

Nixon's "Long March"  
(Title of TV documentary,  
filed Nixon 24 Sep 71)

Nix Ad  
✓ Nixon  
China file

file 15 Jul 71

1950's "Twenty years ago Nixon was roaring that if Taiwan fell, 'the next frontier is the coast of California.' Ten years after that he was still insisting that recognition of Red China would be 'detrimental to the cause of freedom and peace.'" Hugh Sidey, Life Magazine 30 Apr 71 (original, China file; copy, this file)

1951 "The record shows that at the height of the Korean war in 1951 then-Senator Nixon, already a veteran hunter of domestic Communists, was denouncing the Chinese Reds and blaming the Democrats for having 'lost' China. He continued to warn against any step as recognition of China or a United Nations seat for Peking in the days of

\* INSERT # 9  
1960 his vice presidency under President Eisenhower.\* But by 1960, and his unsuccessful presidential campaign against John F. Kennedy, there had been a softening in his rhetoric. In the fall of 1960, he was saying 'our attitude toward China should not be rigid. We cannot and should not say we will never recognize the government that rules over 600 million people.' After a seven-year political hiatus, he went into  
1968 the 1969 presidential campaign declaring that the time had arrived 'to come urgently to grips with the reality of China.' Looking toward eventual talks with Chinese leaders, he said: 'Taking the long view, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors.' After entering the White House Mr. Nixon moved cautiously, relaxing trade and travel restrictions .... "

SFChronicle, from L.A. Times Svc, 17 Jul 71

INSERT # 7 (26 Nov 68)

1968? "Even before he reached the White House, Mr. Nixon had made it clear that he had put behind him his once fervent conviction that dealings with Peking would only increase its power and 'probably irreparably weaken' its non-Communist neighbors.... Moreover, Mr. Nixon decided that he could succeed in overtures to Peking where the like-minded Administrations of [Kennedy and Johnson] had failed - partly because he could more easily overcome the political barriers that he and other Republicans had erected against such a policy in the nine-teen-fifties." ["Because of his anti-Communist background, he could pull it off more easily than others, he told people around him." - Hugh Sidey, above.]

Max Frankel, NYTimes 17 Jul 71 (China file)

# 7 (WITHIN 2 WEEKS OF INAUGURATION)

4? Feb 69 "Fifteen days after he took office [20 Jan], Nixon forwarded a memo to [Kissinger]. 'I think we should give every encouragement to the ideas that this Administration is seeking rapprochement with the Chinese,' he wrote. He then ordered a major review  
Early 69 of China policy. .... The Chinese were first contacted early in 1969 through French President Charles de Gaulle. Other European intermediaries were subsequently called upon to transmit messages to Peking."

Jack Anderson, Parade, 6 Feb 72

INSERT # 2 (FEB 69) ✓ # 11 # 7

Summer 69 "As for Rumania, we must remember that Nixon's journey to Peking really began at Bucharest in the summer of 1969. Kissinger gave Nixon good advice when he pointed to Ceausescu as the right man to initiate a diplomatic escalation among the dissidents from the Soviet Union. It is no secret that Ceausescu is the most important figure in the preparation of the thaw between the United States and China." Saturday Review 14 Aug 71, from Corriere della Sera, undated (China file)

# 7 (SUMMER 69) (AUTUMN, LATE OCT 69)

# 7 (3, 12 DEC 69)

INSERT # 1 (WINTER 69) # 7 (20 FEB 70)

Nixon's "Long March" - 2

file 15 Jul 71

#7 (8 JAN, 19, 20 FEB, 29 APR, 9 JUN 70)  
INSERT # 2 (1970)    INSERT # 3 (SUMMER 70)  
#7 (OCT 70, 25, 26 OCT 70)

26 Oct 70 "Administration officials disclosed yesterday that Romania is serving as a principal channel in conveying to the Chinese the U.S. desires and intentions for an improved relationship [with China]. Diplomats said that Romania, which sought to play a similar role in 1967 and 1968, agreed to serve as a diplomatic channel to Peking for the U.S. after a White House conference here last October 26 between President Nixon and President Nicolae Ceausescu."

SFChronicle, from NYTimes Svc, 27 Apr 71  
(China file)

26 Oct 70? "Romania most certainly was an important channel. President Ceausescu has visited both Peking and Washington within the last year. It was in toasting him at the White House that Mr. Nixon first referred to mainland China as 'The People's Republic' rather than 'Red' or 'Communist' China. The toast was only one of a series of signals to Peking - a signal dismissed as unimportant in this country but not in China."

Kenneth Crawford, Washington Post 26 Jul 71  
(China file)

26 Oct 70? ".... that delicate and deliberate gambit of using the phrase 'the People's Republic of China' rather than 'Red China.' Nixon himself penned that into his toast to Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu. American journalists missed the significance of it. Nixon's men made certain the Romanians did not. They pointed it out to Ceausescu, knowing the word would go quickly to Peking."

#7 (10-15 NOV 70) (LATE NOV 70)  
INSERT # 5 (18 DEC 70)  
INSERT # 4 (DEC 70, JAN 71)

Hugh Sidey, Life Magazine 30 Apr 71  
(original, China file; copy, this file)

Jan 71 "It now appears that the first messages passed between the White House and the Forbidden City as long ago as last January."

Joseph Alsop, SFChronicle 21 Jul 71

20 Jan 71 "When Congress convened Jan. 20, [Democratic leader Mike Mansfield] and Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott telephoned Nixon to ask his desires in the new session. 'My desire is to visit mainland China,' Scott said Nixon replied."

Walter R. Mears, SF Sunday Examiner & Chronicle  
18 Jul 71

25 Feb 71 Nixon, in State of the World Message, refers to China as the People's Republic of China. "A subtle compliment, the first of its kind by an American President."

NYTimes 26 Feb 71

8 Mar 71 Nixon: "We must ... open the door of cooperation to China."

#12 (SPRING 71)

Intv by C.L. Sulzberger, NYTimes 10 Mar 71

15 Mar 71 U.S. lifts ban on travel by Americans to China.

NYTimes 16 Mar 71 (China file)

INSERT # 6 (21 MAR 71) #7 (22 MAR 71) (FIRST 1/2 OF APR 71)

Apr 71 "Intensive negotiations ... had been going on between the two countries since April."

SFChronicle, from NYTimes Svc, 17 Jul 71

10 Apr 71 U.S. ping-pong team visits Peking.

China file

11 Apr 71 Nixon says he advised Tricia (this date) to go to China on honeymoon. "I hope they do. As a matter of fact, I hope sometime I do."

SFChronicle, from L.A. Times Svc, 17 Jul 71

- 14 Apr 71 "President Nixon announced five major actions today to improve relations with Red China, featuring an easing of the trade ban on non-strategic goods [and including relaxation of currency controls, expedition of visas, etc.]"  
Oakland Tribune 14 Apr 71 (China file)  
INSERT # 6
- 28 Apr 71 "Secretary of State William P. Rogers said today that the United States would 'very much favor' an exchange of journalists, students and professional people with Communist China in the near future. He also said a visit to mainland China by President Nixon 'might well be possible ... down the road a piece' if relations between Washington and Peking continued to improve .... "  
Terence Smith, NYTimes (China file)
- 7 May 71 "The United States today removed all controls on the use of American dollars in transactions with mainland China. .... Later a State Department spokesman ... also said that following high-level review there will be further announcements regarding direct trade with China."  
New Orleans States-Item 7 May 71 (China file)
- Jun 71 President Nicolae Ceausescu visits Peking early in June.  
NYTimes, from Agence France-Presse, 7 Jun 71  
(China file)
- 9 Jul 71 Kissinger arrives in Peking on secret visit, returns to U.S. 13 Jul 71.  
SFChronicle, from NYTimes Svc, 17 Jul 71  
# 13 (Jul 71)
- 15 Jul 71 Nixon announces visit to China "at an appropriate date before May, 1972."  
Transcript of announcement, NYTimes 17 Jul 71,  
filed 15 Jul 71
- 16 Oct 71 Kissinger leaves for China, two days before opening of U.N. debate on admission of China; to arrive in Peking 20 Oct (local time?) for four-day visit.  
Memo, this file 16 Oct 71  
~~# 14 (Oct 71)~~
- 25 Oct 71 China admitted to United Nations, on vote taking less than three hours. Kissinger, having prolonged his stay, still in Peking when voting is begun; leaves for airport but plane remains on the ground as voting proceeds.  
Memo, this file 16 Oct 71  
# 14 Oct 71)
- 29 Nov 71 White House announces Nixon will visit China beginning 21 Feb 72. [21 to 28 Feb.]  
China file
- Jan 72 Chou tells French parliamentary group visiting in Peking, Feb 72: "Mr. Nixon is welcome in China because he expressed the wish to come. He suggested a meeting in Washington, but we never go where Taiwan is represented."  
Milt Freudenheim, Chicago Daily News, Paris,  
as carried by SFExaminer 20 Feb 72.

- # 1 Winter 69 "Anyone who wants to understand President Nixon's historic trip to China will do well to consider its remote origins. In a very real sense, these origins go back into the period when the President and his staff were settling into the White House in the winter of 1969."  
Joseph Alsop, SFChronicle 18 Feb 72 (China file)
- #2 1970 "It may be relevant to mention - and this is not a part of my talk with Chairman Mao - that foreign diplomats in Peking were aware last year that messages were being delivered from Washington to the Chinese government by certain go-betweens. The purport of such communications was to assure Chinese leaders of Mr. Nixon's 'new outlook' on Asia. Nixon was firmly determined, it was said, to withdraw from Vietnam as speedily as possible, to seek a negotiated international guarantee of the independence of Southeast Asia, to end the impasse in Sino-American relations by clearing up the Taiwan question and to bring the People's Republic into the United Nations and into diplomatic relations with the United States.  
"Two important Frenchmen were in China in 1970. The first was André Bettencourt, the ministr of planning, the second was Maurice Couve de Murville, premier under De Gaulle's regime. M. Couve de Murville completed arrangements for a visit to China by General de Gaulle which was to have occurred this year. It was to General de Gaulle, I was authoritatively informed, that Mr. Nixon had first confided his intention to seek a genuine détente with China. Some people had anticipated that De Gaulle, during his visit, would play a key role in promoting serious Sino-American conversations. Death ruled otherwise." [Nixon visited France Late Feb 69.]  
Feb 69? Edgar Snow, Life Magazine Apr 71 (China file),  
written after six-month stay in China in 1970 (?)
- # 3 Summer 70 "Less than a year ago ... in the midst of the Middle East crisis - the President leaned back in his chair in the Oval Office, picked up a paperweight and thumped the top of his desk with it. 'Russia isn't going to make any effort to get China into the family of nations. It is up to the United States. We have got to start the dialogue. Maybe it won't happen in five years, maybe not even in 10 years. But in 20 years it had better be, or the world is in mortal danger. If there is anything I want to do before I die, it is to go to China. If I don't, I want my children to.'  
Hugh Sidey, Life Magazine 30 Apr 71  
(original, China file; copy, this file)
- # 4 Dec 70 "The head of one European mission in Peking, who had already made one trip to see President Nixon, returned to Washington last December. He bypassed the State Department to confer at the White House, and was back in China in  
Jan 71 January. From another unimpeachable diplomatic source I learned, not long before my departure from Peking in February [1971], that the White House had once more conveyed a message asking how a personal representative of the President would be received in the Chinese capital for conversations with the highest Chinese leaders. About the same time, I was enigmatically told by a senior Chinese diplomat who had formerly maintained quite the opposite, 'Nixon is getting out of Vietnam.'  
Edgar Snow, Life Magazine 30 Apr 71 (China file)
- # 5 18 Dec 70 "[Mao Tse-tung, in our conversation 18 Dec 70,] said the foreign ministry was studying the matter of admitting Americans from the left, middle and right to visit China. Should rightists like Nixon, who represented the monopoly capitalists, be permitted to come? He should be welcomed because, Mao explained, at present the problems between China and the U.S.A. would have to

be solved with Nixon. Mao would be happy to talk with him, either as a tourist or as President."

Edgar Snow, Life Magazine 30 Apr 71 (China file)

- # 6 21 Mar 71 "Ambassador George Bush, new United States delegate to the United Nations, said yesterday the Nixon Administration is conducting a high level review of its policy toward the admission of Communist China into the U.N."  
SFChronicle 22 Mar 71 (China file)
- # 7 Article by Tad Szulc, "The China Negotiations, From a Hope to Reality," gives chronology of backstage negotiations. Szulc says France, Rumania and Pakistan played key roles.  
NYTimes 15 Feb 72
- # 8 Ross Terrill lists as gestures made by Nixon (giving no dates): "Ending regular patrolling of the Taiwan Strait by Seventh Fleet; easing travel and trade restrictions; using the name 'People's Republic of China'; ending Taiwan-based reconnaissance flights over China; discouraging U.S. oil companies from exploring for oil in the area of the Tiao Yu (Senkaku) islands; deciding not to relocate Okinawa's tactical nuclear weapons in Taiwan; and others."  
Ross Terrill, second of two articles,  
NYTimes 17 Feb 72 (China file)
- # 9 (Mar? 60) Don Oberdorfer says that in 1960, "in another presidential election year," Nixon, then Vice President, planned to visit China; quotes George Dixon (in Washington Post column, 28 Mar 60) as saying Secretary of State Christian A. Herter was "unofficially lending his good offices to clear it ... at the other end with ... Mao Tse-tung." Sen Warren Magnuson says (25 Feb 72) that at that time he and Sen. Clair Engle wanted to visit China to study possibility of trade in non-strategic materials; when they heard of planned Nixon trip they informed the State Department they would raise objections if Nixon were permitted to go and they were not. Nixon trip did not take place.  
Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post 26 Feb 72
- #10 Feb 69 "Within two weeks of my inauguration ... I ordered that efforts be undertaken to communicate our new attitude through private channels and to seek contact with the People's Republic of China. .... In February, 1969, I also directed that a comprehensive National Security Council study be made of our policy toward China, setting in motion a policy review process which has continued throughout these past three years. We addressed both the broader ramifications of a new approach and the specific steps to carry it out."  
Nixon, in "State of the World" message to Congress, 9 Feb 72, filed Nix Ad 10 Feb 72.  
For details see clipping.
- #11 Early 69 "Retracing the events that led to the President's China trip, [Ross] Terrill reports that Mr. Nixon initially expressed his hope to visit China to French President Charles de Gaulle in early 1969. De Gaulle relayed the message to the Chinese through his ambassador in Peking, Etienne Manac'h."  
Stanley Karnow, Washington Post 19 Mar 72
- #12 Spring 71 "Early last spring, before the President's visit was organized, the Chinese were close to inviting prominent Democratic senators to China. Among those in line for invitations were Sens. George McGovern and Edward Kennedy [each a possible opponent in 1972 election]. But, according to Terrill, the idea was dropped when plans for Mr. Nixon took shape."  
Stanley Karnow, Washington Post 19 Mar 72

#13 Jul 71 "Administration contentions to the contrary [Ross] Terrill claims to have learned from 'fragments of information' that the question of Peking's admission to the U.N. was a crucial item in the talks between Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Kissinger during their first encounter in July. ... Kissinger ... told Chou, according to Terrill, that the United States would back Taiwan's attempt to remain in the U.N. but 'did not know' if this effort would succeed. As Terrill describes it, the administration's uncertainty about the result of the vote constituted an oblique signal to the Communists that the United States was 'shadowboxing' rather than fighting strenuously to defeat the Chiang Kai-shek regime."

Stanley Karnow, Washington Post 19 Mar 72

#14 Oct 71 "More significant in Terrill's estimation was the timing of Kissinger's second visit to China in October. As he relates it, the Chinese not only scheduled the visit to coincide with and thus sway the U.N. vote but kept Kissinger in Peking two additional days should a 'slipup' occur."

Stanley Karnow, Washington Post 19 Mar 72

See also Memo filed Nix Ad 16 Oct 71  
1 Dec 71