China was formed on January 1, 1912, with Sun as its first "provisional" President. The title Provisional President was assumed by him, upon the vote of the southern faction of the fragmented revolutionary Chinese, because of his own desire that a constitutional government be established. Unfortunately, Sun Yat-sen had little military power, personally; and the northerner, Yuan Shih-k'ai, waivered between forming his own government or further supporting the collapsing Manchus. His cooperation was obtained by the resignation of Sun Yat-sen, who was an idealist, and the election in his place of Yuan Shih-k'ai. A period of military and political factions among the revolutionaries followed, with various warlords sometimes supporting and sometimes opposing Sun Yat-sen. Chiang Kai-shek, the General in command of the newly established military academy and with both military and administrative competence, rose in power. He supported Sun Yat-sen. The period may be described accurately as a period of warlords, with various parts of China being controlled by various generals. Sides shifted frequently. Large parts of China were not subject to the control of the Republic.

In those circumstances, and after unsuccessfully seeking financial and other support from the Western powers, including America, Sun Yat-sen accepted the USSR offers of funds, advisors and administrative assistance. Sun Yat-sen had founded the Kuomintang party, which Chiang Kai-shek now heads, having assumed control after Sun's death in 1925. In 1920, the USSR offered to renounce its special privileges in China (which America and the other Western powers also had and announced they were determined to keep), and to render all assistance to Sun Yat-sen, his Kuomintang party and the troubled Chinese Republic. Sun accepted, and all of the Chinese communists joined the Kuomintang, many taking positions in it. Mao
3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(a) Joint Public Ceremony in Honor of George Washington and Sun Yat-sen (Cont'd)

Tsun Yat-sen was among the Chinese communists who joined the Kuomintang and worked with Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek between 1920 and 1925, when Sun Yat-sen died in Peking. Chiang broke with the communists on March 26, 1927, formed his own right wing of the Kuomintang government at Nanking. At that time, the civil war between Chiang and the communists started in earnest, and continued through the Second World War and until 1949, when Chiang was driven off the mainland and fled to Taiwan. However, during Sun Yat-sen's last days before his death two years before the Chiang break with the communists, he was still working in Peking in a vain attempt to bring together all of the warlord factions; to obtain Western support; to keep the communists and the right wing controlled by Chiang Kai-shek from fighting; and to unite China. His task was hopeless, especially since his great influence in the philosophical, ideological and idealistic areas was not matched or accompanied by any military power.

After Sun's death in Peking on March 12, 1925, he was claimed as the hero of China's modern government by both Chiang Kai-shek, on behalf of the Kuomintang and his nationalist government, and Mao Tse-Tung, on behalf of the communists. Chiang since has insisted that Sun Yat-sen was anti-communist and was considering expelling the communists from the Kuomintang, before his death; and Mao since has insisted that all along Sun Yat-sen was a good communist, or at least philosophically a bridge between old China and communism. Mao stresses Sun Yat-sen's third principle, as indicating communist beliefs; and Chiang stresses Sun's first two principles, Sun and his close relationship and control of the Kuomintang party as giving Chiang Sun Yat-sen's mantle of leadership.

For our own purposes, and with regard to the proposed public ceremony, it suffices that Sun Yat-sen is a bona fide hero to all Chinese factions, and probably correctly is thought of as a sort of George Washington for China. The Chiang regard for him and substantial portions of Sun's writings make our honoring him feasible, without compromising our own anti-communist feelings. And the People's Republic should be cooperative, because he is a hero there, also.
SUGGESTED PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND EVENTS IN CHINA,
WHICH COULD DRAMATIZE THE VISIT AND GENERATE GOOD NEWS COVERAGE

3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(b) Joint Public Ceremony or Facilities Inspection at the Newly Named Capital Hospital [Until General Haig's Trip to Peking, Called "Anti-Imperialist Hospital;" and formerly, prior to 1949, called the "Peking Union Medical College and Hospital," or "PUMC"]

Perhaps the People's Republic would let us have some form of public ceremony at this hospital. Either President Nixon or, perhaps, Mrs. Nixon could "inspect" the hospital, which is large and attractive, with splendid entrances and green tile roofs.

Such a locale would be excellent for TV coverage, and possibly a ceremonious inspection by President Nixon or Mrs. Nixon could achieve the requirements of demonstrating mutual goodwill; pointing up one of the outstanding American contributions to China in the past; and providing an occasion for President Nixon and Premier Chou to announce some joint program or exchange program involving doctors and medically oriented scientists.

The hospital was built with American-supplied funds, with the Rockefeller Foundation and family the principal donors. The hospital also was assisted by missionary and other philanthropic groups in the pre-communist period. During the pre-1949 years, the PUMC was one of the greatest medical centers in Asia. The hospital could be used as a backdrop for a public ceremony stressing past friendships and their renewal, if the People's Republic would agree.

When I submitted my first Memo as to this possible ceremony, on December 27, 1971 [see appendix to these memoranda], the hospital was still called "Anti-Imperialist Hospital," and I suggested that they might be willing to rename it something less hostile to us. I was interested to note in the press last Sunday, January 9th, that after General Haig's group had inspected the hospital, the offensive name was taken down and the new name, "Capital Hospital," was erected. That is encouraging news, and I hope indicates that some sort of ceremonial inspection by President Nixon or Mrs. Nixon, with TV and other news coverage, may be possible.

I hope Premier Chou and President Nixon may be able to announce a joint medical research or other exchange program, with the announcement being made, say, at the attractive southern entrance to...
3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(b) Joint Public Ceremony or Facilities Inspection at the Newly Named Capital Hospital, etc. (Cont'd)

My own chief personal memory of the Capital Hospital during my years in Peking is my experience there when, at the age of seventeen, I contracted typhus fever and prior to the discovery of the currently used anti-bodies, Chinese doctors and nurses pulled me through. I understand that currently the People's Republic doctors are doing outstanding work there in a number of fields, including surgery, cancer and heart oriented research and practice.

Recently, our press has carried reports by apparently well qualified and non-communist American doctors, reporting among other things that the Chinese have almost eliminated venereal disease. Those reports have not been linked specifically to the Capital Hospital, and I believe their venereal disease research and control centers are elsewhere. However, if they have eliminated that disease, which is still a grave problem in our country, some assistance to us from them in this area might be useful, not only on the merits, but also as an area in which we can request help. I feel that the Chinese extreme desire for respect (all the more sensitive, because they were relatively backward in so many areas, in the past) requires that we ask them for assistance in some areas, in addition to offering them assistance. We should look for fields of scientific and other knowledge in which they may have advanced sufficiently to warrant our requesting assistance. It is possible that venereal elimination might be such a field. Of course, such a topic does not lend itself well to news coverage, and would tend to debase our own culture in the eyes of the world. The reference might be to blood diseases, or similar terms.

(c) Joint Public Ceremony or Facilities Inspection at Yenching University

I suggest an effort to have some event, such as an inspection or an announcement of an exchange student or exchange professor program, at Yenching University.

This university, founded and built by Americans, is an impressive reminder of former days of goodwill between America and
3. Suggested Public Ceremonies (Cont'd)

(c) Joint Public Ceremony or Facilities Inspection at Yenching University (Cont'd)

China. The buildings and campus are impressive and attractive. TV and other coverage could be effective. Perhaps an inspection either by President Nixon or by Mrs. Nixon would be effective. If possible, such an event might be worked into a program involving the inevitable trip to the Summer Palace, which is very near Yenching.

(d) Visit to Western Hills Home of Dr. Robert Ingram

Another possible semi-ceremonial visit with which the People's Republic might cooperate might be a trip to the Western Hills home of Dr. Robert Ingram. He was a fine and able American doctor, who worked all of his life with and for the Chinese. He lived and worked in Peking, but had a modest home in the Western Hills near Peking. His work with famine relief was outstanding, and he was widely respected, even among the communists in that period.

One aspect which might lead the People's Republic to cooperate in such a semi-ceremonial visit is the fact that Dr. Ingram has received the written praise of Edgar Snow, in the book "Red Star Over China." The following quotation probably has been read by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, who has stated that he has read the Chinese version of "Red Star Over China:"

"...[after describing the great Northwest famine of 1929, in the course of which over 3,000,000 Chinese died]. . . . This catastrophe passed hardly noticed in the Western world, and even in the coastal cities of China, but a few courageous Chinese and foreigners attached to the American-financed China International Famine Relief Commission - including its secretary, Dwight Edwards; O.J. Todd, the American engineer; and a wonderful American missionary doctor, Robert Ingram - risked their lives in those typhus-infested areas, trying to salvage some of the human wreckage." Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, Rvsd. Edn. Grove Press, Inc., N.Y., p. 214
TOP SECRET
For President Nixon
and Dr. Kissinger

PROPOSALS TO CHINA

By H. P. Hoose
1/10/72
The following are some possible proposals to the People's Republic, for the President's and Dr. Kissinger's consideration:

1. **Increased Contacts Between Our People**
   
   **a. Exchange Student Program**

   We should suggest such a program, to be governed by a joint American-Chinese Educational Committee, say five individuals from each side. The Committee would establish scholarship and budget standards, and generally handle the selection of students and the logistics. The help of some of our major foundations should be enlisted for scholarships and fellowships. American universities with experience and expertise in Asian Studies should be involved. Major Chinese universities, including Pei Ta, Tsinghua and Yenching, in Peking, and their equivalents, should be involved in China. Perhaps each government could underwrite a certain number of scholarships. Areas of study should be determined jointly by the Committee, as should scholastic standards, and the like.

   **b. Professional Exchange Program**

   This program should follow the pattern of Item 1.a., approximately, with a joint committee with representatives from each side working out the details. The assistance of our major universities should be enlisted, and also that of our major foundations. A few chairs might possibly be underwritten from U.S. government funds, if any can be made available. We would need this program reasonably supervised by competent American scholars who are widely respected, to avoid having our Professors include any individuals of the "extremist" type. Our few "Maoist" scholars are not especially appreciated by the People's Republic, either. The thing to stress in this program, which should include exchanges not only of professors but also of educational and scholastic or research medical, dental, engineering, physics, chemistry, etc. professionals, would be not only our contributions...
PROPOSALS TO CHINA

[CONTINUED]

1. Increased Contacts Between Our People (Cont'd)

b. Professional Exchange Program - and Science (Cont'd)

on the professional level, but also the Chinese contributions to us. For example, they have claimed and responsible American doctors who have been there have confirmed, that the Chinese have almost wiped out venereal disease. That problem is endemic here. Why not ask them to show us how to tackle our American venereal problem? They assert similar progress in other fields, including heart surgery; cancer; and parasites. Perhaps we can benefit by exchanges in those areas.

A program which might really appeal the People's Republic might involve our professional assistance in the areas of farming, crop development and the production of food of all the growing varieties. If we could assist China in expanding its grain and rice food crops, we could help their people and also thereby hopefully could assist in creating a climate (very full bellies) in which their minds could contemplate non-communist views with some attention.

Perhaps the proper start would be to have a blue-ribbon committee of our top experts from various scientific and practical scholarly fields, appointed by the President, tour China to determine in what ways we might help them, and in what ways they might help us. A similar group from China should tour America. Reports should be submitted to our President (or his nominees) and to Premier Chou (or his nominees). On the basis of those reports, and with the assistance of the joint international committee, the exchange of professionals and of expertise, data and techniques could be undertaken. We should use care not to include defense oriented arts and experts, in this program.

c. Tourists and Visitors

We should propose unlimited exchange of tourists and visitors (within reason) in both countries, and stress the mutual financial and cultural gains through tourism for both countries. (The inevitable arrival of a number of spies from China would present problems, but we should be able to cope with them. Our net gains would be worth it.)
TOP SECRET
For President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger

By: H. P. Hoose
1/10/72

PROPOSALS TO CHINA - CONTINUED

1. Increased Contacts Between Our People (Cont'd)

c. The Press

We should offer the Chinese the right to have their newsmen in the United States, and should ask for the same rights for our newsmen in China. However, I anticipate that the People's Republic will not, at least initially, grant such rights. I recommend, nevertheless, that we grant them the right to have newsmen here. We will profit by having news of the U. S. C., even if slanted, continuously reaching China.

2. Business and Trade

a. We should propose an exchange of trade representatives, in the same approximate procedure used between China and Japan. We should urge China to include our businessmen in their Canton Trade Fairs; offer them our assistance in purchasing such things as food grains, timber, tobacco (formerly a relatively large export product from us to them) from our businessmen; and request marketing information.

b. I understand Canada is likely to be permitted to have an airline serve China. We should try to have one or more of our own airlines have regular service into China.

c. Communications systems between us and China should be developed, and expanded for regular service.

d. It might be that our government would determine that it is in our interest (unless the military implication forbids) to arrange (or permit our economically badly-off-railroad system(s) to sell used freight cars to China. I understand we have a large mass of obsolete rolling stock, and that China has a grave need. If the gages are correct or can be adjusted, this might relieve our economic pressure to some extent with our railroads, and be of value to China.

3. Southeast Asia - The War in Indo China

On this subject, I recommend we promise nothing and insist that our withdrawal is in process, and will soon be completed. But we must not commit as to air power or as to our support of our allies, which must continue. In this area, diplomatic assurances of our goodwill, etc., etc., might be rendered, but we must retain the right to protect our interest and support our allies. Please see Taiwan, below. Query: Can we get China to help persuade Hanoi to wind down the war, in re-
PROPOSALS TO CHINA - CONTINUED

3. Southeast Asia - The War in Indo China (Cont'd)

turn for our economic or similar assistance in some desired area to China or to Pakistan? Perhaps some suitable inducement can be found with respect to China's fear of USSR and concern as to Japan. I need more data to evaluate this aspect adequately.

4. Taiwan

I feel that we must not under any of the present circumstances renounce our Defense Treaty. Our subtle message, I suggest, is that we intend to adhere to the treaty, but that it is inevitable time will solve the problem, and we hope the matter can be resolved politically between China and Taiwan. Actually, I feel it is possible and perhaps even probable that upon the passing of Chiang Kai-shek from the scene, the Taiwan question may be solved on a political or other peaceful basis by China and Taiwan.

We should make it clear to the Chinese that if they attempt to seize Taiwan by force, they will force our hand. Our dignity and integrity on the national and international level require that we not permit a forceful seizure of Taiwan by China.

As to our troops, we should refuse to make a formal commitment. But we should gradually withdraw our troops from Taiwan, for economic reasons and because the troops there have become sufficiently strong to handle their own defense. A reasonable approach with the Chinese would be to indicate that our troops on Taiwan are essentially related to Korean tensions and to the Indo China War. As Korean tensions are reduced and as the Indo China War ends, we plan to reduce and then withdraw our troops on Taiwan.

Can we tie our informal "advice" as to Taiwan troop withdrawals to China's assistance in ending the Indo China war? We might point out that nearly all of the outward moves in the present "Dialogue" have been on our side, and that politically and fairly must now have them make the significant move of helping wind down the Indo China war.

5. Remaining U.S. Prisoners in China

I suggest that we stress what an excellent impact their last releases had on American public opinion and on world opinion, and that we feel they should now release the remaining prisoners.

6. Diplomatic Relations

Probably premature at this time. Suggest we hold back on this, until more progress is shown, and to keep more bargaining power. Trade representatives should be exchanged, but communications for a time, perhaps, should be effected as now, and through their U.N. Mission personnel, directly with the President's designees.
PROPOSALS TO CHINA - CONTINUED

7. Immediate Initiation of Two Long-Range Programs Jointly Involving China and the U.S.A. in a Large Effort Combining Elements of Genuine Benefit to China; Appeal to American Public, and Especially Our Youth; Economic Benefit to Us and to China; and Value to Us Internationally and Politically

If the following concept is acceptable to the President and to Dr. Kissinger and any other high American officials whose jurisdiction might be affected, it seems to me that the concept might be one of the most important proposals we could make to the People's Republic.

The idea is the establishment of:

Joint Agricultural Development Enterprise (JADE)

The program would be sparked by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung's speech and story about the "Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." The entire text of that short story in set forth in the within memorandum entitled "Direct Quotations from Mao Tse-Tung, etc.," but it may be sufficient here to note that the story's idea is that perseverance and labor can prevail. In the story, an old man decided to remove two high mountains which were blocking the view from his door, and began the task equipped only with a hoe and assisted by his sons who were similarly equipped. They were laughed at, but the old man and his sons persevered with the thought that if they worked steadily, and their sons and grandsons after them, they could remove the two mountains. God took mercy and sent two angels, who removed the two tall mountains.

We can make the point that we respect and admire the Chinese spirit and perseverance, and also their vast manpower, but that we have discovered how to build huge earth-moving machines which can and do remove mountains in a few days. Our suggestion is that China and her man power combine with U.S.A. and its technological developments and know-how, and that together (through a semi-public and voluntary enterprise, embracing China groups which will supply labor and some of the funds and American governmental and private industry groups, which will supply technology, machinery and know-how) they tackle and solve the Chinese shortage of good farming land by "moving mountains," that is, by claiming, smoothing off and developing for China, additional agricultural lands.

It is popular to state that all of the available arable land in China is now in use. I believe that may be wrong, if our technology in the earth moving and land reclamation and chemical fertilizer fields are applied, in cooperation with China. A careful survey, run by the Chinese but with our technical assistance, should start the program. Our highly developed systems of mapping and sur-
7. [Joint Agricultural Development Enterprise (JADE)] (Cont'd)

veying by air photography could be used to speed the survey, if military targets do not make the Chinese refuse such technology. Perhaps they could make their own surveys of certain areas.

It would seem to me that it should be possible, with advanced scientific methods and our enormous technological capacities, for enormous areas of additional land to be created and opened to the Chinese farmers. When I was in the lake areas not far from Changsha, for example, it appeared to me that engineering capacities of the kind we Americans have could reclaim a great deal of that swampy lake area for farming.

The advantages of announcing the enterprise at this time, if our side and the Chinese are agreeable to make the attempt, include the following:

(a) China's chief problem is the narrow margin between her food production and her population's needs.

(b) China, it has been in vogue to say, is using all of her available farm land, now, and does not have any more land to accommodate her rapidly growing population. I suspect that this view was established at a time when our engineering, chemical and earth-moving technologies were either not yet developed or were not considered with respect to China.

(c) Food production, finding and creating land for food production and similar things are not military. Feeding hungry people is a worthy cause, and would appeal to Americans.

(d) From our standpoint, we can hope that easily and well-fed Chinese communist peasants will then become less excited about communism.

(e) We would not, of course, have any interest whatsoever in the created or reclaimed farm lands. Naturally, they would be for the Chinese.

(f) Our financial profits would be derived by American businesses, in their manufacture, sale and rental of enormous amounts of earth-moving, land reclamation, pumping and similar machinery to the Chinese; in pay for our skilled labor-advisors; and in the many by-product sales which should be generated by the program. It would be good relations and in the interest
7. **[Joint Agricultural Development Enterprise (JADE) (Cont'd)]**

of peace (and might provide a good demonstration of how our private enterprise works, to the Chinese) to have large groups of Americans running around in the hinterland of China, developing farming lands.

Further, the idea of creating more food sources will appeal to people in both countries. It is the central concern of China, immediately after national security. As we know, China is very well supplied with hundreds of millions of farmers. But relatively little land is in use.

One who travels around China finds it very hard to believe that millions of acres of arable land cannot be developed by Americans, who know how to remove mountains, working jointly with Chinese, who are very hard working, persistent and capable.

The concept may appear vast and absurd, at first blush. But it is interesting to note that it fits a large number of needs, hopes and criteria, in both countries. It should be a politically attractive concept, since feeding starving people (or hungry people) is rather like other popular political things, including motherhood, and so on. The idea is almost entirely non-military, and matches perfectly what China almost desperately needs; and our special skills; and our desire to sell goods and machinery to China.

I spoke in the caption of "two long-range programs". The first and central purpose of JADE, of course, would be to search out and then create additional farming lands for the Chinese, for our own profit (through sales and skilled labor) and satisfaction in helping to provide food for fellow human beings. The second long-range program, also through JADE, would go hand-in-hand with the first: it would be conservation and avoidance of pollution, worked on in the same general manner, jointly. In that area, we could work with the Chinese in purifying the Yangtse and other rivers, and so on. We could request their help with our pollution problems. The JADE program also could be the conduit through which China and America cooperate in working to stop the disappearance of fish and other ocean creatures, in the China seas and Taiwan straits, for example. I suspect that if the programs progressed far enough, we might be able to open many doors for economic opportunities for American business, in ways which also will be of interest to our government and to the People's Republic. But I believe farm land development could open the door to us, initially, because it is vitally needed by China.

It is possible that such a startling and vast program as JADE, if
accepted in principle by the Chinese (and why should they object to our developing more farm land for them, as long as we avoid their sensitive military areas), could be in the initial planning stage within a few months from now, and its announcement in that event by President Nixon would be of substantial political impact, especially on the 8,000,000 new youthful voters who are genuinely interested in food programs, reclamation, feeding hungry Asians, pollution control, and elimination, and ecology.

The JADE program, also, would make a good target project for our visiting and exchange students, scientists, doctors and the like. It could become an exciting sort of Asian Vista program for our youth and theirs. And when Chairman Mao and his colleagues need to send more of their revisionists and other falterers "down to the farm" to purify themselves by hard labor, perhaps JADE will have established a hell of a big farm by then (joke!).
PROFILES OF MAO TSE-TUNG AND CHOU EN-LAI
TOP SECRET  
For President Nixon  
and Dr. Kissinger  

PROFILES OF MAO TSE-TUNG AND CHOU EN-LAI

1. Introduction - Scope of Memorandum and Sources of Information

Excepting for their statements as reported in the press and through their own propaganda organs and also excepting the prolific writings of Mao Tse-Tung (which properly may be considered primary sources to the degree they are accurately reported and actually personally authored), as yet I have not met either Mao Tse-Tung or Chou En-lai, and therefore my information sources are all secondary. An opportunity to observe them closely might possibly modify some of nuances in their characters, as analyzed here, in my view. Certainly, personal observation would be of great assistance in evaluating their genuine purposes in regard to current matters, including the growing dialogue with us; the presence or absence of any undercurrents of menace, hatred, fear as to ourselves, Japan, Russia and other powers; any struggles among themselves, at this time; and similar important current matters. But I do not believe personal observation of either would greatly modify the basic evaluations and conclusions stated here, for the reason that they are based on a great mass of reliable information accumulated over a number of years, and probably are quite accurate, in the light of strong secondary information available to me.

The secondary information has been acquired in a number of ways and from numerous sources, some of which are generally available to anyone with sufficient interest and perception to glean it, and some of which happened to have been available to me alone, because of my Chinese cultural background, my use of the Chinese language, and some personal relationships with Chinese informants who were sure enough that I would not quote them directly or use their names, to speak candidly and at length.

The informants have included literally hundred of individuals whom I have variously interviewed or visited with, sometimes in English but usually in Chinese, over a period of years and in various places, including China; Taiwan; Japan; Hongkong; Singapore; Thailand; the Khmer Republic (Cambodia); and the United States. Probably the most valuable views and items of information are those gleaned by me in such conversations, within the past two years, variously in Taiwan, Hongkong, the Khmer Republic and the United States, with the Asian talks taking place last April.

During the two year period just passed, including two conversations each of which lasted several hours which I had in Hongkong, one long talk I had with a man who visited me while he was
1. Introduction - Scope of Memorandum and Sources of Information (Cont'd)

in Los Angeles enroute back to Hongkong about three months ago, and several days of continuous talking and visiting with a well-informed Chinese gentleman in the Khmer Republic last April, my secondary data as to Mao, Chou, the Chinese communists in general and the People's Republic were enlarged and up-dated.

Probably one of my best sources of current information about Mao and Chou was one Chinese gentleman of considerable prominence and wealth who was involved in one of the long conversations in Hongkong described above, and also in the long talk I had with him here in Los Angeles, within the past three months. I knew him during the Second World War when I was with U.S. Naval Intelligence in China. He is a contemporary of Mao's and Chou's, knows both of them very well, as well as Chiang Kai-shek, was at Whampoa Military Academy when Chou En-lai was there as a political "commissar" during the period long ago when the Kuomintang party for a time embraced both the Chiang Kai-shek nationalists and the communists, has retained his communications with both the Mao government in China and the Chiang government in Taiwan, has been offered high posts by both sides many times, but prefers to remain in Hongkong, and in my opinion surely will be or is one of the conduits for any talks between the People's Republic and the Kuomintang, on Taiwan, if they or Chiang's successors seek a peaceful solution to the Taiwan problem.

Naturally, if it becomes necessary and if I am requested, I shall be pleased to provide my government with the names and identities of the various informants mentioned. My only purpose in avoiding any unnecessary use of their names at this time is to protect them from possible harm in their own countries, if some of their comments become known and are linked to them. As a matter of fact, last March, 1971, when I became aware that one Chinese with whom a then client of mine proposed to do business, actually was a notorious Chinese communist agent and engaged in arms running to North Vietnam, for example, I immediately reported that information to Bud Krogh at the White House (for whom my nephew, Geoff Shepard, now works as a young lawyer on the staff). Through Bud Krogh, I was placed in touch with the proper person in the White House, to whom I reported the information. Apparently, and to my relief, the information already was well known to our government.

In addition to my personal sources mentioned generally above, I have read most if not all of Mao's writings, and much of the Chinese communist propaganda available. It is absurd stuff, but useful in evaluating the enemy. Moreover, I have made a point of reading every book available to me on either Mao or Chou, as well as those dealing with the People's Republic and other aspects of China.
1. Introduction - Scope of Memorandum and Sources of Information (Contd)

My motive for that reading program, for years, was to keep well informed on the land in which I was born and raised, as a matter of natural interest and concern, and more particularly to keep myself equipped to serve my clients, in connection with Asia. Since the President's announcement of his new China policy last July, I have intensified my reading program on China in a program to equip myself better to be of service to my country, at this time, if I am called on to help.

As we all know, we have a number of books available on Mao, Chou and the Chinese communists. They vary in points of view, and more than a few are too one-sided one way or another to be of any great value. I feel that Edgar Snow's various books and articles have some factual or informational value to us, but I do not trust his evaluations, because he is too pro-Mao. In my opinion, the following two books, both paperbacks, are the best available in America at this time, and are well worth reading, if time is available. Both are terse and factual in style, and appear to be reasonably scholarly and lacking in any appearance of bias:

(a) Stuart Schram, "Mao Tse-Tung," Pelican Book A480, [Political Leaders of the Twentieth Century], Penguin Books, Baltimore Maryland (1967)


Stuart Schram, the author of the book on Mao, is described in this manner in the book's frontpiece:

"Stuart R. Schram was born in Minnesota, U.S.A., in 1924. He took his B.A. at the University of Minnesota in 1944, followed by a Ph.D. in political science at Columbia University in 1954. From 1954 to 1967 he carried out research at the Centre d'Etude des Relations Internationales of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris, where, with Helene Carrere d'Encausse, he was responsible for the Soviet and Chinese Section. He is now [1967] Professor of Politics (with reference to China) in the University of London and Head of the Contemporary China Institute of the School of Oriental and African Studies. In his research he is chiefly interested in the role of ideology in politics, especially in Communist countries, and in the history of Leninist theories together with their application by the Communist movement in Asia."
1. Introduction - Scope of Memorandum and Sources of Information (Contd)

Kai-yu Hsun [note that he has adopted our American style of rendering names, with the given name first, and the surname last; this of course is not the practice in China, and is not a style normally used even in America, by Chinese. Hence, it is Professor Hsun], the author of the book on Chou, is described as follows in the book's frontpiece:

"Kai-yu Hsu is Professor of Humanities and Foreign Languages and Director of Area Studies at San Francisco State College. He received his B.A. in foreign languages and literature at the National Tsing Hua University in China, his M.A. in journalism at the University of Oregon, and his Ph.D. in modern Chinese literature and thought at Stanford University. During World War II he served as liaison officer in the Chinese Army assigned to work with the U.S. Army in the China-Burma-India Theatre. He has been foreign news editor of the Chinese World Daily in San Francisco, research assistant on Stanford University's China project, and lecturer and instructor in the Department of Asian Languages at Stanford. He is editor and translator of Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry, and lives at Palo Alto with his wife and two sons."

In addition to the general and specific written materials described above, I have read the books reported widely as being Mao's favorites, which he, himself claims he re-reads frequently. I feel that Mao's favorite reading materials also are revealing as to his character and traits. Please see the memorandum in this collection constituting a Manual for our President, dealing with Mao's favorite novels.

Much is reported and observed in the various memoranda in this collection, as to Mao and Chou. Please see the Table of Contents for the particular memoranda involved, and also in regard to Mao and Chou, the analyses of the Chinese communists, generally, are applicable. In the following relatively brief profiles, most of the generally known data will not be included. I have selected from my own information and knowledge and from the two books named above, some of the particular things which I feel will be helpful to the President and to Dr. Kissinger on the China trip.

2. Mao Tse-Tung

(a) Mao without question has a deeply ingrained and implacable hatred for "imperialists" [the Western world], and he hates the United States more than all the rest. His is not a
simulated emotion, to be displayed to arouse his people against a "common enemy." It is a personal aversion to all of the nations who in his view mis-used China in the days of the unequal treaties and during the warlord period that followed the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty. Mao's intense dislike for us applies to our nation, our country, our government and our people, themselves. We are particularly singled out because we are strong and successful. If England, France, Germany and the other western powers were as strong as we, he would articulate his dislike for them more frequently and more strongly than he does. But that is a tactic. Apart from the tactic of singling us out for major criticism and attack, there is no doubt in my mind, from my studies of him, his life, his writings and his propaganda, and also from all of my interviews and conversations with informants, that Mao nurses a deep and permanent hatred for us. It was accentuated by Korea and by our 7th Fleet's presence in the Taiwan Straits, as it was by our support for Chiang during the Second World War, and after it. But Mao's personal antipathy for us was not caused by those events. He developed it in his childhood during the period in which China was powerless to expel the English, other western powers and us. And he will always feel hostile to us, regardless of his external appearance or his temporary tactic of cooperating with us as a hedge against USSR and Japan.

Mao will be simulating when he treats President Nixon with courtesy, and when he welcomes the Nixon group into China.

This basic attitude of hostility toward us is so great, in my opinion, that Mao would continue with it even in the illustrative and imaginary circumstance in which the United States is postulated as a communist nation. Even under that imagined circumstance, Mao would retain his dislike for America and would be hostile to it, unless it were subservient to China.

In large measure, Mao's anti-American feeling is a manifestation of the hatreds felt by an inferior for one superior; by a slave for his master; by one who is poor for a rich man; by one who is crude for those who are genteel; and by the conquered for the conqueror. Mao's dislike for us also is xenophobic, but unlike the classical Greek concept that it is strangers who may be disliked, there is a Chinese overtone here which would have made him feel the same way even if he knew us better. That is because Mao is culturally and spiritually living in a Chinese fantasy which places him back in the days of the ancient dynasties, mentally and with respect to foreigners - and his view is not only that we have harmed
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

China, but more than that, that we are "outer barbarians," under his old China imperialistic and Sinocentric mental outlook. Accordingly, we are to be controlled or pacified when we are strong, or conquered and driven away when he is strong. It is not a question of friendship or lack of it, because the ancient Chinese emperors and Mao, the modern Chinese emperor, could not possibly be friends with barbarians. That is the Chinese twist to xenophobia in Mao's case. So his hatred for America and the other western powers is in many layers, like an onion. And as one peels away each layer, underneath is a fresh stratum or fold of the onion. With Mao, at the heart center of his onion of Chinese-style xenophobia for America is the ancient Chinese emperor's view toward barbarians. Then, with the next outer layer, we have the supposed excesses of the equal treaty days and the warlord periods; next, moving outward, is the layer of resentment for our support of Chiang, the Korean war and the Taiwan straits and seventh fleet period; and so on.

Accordingly, when Mao Tse-Tung permitted Chou En-lai to invite President Nixon to visit, and the new dialogue began to unfold, we may assume that Emperor Mao was controlling or pacifying, either the American "barbarians," or by using them in the traditional manner in which the Han Chinese used one barbarian tribe to offset another, the American "barbarians" are intended as a bulwark against the Russian barbarians or the Japanese barbarians, or against both.

In Mao's mind, no permanent good relationship with America is either possible or desirable. He condones Chou's invitation to us for some self-serving reason, either external or internal. And it is useless to expect Mao to keep his word or to develop any genuine warmth toward us. That is not at all to say that we should not act warmly with respect to him and China, at this time. By doing so, we too serve our own interests; adjust the Asian balance of power in a way we desire; and, most importantly, re-open communications with the Chinese people, who are not at all like Mao for the most part, and thereby we can eventually help them to resume their own basic characteristics, those of warmth, friendliness and individuality. In that manner, we have good and historical reason to expect, Chinese communism can be made to erode, and finally fall.

We can join Mao for a moment in his Chinese fantasy that we are back in the imperial era of China. Emperor Mao Tse-Tung's predecessors in Peking, the Mings, in fear of a powerful brigand who was threatening the capitol and empire, invited a barbarian tribe (the Manchus) into Peking to drive out the brigands. The Manchus
entered Peking in 1644 A.D., and they drove out the brigand and his men, as promised. However, the Manchus refused to leave, and established the Ch'ing Dynasty of China. In our situation, our plan must be to attempt, once back in Peking (culturally, economically and through our dialogue and what we must work to make an exchange of news, students, scientists, doctors, businessmen and merchandise); we must emulate the Manchus of 1644 A.D., and although we may help drive away the brigands Emperor Mao Tse-tung fears, let us hope we can remain in Peking in the ways described above, and thereby bring about the fall of the emperor. The example given is fanciful. But the inner feelings of Mao, as described here are accurate. He shows those feelings in his own actions, his speeches, his own writings and in his choice of reading matter. We must not be deceived by Mao's simple dress, plain way of living, folksy talk and writing, or poetry writing. That may not look like an emperor's characteristics to an American, but China's classics and history reflect that Mao is living the legends of the ancient emperors, in each of those particulars. Such spartan and simple qualities were highly admired by the people in some of their emperors. The addition of such traditional imperial skills as poetry writing and military conquest are appropriate for a new emperor. Once we grasp that Mao's "revolution" and its marxist phrases in some respects is a reversion to the concepts of some of the great Chinese emperors, it is useful to study what those great emperors did: Expand China's borders, in many instances; and expel the barbarians from within her boundaries, if they had encroached; and close the borders to all foreigners, of course, excepting for a few trading outposts, traditionally in Canton and also at the borders to the north and west; and, on occasion, burn the books and, perhaps, use forced labor to build Great Walls; and put down any intellectuals who protest; and kill off or otherwise purge all internal rival princes; and war with the Khmer and the predecessors of the Thais, if they refuse tribute; and war with the barbarians in Japan, if they threaten; and seek to seize and control Taiwan and the Pescadores; and assume a god-like presence in the eyes of the people, with a proliferation of monuments and memorials; and, if too many barbarians threaten the distant borders, then call in some other barbarians to help cope with those who threaten.

Mao reflects all of the above, in his choice of favorite novels; in his own writings; and in his conduct. It is helpful to keep that in mind. That "emperor syndrome" can be very useful to us "barbarians," particularly in that it is helping us to establish a dialogue with the Chinese. Mao is older now, and surely will pass away soon. That and his increasing age will help us to deal with the more moderate and reasonable Chou En-lai and, hopefully, others like him.
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

A number of practical concepts flow from the realization that Mao is a neo-emperor:

(i) To use Mao Tse-Tung for our own purposes and interests [to balance powers in Asia; win an honorable and secure peace; maintain an honorable and secure peace; and open China, to the full extent possible, in order to have our dialogue and increased dealings with her erode Chinese communism, and so on], we must give him dignity and treat him with some degree of respect, in the eyes of his own people and in his own eyes. We must remember his is a form of god, and must not soil his pictures or degrade his many statues.

(ii) We must not quarrel with Mao, himself, in our government's public statements and releases. If it becomes necessary to attack orally or in a release, we must direct the attack at the People's Republic, or at some lesser individual, but never against Emperor Mao.

(iii) Like Chou En-lai, we must not praise Mao too much, if at all; and we must not blame him, as stated above.

(iv) In our program to develop enough good will on the part of China to establish and maintain our dialogue, we cannot and will not praise communism, because it is alien and unacceptable to us. But we can safely praise the great accomplishments of China's ancient hero emperors, and Mao will feel praised. Although he gives lip service to putting aside many old things, he himself praises the powerful old empires. We can safely praise China's art, paintings, architecture, and so on, and the qualities of her people (who do have excellent qualities, beneath the Mao-applied veneer of marxism). It will please emperor Mao and tend to gain his cooperation, if we can praise China's history and ancient culture (and they are praiseworthy).

(v) Our President can, safely in China and also politically safely, in America, praise Mao's Chinese poems - at least, the non-military ones, involving the beauties of mountains and clouds. That might seem odd here, but would be pleasing to Mao and his people, if it can be managed. Maybe a comment in a private talk would be safest.

(vi) We need to get into a position, as to our own programs and national interests, to have our own plan be "blessed" by the semi-god neo-emperor Mao - because if he "blesses"
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

any plan or program we want carried out, the "blessing" will carry most of the Chinese people with it, at least as of now, and will be something powerful to cite to the Chinese people after Mao dies. President's Nixon's private talks with Chairman Mao will have such an effect, too.

(b) Mao inherently and also because of his historical bent, is and likes to be devious, use artifice, guile and deceit, and show bravery. He would make a great poker player. He has shown a number of times, including many incidents in his intra-communist fights, an ability to act unconcerned until ready to attack. And then his sudden attack is deadly.

(c) Mao's love of his country is genuine. He has real pride in China, its history, its accomplishments, its recent ejection of the foreigners, and the fact that he has restored a large part of the old empires. His a a patriot, but his patriotism sees a China led spiritually only by Mao.

(d) Mao fears (on behalf of his plans and for China's success and safety) Russia, at present; and he fears the eventual threat of Japan. However, based on all the information I have been able to accumulate, Mao is enough of a fanatic as to his movement to order an attack on Russia even though China is much the weaker. The same would apply as to Japan, but Japan's threat to China is believed by China to be more remote in time than that of Russia. I believe that the moderating influence of Chou En-lai and his assistants has influenced Mao to hold back as to Russia, and that Mao's personal day-to-day power in his own view and in fact are not sufficient for him to over-ride that Chou moderating influence. In addition, although my data is not complete, I would postulate that Mao is allowing Chou to effect the present moderate program at least in part because Mao needed and needs Chou and Chou's old military friends; support against the adherants of Lin Piao's.

(e) Mao is ill, but is in full possession of his mental faculties at this time.

(f) Mao occupies an almost legendary and god-like position with a large part of the Chinese population at this time, and is and will remain by invocation of his name by his successors, the spiritual symbol of China. In my opinion, although there is a communist hard core of a few million in China, most of the Chinese revere Mao for uniting China and for driving out the foreigners. That great majority wishes in its secret minds that somehow they could enjoy and have those two advantages (unity and no foreigners) and
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

also the at least relatively full bellies they now have most of the time, and yet be able to return to their traditional ways of family love, the family as the center of life, individuality, fun-loving ways and personal dignity. As Mao succeeds more in feeding the Chinese, this desire to regain their traditional character will grow.

(g) Mao Tse-Tung is convinced that if his people are exposed to any outside influences or any genuine news or conflicting opinions, they will lose their rote belief in his form of communism. He shows that conviction in a number of ways, but mainly in his fear of any outside news. Mao is astute and clever. He knows his peasant armies and his millions of peasants very well. He knows China's history, and the capacity on the part of the people to switch views in a flash, when they get tired of faking a view, or of going along with it, in effect, 'for laughs.' The Chinese for centuries have shown that if reasonably content (i.e., if left alone by government, and if with sufficient food and a life of relative dignity, peace and family relationships), they will act as if they are going along with the current big movement. But if they are being bothered and interfered with, and if they feel oppressed, or if they are reaching those conditions but have not yet gone over the edge, traditionally they can be aroused by speech, by word of mouth, or by news. Mao remembers the eruption of the Taiping Rebellion, and its sudden cessation. That episode has been often repeated in China's history. Mao also knows he is playing with dangerous things, in the following, which nevertheless he is doing because he is an emperor, and he "knows they are right:"

(1) Mao is attacking family ties, many old traditions, and the individuality of the Chinese (note, I do not refer to freedom, but to individuality. The Chinese does not have the fierce British and American passion for freedom, for example. To the Chinese, freedom is a form of "irresponsibility," or "licentiousness." But the Chinese is an individualist. For example, he does not like to be marched around, made to shout slogans in unison, made to listen to lectures, and otherwise restricted. The Chinese for thousands of years have prized highly the right to "do their own thing." Mao is restricting that, and trying to wipe it out. That and the attacks on family ties and old traditions are very dangerous acts on Mao's part. He fears free news, free ideas and communication, because they could fire up the Chinese and cause them to refuse to go through all of the rote drills.

(2) Mao is making the Chinese be too grim. They are not a grim people. Their natural need, to a very great
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

extent and even more than with us Americans, is to have fun, to enjoy gracious and hobbies, numerous holidays and celebrations, gay colored clothes, especially for their children, leisurely chats as they rest after a hard day's work, and laughter. It is much more serious than we Americans usually imagine that Mao is making the Chinese grim. The Chinese reaction would be and I know is, on a widely shared basis: Ok, we'll be grim to get rid of corruption, inflation, disease, starvation, and especially, the foreigners who have plagued us with their superior rights for so long. When those have been accomplished, then Ok, we'll still be grim because emperor Mao keeps telling us what terrible danger we are in from those insane, greedy and expansionist Americans, who hate and threaten us so. [That is the stage Mao has them in, at the moment].

Now, to bring President Nixon and his entourage into China at that stage, with many friendly Americans looking quite human and warm, and with the President expressing friendly sentiments, it is very hard for the Chinese to keep going long with the ogre removed. The Chinese will get sick of being grim, being drilled, being heckled constantly by the communist cadres, and will suddenly begin to long for the old traits and old procedures, again. So our presence in China does two major things: It demonstrates that the most useful ogre to Mao is quite human; and with us, hopefully, we bring the free contacts which will let in the news which, eventually, will bring about the erosion of communism.

Mao knows all of the above. That is the reason for the fierce censorship and the severity of the anti-revisionist programs, and similar things. So why does Mao let Chou invite us in? I believe it is because Mao feels that the other barbarians, the Russians and Japanese, are now far more dangerous. So he will let the American barbarians come in briefly, just enough to off-set the other dangers. Mao intends to repel us again sooner or later, and to close down the country, again. But we must work to give Chou En-lai and his supporters the support they need, and to remain in touch with China and her people, long enough (i) to have Mao's death occur; or (ii) to have Chou En-lai and his supporters develop enough strength to open their doors wider; and/or (iii) to have our dialogue and relationships with China become so extensive that the feeble Mao by that time cannot effectively interfere.

(h) Mao is very shrewd. He is not widely educated nor has he travelled very much (just to Russia, and in China), but he has a shrewd mind, a keen intuition and a creative and poetic bent. He probably knows or infers all of our purposes, but still plans to play some poker with us. I do not think he will negotiate with our
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

President, because (i) emperors do not negotiate, and neither do gods - they leave that to their ministers; and (ii) that is Chou En-lai's job; and (iii) he will feel that negotiating at his and your high levels is not proper or dignified. Probably, in his bluff and sometimes somewhat crude peasant manner, he will do his best to entertain our President; will banter in his rough but smiling way; and will argue philosophies and ideologies. This can be done in a good natured and pleasant way. This is the time to use the proverbs, quotations from Mao, and the folktales, classical allusions, and similar things I have prepared for the President's reference and use.

(i) What will Mao be watching for and studying in our President, when they meet? Mao has a script from which he will play this meeting - his favorite stories in Romance of the Three Kingdoms and in Shui Hu Chuan, or Water Margin (All Men Are Brothers.) [See my memoranda on these stories] From Mao's speeches, writings and all of the other sources upon which I am able to rely, it is a safe assumption that Mao in his inner mind will picture this meeting between himself and President as a courteous and ceremonious meeting between great but opposing war chieftains, two enemy "kings" or "emperors," if you will. Mao will treat the President with courtesy, and ply him with Mao's favorite tea, the famous "Dragon Well" tea, the great green tea produced in the West Lake region of Hangchow, and wines, and perhaps a boat trip around the lakes. Mao will act the gracious host, but this is what he will be searching in our President's face, eyes, bearing and manner:

(1) What, Mao will wonder, is this man Nixon really like, inside - is he strong (in the decisive, confidant, spartan and erect military sense); does he have the courage to order his legions to attack, or to keep fighting? If so, I must respect him and maintain peaceful relations with him. Or is he weak, so that I should attack him?

(2) Mao will study our President's mind, probe for its degree of determination and shrewdness, test to see how sturdy or weak is the American culture, as represented by this first important and powerful American he has ever met closely.

With Mao, I suggest, the approach should be the affirmative of all of the items asked through his postulated thoughts, above. Mao thinks in terms of strength, power, courage, prowess, cunning and pragmatic advantage. Those are the elements he must see in our President, with quiet American determination and courtesy as among equals. I do not feel that an appeal for peace for the sake of peace will impress Mao. But I do feel that an appeal for mutual advantage through peace and
2. Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)

(j) Recommendations for U.S. Moves Just Before President Nixon Meets Mao Tse-Tung

By all values and criteria which govern Mao Tse-Tung's reactions and we must have an event occur on the international scene, or in the Indo China War, or an announcement in our press, which will signal Mao Tse-Tung of America's great strength at the same time that our President is about to come by and smile at Mao across the tea table. That is the kind of symbolism Mao will really understand, and it will make a lasting impression that can help us to preserve the peace. The North Vietnamese understand this, because they too know the Chinese culture - they were subjected to it, and have fought with the Chinese for hundreds of years, as we know. They will try for a victory over our troops on the eve of the Peking meetings. I hope we can prevent that, and we need a sign or symbol of our great strength, to lend weight and dignity to President Nixon's peaceful conversations in Peking and in Hangchow. I suggest the following be considered:

(1) The mildest and least costly would be another leak or comment to our press in Washington, similar to the report last week, that President Nixon has with him the control over our use of atom and hydrogen, etc. bombs. That was a good story for the Chinese to read, and a fresh and impressive one, giving the facts, with a back-up plan vaguely referred to would be a gentle reminder of our strength. This plan is not as effective as the ones mentioned below, but they may not be possible, for logistic, political and international reasons.

(2) Could we have some big announcement about our beefing up one of our island fortresses just east of Taiwan, say in the trust islands area, just before President Nixon visits Mao Ts-Tung? The announcement would have to be quite impressive, of course. It should announce some really big and powerful beefing up of a base, hopefully not too far east of the China mainland and of course, pointedly not on Taiwan. The announcement would come from Washington, possibly from our Secretary of Defense. Ideally, it would say (i) we are putting a large number of ships into our big new base just East of the China mainland and the trust islands we took from Japan, as well as developing a large air base there. The story should stress that this large new naval and air base [which just happens to be just east of Taiwan, and still quite near China] is to accommodate our pull-out from Vietnam, and that is where we are moving our men and planes and ships. Also, the Pentagon story could add, for economic
2. **Mao Tse-Tung (Cont'd)**

reasons, in due course and when our government is satisfied that the Korea and South Vietnam situations merit it, we shall be moving some men and aircraft from Taiwan to the huge new air and naval base.

If this could dovetail with and overcome any political problems in U.S.A., it would be a great back-drop to the Mao meeting. He would get the message: Peace, but with security and dignity. Also, it would be a good backhand way of meeting any need we may have to remove any troops from Taiwan.

(3) Ideally, we need a signal victory in Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia on the eve of the President Nixon - Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung talks. Query: Can it be done. Maybe some judicious limited bombings of rocket launching sites might be possible. This is a very delicate area, of course.

My over-all point is: To get lasting and secure peace with honor in Asia, although we must disengage we must demonstrate clearly that U.S.A. is still going to remain in an area very near Asia, and will still be very powerful. That really can help us to keep the power balance in order, and to achieve lasting peace. That sort of an announcement, from Washington while President Nixon is on his friendly visit with Mao Tse-Tung, is absolutely perfect traditional Chinese, spoken in a precise Mao dialect. Mao would respect our President and country, and that would be a step toward peace. The report might have a salutary impact on India, Russia, Pakistan and our allies Japan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Thailand, etc.

3. **Chou En-lai**

Premier Chou En-lai is a more rational and less complicated figure than Mao Tse-Tung, and can be evaluated from the Chinese standpoint and from ours, in much less space than is required as for Mao. Chou En-lai is a very loyal Chinese, intensely patriotic, ambitious for his communist party and true to its causes. But he is not a fanatic like Mao. He is rational, reasonable, cultured, informed, pleasant in manner when he wants to be, and an able administrator and statesman.

He himself has said, "I am an intellectual, with a feudalistic family background." He enjoys good wines, and especially the famous Shao-hsing wine produced in his home town by that name.

2. Ibid, p. 206

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3. Chou En-lai (Cont'd)

On Chou's record in international affairs, we know that he shares with Mao and other Chinese communists a willingness to lie, break his word and otherwise violate the codes of ethics of our world, and of China's former world. But Chou does it with some grace, and one can believe that he may suffer a twinge or two, or at least does not enjoy breaches of ethics. In all events, he gives an appearance of rationality and at least logical thinking, in his worst periods even, with respect to America. Chou En-lai has been and still is our enemy. But he is an enemy with whom we can communicate. He is not filled with the hatreds and xenophobic reactions of Mao Tse-Tung. I am told by the majority of my sources of information, including at least one intimate friend of Chou's, that he does not harbor any terrible hatreds for Americans, and has some respect for us. Obviously, he is a Chinese, and also a Chinese communist. So he would make dangerous move against us if he believed it were in China's interest. But on the whole, his judgments as to any such moves, I believe and my oral and written sources reflect, would be based on criteria not unlike those we consider in similar situations, with an additional touch of the old Confucian grace affecting Chou's manner of making his move.

Chou En-lai can be exceedingly charming and persuasive. But he has been proven on a number of occasions to have been insincere in his protestations, and more than once has been charged with being "a complete fraud."3 Also, his acting ability in the course of diplomatic exchanges has been ironically praised.4 One close acquaintance of Chou's in the 1936-37 Sian period, has claimed emphatically that "Everything that appears to be human in Chou En-lai is false, absolutely false! And he is sharp and capable - that is what's terrible about him. He has too many tricks, and yet he can appear so touchingly innocent. He is the god of revolution, and the demon of bloodshed, but never a man!"5 My estimate is that probably the charges are true, at least in substantial degree. However, Chou En-lai is a rational and educated man, without ungoverned passions. And he is a man with whom we can establish and maintain a dialogue. Also, he is capable of reasonably perceiving that a given course of conduct, such as increasing peaceful relations with us, may be in the ultimate interest of China, as well as in our interests.

Chou is well known as China's great administrator, and the calming influence in many of the internal differences, as well as the Chinese foreign negotiator of the most ability and experience. It is noteworthy that the survival oriented and remarkably surviving Chou En-lai, during the 1966-67 Red Guard tumult all around him, attacked nobody personally and pacified the mobs, on occasion, intervening in disputes.

3. Ibid, p. 204
4. Ibid, p. 204
5. Ibid, pp. 205-206
3. Chou En-lai (Cont'd)

A number of my Chinese sources have explained Chou En-lai's ability to survive in communist turmoil and among other sometimes violent rises and falls, because of the following characteristics and procedures identified with him:

(a) Chou En-lai is exceptionally alert, charming both in the Chinese and in the Western cultures, and an able speaker. He catches nuances very quickly, and is capable of dropping skillful diplomatic hints and threats, himself. In debate, he relies on facts; precedents; logic; and the socratic device (questioning his opponent into a corner), and the syllogism (major premise, minor premise, and then conclusion). Chou is well educated and currently informed. He has a good and loyal staff, which he protected quite successfully during the Red Guard turmoil, even sending many away to remote areas, to weather the storm. He is well briefed for negotiations. And his general style is pleasant. One of my Chinese friends with Western experience has indicated that Chou En-lai is a Confucian gentleman with a Frenchman's charm and quick perception, with very mean and tough friends. Chou was in France as a student, of course, and has been outside of China on a number of occasions, in Europe and elsewhere, but never to the United States. Chou is reputed to be in the habit of trying to soften his debates by "seeing the other man's view," and similar devices, and then trying to demolish it. On the whole, he is a suave, clever and alert gentlemen with very mean and tough friends, as my Chinese friend remarked. Chou, himself must be charged with involvement in some of the blood baths around him, but he always seems to have been "out for tea with a friend" when the shooting started.

(b) Chou En-lai has avoided writing very many public articles, and so has not left the broad ideological trail which was left by other now departed colleagues of Mao Tse-Tung.

(c) Most important, according to my Chinese sources, has been the fact that Chou En-lai since his return from the student days in France, had always been the steady "gray" administrator for the communists. Obviously, he has competence in this field. Rather than taking part in the contests and battles, Chou En-lai has usually been the man who sold tickets, ushered, announced each fight, served as referee, announced the winner, comforted the loser (or buried him) and wrote up the fights for the Foreign Office archives. In his steady survivals as each new
Another factor which contributes to Chou's influence and security is the high regard felt for him by a large group of Liberation Army officers, some of high position [ranks were abolished, but "positions" remain high]. Chou's popularity with the officers stems in part from his early days as Political Commissar at Whampoa Military Academy, where the officers learned to know him and respect him. Some of those officers still survive, and by reputation, Chou's close connection with the army officers continues. Such friendships no doubt strengthen Chou's hand, today. There is no uncertainty as to tomorrow.

Although I do not have any information as to the Lin Piao fall from favor and possible death, in my judgment Chou En-lai today probably is in some danger from any surviving colleagues of Lin Piao. I lack data, but just by counting names and noting who is no longer around as shown in the recent press photographs, a large number of highly placed communists are now missing and in trouble, undergoing "reform," or dead. It may be that Chou En-lai has sufficient support and enough of Mao's blessings and approval to maintain a government stable enough to deal with us. But the potential for change in China is great, and it is difficult to estimate whether Chou En-lai can maintain a stable government; whether, if not, who might succeed him; and what will occur upon Mao Tse-Tung's death. If Chou En-lai remains and can hold the government stable, we should be able to work with him in our dialogue.
MAO TSE-TUNG'S FAVORITE NOVELS
MAO TSE-TUNG'S FAVORITE NOVELS

1. Introduction

In another memorandum included in the within materials, entitled "Direct Quotations from Mao Tse-Tung for Use by President Nixon to Urge His Own Points, etc.,” a number of Mao's ideas and some of his style are illustrated.

The following descriptions of Mao's favorite novels also reveal some of his character traits: The stories involve military heroes, who demonstrate acts of daring and cunning; a band of brigands who live in the mountains and in Robinhood style, prey on arrogant and corrupt officials and the wealthy, and are kind to the poor and helpless; wars and intrigue among noblemen and their cohorts, in the early days of China; and a large Chinese family, living in former days of the emperors, with all of its members' daily happenings, romances, quarrels, happy and sad events, intermixed with numerous mystical events and spirit interventions, replete with symbolism.

Judging from the tales and from Mao's comments about them, from his youth and still [recently, he announced he had just completed a re-reading of one of the novels], Mao has been and is very much involved with:

(a) China's military conquests and ancient military traditions;
(b) Physical bravery, especially in combat;
(c) Solutions to various problems through use of force or cunning;
(d) Robbing the rich and powerful and helping the poor and oppressed;
(e) Mystical happenings;
(f) Crude and often cruel humor, in human relations;
(g) Life in the days of the emperors;
(h) Merciless and hostile treatment of outsiders or foreigners;
(i) An appreciation for nature's beauty, especially in the mountains;
(j) Lust and lusty living; and
(k) Delicate and often poignant human relationships, especially between lovers.

Whether Mao Tse-Tung reads and re-reads his favorite novels because they are excellent Chinese "escape" entertainment and purely for entertainment, or because he, himself, identifies with the characters depicted, of course can be debated. However, when linked
1. Introduction (Cont'd)

with his own comments about some of the novels and his own writings, including his writings about combat, and also in the light of Mao's record, I feel we are justified in concluding that Mao is not reading solely for entertainment or to escape, but rather he identifies with the characters. As is true of everyone and usually to a greater degree in national leaders who have gained and held their power in large measure by force and device, Mao is a complex man. In my opinion, he has all of the characteristics suggested in the list of topics, (a) through (j), above. Of course, he has other characteristics as well.

But it is clear not only from his record and his own writings but also from his favorite reading materials that Mao is a militant, devious and brave (to the point of being rash) man, utterly without scruples by western standards, and not only cannot be trusted to keep his word, but can be expected to use trickery and to do whatever he feels is in his or his side's interest and within their capacity. Mao not only is willing to indulge in artifice, both in human dealings and in combat - he prefers to do so and considers tricks and devices as the best possible route to his objectives.

One theme which runs through two of his novels, above all, is the winning of battles, cities or wenches, by trickery. Failing that, the central theme is sudden force. Judging from his reading materials and mainly from two of the favorite novels (Shui Hu Chuan, or Water Margin, called "All Men Are Brothers" in Pearl Buck's translation; and San Kuo Chih, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms), it is fortunate for us from the long-range view that Mao Tse-Tung is now well advanced in years. It may be hoped that the leaders of the People's Republic who succeed him may at least in degree be men of some personal honor by western standards. Of course, Mao's very traits described above, under pressure from Russia and Japan against China at this time, may be part of what has enabled him to turn to us for some sort of implicit or greater assistance, notwithstanding the fact that ideologically we are not acceptable to him. In other words, the very traits in Mao which are dangerous to us also are dangerous to Russia and Japan. As with the heroes in the two novels mentioned, Mao will not permit any ideological differences to prevent him from temporarily cooperating with us. But we must not expect anything permanent from him in the area of cooperation, unless it lies in his own interests and those of China.

2. The Novels Which Mao Describes as His Favorites

(a) Shui Hu Chuan, or Water Margin, called "All Men Are Brothers" by Pearl Buck in her translation
2. The Novels Which Mao Describes as His Favorites (Cont'd)

(b) San Kuo Chih, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms

(c) Hung Lou Meng, or generally called Dream of the Red Chamber (actually, the word "Chamber" is not accurate. Literally, the title means "Dream(s) of the Red Two Story Building," possibly a description of the actual house in which the events take place, for the most part. But the "Chamber" name is more romantic, and has been the English translation for some time.

3. Description of the Novels

(a) Shui Hu Chuan (Water Margin – or, as Pearl Buck called it in her translation, "All Men Are Brothers."

The excellent English translation by Pearl Buck is available in this country. It is All Men Are Brothers [Shui Hu Chuan], 2 vol's, The John Day Company, N.Y. 1933. The communists also have produced their translation, with a communist preface. The People's Republic commentators have said that the novel is the first communist literature of China. The claim derives from the theme depicting the brigands as fighting and robbing the rich and powerful, including the corrupt government officials of that imperial day, and aiding the poor and oppressed. Mrs. Buck's preface is worth reading, in that it renders a short and factual report as to the book's main themes and background.

The book originated with a series of orally told tales, and evolved through many forms. In its present form, it was probably written in the early or middle part of the Ming Dynasty, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. However, written editions of portions of the book existed in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

The story is set in the thirteenth century at a period in Chinese history when the Sung Dynasty was falling into decadence and disorder under the reign of the Emperor Hung Chung.

The characters are 138 men, thirty-six of whom are chief characters. For various reasons connected with unjust officials, oppressive government and evil social conditions, the men variously have been compelled to flee from society and take refuge on a great mountain (Liang Shan P'o) set in a lake and surrounded by a reedy marsh. The mountain is situated in Shantung Province. Here the fugitives gather and join forces as an organized group. It is believed that the story is based on history, and that the thirty-six chief robbers were men who lived at the end of the north Sung Dynasty and ravaged central China and jefied the state soldiers. They were popular with the poor people, whom they never harmed.
3. Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)

(a) Shui Hu Chuan - Water Margin (or "All Men Are Brothers") (Cont'd)

The book was banned by the Chinese Emperors, and its printing, sale, purchase or reading were forbidden, for example, in the written imperial mandates of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

The episodes are entertaining and lusty reading. In addition to being good yarns, they manifest the traits and topics listed under Section 1., hereinabove.

(1) Mao's Comments About the Story Shui Hu Chuan

A number of comments about the story by Mao Tse-Tung have been reported, all of course complimentary.

Perhaps significant is the following:

When Mao was a student in Changsha, and a group of his friends and he were discussing ways of saving China from its decadent conditions under the Ch'ing Dynasty and in a period involving Western encroachments and internal disorders, a number of suggestions were made by the other students, including going into politics or teaching future generations of students to reform. Mao is reliably reported [by a former friend, who at the time of his report was on Taiwan] to have objected to the other methods as taking too long. Mao then offered his own solution: "Imitate the heroes of Liang Shan P'o." [the robbers' mountain hideout]. The probable authenticity of that report tends to be confirmed by a similar report by Edgar Snow, who wrote that the fighting methods of the mountain robbers of Liang Shan P'o were being taught to recruits by Mao Tse-Tung and his fellow revolutionaries, in their Yenan training area.

(2) Edgar Snow's Comments About the Story Shui Hu Chuan

Edgar Snow, in his book Red Star Over China, describes an episode in Yenan, in which he was alarmed by sudden wild shouts near him and saw recruits brandishing spears, pikes and rifles and uttering fierce battle cries. He reported that later he learned that the curriculum for partisans included the rehearsal of ancient Chinese war cries, just as in the days of feudal tourneys described "in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, the Shui Hu Chuan. One is reminded, also, of the wild war cries and constant bugles calls reported of the Chinese communists soldiers in Korea during our war there.

1. Stuart Schram, Mao Tse-Tung, p. 43
3. Ibid, p. 67

(4)
3. Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)

(b) San Kuo Chih Yen-I, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms


Good commentaries on this novel include: Herbert A. Giles, History of Chinese Literature, D. Appleton and Co., 1923, 277-280; and the Roy Andrew Miller preface to the American edition, identified above. The aspects of this favorite novel of Mao Tse-Tung which may be useful in broadening an understanding of his interests include the following:

The novel began its existence more than one thousand years ago in the form of stories orally told. It progressed, in various segments and in various forms, through a number of increasingly lengthy versions. The one commonly read by the Chinese dates from the seventeenth century. The work is an historical novel based on the wars of the Three Kingdoms which fought for supremacy at the beginning of the third century A.D.

The three kingdoms were named Shu, Wu and Wei, and the period covered is from around 220 A.D. until 265 A.D., when the last ruler of Wei fell to the state of Chin [Tsin], and the China of that day again became united under an emperor. The main outline of the events related in the novel is historical, and the chief characters in the book are all historical figures from China's past. However, most of the hundreds of incidents are fictional, having resulted from centuries of slow accretion and collection. Even hundreds of years before one of the earlier written versions is reported to have circulated in the fourteenth century, generations of popular storytellers, dramatists and poets were adding to this epic.

The chief characters in the novel include Liu Pei, the legitimate heir to the fallen Han Dynasty throne, who is idealized; Kuan Yu, a brilliant and learned man; and Chang Fei, who is plebeian and unlettered, very human in the Chinese sense and, therefore a man of warmth, gusto, energy and humor. Another important character is Ts'ao Ts'ao, the wily, cunning, treacherous and merciless "villain-hero" of the novel. The story begins with the prologue, "Empires wax and wane; states cleave asunder and coalesce." It then deals with the fall of the Chinese Han empire, the adventures of the three central characters [Liu Pei, Kuan Yu and Chang Fei, the wars among the three kingdoms for control, the defeat of the Shu and Wu kingdoms by the Wei kingdom, and Wei's eventual collapse before the emergent new Chin (Tsin) empire.

3. Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)

(b) San Kuo Chih Yen-I - Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Cont'd)

Keys to Mao's Character Traits, and
To Those of His Colleagues, Derived from
This Novel

Frequently, an attempt to read a man's
character traits by examining his favorite books is a dangerous
exercise. Many different motivations either control or at least
affect choices of reading material. However, when it has been
established that a particular book or group of books have been read
and re-read by the subject of one's scrutiny, and when as in Mao's
case the books are frequently quoted or discussed, the possibility
that the book, its subject matter and its characters at least to
some substantial degree mirror the reader's interests and leanings
becomes stronger.

In my opinion, Mao Tse-Tung and many of his
colleagues (possibly, with the exception of such scholars as Chou
En-lai and his close associates) in many ways have been following
the courses and manifesting many of the traits found in this novel,
and also in Hsui Hu Chuan [the novel about the Robinhood-like
brigands].

I recommend that President Nixon make Romance
of the Three Kingdoms and Water Maagin [All Men Are Brothers]
required reading for all of our military leaders and statesmen who
may deal at any length or at any depth with the People's Republic.
Both novels illustrate a frank departure by their characters from
the noble concepts of Confucious, and a lusty passion for artifice
intermixed with violence, in dealings with all opponents, "allies,"
outsiders, and even each other. In these novels, one finds echoes
across the centuries of such modern-day People's Republic attributes
and procedures, as the sudden falls of Liu Shao-ch'i; Lin Piao;
and others; and the Hundred Flowers episode, in which criticism
was invited and then the criticisors were trapped and punished;
and the sudden Korean attacks, with war cries and blowing bugles;
and the techniques of warfare, involving extraordinary and dangerous
night river crossings, attacks from "impossible" mountain peaks,
and guerrilla tactics; and the use of the Red Guards to destroy
or try to destroy a rival faction; and many others things we have
seen the Chinese communists do.

I feel that this novel and also Shui Hu Chuan
should be read carefully by our military men and by our statesmen
who must deal closely with the People's Republic, almost as if they
were manuels outlining People's Republic procedures. The novels
in many ways are Chinese versions of Machiavelli's, The Prince,
excepting the fact that they are in story form, and are amusing and
robust.
3. Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)

(b) San Kuo Chih Yen-I - Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Cont'd)

Illustrative is this description of the novel by Herbert A. Giles, the distinguished English Sinologist (Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, circa 1923, and then "Late H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo, China), writing in 1923:

"It consists mainly of stirring scenes of warfare, of cunning plans by skilful generals, and of doughty deeds by blood-stained warriors. Armies and fleets of countless myriads are from time to time annihilated by one side or another..."

The difference between these novels and our own approximately similar stories (e.g. King Arthur; Charlemagne; Richard the Lion Hearted and the Crusades; John Paul Jones) involves two significant distinctions: (i) Our leaders do not almost worship and constantly read our legendary stories, and do not cite them and quote from them, at frequent intervals, but the Chinese communists do exactly that; and (ii) our western such legendary stories stress courage, strength, the direct and usually frontal assault on the enemies, and honor, in the sense that artifice is not admired, but the Chinese heroes in Mao's favorite novels almost always use guile and artifice, and are greatly admired for using those devices.

One example from Romance of the Three Kingdoms is typical of hundreds like it, and should be considered in connection with Mao Tse-Tung's boasts that he equipped his armies, sometimes by feints and tricks, from the enemy armies. Consider this episode from "Three Kingdoms:"

[Paraphrased, to avoid undue length]:

The great commander Chu-ko Liang's forces were short of arrows, and needed to replenish them. He sent a force of some twenty ships to feign an attack on the fleet of his powerful enemy, Ts'ao Ts'ao. The decks of Liang's ships were apparently covered with large numbers of fighting men, but these in reality were only straw figures stuffed into soldiers uniforms. On each ship there were only a few sailors and some real soldiers with gongs and

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For President Nixon
and Dr. Kissinger

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3. Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)

(b) San Kuo Chih Yen-I - Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Cont'd)

Keys to Mao's Character Traits, and to Those of His Colleagues, Derived from This Novel (Cont'd)

other noisy instruments. Reaching their destination, as had been carefully calculated beforehand, in the middle of a dense fog, the soldiers at once began to beat their gongs as if about to go into action; whereupon Ts'ao Ts'ao, who could just make out the outlines of the vessels densely packed with fighting men bearing down on him, gave orders to his archers to begin shooting. The latter did so, and kept on for an hour or more, until Liang on one of his ships was satisfied with the enormous amounts of arrows by then sticking in his straw soldiers. So he passed the order to retreat, again fully equipped with arrows for his forces. 6

Contrast Between Confucian Teachings and the Views Reflected in Mao's Favorite Novels, and by Mao and His Colleagues

The practices of deceit, artifice, guile, military action, force and similar things so valued by Mao and his colleagues and with which his favorite novels are filled, all were looked upon with disgust by Confucius and most of China's other great philosophers and teachers. The traditional Chinese teachings stress the moral qualities we Westerners admire, although of course we ourselves are not wholly moral, by any means. We are talking about ideologies, and what we strive for, rather than perfect conditions. Under the teachings of Confucius and most of the other philosophers, and pursuant to our own Western codes of conduct, the characteristics shown in Mao's favorite novels and in the expressions and actions of the People's Republic are abhorrent. The People's Republic expressly and by its actions has made heroes out of the villains in China's history, under the teachings of Confucius and the other philosophers. And they have made heroes out of the men in Mao's favorite novels. One example of the People's Republic's express and official reversal of a former villain into a hero is Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, who by force of arms and guile between 255 B.C. and 214 B.C., unified China; re-established the empire, as the Ch'in Dynasty; burned all books, and executed any scholars caught with the forbidden books; completed the Great Wall, with slave labor and the deaths at the Great Wall, of hundreds of thousands of such slaves; and ruled as a tyrant. Confucius held that emperor as an example of the worst possible kind of emperor; and Mao and his colleagues praise him, as an historic hero.

6. Ibid, pp. 277-280
3. **Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)**

(b) **San Kuo Chih Yen-I - Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Cont'd)**

Keys to Mao's Character Traits, and to Those of His Colleagues, Derived from This Novel (Cont'd) - Confucianism Contrasted (Cont'd)

national hero. He is praised for his military ability, for his administrative ability, for unifying China, and for his strength. His excesses are explained away, in effect as necessary under the circumstances and as acceptable in the light of what he accomplished.

In understanding the pre-Mao Chinese and what Mao is trying to make them into, in the context of these novels and what they reflect, it is important to note that during the periods of the Confucius and similar impact on the Chinese, their ideals and goals involved a high order of morality. Tyrants existed, but they were held in contempt. Actually, as far as her rulers for the most part were concerned, during the periods guided by the Confucius and similar ideals, Confucianism was a noble procedural and ritualistic cloak, covering an absolute and often cruel and militant emperor (and his cohorts). But the point is, Confucianism had a moderating influence on the rulers, and did tend to guide and deeply affect the populace. And as for Mao's favorite novels, which also have been the favorites of most of the literate Chinese since they were written, although they were read and hugely enjoyed, it was with a sense of "oh my, how terrible - but that was in the ancient days," and not with the Maoist sense of candid, even exultant, delight and admiration. The Maoists and especially Mao Tse-Tung himself, recommend that the heroes of the favorite novels be admired, praised and emulated.

The two novels - Shui Hu Chuan and San Kuo Chih Yen-I (Water Margin [All Men Are Brothers] and Romance of the Three Kingdoms) - should be studied (i) as a manual of what the Maoists admire, and probably will do in any given situation; and (ii) to assist one in understanding Mao's frequent allusions to them, in his speeches and in writings.

(c) **Hung Lou Meng - Dream of the Red Chamber**

The edition in English is Dream of the Red Chamber, translated and adapted from the Chinese by Chi-chen Wang, with a preface by Arthur Waley, Doran & Company, Inc., N.Y. (1929)
3. **Descriptions of the Novels (Cont'd)**

**c) Hung Lou Meng - Dream of the Red Chamber**

As noted above, the English title for this novel, although effective, is not a correct translation. Actually, Hung Lou Meng literally translates as, "Dream of the Two-Storied Red Building," which of course is a bad title in English, and not as romantically suggestive as the title, "Dream of the Red Chamber." It is possible that the Chinese title is describing the home in which the family involved in the novel, lived.

Good introductory information may be found in the Preface by Arthur Waley, and in the Introduction by the translator, in the English language edition identified above. Herbert A. Giles also has written an excellent commentary on the novel, and includes a lengthy extract from the work.

The novel is semi-autobiographical, and was written around 1757 by a middle-aged gentleman named Tsao Hsueh-Chin. He was a son of a man of wealth and scholarship, and his family for generations had held the Inspectorship of the Imperial Silk Factories in the Province of Kansu. The author in his early life enjoyed luxuries and similar advantages. Although apparently a gifted youth and an accomplished poet in later life, the author failed at the Imperial Literary Examinations. Without the political and financial success then going with success in the examinations, he suffered hardship when his family experienced financial and social reverses. He was in poverty when the novel was written, and died at the age of forty-five.

Dream of the Red Chamber is extremely long, and in the Chinese usually is published in 24 volumes, each of about thirty pages, or approximately 4,000 pages in all. Over four hundred characters are involved in the story. Basically, the story is that of the author and his family, and it is a panamora of life of a distinguished but increasingly troubled Chinese family. It depicts the members' and their friends; lovers; enemies' and servants' inter-reactions and daily relationships. The novel is also a love story, full of humorous and pathetic episodes of everyday human life, interspersed with short poems of high literary finish. The opening chapters deals with the world of spirits and the supernatural. Then, the story unfolds on an everyday basis, but punctuated with the near presence of spiritual influences.

The novel is a good and detailed report as to the Chinese customs, family life and thinking of the mid-Ch'ing

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Moreover, the work does not seem to dovetail with Mao Tse-Tung's other reading preferences, or with his speeches and writings, in that it portrays tragic failures; some individuals who are listless; and a sad spiral downward, on the part of the family and the two lovers. Perhaps, Mao wants his people to read a novel showing the decadence of the old system. Or perhaps, he himself enjoys the excellent poetry which occurs throughout the work, in that Mao, himself, is an accomplished poet. Or, perhaps, it is not a fact that this is one of his favorite novels, as has been claimed by authorized comments by representatives of the People's Republic.

My estimate is that the book is included on the "approved list" because it does reflect against the way of life in the imperial days, because the Chinese regard it as fascinating to read, generally, and because Mao enjoys reading the story of a courtly family, within the imperial circle, in some measure because he, himself, was raised as a farm boy and the son of a peasant, and never experienced any of the gracious and courtly aspects of Chinese culture in his youth. I believe that although Mao is against decadence and wealth, nevertheless he enjoys looking through the windowpane at what is going on inside, to stare in amazement and fascination before turning away in official disgust. Naturally, the terms "decadence" and "disgust," above, are what I believe Mao to feel, and are not my own terms.
OUTLINE OF RULES OF BASIC CHINESE COURTESY AND COMPORTMENT - SOME POINTS AS TO CURRENT CHINESE SOCIAL GRACES
OUTLINE OF RULES OF BASIC CHINESE COURTESY AND COMPORTMENT—SOME POINTS AS TO CURRENT CHINESE SOCIAL GRACES

1. General

No doubt, in general the usual rules of protocol involving meetings between Heads of State will apply. This memorandum will not cover that general area, but will deal only with aspects of basic Chinese courtesy and comportment which are peculiar to the Chinese and which may be applicable to some of the personal encounters and procedures the President may be expected to be involved in during his visit to China.

2. Greetings at Times of First Introduction

(a) The President may prefer to speak English, only, when individuals are being introduced to him. That is always appropriate, of course. However, one or two easy Chinese phrases at such a time would make a great hit with the Chinese.

(1) When greeting a famous or important individual, such as Chairman Mao or Premier Chou, it would be appropriate and dignified to say:

JIU-YANG, JIU-YANG [pronounced, "Gee-you-Yang (rhyme the "Yang" with the first syllable in "Bongo," as in Bongo Drums, and say the "Gee-you" with the syllables run together, as: Geeyou-Yang, Geeyou - Yang.)] The phrase is said twice, for polite emphasis: Jiu-Yang, Jiu-Yang. It means "I have long desired to meet you."

Obviously, this phrase is used only once, when one first meets the famous individual.

(2) When greeting anyone, famous or not, and in circumstances in which we would say, "Hello," "How do you do?" or similar things, whether at a first meeting or at a subsequent meeting, the proper Chinese greeting is:

NIN-HAO [Pronounced "Nin" (rhymes with "pin")-"How", as: Nin-How.]
(3) A variation of NIN HAO, used commonly and making the greeting a question literally meaning, "Are you well?" (Cf. our own "How do you do?") is NIN HAO MA? [Pronounce it "Nin" (rhymes with "pin")-How-Ma, as: Nin How-Ma? The "Ma" is pronounced exactly as we do our short word for mother, "Ma."]

The NIN HAO MA form of greeting is suitable for first, second or any meetings, and as to all levels or kinds of individuals, at any time of the day.

(4) The response to NIN HAO or to NIN HAO MA is:

HAO, XIE-XIE [pronounced, "How, Sye-Sye." Rhyme the "Sye" with the first syllable in our word, "liaison," or with "lia" as in "liaison." This way: How, Sye-Sye.] It means, "I am well, thank you." It is courteous, then, to ask in return, NIN HAO MA?

(b) Although I believe it is our tradition that our President bows to no one, and especially not to anyone representing a foreign state, the Chinese often incline their head in a sort of single nod, an inch or two, upon meeting - in much the same way we do when shaking hands.

(c) The modern Chinese often shake hands, in our manner. Traditionally and also under the modern communist usage, the Chinese avoid physical contact. Back-patting and our occasional style of an arm around the shoulders are taboo. Although I have seen modern and mainland-oriented Chinese suffer such things, especially with Europeans and South Americans, etc., they dislike being patted on the back or elsewhere, hugged or otherwise touched. In Peking, traditionally and now, a deliberate touching of a man's back can be construed as a deliberate insult - a subtle but insulting way of calling him a turtle (epithet), since the Peking tradition is that one touches a turtle's back to ascertain whether it may rain (the back is supposed to be damp). Apart from that old belief, the Chinese do not appreciate bodily contact of any kind, and only recently have accepted the hand-shake
style of greeting used by us and other westerners.

3. **Flowers and Bouquets**

The Chinese in the People's Republic have adopted the Russian custom of presenting flowers and bouquets to some visitors. As with the USSR, such presentations may be made to men as well as to ladies. The protocol as to such presentations is as with USSR. The flowers are received, with thanks (XIE-XIE, pronounced "Sye-She" - See item 2.(a)(4), above, for more as to the pronunciation), held for a while and then given to an Aide to hold.

4. **Applause**

Nearby officials and, often, the Chinese crowd often applauds. The modern custom in the People's Republic is for the visiting official to applaud back, and smile back at the applauders. Often, the visiting official will applaud back, while walking by the applauding crowd. It would be considered unfriendly not to return the applause when given, especially when visiting school children or other groups. However, applause given by an audience when the official stands on a platform or at a speaker's podium, before or after his speech, is not returned. The American style of nodding and waiving, with little bows, is appropriate in such instances.

5. **Entering Doors and Conveyances - Being Seated**

Notwithstanding diplomatic protocol, and the fact that all present will know in advance that President Nixon will be invited to be the first to pass through doors or to enter conveyances, and will be given seats of honor in all instances, nevertheless even the modern Chinese in the People's Republic appreciate a very brief gesture, in the Mutt and Jeff fashion, urging one's host to precede one in such instances. The gesture is done very quickly, with the hand suggesting the prior entry or seating by the host and with a slight, questioning lowering of the head. However, the honored guest gives up almost instantly, and passes through the door or into the conveyance, first, or accepts the seat of honor. In China, the seat of honor usually is the seat farthest from the main entrance, facing the entrance, and/or to the right of the ranking host. The guest pauses a moment before sitting, until urged again by the host to be seated.

6. **Exchange of Gifts**

No doubt much thought has been given to this aspect of the visit by the President and his regular advisors, including his protocol men. Aspects exist that derive from protocol, and may affect our relations with some of our allies. I must defer to the President's regular protocol advisors and to those with detailed
information as to the over-all arrangements and diplomatic aspects. However, unless there is some strong reason prohibiting the giving of gifts, I strongly urge that the President and his lady give gifts, at least to Chairman Mao and his wife and to Premier Chou and his wife. The timing and procedure for giving such gifts would be as is customary between visiting and inviting Heads of State. Careful thought must be given to the gift selections, of course. Some appropriate gifts from the President and his lady to Chairman Mao and his wife and to Premier Chou and his wife might include any of the following:

(a) For Chairman Mao and his wife:

(1) Chairman Mao

Leather-bound or otherwise specially bound American editions of any of his favorite books, such as:

The two volume English language translation of Romance of the Three Kingdoms, translated by C.H. Brewitt-Taylor, Charles E. Tuttle Company

The two volume English language translation of Shui Hu Chuan (Water Margin), called by the translator, Pearl Buck, "All Men Are Brothers," The John Day Company, N.Y.

Leather-bound or otherwise specially bound sets of biographies of any of the following great Americans, whom Mao has professed to admire:

George Washington (especially appropriate, since his birthday will be celebrated by us on February 21st, when the Peking meeting will begin.)

Thomas Jefferson
Abraham Lincoln

As is generally known, Mao has expressed orally and in writing his admiration for all of the above three Americans. Mao probably would appreciate fine editions in English, even though he is just starting the study of English.
(a) Suggested Gifts for Chairman Mao and his wife (Cont'd)

(1) Chairman Mao (Cont'd)

a steuben glass or equally crafted art object, with the internal scene preferably depicting one of Mao's favorite scenes - mountains and water; or, perhaps, flowers and birds. (The combinations of mountains-water or flowers-birds are especially appreciated by the Chinese. A pair of such objects would be appropriate, since many Chinese art objects are in matched pairs. I believe the New York showrooms for Steuben have many such items in stock.

(2) Chairman Mao's wife (Jiang Qing - Pinyin rendition)

A beautifully bound book or set of books dealing with American drama or the arts might be appropriate. Fine examples of American art or handicraft, in silver or crystal, would be appropriate. Madame Mao is regarded as one of the chief cultural arbiters by the People's Republic, and took a number of extreme stands against western art during the "Cultural Revolution." So maybe we should special care in this selection.

(3) Both Chairman and Mrs. Mao

Do we have any pictures of China taken from space flights and from high enough not to look like intelligence shots, depicting the Great Wall or the outline of the China coast? Such a picture might be enlarged, beautifully framed and presented in this instance. It would be a nice gift and also would carry a message as to our technology.

How about a moon rock, beautifully mounted or encased in glass? Good gift, and same message.

(b) Premier Chou and his wife

Any of the above items also would be suitable for Chou En-lai and/or his wife. Care should be used to have their gifts slightly less handsome than Mao's. As a supplementary gift, Chou En-lai, who appreciates good wines, might also enjoy a case or
(b) Suggested Gifts for Premier Chou and his wife (Cont'd)

set of fine California wines

7. Modern Chinese and Surviving Traditional Chinese Social Taboos

None of the following should be done in the presence of the Chinese. Variously, the following are frowned on or regarded as discourteous or in bad taste:

(a) Physical contact, excepting to shake hands.
(b) Comments, whether to the one involved or to third parties, as to an individual's beauty, good looks, or physical characteristics, e.g. "nice dress," "pleasant speaking voice," "pretty," etc. Such comments were not in good taste prior to the communists, and are regarded as superficial and without merit by the people of the People's Republic.
(c) Any photography without express permission.
(d) Touching any monument, art object or display.
(e) Tipping
(f) Showing physical affection, even with one's wife, in public.
(g) Referring to the People's Republic or to China, as "mainland China" or as "communist China."
(h) Even implied criticism of any facilities
(i) Eating with one's hands - even a drum-stick and sweet-sour and other spareribs must not be eaten with one's hands. The Chinese use chopsticks, and bite off portions. If unable to use chopsticks, one should use a knife and fork, but not fingers.
(j) Failing to show respect for any picture, symbol or writing of, relating to or by Chairman Mao. Visitors to China have experienced serious trouble by seeming [to the Chinese] to treat such things with disrespect. The Chinese don't say so, but actually such items depicting, relating to or written by Mao have become semi-sacred among many of the Chinese. One must be very careful not to deface any such thing, and not to drop it on the floor of one's room or into a waste basket, even though the item may appear casual or torn or soiled to us. It would be wise to tuck such a thing carefully in your bag.
(k) Don't attempt to joke with a Chinese communist. He is usually deadly serious and without a sense of humor, as we know humor. For example, we could not show a Chinese communist a photograph of
(1) President Nixon and his family's three pet dogs running around on the White House lawn, and remark that here is a picture of our President and his running dogs. That might crack up an American or perhaps even a Russian, but if a Chinese communist got the point, he would not appreciate it.

(m) Don't stare at or comment in respect to any Chinese lady's feet or shoes. Even though the communists profess to have disavowed all of the old beliefs, many of them still have the old residual view that a woman's feet are sex objects. It is vulgar and hints of sex interest to pay any attention to a Chinese lady's feet, or even to ask if her feet hurt, or help with her boots, etc. Such attentions among many even of the more modern Chinese are not dissimilar to some of our American views in regard to a woman's breasts.

(n) In general, the Chinese communist women expect to be treated socially approximately the same as men.

8. Basic Chinese Table Manners - Dinners and Banquets

No doubt the President's protocol men will have assisted in arranging and assisting as to the Chief of State, diplomatic and related aspects of any dinners or banquets to be attended by the President and his party. This portion of the within memorandum will not deal with those aspects. The following points are intended to assist the President and our other high ranking officials, personally, with a few of the Chinese customs and procedures in the area we know as "table manners." The following points may be helpful:

(a) Generally, in smaller groups and in situations not involving the western style concepts of the "Speakers Table," the position of honor at the table is the one farthest from the main door, and facing the door. Whatever the position of honor, and even with the modern communist Chinese, it is gracious to make a quick, inquiring gesture [with the hand, for just an instant suggesting that the host, himself, take the seat of honor, and a very slight lowering of the chin, as if asking "Won't you, yourself, take the seat of honor." The slight hesitation, gestured question, and then acquiescence in taking the seat of honor, are all in quick gestures, lasting only three or four seconds. The host always insists that the guest accept the honored position, also by gesture and sometimes adding, "Please be seated" or
8. Basic Chinese Table Manners - Dinners and Banquets (Cont'd)

(a) in Chinese, QING - ZOU [Please be seated, pronounced "Ching (rhymes with king)-dzou (rhyme, the 'dzou' with the second syllable in the U.S. company name, Alcoa), thus: Ching-Dzou. Then (excepting as diplomatic protocol and special arrangements for the particular visit may have determined) the guest sits down and remains seated throughout the dinner or banquet, excepting as to toasts and speeches. [SEE THE MEMORANDA HEREIN AS TO CHINESE WINES AND ALSO AS TO CHINESE DRINKING CUSTOMS]

(b) As always in a foreign banquet, watch the hosts. In general, their table manners and procedures during the banquet or dinner should be followed.

But CAVEAT: Chairman Mao is reported sometimes to be somewhat careless, himself. Premier Chou, for example, is precisely and graciously correct.

The following points are the ones most usually violated by westerners during banquets or dinners:

(1) If wine is served, one should sip some wine between each course [toasts are in addition].

(2) Do NOT clean your plate, i.e. do NOT eat everything on your plate. Leave some of each course on your plate. That signifies your host has provided plenty. If you should clean your plate, the host will pile on more until you leave some of that course.

(3) If you can use chopsticks [it is proper, of course, to use knife and fork, but the use of chopsticks would delight the hosts - their use is easily taught and can be grasped in a few minutes, when the grip is properly demonstrated and when one realizes that actually one of the sticks remains stationary and only one of the sticks moves], remember this:

- Use the chopsticks, and not your fingers. The Chinese do not eat with their fingers, even drum-sticks. They lift the object with chopsticks, nibble a bite, and return the object with chopsticks, to the bowl or plate.
8. **Basic Chinese Table Manners (Cont'd)**

(b) (Cont'd)

(3) **Use of Chopsticks, etc. (Cont'd)**

When not in use, lay the chopsticks together, moist ends pointing straight away from you, to the right of your plate. If small, concave and half-moon like china, wood or ivory, etc. chopstick rests or holders are supplied, you will find them, usually, to the right of your plate. Rest the moist ends pointing away from yourself, supported a few centimeters in the air (above the table surface) by the little half-moon holder. If no holder is supplied, place your two chopsticks on your plate, along its right hand edge, pointing straight away from you. If no plate is before you (and even if a bowl is before you), quickly remove any food residue from the moist ends of the chopsticks by acting as if you are eating a small bite, and place the two chopsticks on the table surface, together, to the right of your bowl or of the vacant space before you, if no bowl is there. **Do not place your chopsticks on your bowl.** That is considered crude among the Chinese, especially in Peking. It is tantamount to our feeling about someone who leaves his spoon in his cup.

(4) **The eating process:**

Your host will supply your plate with much of the food you will eat. Also, especially if he is a few feet from you, he will urge you to help yourself from each large serving bowl or plate for each course, as they are brought to the table. The process is: Take one or two morsels of the food, with chopsticks if possible [otherwise, with your fork], from the serving bowl. Place the food on your flat plate. From there, if there are dipping saucers for that course (mustard, relish, soy sauce, etc.), with your chopsticks, dip the morsel. Then move the morsel, always with chopsticks, to your rice bowl, if one is supplied. Pause a moment, and converse, etc. Then, with chopsticks, lift the morsel and some rice to your mouth. **IT IS CRUDE TO PILE LARGE AMOUNTS OF FOOD ON OR IN YOUR RICE BOWL. THE POLITE WAY TO GO ABOUT IT IS AS DESCRIBED.** If no rice bowl is supplied for the course, use the empty bowl instead. If no bowl exists, omit that stage.
8. Basic Chinese Table Manners (Cont'd)

(b) (Cont'd)

(5) Passing (giving or receiving) objects at the table, as for example, wine cups, teacups, etc.

Among the hosts and the guests (but, of course, not in dealing with the servants or waiters), if you are handed anything by an individual who uses both hands to present the object, accept or receive the object with your own two hands. In traditional China, all exchanges of objects between gentlemen, whether at the dinner table or elsewhere and including everything from tea cups to calling cards, were effected two-handed by both the giver and the receiver. The modern Chinese communists often hand things to you with one hand, in which event it is correct to receive it with one hand. But if your host or companion hands you anything with both of his hands, in an offering gesture, be sure to receive it in the same way. Don't hold your bowl or chopsticks in one hand and accept an offered item with the other hand, if the offeror is using both hands. Put your chopsticks or bowl down, and receive the item with both of your hands.

(c) Gift Giving:

See the within materials dealing specifically with appropriate gifts which might be given by President Nixon to Chairman Mao and Premier Chou.

In the actual act of giving a gift, it would be dignified and courteous if the President would actually physically take the gift from his Aide, who would have carried it into the area near the President, and using both of his hands [as we would carry a full and heavy bowl of water], present the gift to the recipient. A one-handed offer of a gift is too casual, even among the modern communist Chinese.
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI

1. Introduction - Purpose of this Memo

No doubt, ample materials are available to the President and to Dr. Kissinger from our State Department and elsewhere in regard to the three cities. Guide books are available, and can be obtained in American book stores. The newly opened pro-Mao book store in New York, China Books and Periodicals, carries such materials in updated but pro-communist form, which is tiresome. Books on China and on the three cities the President plans to visit, relating to the pre-1949 days are generally available. Probably, former cultural attache staff members with China exposures are available at our State Department. Moreover, the President's hosts will supply data of their selection.

However, some notes are provided here as to the the three cities, based on my experiences when Peking was my hometown for about thirteen years and based on trips which included Shanghai and Hangchow during my approximately twenty-two years in China, variously as one born there, a child and then a student, and finally, as an officer in Naval Intelligence at a later time. An effort is made herein to avoid as much widely known data as possible.

2. Peking, China

(a) Convenient Reference Books

Probably the best two books available in the United States, both of which are well written and profusely illustrated with excellent photographs and may be scanned or read rapidly, are:


Frank Dorn, The Forbidden City, the Biography of a Palace (Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1970)

The President's enjoyment of his visit will be enhanced if he can find time at least to scan both books. Mrs. Nixon would enjoy Peking so much more, too, if she is able to read both of these books. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining copies, I can help in that regard, and would be delighted to do so.
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI

[CONTINUED]

2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(b) Places of Particular Interest, Because of America's Past Involvement

(1) Capital Hospital

This is the handsome hospital, constructed and maintained originally with American funds, largely granted by the Rockefeller family. Other contributors in the United States gave smaller amounts. The hospital before 1949 was called Peking Union Medical College and Hospital (PUMC). From 1949 until just last week, while General Haig was in Peking making advance arrangements for the President's trip, the hospital was called "Anti-Imperialist Hospital." The change was made in anticipation of the President's visit. The facility is a group of multi-floor modern buildings, with green tile roofs in an attractive Chinese style. The southern entrance is especially attractive, and would be suitable for photographs of the President's entourage. Even before the Sino-Japanese war and the subsequent Second World War, the PUMC was an outstanding institution, with the reputation of being the finest medical facility in the Far East. Noted work in the areas of medicine involving human parasites, cholera, typhus and polio, among other things, was carried on while the Americans were there. The staffs were both American and Chinese, and the medical and nurses' training of Chinese was stressed.

(2) Yenching University

The university also was founded and maintained by Americans, in the period prior to 1949. It is west of the main part of Peking, not far from the famous summer Palace. Yenching University is named in honor of one of the ancient names of Peking, "Yenching," or the capitol of Yen. It was a great university academically, in the days of American involvement. It still is one of the well known universities, although as we all know, China's universities have suffered badly, especially during the recent so-called "cultural revolution." The buildings are large by Chinese standards, and also are two and more floors in height. The campus is lovely, with broad quads and a small lake. It is possible that the Chinese have not kept it up, recently, although we can assume, I think, that they will try to have it looking as well kept as possible for the President's visit. Our last Ambassador to China (to the Republic of China, not the People's
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI

[CONTINUED]

2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(b) Places of Particular Interest, Because of America's Past Involvement (Cont'd)

(2) Yenching University (Cont'd)

Republic, of course) was Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, who left China for the United States, in August, 1949. Dr. Stuart was born in China, worked as a missionary educator there, rose to the position of President of Yenching University, was imprisoned by the Japanese during the Second World War, and during the period when Marshall and other U.S. officials tried to avert civil war in China, served as our Ambassador to the Republic of China. In that period, Mao Tse-Tung, in an article entitled, "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" (August 18, 1949, Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. IV, p. 433), charged that Ambassador Stuart "was always a loyal agent of U.S. cultural aggression in China. He started missionary work in China in 1905 and in 1919 became president of Yenching University, which was established by the United States in Peking. On July 11, 1946, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to China. He actively supported the Kuomintang reactionaries in prosecuting the civil war and carried out various political intrigues against the Chinese people. On August 2, 1949, because all the efforts of U.S. imperialism to obstruct the victory of the Chinese people's revolution had completely failed, Leighton Stuart had to leave China quietly." (Ibid, p. 439, fn 1)

If President Nixon visits Yenching University, he will not only be inspecting a great university which for over thirty years was supported and maintained by American financial donations, but also a monument to Stuart's work. Perhaps, now that they have become willing to rename the American hospital a friendlier name, they may be willing, at least gradually, to recognize Stuart's work for the Chinese people. In due time, it might be possible to obtain People's Republic cooperation in the establishment of a "Dr. J. Leighton Stuart Chair" at Yenching University, supported by American private endowment funds, for the study of the American history, culture and language.

Prior to 1949 and when World War II was not in process, the student body at Yenching University was Chinese, with a small number of Americans and other occidentals. It was a center of goodwill between the Chinese and Americans.
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI

[CONTINUED]

2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(b) Places of Particular Interest, Because of America's Past Involvement (Cont'd)

(3) Facilities at the former College of Chinese Studies, California College in China [earlier known as North China Union Language School]

I have not yet been able to determine what these American built facilities are now being used as. Prior to 1949, the College of Chinese Studies [commonly known as the "Language School"], also built and financed by American philanthropic funds, was a great center of Chinese language and cultural study by Americans connected with our diplomatic, business, missionary and other endeavors in China. Probably, most of our American sinologists and diplomatic, military and missionary personnel were trained there, prior to 1949. Among others, John H. Holdridge, our China expert on the Kissinger team, studied there. I was there at another time. As it happens, my uncle, Dr. William B. Pettus, for years was the President of the College, and also its founder. For many decades prior to 1949, the facility was a great center of American studies of China, its language and its culture. Its library on sinology perhaps was one of the finest in the world. It was one of our chief centers of Sino-American cultural and educational exchanges. If we should eventually progress to that point in our newly opened dialogue with the People's Republic, this site would be excellent for a new beginning, in the educational or any similar field. It is equipped with the requisite auditorium, classrooms, dormitory and dining room facilities, central heating plant and faculty residences. The site might be worthwhile inspecting, if not on the Presidential level, then perhaps on the staff level, if the People's Republic is willing to permit that.

(c) Former Mission Facilities

Such former facilities, of course, were widespread in Peking prior to 1949. I recommend that they not be involved in any way in the President's visit. Unfortunately, any attention to former missionary facilities at this time, although they included hospitals and many other fine aspects before the communists, would be harmful to the purposes of the President's visit, in my opinion. There is a possibility that the Chinese might permit renewed educational
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI (CONT'D)

2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(c) Former Mission Facilities (Cont'd)

or medical involvements at some time in the future, if the new dialogue progresses sufficiently, but no religious involvement by America will be permitted by the present government, under any circumstances.

It is interesting to note that including the various universities and hospitals, as well as the other mission facilities, prior to 1949 the investments of U.S. missionary and philanthropic organizations in China were as follows, as indicated by Mao Tse-Tung, himself, in a bitter attack on the "spiritual aggression" of the Americans in China:

"According to certain statistics, the investments of U.S. missionary and 'philanthropic' organizations in China totalled 41,900,000 U.S. dollars, and 14.7 per cent of the assets of the missionary organizations were in medical service, 38.2 per cent in education and 47.1 per cent in religious services. Many well-known educational institutions in China, such as Yenching University, Peking Union Medical College, the Huei Wen Academies, St. John's University, the University of Nanking, Soochow University, Hangchow Christian College, Hsiangya Medical School, West China Union University and Lingnan University, were established by Americans." Mao Tse-Tung, in "Friendship or Aggression?," Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. IV, p. 488; Mao, in his fn 3 as to the statistics, cites C. F. Remer, Foreign Investments in China, Chapter 15; and in his fn 4, he adds as to the Universities: "Yenching University was in Peiping; the Huei Wen Academies, in Peiping and Nanking; St. John's University, in Shanghai; Hsiangya Medical School (Yale in China), in Changsha; West China University, in Chengtu; and Lingnan University, in Canton".

(d) Chinese Ancient and Historic Buildings and Sites in and Near Peking, Which Should Be Seen by the President and His Entourage, if Possible

Peking is a beautiful city, and many of its famous ancient and historic sites are among the finest in the world. Probably, the following will be included in the itinerary:

(1) Temple of Heaven and Altar of Heaven (be sure to whisper at the perfectly round "whispering wall." Your message can be heard far away, at the same wall.)

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2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(d) Chinese Ancient and Historic Buildings and Sites in and Near Peking, Which Should Be Seen by the President and His Entourage, if Possible

[Recommended ancient and historic sites - Cont'd]

(2) The Great Wall (about an hour from Peking, via car or train). It was completed in 214 B.C. (at the time of the punic wars in Greece), with slave labor reported to have numbered in the hundreds of thousands. The Emperor who had it built was the founder of the Ch'in Dynasty (255-205 B.C.). The Emperor was named Ch'in Shih Huang, who unified the empire by force, after the period of the warring states. He was a cruel tyrant, and held court with his sword on his lap. He slept in changing places at night, and kept his location a secret, to avoid assassination. The scholars and intellectuals of China long regarded this emperor as a villain, because he ordered all of the books burned. Anyone failing to surrender his books or found with them was condemned to death, or to labor in building the Great Wall, which amounted to the same sentence. But be careful, here: The People's Republic has made a hero of this emperor, because he was "strong" and unified China. The Great Wall is 1,800 miles long, and was built to keep out the fierce nomadic peoples of the north and northwest.

(3) Ming Tombs (built at various times between 1421-1680 A.D.). These are the imperial tombs, located about twenty-five northwest of Peking. There are thirteen graves of the later (northern) Mings here, covering an immense area. Each tomb has a long avenue of approach, with huge carved figures on either side.
SOME NOTES ON THE CITIES OF PEKING, HANGCHOW AND SHANGHAI (CONT'D)

2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(d) Chinese Ancient and Historic Buildings and Sites in and Near Peking, Which Should Be Seen by the President and His Entourage, if Possible

[Recommended ancient and historic sites - Cont'd]

(4) "Coal Hill," in the Palace and Park Complex, Peking. The best view of Peking's beautiful palace buildings, parks and lakes is from the top of this hill. It was built of earth supposedly left by the long-vanished khans in excavating to create the lakes for their pleasure palaces. To the populace, it has long been known as "Coal Hill," because it was commonly believed to be a great pile of coal, surfaced with earth, that could be used for fuel in case of a long siege. Formally, its name was "Protecting Hill of the Great Within." The hill is a beautiful combination of greens and blues, and is about 300 feet high. Five pavilions are placed at various points on the hill. The buildings, and reportedly, the hill itself, were constructed by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century A.D. Be sure to see the tree where the last Ming Emperor hanged himself, as his enemies entered Peking and the Ming Dynasty was replaced by the Ch'ing Dynasty, circa 1644 A.D.

(5) Summer Palace, in Peking's western suburbs, built by the Empress Dowager in 1894. It is a large and beautiful park, with stunning buildings, landscaped in a lovely way, with hills and lake areas. Be sure to see the marble boat - the Ch'ing Dynasty's "navy." Also, the most beautiful marble camel-back bridge you could imagine. The Empress Dowager is the one who encouraged the "boxers" [secret society, who thought they were immune to Westerners' bullets, used a sign of a fist as their symbol, murdered the German ambassador and laid siege to the foreign embassies, in 1900. This is a delicate point, but if raised, remember: We turned back our indemnity, for education of the Chinese.
2. Peking, China (Cont'd)

(e) Peking in February - Weather, Clothing and Small Delights

In February and March, Peking is cold. Temperatures can drop to around fifteen degrees, at night. Days will be in the forties or fifties, unless an especially bright sun is out. Chances are good that Peking's celebrated bright blue sky will dominate, with cold and snappy days. If the wind blows, which it sometimes does in February, it will be cold and may bring dust storms sweeping down from the Gobi desert. There is some ice in the streets, and Pei Hai and Nan Hai lakes are frozen, with skaters having a wonderful time.

The President, his lady and his entourage should be equipped with warm great coats; scarves; gloves and hats or caps of some kind that can be pulled down over the ears, especially on the day the trip to the Great Wall and to the Ming Tombs takes place. I suggest that Mrs. Nixon might be comfortable on such days, if she can wear ski-type long warm underwear.

If we have the good fortune to have the sun shining, which is an event of high probability, days in Peking during late February and March are like bright sunny winter days in Vermont, excepting that the sky is very bright blue in Peking.

February is the month in which chestnuts are roasted in open braziers, on the streets. The fragrance is marvelous, and they taste good, too.

If the various ceremonies and talks do not preclude it, I recommend some of the following be done, for small delights:

(1) Go to Tung An Market - it is still a jolly place, I understand - and prowl around all of the little shops. The market is under a roof, and inside are small shops, little restaurants and hundreds of busy and good natured people. Be sure to find a little restaurant that serves the famous Peking steamed "dumplings," which are filled with mildly spiced pork, and steamed. They are genuine Peking food. You will like them. The Chinese in Peking are very fond of them. Or try a bowl of steaming noodles. That is another good Peking food. Incidentally, the steamed dumplings are called "jiao tze" or "jir boa-boa." And the noodles are called, "mien."

(2) Get someone to take you to the jade carving centers, and watch the delicate work being done. The jade is a good buy, too. Shop for jade, porcelain, wood carvings, silver items, etc.
3. Shanghai, China

We shall take up Shanghai next, relatively briefly, because probably it will be reached from Peking, before Hangchow. Shanghai is a major rail, shipping and air center; and Hangchow is not far south of it.

I understand that Shanghai is the most changed city from pre-1949, of all the Chinese cities. That probably is true, because pre-1949, Shanghai was a rich, bustling, wicked and fascinating mixture of occidental buildings, western-style seaport, the bund, seaport and a skyline, in all sort of a cross between a somewhat dwarfed New York, with something of Chicago and of Hongkong thrown in, fringed with a Chinese city. Now, that is gone. Shanghai's Chinese businesses and manufacturing still proceed, but under the People's Republic I understand that although there is activity, the atmosphere is grim and the magic of Shanghai is gone for the occidental. Shanghai, too, has its sights. Those of particular interest to us may not be fun to see, though, because of the changes which have taken place. The bund is not the area of pre-1949, and the semi-San Francisco, semi-Hongkong, semi-Chicago, etc. haunts probably are People's Republic offices or small factories.

Of special interest to the President Nixon entourage would be: the seaport, one of the largest in the world, at one time, although the dock facilities even before did not measure up to the New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles standards; the manufacturing centers of the People's Republic; and, possibly, in honor of another era, the former American-supported university, St. John's University.

I do not have access to any more recent figures, but Shanghai is the largest city in population in China, about 10 mill'n. Current American Almanac gives the latest available population figure for Shanghai as 6,900,000, as estimated for 1957. (Information Please Almanac, 1972, Dan Dolenpaul, p. 197). Winters are moderate.

The Shanghai cuisine, as also is true of Peking, is famous. And Shanghai is within a few hours of some of the finest Chinese wine making areas. The art and carving work is not reputed to equal that of Peking. But basic manufacturing, particularly of textiles, metal items, machinery, cars, trucks and similar light to heavy industry products, is reported to be relatively heavy in Shanghai.

4. Hangchow, China

Hangchow is Mao Tse-Tung's favorite winter resort. It is possible that President Nixon may conduct private talks with
4. Hangchow, China (Cont'd)

Chairman Mao, there. It is very pleasant in the winter.

A Chinese proverb says that, as there is a paradise in heaven so there is Hangchow on earth. The city's fame dates from the thirteenth century, when the Sung dynasty, fleeing before the Kin Tartars, established their new capital at Hangchow because its position between the Chekiang River and a lake could be well defended.

The population of Hangchow grew rapidly and by 1275 had reached about a million. The following year, the Sung were driven out by the Mongolian Yuan dynasty. Marco Polo was in Hangchow in the days of the Yuan Dynasty's Khans, and wrote a vivid and enthusiastic account of the city.

The West Lake soon lost its importance as a defence bulwark and became one of China's most famous beauty spots, a reputation which accounts for the Chinese proverb referred to above and which is still applicable today. The court mansions were destroyed during the Taiping Revolution (1850). The beautiful palaces described by Marco Polo were razed by hordes of the Taiping revolutionaries, who in an anger of religious fervor and resentment for the empire, marched through the Yangtze valley, devastating the countryside and cities. They deliberately demolished temples, works of art, bronzes, paintings and books. At one time, after their destruction of Hangchow in 1850, the Taiping hordes reached within two hundred miles of Peking. But they were turned back. Even in modern days, broken tiles may be found in the dirt during construction, in Hangchow.

Boating is one of the main attractions, in the West Lake area of Hangchow. There are a number of small islands, with a lotus pond on one of them. Another attraction is a lake within a lake. Not far from that, three stone lanterns dating from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) are set into the lake. Each lantern has five round windows so that at night there are fifteen reflections of the moon in the water which, with the real moon in addition, have given the location the name, "Sixteen Moon Island." Numerous goldfish, some of unusually large sizes and many of bright colors, swim in the waters. The Chinese enjoy watching them swim, and feeding them. A number of pagodas and temples are on the lake shore and in the surrounding hills.

Hangchow, today, is a popular resort. Mao Tse-Tung has his version of President Nixon's San Clemente western White House in the West Lake area. The city also is famous for its silk and its tea, the most popular of which is the green "Dragon Well" tea. That
4. Hangchow, China (Cont'd)

celebrated "Dragon Well" tea [Lung-ching, or as the People's Republic romanization called Pinyin would render it, Long-jing] and other fine teas are produced in the West Lake region of Hangchow. It is likely that Chairman Mao will serve that famous locally produced green tea to President and Mrs. Nixon and any other guests during the Hangchow private talks.

If there is time for shopping in Hangchow, the best buys would be silks, lacquer, laces and embroideries and Dragon Well tea. Jasmine teas also are available.

As to personal comfort, Hangchow is much less cold in February than Peking, of course. If the sun shines, the days can be quite warm, even at that time of year. The mornings often are misty, with some chill. The nights will be cold, but no more so than many of our nights in California, in February. Coats or jackets will be needed near the lake, particularly at night. The Hangchow cuisine, too, is great. All varieties of food from all parts of China are available in the city, as is true also of Peking. Many of the Hangchow and Shanghai dishes will more closely resemble some of our finer restaurants' cuisine in San Francisco than is true, in general, of Peking. That is because more of our American Chinese operating Chinese restaurants in the United States are from central and southern China, than from Peking. The Chinese communists may be spartan in dress and perhaps relatively serious and even dull in some matters, but they are lavish in eating and as to banquets, when entertaining. For Chinese wines, drinking customs and table manners, please see the accompanying memoranda (a part of this group of memoranda, in this book) dealing with those related subjects.
OUTLINE OF CHINESE HISTORY AND CULTURE
(WITH WESTERN WORLD HISTORY PARALLELS
AND INTERPOLATION OF MAO, CHOU, ET AL'S
APPLICABLE VIEWS AND PREJUDICES

The following three fold-out sheets comprise,
in columnar, dated and readily scanned outline form, the
listing of salient aspects of Chinese history and culture.
Western world parallel events are included approximately
opposite the then current events and developments in China,
to give perspective. Portions with some significance as to
Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues are underlined in color.

The fold-out material is intended as a five or
ten minutes refresher as to China's history and cultural
background, and also as to Mao's and Chou's attitudes as to
or special interests in the various periods and events.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>WORLD EVENTS</th>
<th>DYNASTY</th>
<th>CHIEF EVENTS, KNOWLEDGE AND ART</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1300 B.C.</td>
<td>Moses, Trojan War</td>
<td>Neolithic stone tools dating back to circa 5000 B.C. discovered in Honan suggest 7000 years continuous culture. Bone inscriptions give names of Yin emperors and reflect animism and ancestor worship. Neolithic pottery and stone carvings. Sacrificial jades. Bone records mention hunting, fishing, and silk weaving. Lyric poetry, MAO, ET AL CLAIM OLDEST CONTINUOUS CULTURE IN WORLD.</td>
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<td>1200 B.C.</td>
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<td>1100 B.C.</td>
<td>Tiglath Pileser I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1000 B.C.</td>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Nine Tripods&quot; symbol of imperial authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900 B.C.</td>
<td>Lycuragus, Carthage</td>
<td></td>
<td>Books made of bamboo slips strung together</td>
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<tr>
<td>800 B.C.</td>
<td>First Olympiad</td>
<td>CHOU</td>
<td>&quot;Book of Changes;&quot; Materials for &quot;Odes&quot; of Confucius evolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 B.C.</td>
<td>Hebrew Prophets and Greek Poets</td>
<td>Loyang</td>
<td>Bronze Age - Altar vessels, swords, and mirrors.</td>
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<td>600 B.C.</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<td>500 B.C.</td>
<td>Persian Wars, Socrates</td>
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<tr>
<td>400 B.C.</td>
<td>Plato, Aristotle, Alexander</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Confucian's villain, Chou Hsin, a &quot;bad last emperor, &quot; now widely regarded. MAO glorifies empire and conquests of this era - makes hero of tyrant Lycurgus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 B.C.</td>
<td>Punic Wars</td>
<td>CH'IN</td>
<td>Iron Age - &quot;the iron stone drums&quot; architecture on grand scale. Magnetism known; silk first reached Europe; round First Empire; great wall 214 B.C./coins. completed; old books burned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 B.C.</td>
<td>146 Destruction of Carthage &amp; Corinth</td>
<td>(C205)</td>
<td>MAO GLORIFIES EMPIRE AND CONQUESTS OF THIS ERA - MAKES HERO OF TYRANT Lycurgus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 B.C.</td>
<td>Julius Caesar</td>
<td>(C25)</td>
<td>Contact with Roman Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>(C1050)</td>
<td>MAO, ET AL VARIOUSLY REJECT AND ACCEPT EDITIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 A.D.</td>
<td>Jerusalem Destroyed</td>
<td>(HAN)</td>
<td>China, built great wall and excuses book burning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 A.D.</td>
<td>Marcus Aurelius</td>
<td>(3 Kingdoms)</td>
<td>Age of Romance; military strategists; MAO'S favorite &quot;Romance of the Three Kingdoms&quot; features this period.</td>
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<td>200 A.D.</td>
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OUTLINE OF CHINESE HISTORY AND CULTURE
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APPLICABLE VIEWS AND PREJUDICES

(CONTINUED)

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<td>200 A.D.</td>
<td>See above, preceding page of this Outline</td>
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<tr>
<td>265 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>300 A.D.</td>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>C265 (Loyang) Traditional Chinese name for this period.</td>
<td>Tea first mentioned.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>364 Roman Empire Split</td>
<td>C317 (Nanking)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 400 A.D. | 476 End of W. Roman Empire Split | S.Sung | 399 Fa-hsien crossed Central Asia to India "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove"
| | 500 A.D. | S.Sung | Earliest surviving paintings; cave sculptures; glass process from Parthia to China. Greco-Indian influences
| | 600 A.D. | Ch'ien | Silk worm eggs to Europe
| | 622 Hegira | Ch'ien | Creative painting; public libraries
| | 711 Arabs checked at Tours | Changan | Printing of Buddhist books
| | 700 A.D. | T'ANG | Great Painting: Li Su Hsun; Wang Wei; Wu Tao Tze; Great Lyric Poetry: Li Po; Tu Fu; Han Yu; P Chui
| | 800 A.D. | Ch'ien | Chinese culture to Japan. Gun powder.
| | 800 A.D. | | Porcelain manufactured. First printed book: 868
| | 900 A.D. | S.Sung | Earliest intact porcelains
| | 907 | MAO ET AL EMBRACE THE GLORY, CONQUER, AND CULTURE - REJECT "CLASS PHILOS.
| | 1000 A.D. | Holy Roman Empire | This is the approximate period involved in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, "Writing, the Military, and Culture - Reject "Class Philos."
| | 1100 A.D. | Charlemagne | thought follows classical leads.
| | 1100 A.D. | Alfred the Great | Classics printed. Painting conventionalized: Li Lung Mien; Mi Fei
| | 1200 A.D. | Holy Roman Empire | Gunpowder used in war
| | 1200 A.D. | Crusades | twilight, for small black trans-lation"
| | 1215 | Magna Carta | 1122: Compas used in navigation.
| | 1250 | Genghis Khan | This is the approximate period involved in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, "Writing, the Military, and Culture - Reject "Class Philos."
| | 1300 A.D. | | This is the approximate period involved in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, "Writing, the Military, and Culture - Reject "Class Philos."
| | 1300 A.D. | | This is the approximate period involved in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, "Writing, the Military, and Culture - Reject "Class Philos."
| | 1400 A.D. | | This is the approximate period involved in one of Mao Tse-Tung's favorite books, "Writing, the Military, and Culture - Reject "Class Philos."
| | 1400 A.D. | Gutenberg | Renaissance of Painting: Shun Shih T'ien; Chao Meng Fu; Huang Kung Ming; Wen Cheng Ming; Ch'iu Chai; T'ang Yin
| | 1500 A.D. | Age of Discovery | | Commencing with Yuan Dynasty, and extending into Ming Dynasty
| | 1600 A.D. | Reformation and Religious Wars | | 
| | | | | Yung Lo Encyclopedia
| | | | | 1517 - Portuguese traders come - Tea to England
| | | | | 1592 - War with Japan over Korea
| | | | | Lacquer; porcelains - many colors and designs. A high tide of artistic production
| | | | | WANG'S FAVORITE NOVELS - WAR AND ROMANCE - 
| | | | | WRITTEN IN 17TH CENTURY, APPROXIMATELY
## OUTLINE OF CHINESE HISTORY AND CULTURE
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<th>CHIEF EVENTS, KNOWLEDGE AND ART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1600 A.D. | Reformation and Religious Wars (1644) | Peking 1680 | K'ang Hsi - Patron of arts
|         | Settlement of T'ang Hsi - Patron of arts |                 | Painting imitative; critical scholarship Porcelain process again to Europe Isolation proves impossible. Reluctant trade with West; Ch'ien Lung - Conquers. Period of "Unequal Treaties" - Western ideologies enter -
| 1700 A.D. | American Colonies (CH'ING) | U.S., French & Indust'l Revolts | T'aiiping and other rebellions and uprisings; unrest; warlords Western literature translated [Ours and Chiang-Mag; Sun Yat-sen also Marx] People's Republic 1949 (Civil War) See accompanying Memoranda re Mao, et al views and aims, etc. |
| 1800 A.D. |                         |                  |                                                                                                 |
| 1900 A.D. | World War I (1912) |                         |                                                                                                 |
|         | World War II (1945) |                         |                                                                                                 |
| 1972 A.D. | War with Japan |                         |                                                                                                 |
| 2000 A.D. |                         |                  |                                                                                                 |
CHINESE WINES
CHINESE WINES

Chinese wines of the traditional kind native to China and popular among its people usually are served hot and in small ceramic cups. The most prized kinds are yellow wines derived from grain, including among others, millet and Gao-lyang [Chinese Pinyin name for the tall-growing grain crop which resembles tall corn from a distance, with clusters of brownish grain instead of ears of corn, when ripe]. Grape wines are not native to China. When served there, grape wines usually are imported and in any event represent a non-Chinese gesture. The few grape wines produced in China are of relatively poor quality and are not popular.

One of the most revered and appreciated of the traditional Chinese yellow wines is a product of Chou En-lai's home town, Shao-hsing [Shao-xing, per Chinese Pinyin], in Chekiang Province [Zhejiang Province, per Chinese Pinyin]. That famous wine is called Shao-xing Jiu [Chinese Pinyin]. Pronounce it: "Show [rhymes with "now"]-shing Gee-you." "Show-shing-Gee-you." The last term, "Gee-you," is pronounced rapidly, as one word: "Geeyou."

It is almost inevitable that President Nixon and his party will be served this great wine from Premier Chou's home town. If it is served, it would be appropriate to remark as to the wine's exquisite natural bouquet; its purity of color; and its mellow taste. Shao-xing Jiu truly is a great wine, and has been famous throughout China and Asia for many generations. It is one of Premier Chou's favorites, and he is proud that it comes from his home town. Incidentally, the city of Shao-xing is less than 100 miles southwest of Shanghai.

TYPES OF CHINESE WINES

Note: "Pinyin" is the People's Republic of China's official system for the romanization of their own words. They, themselves, are familiar with the system and can recognize most simple terms using Pinyin. For that reason, many of the Chinese terms used in these memoranda are given in Pinyin.

Gao-lyang or millet wine (strong): Shao-Jiu [pronounce it "Show (rhymes with "now")] -Gee-you," as: "Show Geeyou."

Gao-lyang (of better quality): Gao-yuan-feng [pronounce it "Gow (rhymes with "now")-you-ahn-fung (rhymes with lung), as: "Gow-youahn-fung"
TYPES OF CHINESE WINES (CONT'D)

Yellow wine (made from small yellow millet): Huang-Jiu
[Pronounce it "Who-wang Gee-you," with syllables run together, as "Whowang Geeyou"]

Yellow wine (of better quality): Chen-shao [Pronounce it "Chun (rhymes with gun) show (rhymes with now), as: Chun-show]

Yellow wine (best grade - delicate and old): Hua-tiao
[Pronounce it "Hwah (rhymes with blah)-tee-yow (rhymes with wow), as: Hwah-teeyow"]

Yellow wine from Shao-xing [pronounce it "Show (rhymes with now)-shing, as: Show-shing]. Shao-xing is Premier Chou En-lai's home town, less than 100 miles south of Shanghai, in Chekiang Province (Zhejiang Province, per Pinyin). This is a splendid and famous Chinese wine. See above, initial comments under "Chinese Wines."

This great wine is called: Shao-xing Jiu [pronounce it "Show (rhymes with now)-shing Gee-you," with the syllables run together, as Show-shing Geeyou]

Scented Wines:

Wine scented with rose petals: Mei-qui-lu [Pronounce it "May-gway (rhymes with quay)-loo, as: May-gway-loo]

Wine scented with a kind of citrus from the citron tree, called "Hand of Buddha," or Fo-shou [Pronounce it "Fo (rhymes with blow)-showoo," as Fo-showoo (sound the final "woo" very quickly and lightly). This wine, which has a pleasant mildly sharp aftertaste, is called: Fo-shou-lu [Pronounce it "Fo-showoo-loo"]

Wine scented with fruit rinds (slightly bitter, as with some of our sherry wines): Wu-jia-pi [Pronounce it "Woo-geeYa-pee"]
CHINESE DRINKING CUSTOMS
CHINESE DRINKING CUSTOMS

As with westerners, wines and other spirits may be served at different times. Both with traditional Chinese and with the newer customs under the People's Republic of China, tea is served at most meetings, conferences and visits. Wine and other alcoholic drinks usually accompany or precede meals or banquets, when used at all. Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and his regime, although spartan in dress and living habits [at least, outwardly and as far as public knowledge is concerned], have been lavish as to banquets, feasts and accompanying wines or other spirits.

At more formal dinners, banquets and feasts - and certainly in the Chinese events of that nature in honor of President Nixon and his party, in all events - drinks will be served. Protocol and courtesy in connection with drinking are, in certain respects, universal and common among Chinese, as with us: Total abstinence is unfriendly; and, of course, drunkenness is not acceptable.

Basic Chinese drinking procedures differing from our own customs, with some suggestions, follow:

1. Sometimes, but not always, one is asked by a host as to any preference in drinks. The usual approach, especially at banquets, simply is the serving of wines, without such initial questions. If asked for a preference, it would be gracious to say that one is especially partial "to your Chinese yellow wines." [Avoid the kind or grade, of course, because the named favorite may not be in stock. But if pressed for a preference, it would be appropriate to say something about having heard that the yellow wines from Premier Chou En-lai's home town are very good, and that it would be nice to sample a cup of that famous wine [Shao-xing Jiu, pronounced "Show (rhymes with now)-shing-gee-you, as: Show-shing-geeyou]

2. At banquets, feasts and formal dinners, wines are served as soon as the guests are seated. Usually, at that time, the only food on the tables are such things as nuts, foods and preserves. The drinking begins at that time, and continues throughout the event. Toasts and drinking games occur frequently (see below).

3. Toasts occur formally (and include all present), and informally (and include only one's immediate table companions, or even some individual far down the table or at another table, who may catch one's eye and pantomime the toast, with a raised glass (or wine cup). The procedures, as to toasts, are usually as follows:
3. Toasts, etc. (Cont'd)

(a) Public Toasts

The procedures as to public toasts, that is, toasts involving all of the people attending the event, are similar to those followed in normal diplomatic and international practice.

I suggest, however, that a possibility exists that members of the People's Republic of China side might under certain circumstances offer toasts not acceptable to our side, such as, for example [theoretical, only, but possible] a toast in the Chinese language to some governmental entity we oppose, or for some policy we are against. To avoid inadvertent appearances of joining in such a toast, I recommend the following rules:

(1) All members of the U.S. side should be instructed to watch President Nixon carefully, and if he fails to join in a toast, all members of the U.S. side similarly should fail to join in.

(2) Our advance group [and/or our other sources of communication with the People's Republic of China] should insist courteously but firmly that all toasts and similar remarks must in all instances be interpreted [variously, from Chinese into English and from English into Chinese] simultaneously, via public microphones or loud-speakers, before any toast or similar remarks may be carried out or consummated. It is hoped, of course, that no "slanted" or controversial toasts or similar remarks will occur. But the simultaneous interpretation device can help us in avoiding the potential diplomatic blunder in this situation.

(3) Immediately behind or otherwise accessible to President Nixon, we should have our own chief interpreter, who can give the President a quiet but continuous direct interpretation of all remarks, as made. That will afford the President an opportunity to prepare his reaction or response.

(4) It might be possible to exchange advance copies of all remarks, toasts or similar comments to be made at public events, or at events attended by the press. Even in semi-private events, we must be careful to avoid giving the opposite side a chance to photograph or take motion pictures, or tape, any event which might seem to involve President Nixon or any of his party in approving any unacceptable toast or similar remark.

(5) If any Chinese should propose an unacceptable toast or similar comment, I suggest that rather than
leaving the matter in the cold and stiff atmosphere which will follow a "toast" by our opposites in which our side has refused to join, that President Nixon consider doing something like the following:

(i) Remain seated without raising his glass during the toast; and

(ii) Have all the members of our side remain in a similar posture; and

(iii) Immediately thereafter, or if possible even before the offensive toast can be acted upon, President Nixon might intervene with his own pleasant and tactful amendment to the proposed toast or remark, with a comment such as:

"I regret that our national policy cannot permit us to join in the toast as proposed by our hosts [The reference to "hosts" will be understood by the Chinese as a reprimand, because they, too, feel that a host owes courtesy to his guests]. But I do ask you to let us join you in toasting friendship between the Chinese people and the American people, etc."

Naturally, we hope that no unpleasant gestures will occur in the presence of President Nixon and his party. My estimate is that the People's Republic of China will not permit such a thing. Their tradition is courtesy to guests. If discourtesy is to occur, they usually show it by denying the status of "guest" to the ones involved. That is, the invitation itself would be withdrawn. The Chinese, also, have much at stake in the meeting with President Nixon. So it is not expected that they would use such an occasion to demonstrate to the world any of the churlish traits some of their officials have shown toward us in the past. The shocking rudeness of Huang Hua during the Korean negotiations, for example, was essentially non-Chinese. Even his own interpreter was horified. Such behavior must have been deliberate policy at the time, on Peking's instructions. It could not have been instinctive with Huang Hua. If such discourtesy should be shown our President at this time, it would mark a deliberate and sharp reversal in the present Chinese willingness to renew our dialogue. So I do not expect any such thing. However, it is well to prepare.

(b) Private Toasts

At all Chinese banquets and feasts, private toasts (between individuals, or small groups of individuals) occur at frequent intervals. Such toasting is a part of their drinking ritual. One drinks toasts with immediate dinner companions and also (by pantomime, with raised cup) with individuals or groups at some distance. The ritual is as follows:
(b) **Private Toasts (Cont'd)**

The procedure is initiated either by a host group individual or by a guest group individual.

1. One individual catches the eye of another or calls to him by name, and raises his drinking cup to eye level, saying: **Gan-bei!** [pronounce it "Gan" (rhymes with Don)- Bay, as: Gan-Bay!]. It means, literally, "dry glass," and here it means "let's empty our wine cups together."

2. The responding individual returns the same greeting, **Gan-bei!** [pronounced "Gan" (rhyme it with Don)-Bay, as: Gan-Bay!].

3. Both individuals then should drain their cups.

4. Be careful! Dozens of these individual toasts will occur, and the hot wine is dynamite. Several "hedges" are possible to enable one to last out the evening and remain sober. The informal or concealed hedges, in addition to the usual ones of supplementing heavily with tea and food and faking a bit and occasionally, either with an originally empty or half-empty wine cup, include the following:

   a. Sneak your tea cup into the ritual, especially when your fellow drinker is some distance away; or
   b. "Mouth" the drink, but let most of it remain in the cup; or
   c. If completely unobserved, tilt a bit of each cup quietly onto the floor, by lowering the cup between drinks (or after it is filled) just below table level, between one's legs. [Your fellow drinker will be doing such things to you!]

5. Never fail to raise your cup in return to a toast, and say **Gan-bei** [Pronounced Gan-Bay]; even though you don't drink. And be sure to initiate a few of the toasts, yourself.

6. The following formal or open responses can limit the amount of drinking by you, if and when necessary:

   a. In response to the toast, you can raise your own wine cup (usually, when you have performed fully several times, as above), and instead of saying **Gan-bei** [say it: Gan-Bay], you can reply: **Sui-bian!** [Pronounce it "Sway-byan" - the "byan" rhymes with the French word, bien]. That means, in effect, "Let's each drink as much as he wishes." Literally, it is "Whatever is convenient." After saying Sui-bian, you can just sip or touch the drink to your lips.
(b) Private Toasts (Cont'd)

b. Or, if you are a genuine non-drinker, although you miss some of the fun of the game, it is proper to respond to the toast by lifting your own wine cup in a toasting gesture, and then say: Xie-xie [pronounce it: She-yay She-yay, but run the words together, as: Sh'ay-Sh'yay. It means thank you. Then add the words: Zai-li [pronounce it "Zeye (rhymes with eye)-lee, as: Zeye-lee.""] It is customary to say the phrase twice, as Zai-li, zai-li. The phrase means, "In accordance with [my] principles," and is used comfortably by non-drinkers, such as those with moral or religious scruples as to their own drinking. It is not offensive to the other toaster, but will disappoint him.

(c) Drinking Games

If the event is highly formal, probably no drinking games will occur. But if the occasion is not so formal, or if the hosts and their guests begin to become more friendly and jolly, often the Chinese drinking "finger game" will begin between various pairs of individuals present.

In its simple form, the game is played in the same way as our Western "Stone, paper, scissors game." The procedure in the simple form can be learned at once, and each player can use his own national language, chanting (instead of "stone, paper, scissors," his own language's rendition of "one, two, three." As each number is called out, with deliberate cadence (usually in a loud and determined voice, with the noise directly proportionate to the amount of drinks already consumed), with each player saying the numbers simultaneously, and marking cadence to the numbers, with a clenched fist extended), the players lock eyes. The idea is to try to read the other man's intention, in his eyes - or, perhaps, to "psyche him out," as our teen age kids in America would put it. On the count of three, with the extended fist on its final downstroke, each player opens his hand fully (paper); or extends two fingers, the index and its adjoining third finger (scissors); or leaves the fist fully clenched (stone). As most of us remember from childhood, the winner of that round is then determined as follows: Stone breaks scissors; paper wraps (around) stone; and scissors cut paper. If both players use the same hand symbol (stone, paper or scissors), there is a tie; and the round must proceed again. But if there is a winner, the loser must drain his wine cup at once.

The idea is to win enough to avoid doing all of the drinking. There is a bit of psychology involved, and lots of good will and fun.

The game can be played in a much more complicated way, of course. The Chinese play it with numbers, from zero to ten, and even with multipliers involved, extending various numbers of fingers when they open their fists, and chanting various tradi-
phrases in cadence, based on some of their legends, folklore and salutations. Each such phrase commences with a word which stands for a number from zero to ten. The winner is the one who calls out the traditional phrase for the number resulting from the combined outstretched fingers of the two contestants. Often, a player will add or insert proverbial or legendary phrases of his own. The complicated version of the game also is a delight, with the loser draining his wine cup each time a loss occurs.

If one or more of the dinner events should be relatively intimate and informal, it might be that the simple "stone, paper, scissors" or "one, two, three" versions of the drinking finger game would occur. It is a great aide to a dialogue between people, and assists in developing an easy sense of communication.
TEA DRINKING - MAO TSE-TUNG'S FAVORITE TEA
TEA DRINKING - MAO TSE-TUNG'S FAVORITE TEA

MAO TSE-TUNG AND TEA:

I assume that one of the chief purposes, if not the chief purpose, of President Nixon's plan to visit Hangchow is to meet there with Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his winter resort quarters.

It would be well to remember that one of Chairman Mao's favorite teas is the famous and popular green tea produced for many generations in the West Lake region of Hangchow, known as DRAGON WELL TEA (Long-qinw Cha, pronounced "Loong-ching Cha," with the "Cha" rhyming with "rah," as in rah rah). If Mao serves President Nixon green tea, it would be effective to ask if by chance it is Hangchow's famous Dragon Well Tea. Say Hangchow, as "Hang," rhyming with the first syllable in our word "bongo," used in our phrase "bongo drums." It is a soft or French "Hang," [rhymes with "bong," as in bongo], and the "chow" is pronounced as we would say the name, Joe. So say it thus: Hang-joe.

Chinese teas come in many varieties. The most popular are such green teas as the famous Dragon Well Tea of West Lake region, Hangchow; and the fine yellow or golden teas; and Jasmine Tea, which is also a green tea. JASMINE TEA IS CALLED XIANG-PIAN [pronounce it She-yang (rhyme the "yang" with "bong," as in bongo, and run the two syllables together rapidly, as "Sheyang") - PEE-YAYN (run the Pee-yayn together rapidly, as Peeyan), thus: Sheyang-Peeyayn.] Jasmine Tea is very fragrant, and is popular. The Chinese name for it, XIANG-PIAN, means "fragrant leaves."

Tea is served piping hot, and the teacups usually are filled about two-thirds full. If handed a teacup by ones host with two hands, the teacup also should be accepted with one's two hands. Do not pick out tea leaves from the cup. Just drink them, with the liquid. It is acceptable to drink Chinese tea, when hot, with a slight slurping noise or effect. One may comment on the beautiful color of tea, its clarity, taste and fragrance. Tea was first mentioned in Chinese writings during the TSIN DYNASTY (265 A.D. to about 470 A.D., in the time of the Roman Constantine. In that period (399 A.D.), the Chinese explorer crossed central Asia to India by land, and returned to China by sea. Another point of interest while in Hangchow with Mao is the fact that Hangchow was the capitol, Sung Dynasty, beginning 1127 A.D. [See materials herein entitled Outline of Chinese History and Culture, etc.].

Hangchow historically and today is a great tea producing center, among other things.
APPENDIX
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November 29, 1971

Dear Mr. Hoose:

The President has asked me to respond to your letter of October 15, in which you offer your services for the preparations for the President's trip to China and propose that you be included in the President's entourage for the visit.

You indeed have an impressive background in Chinese affairs, having been born and reared in China and having served in Naval intelligence during World War II. Obviously, you do bring to this question abilities that are not shared by many of our fellow countrymen. I respect and appreciate your offer of assistance in this highly important task before us.

As detailed planning for the President's trip to Peking is only now getting underway it is still uncertain in what way we might most usefully draw upon your background and talents as far as the visit itself is concerned. We do, however, anticipate convening a small and confidential meeting of experts on China outside the government in advance of the trip to gain added perspectives and suggestions on our efforts to establish a dialogue with the People's Republic. I would hope that you might be able to participate in such a confidential meeting; and as our planning proceeds my staff will be in touch with you. In addition, we would welcome any suggestions or recommendations regarding the President's trip to China prior to the meeting.

Best regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. Harned Pettus Hoose
1901 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 440
Los Angeles, California 90067
PERSONAL - CONFIDENTIAL

President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Re: My Offer (On a Voluntary and Highly Confidential Basis) of My Unique and Substantial Help as to Your Peking Journey

Dear Mr. President:

I am trying to find a way to have this and its enclosures reach you personally, because I earnestly believe the contents merit your personal knowledge.

Upon a pragmatic, objective and lawyer-like analysis of my unique background, I believe you may agree that I can greatly enhance your chances for success in Peking or at least can assist in avoiding serious trouble, if you include me on your Peking Journey team.

The reasons are listed below, and are stated in some detail in the enclosures. In short, God and my personal and professional experiences involving China and the Chinese since my birth in China and throughout my life (including my periods in China and Asia as a boy, a student, a U.S. Naval Intelligence Officer and as an attorney for American and Asiatic clients) have taught me to think as the Chinese do, and almost to read their minds. Mr. President, I am reporting to you on this subject as if the report were lawyer to lawyer - and objectively. Below, I shall list some of the advantages and disadvantages of including me on your Peking Journey team, for your analysis.
President Richard M. Nixon  
October 15, 1971
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But I feel you will agree, after considering the enclosed data, that I should be on your team and should be available to assist you and Dr. Kissinger prior to, at and after Peking.

First, as to my identity and credentials:

1. I am a top-rated attorney (A-V per Martindale-Hubbell); head of my law firm (Hoose, Tamraz & Bash, Los Angeles); formerly an associate attorney with O'Melveny & Myers, Los Angeles; have practiced law for almost twenty-three years; and am successful in my profession (income of between $150,000 and $250,000 per year).

2. Some of your top advisers, friends and former or present members of our government, know me well and can vouch for my ability and integrity. They include: Bob Finch; Pat Hillings; Murray Chotiner; and Bob Mardian, among others. My nephew, Geoff Shepard, was a White House Fellow under you for a year and is now serving as a young attorney on the White House staff, reporting to Bud Krogh.

3. You, yourself, possibly might remember me. We met through Phi Alpha Delta law fraternity in San Francisco in 1962. You spoke to our conclave. I had the honor and fun of being the toastmaster. We had a nice visit of an hour or more before and during the banquet on the subject of attorneys and what they can do for their country in public life. You inscribed your Six Crises book to me. In 1964, you were kind enough to assist me in getting my son admitted to Whittier College.

4. My son and his wife were good friends with your niece, Laureen Nixon, during their college years; and Laureen was in our home in Brentwood, L.A., a number of times.

5. As the enclosures reflect, I have been making every effort to communicate with you and/or your immediate advisors with jurisdiction in the China situation area, since July 16th. Naturally, your and your advisors' mail
President Richard M. Nixon
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and other communications are in an over-whelming volume, and you are very busy, to say the least. So I felt very fortunate to have a chance to meet briefly on Columbus Day with Brig. Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., your very able Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs. He indicated that he had examined the enclosures and also that some inquiry as to my background had been made, and was kind enough to say that he would recommend to Dr. Kissinger that I be included on the small and confidential team of "outside experts" with which some China and Peking general background materials would be reviewed, from time to time, before and after your Peking Journey. Naturally, I shall be very happy to be included as a member of that team, and will work very hard and with great care as to any secret aspects, as such a consultant. If I am approved by Dr. Kissinger and you for that work, I shall undertake it with gratitude for the opportunity to help my country, and with enthusiasm.

But I do feel you should also have me accompany you to Peking, Mr. President. I can be of great service to you and our country. Please consider the following advantages or plus items as to such a use of my voluntary services on a highly confidential basis:

1. I was born and raised in China; speak Kuo Yu (Mandarin) very well; and also was a competent reader and writer of Chinese twenty years ago, and am working to achieve my former level in the written Chinese.

2. I have lived over twenty-two years in China and elsewhere in Asia. Eighteen of those years involved my youth there; and four of the years were as an Intelligence Officer with the U.S. Navy, and later, various periods in my law practice for American and Asiatic clients.

3. Peking, China is my "home town." I lived there for almost thirteen years. I worked, played, ate, drank and lived with an among the Chinese. I know them very well. I think as they do - as to thought processes. But I am a very loyal and patriotic American, and am anxious to help U.S.A. at this time.
4. I had top security clearance during World War II and during several years thereafter while I remained in the Naval Reserve (I resigned from the Reserve to practice law). My work was extremely sensitive, and cannot be stated here. It is reflected in my file with the Navy, under Lieut. (Senior Grade) Earned Pettus Hoose, File No. 212334. Anyone examining that file would realize that I have been and can be completely trusted with secret information, and have the training, discipline, integrity and deep patriotism required for the consulting work I seek here.

5. My law practice - often for some of our top companies and some of our top American individuals - has heavily involved me for years in negotiations and dealings with the Chinese - essentially, the "Over-Sea Chinese." As you know, the Chinese tend to dominate the economic lives of many of the nations and countries in Asia and Southeast Asia. In joining together my many years in China with my many years as an attorney, with substantial involvement with and against the Chinese, I believe I have developed some unique abilities to deal with and against, and to understand and communicate with, the Chinese. I have been paid some very high legal fees to exercise those unique abilities. But I do not want financial rewards in this instance. I want a chance to help my country and its President in a critically important and historical task. I believe that God and my life have especially equipped me to serve at this time. I earnestly hope you will call upon me to accompany you to Peking.

6. If I can see and hear our opponents in Peking communicate with you and your Advisers, I am sure that I can help you in understanding them - not their words, since you have excellent interpreters - but their involuntary messages, as shown by facial expressions or lack of them; body language; omissions; pauses; and all of the other special cultural signals, as well as the spoken word. I am very
President Richard M. Nixon
October 15, 1971
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good and am experienced at doing that with Chinese, Mr. President. And also I can assist you in either concealing or manifesting your own various desired non-transmissions or transmissions from or to the Chinese.

7. I believe I am the only American attorney, with top rating and extensive experience with high-level American corporate and business matters and connected negotiations, who also happens to be able to think as the Chinese do; speak Chinese; read a substantial amount of Chinese; find his way readily in Peking and elsewhere in China; and draw upon twenty-two years in China and Asia. Also, I have top security clearance and deep patriotism. I have a proven record of guarding my country's secrets. And, Mr. President, I love my country deeply and want to serve at this critical and historic time.

I promised you the contra arguments: They are somewhat anticipated, above, but of course would include your and Dr. Kissinger's concern for absolute secrecy; the question of whether you would jeopardize such security by involving an "outside" consultant; the fact that I am a registered Democrat; and a natural tendency to keep your Peking team small, compact and limited to long-established aides with known records of loyalty and reliability. I earnestly believe that my special qualifications and my excellent record for security meet and overcome all of the contra points, Mr. President. I want very much to be included on the Peking team. It is like knowing one can kick a 75 yard field goal because of having done so many times, and yet seeing your team line up for the attempt to kick the winning points from the 60 yard line without an experienced kicker. We have a great quarterback in you, Mr. President; and Dr. Kissinger is an able and effective line-backer. But isn't this the time to bring in a kicking specialist?

I don't know yet how to try to get this directly to you. But I shall try. Once on your team, I shall stay within communication channels, because I know how to be a team player. But at this point, please understand my great hope that you,
President Richard M. Nixon  
October 15, 1971  
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personally, can see this letter and its enclosures.

If you and your advisors decide to explore the possibilities that I may help not only with the occasional consultation General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. has said he will recommend to Dr. Kissinger, but also directly with the Peking Journey and its preparation, please have someone call or write me. I would be very pleased to discuss this with you or to explore it further with General Haig or Dr. Kissinger.

Respectfully submitted,

Earned Pettus Hoose
PERSONAL — CONFIDENTIAL
Hand Delivered

Deputy Assistant to the President
For National Security Affairs
The Whitehouse
Washington, D.C.

Re: Our Meeting at Your Office Sometime at
Your Convenience, Monday October 11th
(Arranged Through the Courtesy of Bob Finch)

Dear General Haig:

Bob Finch has advised that you will be able to meet with me sometime this coming Monday, October 11th, and that I am to telephone your secretary, Mrs. Muriel Hartley, Monday morning to arrange the time.

I very much appreciate your courtesy in seeing me, especially on a holiday and at this critically busy time in Dr. Kissinger's and your work.

I am eager to be of service to my country and to the Kissinger team in connection with China; the conference preparations; the Peking conference; and the inevitable post-conference work. You and Dr. Kissinger may feel, after looking through the enclosures and checking my background and record, that I can make a substantial and unique contribution.

General, I am not job hunting, but am volunteering my services to my country in the hope that you can use my special qualifications on a highly confidential basis, possibly for specific missions or assignments, and for consultation. My law practice involves an income of from $150,000 to $250,000. So, I don't seek a salary. But I
do feel on the basis of pragmatic and tough-minded criteria that I can be of great help to you, Dr. Kissinger and our President in dealing with our opponents in the People's Republic, before, during and after the Peking conference.

Further details are set forth in the enclosures, which you might wish to scan before we meet. But the following outline might help you and your staff in evaluating my potential contribution:

1. I was given and held top security clearance during World War II and for several years thereafter, in connection with my work as an officer in U.S. Naval Intelligence. My work was extremely sensitive, and cannot be mentioned here. Rank on my retirement from the Reserve to practice law was Lieut. USNR, File No. 212334. Among other things, I was a Chinese and Japanese language officer. Assignments included the Navy Japanese Language School, Boulder, Colorado; Naval Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Area; Chungking, Kunming and Kweilin, China, on special assignment with Admiral M.E. Miles, USN, in the "SACO" program; and as Commanding Officer of the special Naval intelligence unit stationed with Gen. Chenault's and Gen. Casey Vincent's 38th Composite Wing (Air Force), Kweilin, China. Our over-all Naval unit received a Secret Presidential Unit Citation. I received a Bronze Star Medal during the combat intelligence period in China.

2. I was born and raised in China, the son of Methodist missionaries. I have lived and worked in China and elsewhere in Asia for over twenty-two years. My spoken Kuo Yu or Mandarin is very good, and I am told that I can be mistaken for a Chinese on the telephone. My written Chinese was good twenty years ago, and I am working hard to bring it back. The Chinese characters must be practised, of course, to retain top proficiency; and I have not worked with the characters until recently. I have a smattering of Japanese.
3. Peking, China, is my "home town." I lived there for approximately thirteen years.

4. My law practice in recent years, with currently increasing involvement, has involved representation of a number of U.S. companies and individuals with dealings in Asia. Among others, I have done legal consulting work with the Disney people and with Southern Pacific, with respect to Asia. As my enclosed Resume indicates, I have worked in the legal areas for a large number of substantial business entities, both American and otherwise, in connection with Asia. The work has involved me heavily with and against various "Over Seas" Chinese, who as you know often dominate the business worlds in most of the areas in Asia. I have negotiated with and against various Chinese. And I believe that I know and understand them as if I were one of them, myself.

5. While growing up in Peking, and then while working as an intelligence officer and later, as an attorney, in Asia, I acquired what may be a unique ability which goes far beyond interpreting or translating their words - General, I believe that my twenty-two years of high level law practice and tough negotiating with and for U.S. firms, in combination with my twenty-two years among the Chinese, have equipped me to help you, Dr. Kissinger and our President understand our opponents' non-spoken messages - that is, their own special cultural (and often, involuntary) messages through facial expressions; general attitudes; body language; and the like.

6. While growing up in China, my childhood nurse was Chinese; my earliest friends were Chinese; many of my friends were Chinese; my team mates in sports and also my opponents were Chinese; and I learned to eat, drink, play, work and think as a Chinese. There was one great exception, of course. My parents taught me well and deeply that I am American, that my flag is the American flag, and (in those days) that our government was the U.S. Embassy and its U.S. Marine Guard, and that "home" is the United States.
My Naval file reflects the depth of my patriotism for America. And my loyalty, integrity and professionally honed ability to and habit of guarding secret data similarly are reflected in that file; in my work as a lawyer, with a high national rating ("A-V", which is the top rating in Martindale-Hubbell, the national attorneys' rating source); and in my various friendships and past and present associations with some men well known to you. Included are Bob Finch, Murray Chotiner, Patrick J. Hillings and Bob Mardian, all of whom are close to our President. And incidentally, my nephew (who lived part of his early life with me, and whom I regard as almost a son of mine), Geoffrey Shepard, is currently working as one of Bud Krogh's young lawyers, in the Whitehouse.

7. A number of my childhood friends and highschool companions included some who went to Taiwan; some who came here to the U.S.; and some who remained on the China mainland, and who are variously involved with Mao's government. Similarly, in my work in Hongkong, Singapore, The Khmer Republic, Taiwan and elsewhere, I have encountered Chinese of various loyalties—pro-Mao; pro-Chiang; and allegedly "neutral." As you know from your special sources, of course, all of them basically are Chinese, in the large sense. And the present Chinese communists among other things are essentially "Hans," with the same great pride; the same cultural thrust; the same expansionist motivation; the same "Central Kingdom" syndrome; the same "Emperor Mao" quasi-God mystical centralization; and the same military-control. Although Mao's and Chou's people are communists, and of course have certain added characteristics and semantic practices, they still essentially are "Hans," although increasingly awakened. And I know how to think as they do.

8. General, I have been paid some very large legal fees by American businessmen to help with their negotiations with Chinese, because (as one client has said, affectionately, in view of my 6' 3" height and 225 pound weight) I may be "the biggest Chinese cookie practising law in America."
But none of us lives by bread, alone. And I heartily support President Nixon's Asia and China policies, love my country with all my heart, and earnestly feel that the Good Lord may have prepared me to help my country at this time. The problem has been to apprise my country's leaders of what I can do at this time. I hope you may feel after our conference, and on the basis of the enclosures and the necessary check of my credentials, background and security aspects, that you are warranted in suggesting to Dr. Kissinger and the President that I be included on the Peking team.

Thank you for your courtesy in arranging to see me, and in reading this letter and its enclosures.

Respectfully submitted,

Harlow E. Hoss

Self-typed, in View of Security Aspects.
RESUME AND BACKGROUND DATA

1. Present Position - Law Practice

Senior Partner in the Los Angeles-based law firm, Hoose, Tamraz & Bash.
Specializing in all phases of business and corporate law, with emphasis upon business matters involving the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Orient.

2. Current and Recent Involvement with the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Orient

Was in Japan on a series of law matters for an American client, October 22 through November 3, 1970.
Was in the following areas for various clients during the periods indicated:

- Japan: March 31 - April 1, 1971; and April 22 - May 1, 1971
- Taiwan: April 1 - April 3, 1971; April 22 - April 24, 1971
- Hongkong: April 3 - April 4, 1971; April 16 - April 22, 1971
- Khmer Republic (Cambodia): April 4 - April 11, 1971
- Thailand: April 11 - April 13, 1971
- Singapore: April 13 - April 16, 1971

For many years have represented various American firms doing business in the Far East and Orient.

Was born and raised (American Methodist missionary parents) in China - including childhood and the war years, lived for twenty-two years in the Orient. Prior to the years of law practice, traveled and lived variously throughout the Far East.

Speak fluent Chinese (the Kuo Yu or mandarin dialect, now spoken by the great majority of mainland and overseas Chinese); read Chinese fairly well; and speak and read some Japanese.

3. Representative Clients, Past and Present, With Interests in the Far East and Pacific Areas, Including Southeast Asia

American Allied Properties, S.A. - Hongkong and elsewhere in the Orient
Robert M. Beck Enterprises - Japan and elsewhere in the Orient
3. Representative Clients, Past and Present, With Interests in the Far East and Pacific Areas, including Southeast Asia (Cont'd)

Bushnell Optics - former client - Japan and America
California Khmer Co., - Cambodia and America
Carte Blanche International - Thailand (Cepher Chen Han-Sun, Managing Director)
Cepher Company Ltd. - Hongkong
Diamond Properties, Inc. - America and Orient
Endo Enterprises, Inc. - America and Far East
Ets. Khmer Trading (Wang Fa Leang, Managing Proprietor) - Cambodia
Fenwick of Hongkong Ltd. - Hongkong and Australia
Grace Pharmaceutical (PTE.) Ltd., Singapore
Litton Industries - former client - world wide
Ming Lin Enterprises - San Francisco and Orient
Royal Hawaiian Management Corporation - Hawaii, Hongkong and elsewhere
San Francisco Bay Properties, Ltd. - Hongkong
Soochow University - Los Angeles and Taiwan
Trans Royal International Pacific Co. - San Francisco and Orient
United Meat Packing Co. - San Francisco and Taiwan
Yamaha International - Los Angeles, Taiwan, Korea and Japan

4. Law and Related Background

B.A. Univ. of Southern California, cum laude, 1943
LL.B. School of Law, Univ. of Southern California, 1949
Juris Doctor, Law Center, Univ. of Southern California, 1967
(nunc pro tunc 1949)

During period in School of Law:
Member of the Southern California Law Review, Student
Editorial Board, Vols. XXI, XXII, 1947-1949
Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Southern California Law
Review, 1948-1949
Participant in Moot Court - Finalist
Justice (President), Ross Chapter of Phi Alpha Delta
National Law Fraternity, 1948-1949
Lecturer in Business Law in School of Business Admin.,
University of Southern California, 1947-1949

Law Clerk to Justice Douglas L. Edmonds, Justice of the
Supreme Court of the State of California, 1949-1950
Contemporaneously, Lecturer in Law, Hastings College of Law,
University of California (two semesters)

Lecturer in Law, University of Southern California School of
Law - Graduate and Advanced Professional Program, 1952-1954

Lecturer to Practising Attorneys, California Continuing Education
of the Bar Program, 1958-1959; and 1960

Law Practice, 1949 - 1971 and currently

5. Law Practice

Admitted to State Bar of California, June, 1949; admitted to
practice before all State and Federal Courts, California,
June, 1949; admitted before the United States Supreme
Court, 1958

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5. **Law Practice (Cont'd)**

Associated with the law firm of O'Melveny & Myers, Los Angeles, 1950-1953; Partner in law firm of Combs & Hoose, Beverly Hills, 1953-1957; since 1957 and currently, variously senior partner and/or sole proprietor of Law Offices of Harned Pettus Hoose; Hoose, Perry & Hartman; Hoose & Perry; and (now) Hoose, Tamraz & Bash, all variously in Beverly Hills and Los Angeles, California. Presently, Hoose, Tamraz & Bash offices in the Century City Business District, Los Angeles, California.

**Nature and extent of law practice:** General practice, concentrating in business and corporate law, with particular emphasis upon business matters involving the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Orient. The law firm handles all phases of business-oriented general practice. Hoose's own matters have included office and trial aspects of work in a number of states (with local counsel) and in Washington, D.C., in various courts and before various governmental agencies, including S.E.C., F.T.C., F.C.C., I.R.S. and others.

6. **Bar Activities and Related Background**

- Member of California State Bar Association; American Bar Association; and Los Angeles Bar Association
- Member of American Judicature Society; and American Trial Lawyers Association
- Member, Phi Alpha Delta national law fraternity (Justice, Ross Chapter U.S.C. School of Law, 1948-1949); several times the Master of Ceremonies, Phi Alpha Delta Annual District Conclaves; and in 1962, the Master of Ceremonies at the Conclave at San Francisco's Sheraton Palace Hotel, featuring as speaker, the Hon. Richard M. Nixon.


7. **Published Articles and Works**

In addition to the articles published in the Southern California Law Review, U.S.C. School of Law, while Assistant Editor in Chief during law school days, the following are among the published articles and works by Hoose:

7. Published Articles and Works (Cont'd)

"That the Accused Shall be Defended," L. A. Bar Bulletin, 1953


"California Appellate Practice and Procedure," a syllabus published by the printing office, U.S.C., in connection with its law graduate program

"The Organized Bar in Los Angeles," L. A. Bar Bulletin, 1951, and subsequently included as a chapter in the A.B.A. Survey of the Legal Profession (co-authored by Hoose with the Hon. Clinton Clad, Superior Court Commissioner, L.A.)

"Tweedledum and Tweedledee in California," California laws as to dueling, L. A. Bar Bulletin, 1951


"Cancelled Crosses," Christian Advocate, 1939

"Peking Pigeons and Pigeon Flutes," College of Chinese Studies (affiliated with California College in China), 1938

"Record on Appeal," Continuing Education of the Bar, California, 1966

8. Other Affiliations, Responsibilities and Positions (Variously Past and Present)

Religious affiliation: Methodist
My father was a Methodist minister (Drew Theological Seminary); for over thirty years a Methodist missionary to China; and in that capacity, the Head of the American Bible Society, Peking, China. My mother, also a missionary, was a registered nurse and for many years the Superintendent of Nursing, Methodist Hospital, Peking, China.

Positions (Variously Past and Present)

Chairman, Board of Trustees, Westwood United Methodist Church (Los Angeles), 1962-1963; member, Board of Trustees, 1962-1965

Member, Board of Directors, Isotope Foundation (Under the direction of the Chairman, Willard S. Libby, nobel prize winner for discovery of carbon dating, Hoose is currently a Director, Secretary and General Counsel)

Member, Board of Directors, Friends of Soochow University

Member, Board of Trustees, L.S.B. Leakey Foundation (palaeontology, archeology and studies of ancient man)

Member, Board of Directors, Bleitz Wildlife Foundation

Member, Los Angeles World Affairs Council

Member, Los Angeles Philanthropic Foundation

General Counsel, National Arts Association

Hoose's wife, Georgia Faye (Johnston) Hoose, is a past President of Parents Group of Bonner School, and also is a founding member of National Arts Council and a member of Assistance League of Southern California; Bel Air Guild for Children's Hospital; and The Women's Committee, Southern California Symphony-Hollywood Bowl Association
9. **Family Origin and Background**

The Hooses are of Scotch descent, and first settled in this country in the New York and Pennsylvania areas. A great uncle of Hoose's is Dr. James Harmon Hoose, for whom the Library of Philosophy at the University of Southern California is named.

Hoose's mother's family, named Pettus, is of English descent, and first settled in this country in Alabama and in adjoining states. Ancestors include several state governors and United States Senators. The Pettus Bridge near Selma, Alabama, is named for one of them. The following relatives have been involved deeply with the Orient:

- **Father**: The Rev. Earl Albion Hoose, Methodist minister and for thirty years a missionary to China.
- **Mother**: Saidee Pettus Hoose, for thirty years a missionary to China, and for many years the Superintendent of Nurses, Methodist Hospital, Peking, China.
- **Uncle**: Dr. William B. Pettus, founder and President, College of Chinese Studies, Peking, China, and a resident of China for over thirty years.
- **Cousin**: Franklin Ray, formerly Head of the Far Eastern Section, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
- **Cousin**: Dr. Winston Pettus, Head of Yale-in-China, Changsha, China, for many years.
- **Aunt**: Dr. Charlotte DeForest, founder and President of Kobe College for Women, Kobe, Japan.

10. **Hoose's Birthplace and Early Life**

Born June 2, 1920, at Kuling, on Mount Lu in Kiangsi Province, China.

Highschool: Peking American School, Peking, China, where Hoose's parents moved when he was five years old. Lived in Peking until, at the age of eighteen, Hoose returned to the United States for his college education.

During the World War II against the Japanese, Hoose served as an officer in the U.S. Naval Reserve, with combat against the Japanese at Kweilin, Kunming, and elsewhere in South China. Won the Bronze Star Medal in combat. Returned to civilian status and law school, after the war. Resigned from Naval Reserve after law school graduation, approximately twenty years ago, after having supplemented income from the G.I. Bill during law school by attending Naval Reserve drill sessions throughout Law School. Rank as of date of resignation: Lieutenant Senior Grade, USNR. Duties during World War II combat period were as Chinese and Japanese language officer, and liaison officer between the U.S. Navy and the Fourteenth Air Force.
I. Preliminary Comments

I was very pleased to receive your personal letter of November 29th in response to my letter of October 15th to the President, in which I had offered my services in regard to the preparations for the President's trip to China and also on the trip, itself. You indicated that you anticipate convening a small and confidential meeting of experts on China outside the government in advance of the trip to gain added perspectives and suggestions as to your efforts to establish a dialogue with the People's Republic, and invited me to participate. Also, you stated you would welcome any suggestions or recommendations prior to the meeting.

Naturally, I shall be delighted to participate in the meeting, and am on stand-by for a message from your staff in that regard.

Since receiving your letter, I have done a substantial amount of work in preparing a series of memoranda for your consideration on various aspects of the trip. The memoranda should be completed within the next few days. Although I am well aware that their contents are merely my suggestions and not governmental policy, it is possible that some of the recommendations might become such policy if you and the President should approve of them. Some of the contents of the memoranda are potentially quite sensitive. Please advise as to how I can get the materials to you in a manner which will not jeopardize security. Three alternatives occur to me:

A. Perhaps I could hand deliver them to you or your designee at the San Clemente White House at or about the time of the Sato talks, which I understand will occur around January 3rd. That would afford an opportunity to enlarge on the contents of the memoranda orally, if you should want that; or

B. You may prefer to have me fly to Washington, D.C. with the materials. I would be pleased to do that, if you wish. That also might afford an opportunity for some discussion; or

C. It is possible that you may have some federal office in the Los Angeles area to which I could deliver a sealed envelope, with any appropriate external "Top Secret" or similar
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markings on the envelope as you may instruct, under circumstances which could assure that the envelope would be delivered to you or your staff in a secure manner.

Pending your directions as to a secure means of communications, I shall keep this memorandum relatively general. I plan to mail it to you under a double cover, with the inside cover marked "Top Secret," in the hope that such a procedure will suffice at this stage.

II. Scope and Nature of My Memoranda Now in Preparation

My research and preparation, including the reading or re-reading of a number of relevant works and some substantial study, are now completed. The memoranda are partially done and should be completed within three or four days.

The approach is intended to be practical rather than theoretical. My aim is to supply you and the President with relatively succinct outlines, check-lists, information sheets, suggested comments and rejoinders, and the like, for convenient reference immediately prior to any expected needs. Some of the items are suggested for actual use under circumstances which are likely to arise. Other items are intended as background briefings. Among other things, I have included applicable references and allusions [illustrating or supporting the President's positions] to Mao's own writings and statements, and from the Chinese classics, folklore and proverbs. Some references to Chinese customs and traditions are included. I have stressed the common traits of the American and Chinese people, and include the portions of our past relationships which were friendly. In compiling the materials, I have drawn on my many years of working with and against the Chinese. In anticipation that our hosts may be friendly and relaxed, I have included some materials bearing on traditional Chinese party and drinking games and quips, still popular with the Chinese. And for use in the event our hosts are tart or rude, I have included suggested rejoinders which the President or you could make with dignity.

If you and the President should decide that I can be of value to you in China and include me on the mission team for the trip, I would be able to assist you in China to adapt portions of the following items to various specific situations as and when they occur, very rapidly and in a way which I am sure could be of help to you both in dealing with the Chinese.

The topics and items included in my memoranda now in preparation are the following:

A. Outline of proposed brief initial speech by President Nixon, on his arrival at the airport or elsewhere when first met by appropriate Chinese officials. I have in mind the fact that it will be covered by American and other newsmen, and that the speech might have television coverage. My proposed outline essentially is a good will and warm greetings talk, with
some references to the common bonds between the American people and the Chinese people; some references to Chinese folk tales and proverbs which should be clearly understood both by the Chinese and Western listeners, and yet which are not offensive to our allies in Asia and elsewhere; and a brief statement of our President's purposes in making the journey to Peking. The moment of President Nixon's arrival, of course, will be one of tremendous historical and emotional impact. [We know, of course, that Mao's government has made us the chief enemy of his China, and that his government generally and Mao, himself, in his writings and public announcements, have been and may continue to be our implacable enemies and opponents in Asia. But the Chinese people probably do not have as short memories as Mao might wish, and there is an historical friendship on their part for us. I believe the welcome by the Chinese people will be genuinely warm. In all events, President Nixon's arrival will be regarded as symbolic of the re-opening of a dialogue between two great nations. The impact will be profound in China, here in the U.S. and throughout the world. So the President's speech should have some key phrases, preferably with some Chinese literary or proverbial allusions easily understood by both Chinese and westerners alike]. Some effective key phrases in the nature of inspirational slogans for American and Asian consumption are essential. I have worked hard to prepare some such phrases for your and the President's consideration.

You may feel, as I do, that the secret text of the proposed initial talk by the President should be supplied in advance to the Chinese, if we can do so with certainty that they will honor the advance confidentiality of the speech. If they can see an advance copy, their own speeches for the occasion may be warmer; and the effective and accurate propagation of our President's talk also might be served by the advance copy device.

B. Outline of basic Chinese courtesy and comportment rules for the President and your reference. This is a short list of the chief requirements and taboos. No doubt our State Department has supplied you with such a memorandum. But it is possible that my check list may have a few points you don't have. For example, don't pat a Chinese gentleman on the back or otherwise touch his back or shoulders, however affectionately. And don't ask him directly if it is going to rain. Either the physical act or the question can be a hint that you are cursing him or insulting him. Their old belief - still practiced - is that a turtle's back is moist before it rains, and/or that a turtle can predict rainfall. A turtle, when applied to a man, is an epithet. It equates roughly to a son of a bitch, or worse. Other rules relate to similarly delicate things; to basic courtesy at banquets; and similar things. My brief list of Chinese socials "dos" and "don'ts" includes the main old list and several of the newer communist Chinese requirements and taboos.

C. Some key simple phrases the President and you might wish to have in mind - in Chinese. Mao has been practising some English phrases. You might want a couple of easy remarks to use.

D. Lists of applicable proverbs, classical allusions and Chinese historical references supporting our policies; defending our actions in Asia; and suggesting peaceful dialogues
E. List similar to those described in Item D., supra, but containing materials more critical and tart in nature, for use in the event our hosts become unpleasant in the course of private debate or discussion.

F. Brief descriptions of and excerpts from Mao's favorite books, including:

1. Shui Hu Chuan [called "All Men Are Brothers" in Pearl Buck's translation]
2. San Kuo Chih [Romance of the Three Kingdoms]
3. Hung Lou Meng [Dream of the Red "Chamber"]

My briefs descriptions and references include some references which are relevant to the dialogue we now seek from China, and to the spirit in which President Nixon is undertaking this renewal of our communications with the Chinese people.

G. Some excerpts from Mao's own writings which tend either to support our U.S. views or to recognize the wisdom of communication between the Chinese people and the U.S. people.

As you know, this is a difficult area, because Mao in his writings has been extremely bitter about the U.S.A. His diatribes have been highly insulting to us. No doubt his bitterness is sharpened by our support of Chiang, the Korea war and our Taiwan position, all personally accentuated in his mind by the deaths of two former wives and two brothers, at the hands of Chiang's forces, and the reported death of a son in the Korea war. There may be some element of a degree of senility in his hate writings. That is hard to tell. In any event, Mao is on record orally and in writing in ways which would make it difficult for a westerner to proceed with a friendly relationship. However, and to the degree that he actually governs our future relationships [in the light of his age at this time], we are greatly helped by the present Chinese fear of Japan and Russia, and also by the at least outwardly manifested relative moderation on the part of Chou. In any event, the Chinese way [and what I recommend] is that our President and you ignore Mao's former insulting comments, entirely. Act as if they were not made. And I have culled from all of his works some relatively friendly remarks by Mao, which could be used by the President and you, as appropriate, in conversations and in speeches.

H. Outlines as to some personality and character traits - and applicable life incidents - of Mao and Chou

I. Brief outline of some relevant Chinese cultural and character traits and customs

J. List of some proposed rebuttal points to some expected arguments by our hosts

K. Outline and short descriptions and references - with historical references touching on the U.S.A. or its credo - as to various Chinese monuments and art objects the President and Mrs. Nixon are likely to be shown in Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai

- This list is a very short introduction to Chinese history and culture, and may be of help in having our President and his lady feel at ease as they are shown around
in Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai.

L. Suggested outline and some proposed key phrases and concepts, for a possible major speech by President Nixon at a formal banquet or other large public appearance.

See item A., pp. 2-3, for concepts. This outline contains expanded materials of the same approximate nature as in Item A.

If this major talk should be televised or otherwise reported world-wide, it would be an excellent opportunity to expand the general themes touched upon in the arrival speech; to achieve political and international diplomacy impact for U.S.A. at home and world-wide; and to make any major policy announcement which might be felt in our interest and not unduly offensive to our own people or to our allies.

I would assume that no announcement as to our troops in Taiwan, whether pro or con, would be made from China. However, an announcement as to Vietnam, if in our national interest [and especially if joined in by the Chinese], could be very effective on world-wide television by our President, from Peking. My outline, of course, cannot and does not contain any such materials. My outline suggests some of the cultural, educational and historical materials which could be included, if you and the President should so desire, with some references to Chinese and American history, some of China's traditions, and the like. [Note: The Chinese admire our President Washington, etc.].

Although customarily the Chinese give their visiting high foreign dignitaries a banquet on the evening of their arrival, I would hope this major public or semi-public and hopefully world-wide televised speech by President Nixon could occur near the end of the mission. In that way, the contents of the speech could reflect the progress, if any, of the talks. Psychologically, the speech would be believed by all of its listeners to have more weight if it came near the end of the mission, since it might be assumed that tacitly the contents of the speech were the product of the mission.

I would hope to have a chance to work with you, the President and his regular speech writers on the speech in Peking, where we would have the advantage of the nearly completed talks, in formulating the final version.

M. List of Concrete Proposals Which Could be Made by Us to the Chinese

This list, with some references to Mao's and others' writings and to history, includes a number of things we might offer or agree to do, if the Chinese would reciprocate, but which should not unduly offend our allies (and Russia), including some possible cultural, scientific, medical, and similar joint projects; some further economic ideas; and the like.

N. List of Some Suggested Public Ceremonies in China, Involving Our President and China's Leaders, with Analysis and Comment
N. List of Some Suggested Public Ceremonies in China Involving Our President and China's Leaders, etc. (Continued)

Preliminary Comment:

This memorandum points out the fact that if we can obtain the consent of China, and if you and the President agree with me that great domestic political advantage and international impact can be achieved in this manner, the timing of the President's trip offers a splendid opportunity for certain public ceremonies. The following would enhance the desired dialogue between us and the Chinese; would not be offensive to our extremists of various persuasions in U.S., or to our allies; would not unduly hurt the feelings of the Taiwan Chinese; and would provide a colorful and impressive ceremonial:

(1) Joint public ceremony in honor of George Washington and of Sun Yat-sen, respectively the founding fathers of the United States and of the Chinese "modern government" [sic - to avoid calling it either the People's Republic or the Republic].

The memorandum now in final preparation gives greater detail, but here I can point out the following:

(a) The U.S. will celebrate the birthday of our first President and founding father, also our Commander in Chief during our War for Independence, George Washington, on Monday, February 21, 1972. President Nixon will be in China on that date.

(b) Sun Yat-sen was the first President of China, and is regarded [both by the People's Republic of China and by the Republic of China] as the founding father of modern China. Sun Yat-sen is an acceptable hero both to the non-Communist world and to the Chinese communists. He died in Peking, China, on March 12, 1925. Incidentally, he was first buried in the Western Hills, near Peking. Later, his body was moved to the massive memorial in Nanking, at Purple Mountain there. Various parks, boulevards and monuments throughout China and on Taiwan exist in Sun's honor, sometimes under his other name, Chung Shan chiao and sometimes as Sun Yat-sen or Sun I-hsien (the "mandarin" or Kuo Yu for Yat-sen).

(c) Sun Yat-sen's wife is in China.

(d) It should be appropriate, relatively non-controversial, and a good people-to-people gesture, if President Nixon could join with Mao or Chou in laying two wreaths either at Sun's former grave-site (or any memorial to Sun) in Peking, or even preferably, if the mission could fly to Nanking for the ceremony at the large memorial to Sun, all in honor of both founding fathers: Washington and Sun Yat-sen.
N. List of Some Suggested Public Ceremonies, etc. (Cont'd)

(1) Joint public ceremony in honor of George Washington and of Sun Yat-sen, etc. (cont'd)

(e) Mao has stated in his writings that he has great respect for George Washington; we, of course, have great respect for George Washington; and all Chinese revere the Chinese equivalent of George Washington, Sun Yat-sen. Since Washington's birthday falls on the first Monday President will be in China, and the anniversary of Sun's death falls only about two weeks later, we have a natural basis for a ceremony. Further, the linkage is greater, because Sun Yat-sen was educated (in part) at a missionary school in Hawaii, now one of our great States, and travelled extensively in the U.S. He compared his basic tenets, on Dec-asian, with some of our own - e.g., "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Another good point is the fact that the present Senator from Hawaii, Hiram Fong, is the descendant of Chinese (good point for a Nixon comment during the ceremony, if appropriate).

I believe it is entirely possible that the Chinese would react warmly to a proposal that President Nixon and Chairman Mao (or Premier Chou) jointly place wreaths at Sun Yat-sen's monument and grave, in Nanking (or, if Nanking is not possible, then at his original grave-site or any other appropriate monument, in Peking). It would be great people-to-people relations; could not unduly offend Chiang, et al; and would be an historical event of a high order, long to be remembered by the Chinese people.

(2) Possible ceremony including the two State leaders (President Nixon and either Chairman Mao or Premier Chou) at the great hospital in Peking, formerly called "Peking Union Medical College and Hospital" [founded, built and operated with U.S. funds - Rockefeller Foundation], and now, unkindly, called "Anti-Imperialist Hospital." Perhaps, in conjunction with the announcement of exchanging medical students, or joint medical research, we could have President Nixon and his opposite number appear at the impressive front or in the lovely gardens of the hospital, in memory of the two people's friendship, as shown by their joint medical efforts in the past, and a renewal of such efforts, now [Incidentally, when I was seventeen years old in Peking, I contracted typhus fever before the anti-bodies had been discovered, and was pulled through by Chinese doctors and nurses in that hospital]. It would be great if the Chinese would consent to change the name of the hospital, in honor of President Nixon's visit, to something less hostile than "Anti-Imperialist Hospital." Maybe, they would consent to have it called then and thereafter, "People's Friendship Hospital," or perhaps even, "Sun Yat-Sen and George Washington Memorial Hospital." Note: Sun Yat-sen died of cancer, and great cancer work is in progress now at that hospital.
N. List of Some Suggested Public Ceremonies, etc. (Cont'd)

(3) Ceremony at Yenching University

Yenching University, formerly just West of Peking and now within Peking, was founded and supported by American funds. It is a respected University. Our last Ambassador, J. Leighton Stuart, was once President of Yenching University. He left China on August 2, 1949. At the time, Mao Tse-Tung, angry with the U.S. because of our assistance to Chiang and directly in connection with the U.S. White Paper published by the State Department under Dean Acheson, on August 5, 1949, wrote an article entitled, "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" The article was (for Mao) relatively moderate, although in the main, hostile to Stuart. A footnote to Mao's August 18, 1949 article (p. 433-439, at 439, Vol. IV, Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung), states: "John Leighton Stuart, who was born in China in 1876, was always a loyal agent of U.S. cultural aggression in China. He started missionary work in China in 1905, and in 1919 became the president of Yenching University, which was established by the United States in Peking. On July 11, 1946, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to China. He actively supported the Kuomintang reactionaries in prosecuting the civil war and carried out various intrigues against the Chinese people. On August 2, 1949, because all the efforts of U.S. imperialism to obstruct the victory of the Chinese people's revolution had completely failed, Leighton Stuart had to leave China quietly."

It might possibly be that the Chinese, upon the arrival in China of President Nixon [not only the Chief of State of our country, but also the first United States official to be in China since Ambassador's "quiet departure,"] would wish to symbolize the new effort to establish a dialogue between the American people and the Chinese people by honoring our President in some way at Yenching University.

O. Outline of Some Appropriate Toasts and Ideas as to Some Possible Friendly Events, if Appropriate

Depending on the atmosphere of the mission and whether the situation looks grim and determined at the time, or warm and relatively friendly, I have listed in another memorandum some possible fun which the Nixon mission members might have in Peking.

For example, you might under certain circumstances feel that it might be a good idea to have me train [required preparatory time: about 2 hours] and, hopefully, be one of the bass members of an impromptu quartet or small oriental-type barber-shop singing group, organized among the mission's members. I short order, I could train them to render a loud and enthusiastic version of a couple of songs in Chinese, as a friendly reciprocation with our hosts. I believe Mao and Chou, et al might get a big kick out of that. Also, I would like to teach the members a traditional (and still used) drinking game, for moderate use with that lethal version of booze in China, mao-tai. Again depending on the atmosphere and the degree of formality, the Chinese would tremendously enjoy a pick-up game of basketball (or, perhaps, soft-ball) between some of your mission's younger members (i.e., under 60) and, perhaps, some of the Chinese Foreign Office personnel. This particular memorandum, of course, has many contingencies. But the Chinese, too, are fun-loving - and their people and our fellow Americans would hugely enjoy some fun
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together.

III. Summary

The above suggests the scope and extent of the materials now being completed by me for consideration by you. Hope some of it will be of help to you and the President. I would like very much to have a brief talk with you as to above and also in regard to the contents of the longer memoranda now in preparation, if possible. Regardless of the procedure you select for transmitting the materials, I hope we can confer briefly, at least, either in San Clemente while you are here, or in Washington, D.C., at some time convenient to you. I am looking forward to the session you mentioned in your November 29th letter to me, also. And I hope very much that after we have met and when you have had a chance to examine my memoranda you will conclude that I am needed with you and the rest of the team in China. I am sure I can be of substantial help to you and the President, both in China and here with respect to China. In the meantime, thank you for including me as one of the pre-trip confidential commentators.

Best regards,

Harned Pettus Hoosie