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File Folder **FOIA** CHINA TRIP 1984 (1)

F02-019/1

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			15	
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
32552 MEMO	ROBERT C MCFARLANE TO THE PRESIDENT, RE TRIP TO CHINA	2	3/7/1984	B1
	R 12/2/2011 F2002-019/1			
32553 AGENDA	FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA	11	ND	B1
	R 12/2/2011 F2002-019/1			
32554 PAPER	PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CHINA TRIP	21	ND	B1
	R 2/1/2008 NLRRF02-019			

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DRAFT SUMMARY SCHEDULE TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO CHINA

F: 11. 11. 7. 7.

Reflecting Changes of 3/5 Meeting with Michael K. Deaver

HIGHLIGHTS:

- Retains Xi'an, but deletes Official Luncheon in Xi'an.
- Deletes Great Wall.
- Adds The Forbidden City.
- 4. Deletes staff time between Great Hall Speech, Meeting with Zhao and Meeting with Hu.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1984

2:05 p.m. Arriv	e Beijing,	China.
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3:00 p.m. Arrival Ceremony.

3:15 p.m. Meeting with President Li (30 mins.).

3:50 p.m. Depart for Diaoyutai.

4:05 p.m. WASHINGTON WORK (2 hrs. 45 mins).

7:00 p.m. Dinner hosted by President and Mrs. Li.

9:00 p.m. Return to Villa 12.

RON- DIAOYUTAI GUEST HOUSE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1984

Breakfast Meeting. 8:30 a.m. 9:10 a.m. Depart for Great Hall. 9:30 a.m. Meeting with Premier Zhao (1 hr. 30 mins.). Depart for Diaoyutai. 11:05 a.m. 11:20 a.m. Private Lunch WASHINGTON WORK (1 hr. 45 mins.) Depart for Great Hall. 1:10 p.m. Major Address (20 mins.). 1:30 p.m. Meeting with Premier Zhao (1 hr.). 2:00 p.m. Meeting with General Secretary Hu (1 hr.). 3:15 p.m. Depart for Diaoyutai. 4:20 p.m. WASHINGTON WORK (2 hrs. 5 mins.). 4:35 p.m. Depart for Great Hall. 6:45 p.m. Welcoming Banquet, The Great Hall of the People. 7:00 p.m. 10:05 p.m. Depart for Diaoyutai. Arrive Diaoyutar. 10:20 p.m.

RON - DIAOYUTAI GUEST HOUSE

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1984

- 8:30 a.m. Breakfast Meeting, Diaoyutai.
- 9:05 a.m. Interview with CCTV, Diaoyutai, (40 mins.).
- 10:10 a.m. Depart for Great Hall.
- 10:30 a.m. Photo opportunity with Chairman Deng (10 mins. w/Mrs. Reagan)).
- 10:40 a.m. Meeting with Chairman Deng (1 hr. 20 mins.).
- 12:05 p.m. Working luncheon with Chairman Deng (1 hr.).
 - 1:15 p.m. Depart for the Forbidden City.
 - 1:20 p.m. Tour the Forbidden City.
 - 1:50 p.m. Depart for Diaoyutai.
 - 2:05 p.m. Arrive Diaoyutai.

WASHINGTON WORK (4 hrs. 25 mins.).

NOTE: CCTV interview could be scheduled during WASHINGTON WORK time, allowing more free time in morning.

- 6:35 p.m. Depart for Great Wall Hotel.
- 6:55 p.m. Arrive Great Wall Hotel.
- 7:00 p.m. Reception with American Community, Great Wall Hotel.
- 7:35 p.m. Reciprocal Dinner, Great Wall Hotel.
- 9:35 p.m. Depart Great Wall Hotel.
- 9:55 p.m. Arrive Diaoyutai.

RON - DIAOYUTAI GUEST HOUSE

SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1984

10:50 a.m.	Depart	Diaoyutai.
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11:25 a.m. Ar	rive :	Beijing	Airport.
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11:30 a.m. Depart for Xi'an.

1:05 p.m. Arrive Xi'an.

1:10 p.m. Depart for Gaoling County Free Market.

1:40 p.m. Tour Gaoling County Free Market.

1:55 p.m. Depart for Qin Shi Huang Mausoleum.

2:25 p.m. Arrive Qin Shi Huang Mausoleum to view terra cotta soilders, museum, etc.

3:00 p.m. Depart for airport.

4:30 p.m. Arrive airport.

4:35 p.m. Depart Xi'an.

6:00 p.m. Arrive Beijing.

6:05 p.m. Depart for Diaoyutai.

6:40 p.m. Arrive Diaoyutai.

Evening Free.

RON - DIAOYUTAI GUEST HOUSE

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1984

- Morning Private Breakfast.
- 8:45 a.m. Depart for Great Hall.
- 9:00 a.m. Signing Ceremony, The Great Hall of the People.
- 9:30 a.m. Official Farewell, The Great Hall of the People.
- 9:45 a.m. Depart for Beijing Airport.
- 10:15 a.m. Arrive airport.
- 10:20 a.m. Depart for Shanghai.
- 12:30 p.m. Arrive Shanghai.
- 12:35 p.m. Depart for Foxboro Company.
- 12:55 p.m. Arrive Foxboro Company.
 - 1:00 p.m. Briefing.
 - 1:10 p.m. Tour of Equipment Displays.
 - 1:15 p.m. Tour of Production Facility OR Machine Shop.
 - 1:30 p.m. Depart for Jing Jiang Guest House.
 - 1:50 p.m. Arrive Jing Jiang Guest House.
 - 1:55 p.m. WASHINGTON WORK (30 mins.).
 - 2:30 p.m. Depart for Fudan University.
 - 2:55 p.m. Arrive Fudan University.
 - 3:00 p.m. Reception hosted by President, Fudan University.
 - 3:30 p.m. Visit with Chinese students (brief remarks, Q&A).
 - 3:50 p.m. Proceed to Auditorium.
 - 3:55 p.m. Arrive Auditorium and proceed to holding room.
 - 4:05 p.m. Proceed to dais.
 - 4:10 p.m. Major Address, Fudan University (20 mins.).
 - 4:35 p.m. Depart for Jing Jiang Guest House.
 - 5:00 p.m. Arrive Jing Jiang Guest House.
 - 5:05 p.m. WASHINGTON WORK (1 hr. 45 mins.).

6:55 p.m. De	epart	for	Shanghai	Exhibition	Hall.
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7:00 p.m. Official Banquet.

8:35 p.m. Depart for Jing Jiang Guest House.

8:40 p.m. Arrive Jing Jiang Guest House.

RON - JING JIANG GUEST HOUSE

TUESDAY, MAY 1, 1984

Morning Private Breakfast.

9:00 a.m. Depart for Rainbow Bridge Township.

9:15 a.m. Arrive Rainbow Bridge Township.

9:20 a.m. Briefing in Administration Room.

9:35 a.m. Proceed to Child Care Center.

Arrive Child Care Center. 9:40 a.m.

Performance by Kindergarten children. 9:45 a.m.

10:00 a.m. Proceed to private residence.

> Motorcade will stop near field where farmers will be working.

10:20 a.m. Depart for Shanghai Airport.

10:30 a.m. Arrive airport.

10:35 a.m.

CROSS

3:00 a.m.

4:00 a.m.

2:40 p.m.

2:45 p.m.

3:00. p.m. Arrive South Lawn.

Depart Elmendorf AFB for Andrews AFB.

Arrive Andrews AFB.

Depart Andrews AFB. Open dard @ Fairbanks

Open dard @ Fairbanks

Mark De 2 may 2 may

F. Yima

THE WHITE HOUSE

3255-



WASHINGTON

March 7, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT:

Your Trip to China - Annotated Agenda

Issue

To acquaint you at an early stage with some of the themes and objectives which we propose for your major substantive meetings and public statements in China.

Discussion

During the recent pre-advance trip to China, NSC staff, working closely with Mike Deaver's people and State, prepared the attached agenda of your April visit. For the purpose of this exercise we have assumed that you make a three city visit -- Beijing, XI'AN and Shanghai. As you are aware we are still negotiating the final schedule with the Chinese.

The schedule is a challenging one. On the second day, for example, you will have three major meetings -- two with Premier Zhao and one with General Secretary Hu. Your most important substantive meeting will be with Chairman Deng on the following day. The Chairman has also extended an invitation to you for a working lunch.

In addition to these substantive meetings, you will have the opportunity to make three public statements in China -- two speeches and one televised interview. The gestures the Chinese have made in terms of meetings, your public statements and social events, clearly demonstrate that they want your trip to be successful.

RECOMMENDATION

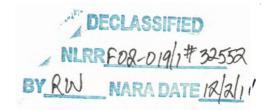
OK No

___ That you review the attached annotated agenda.

Prepared by: William F. Martin

SECRET

Declassify on: OADR



2

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Attachments:

Tab A Annotated Agenda

cc: Vice President
Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker III
Michael K. Deaver

SECRET

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA

Annotated Agenda

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

2:05p.m.

Arrive Beijing from Guam - No remarks.

3:00p.m.

Welcoming Ceremony - No remarks.

3:15p.m.

Meeting with Li Xiannian (30 minutes) -- Li is the recently elected "President" of the PRC. Despite his title, he does not have power at all to commensurate with the other leaders the President will meet. Still, Li plays an interesting and sometimes mediating role among top Chinese leaders. Although primarily a courtesy call, this is an important tone-setting meeting. Li is not very well disposed to the US. He is a Stalinist economist and believes the US is exploiting China relationship for our own benefit. (He can be blunt, but has a sense of humor.) Li may also expand on Sino-Soviet relations and the evils of the USSR.

The President should remark that he has looked forward to coming to China, and while we have differences, our common interests outweigh those differences. We need to work harder to improve understanding of each other's governmental and social systems to reduce discord and open up new opportunities for strengthened economic and security ties.

7:00p.m.

Private Dinner hosted by Li with Zhao attending. (Yang Yuan Hall, 40-50 people) Toast: 5 mins. This is the President's first public statement in China, aired live on US morning shows and possibly on CCTV. The dinner is a very special occasion and the President should note his appreciation and call attention to the beauty of the setting: a typical Chinese garden and hall. The toast should be warm and personal (in contrast with the more formal toast the following night at the official welcoming banquet).

The President should emphasize the pleasant experience of his meeting with Li and recall meetings with Zhao in Washington. He should also provide an overview of the objectives of his visit to China (i.e. build bilateral DECLASSIFIED

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relations on the basis of mutual respect; cooperate in China's economic modernization; pursue partnership for peace). It would be useful to inject a note of humor. Note: Preprinted translations of texts to be distributed; half-sheets.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

9:30a.m.

First Meeting with Zhao. (90 minutes) This meeting should focus on strategic/global issues with the second meeting focused on the bilateral relationship. The President should initiate the discussion by encouraging Zhao to reflect upon his successful trip to the U.S. This is important in setting the tone for the meeting. The overriding theme should be the need for a close US-China consultative relationship at the highest level to pursue shared responsibilities for world peace and prosperity. Our objectives for the meeting should be to:

- o review the general international situation, long-range trends and current trouble spots;
- o review relations with Soviets post Andropov (seek to move forward on arms control, diminish tensions);
- o emphasize importance of Pacific ties (President's personal interest in concerns of the Pacific Basin communities);
- o reaffirm common approach to Afghanistan and Kampuchea;
- o mutually advance peaceful and stable situation on Korean peninsula (some specific proposals to achieve this goal);
- o review Middle East situation (potential expansion of Iran-Irag war);
- o review international economic/financial situations (strength of US recovery, European Summit, Third World debt).

NOTE: It is possible that Zhao will wish to raise Taiwan in this initial meeting. The President should be prepared to respond.

1:30p.m.

Major address (15-20 min.) at Great Hall. The host will be Professor Zhou Peiyuan, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences and Vice Chairman of National People's Congress.





Major theme: expansion of economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation will help build a better life and a more prosperous, optimistic future for both our peoples. The President's speech can develop this theme by elaborating on the following points:

- o The US and China share a fundamental objective of economic prosperity aimed at improving the welfare of our citizens;
- O Chima's modernization is in our mutual interest -our capabilities and expertise complement one another;
- o Close bilateral cooperation already exists (trade, science, technology and cultural cooperation, energy, people exchanges) and should be expanded;
- o China's modernization efforts, (incentives, responsibility system, etc.) have already improved the welfare of the people;
- o Potential contributions of U.S. private sector to China's modernization are vast and largely untapped (e.g. U.S. already the largest foreign investor of joint venture capital in China, energy and agriculture, etc.);
- o China's attempt to attract foreign trade credit and investment is central to realizing a prosperous future relationship;
- o The Dalian management program unites the best of Eastern and Western management. Solid management techniques which promote human initiative are key to unlocking the great potential of the Chinese people;
- o The President might wish to conclude with an upbeat prognosis of US/world recovery, placing emphasis on the importance of Third World development.

NOTE: A pre-printed, translated text will be distributed.

2:45p.m.

Second Meeting with Zhao (Bilateral issues -- 60 minutes) the President should reaffirm that the US-China relationship be viewed as one of equality and mutual respect.

If Taiwan is raised at either the first or the second meeting, the President should reaffirm our various commitments and stress the need for patience, appreciation for the other side's domestic considerations, and the merits of quiet diplomacy. Our policy is reasonable





and consistent as spelled out in recent public statements and in private communications with Chinese leaders.

In addition to a sensitive discussion on Taiwan, Zhao is likely to raise a number of bilateral economic problems and complain that the US insists on applying its laws and regulations to China without regard for mutual consultations. Examples include civil aviation, railway bonds and textiles. The Chinese are also likely to raise the Asian Development Bank issue. The President should respond in a positive manner that our bilateral relationship must be consistent with our broader global economic relationships; and that many of these problems are simply the result of the rapid and complex growth in our relations that can arise from the inherent differences in our two systems. However, this relationship is in its infancy and we have much to learn from one another. our dialogue continues and we arrive at a better mutual understanding, many of these problems will diminish and our ability to manage those problems that remain will be improved.

To maintain the high ground, it is in the interests of both the President and Zhao to review the significant progress which has been made in improving our bilateral relationship:

- arms embargo terminated [At the same time, in addressing possible future developments, the President should be careful not to raise Chinese expectations in areas where we may have some difficulty delivering (e.g. concessional financing, technical assistance, etc.];
- o export controls liberalized (We expect COCOM approval of some precedent-setting export controls. We are also developing "green lines" for some telecommunications equipment which could be the subject of a new S&T protocol.);
- o proposed legislation to remove obstacles to allow assistance programs (Zhao will definitely raise the issue of concessional financing. We are continuing our efforts to amend the Foreign Assistance Act to make China eligible for US aid, while assuring the Hill that we have no plans for a bilateral aid program. We can state that EXIM bank is permitted to match export financing offered by other countries on a case-by-case basis.);
- o actively pursuing negotiations on bilateral investment to induce greater capital flows while pushing for a tax treaty--both actions will assist the modernization effort (we hope these treaties will be concluded by the time of the visit);



- o recognized China's unique status as a nuclear state and proposed ways to help develop peaceful use of nuclear energy [We are seeking a US decision on licensing nuclear technology (not reactors) now that Zhao has provided assurances on China's non-proliferation policy. We hope to reach agreement on a nuclear cooperation agreement by the time of the President's visit.];
- o supported US companies in their efforts to develop China's oil and gas fields (here we may wish to pursue establishment of US-China Energy Working Group similar to an arrangement with Japan);
- o significantly expanded science and technology exchange programs (US-PRC science and technology program largest such bilateral program in the world; achieved doubling of high tech sales each year for the past three years);
- o signed historic accord for industrial and technical cooperation; announced that several Presidential industrial and trade missions will visit China within the next two years;
- o pursued successful and expanded high level talks on military cooperation (China's Defense Minister will visit Washington in June. If at all possible, this should be announced during the President's visit.).

4:00p.m.

Meeting with Hu (60 minutes). As head of the Communist Party, Hu is the second most powerful man in China. He can be abrasive and has had relatively little contact with American leaders. He is more ideologically oriented than Zhao. He is very interested in student and other exchanges. The best strategy may be for the President to emphasize longer term relations with China. The President may wish to invite Hu to the United States.

The President can remark that he has found his meetings with Li and Zhao highly useful in identifying areas of mutual cooperation. He is impressed with the long-term potential for cooperation, despite the differences in our systems -- which should not be construed as a barrier to expanding our mutual interests. Direct personal contact between our leaders contributes significantly to our ability to advance relations beyond the misconceptions of the past. People to people contacts are especially important in enhancing our bilateral relations. The US has welcomed China's students and educators in an effort to mutually benefit from a free flow of ideas.

The President could also use this opportunity to ask Hu about the status of Sino-Soviet relations. Following this response the President could explain that we are relaxed about improved relations between the Soviet Union and China and, in fact, view the dialogue as an important element of global stability. The President may then wish to provide Hu with a sense of our view of US-Soviet relations in the post-Andropov period.

7:00p.m.

Official Welcoming Banquet hosted by Zhao (Great Hall) 10-minute toast-substantive. (In time for Friday AM news shows, and probably CCTV). This toast should acknowledge the extraordinary hospitality of the Chinese. It should emphasize that our relationship is positive and improving. We share important strategic interests, but of equal importance is the value of our bilateral relationship. The past few years have seen an expansion of US-China ties in the areas of science, technology, commerce, energy, and education. These ties have brought substantial benefit to both our countries. The substantive meetings have demonstrated the importance of expanding relations in the future.

Saturday Radio Address: The President will have an opportunity to provide Americans with a preview of the progress and results of his trip during his weekly radio program. This should be taped on Friday.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28

9:05a.m.

CCTV Interview (Format: Opening Statement - 5 min., teleprompter, Q's and A's will be provided in advance). This interview will be televised nationally in China. Similar to the President's televised interview in Japan, it should give the Chinese people an opportunity to get to know President Reagan -- the man. It is important that he should exhibit his natural warmth and sincerity. In the interview, the President should:

- o express the great interest of the American people in China -- rich traditions and future;
- o stress common aspirations and hopes of the people of our two nations;
- o stress the importance we attach to peace and note that China and the US have a joint responsibility for pursuing global peace and prosperity.

In terms of substance, he should reiterate the basic themes of the trip:

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- o growth in US-PRC economic relations;
- o cooperation in China's modernization;
- o increased contacts;
- o enhanced understanding of each other's systems;
- o importance of the strategic relationship; and
- o importance of the Pacific Basin to global stability and economic recovery.

10:30a.m.

Meeting and Working Lunch with Chairman Deng (2 and 1/2 hours): (This is the most important substantive meeting the President will have in China. It is very significant that the Chinese have offered both a 90-minute meeting and a working luncheon. This meeting is likely to be a review of the results of earlier meetings. Deng tends to dominate meetings and is likely to be very long-winded. The challenge for the President is to seize the high ground on critical bilateral and strategic issues and offer his perceptions of the overall visit.) The President should express that he has looked forward for some time to meeting Deng. He should note that he is very satisfied with the warm hospitality and conversations he has had over the last two days. President and Deng will want to reiterate the major substantive issues of the visit: importance of China's modernization and potential US role; usefulness of expanded economic ties (trade and investment); growing understanding of each other's systems; and the importance of the strategic relationship.

1:15p.m.

Visit to the Great Wall. No formal remarks are required, although the Press will listen closely to President's spontaneous comments. A short briefing for the President will be prepared. (The visit is dependent on resolving logistical problems.)

7:00p.m.

Reception for American Community. 5 min remarks at newly opened Great Wall Hotel. President should acknowledge the "front line" status of American commercial pioneers building lasting commercial relations with China. He should congratulate them on their successes to date and note the Administration's backing for future activities.

7:35p.m.

(Substantive, 10 minutes. Reciprocal Banquet -- Toast. Pre-printed translations will be distributed. Site is the Great Wall Hotel, an important symbol of US-China coop-The President should emphasize the past, present and future progress in our bilateral relationship. We have differing social and political systems, but that should not impede the development of our friendly bilateral relations. Meetings with Chinese officials and people have brought renewed optimism about future China-US relations. Our free enterprise system stands ready to cooperate with China in the enormous task of modernization. As this hotel illustrates, our mutual cooperation can bring economic benefits to both nations. Include some light reference to his visit earlier that day to the Great Wall.

SUNDAY, APRIL 29 (Xi'an)*

The President and Mrs. Reagan are scheduled to visit Xi'an. Events will include a banquet and a visit to the Chin Shihuang tombs and the Terra Cotta figures. Here is an opportunity to see the Chinese countryside in its natural setting, as well as observe examples of China's important cultural heritage.

Banquet at People's Mansion Hotel hosted by Governor of Shaanxi Province. Toast: 5-10 mins. (Pre-printed translations will be distributed.) between Chinese and American people. Major themes to stress in the toast include:

- -- important contributions of Chinese civilization;
- -- special historical significance of Xi'an -- China's capital for 2,000 of the last 3,000 years;
- -- importance of Gaoling County to future economic development economic districts. Airplane factories and fertile green land; and
- -- Highlight progress and hopes for the future and mutual desire for peace as the bedrock to improved prosperity.

^{*}Assumes logistical problems can be resolved.

MONDAY, APRIL 30

9:00a.m.

Signing Ceremony at the Great Hall (This will depend on whether we can reach agreement on the nuclear accord, bilateral investment agreement, tax treaty, cultural agreement, and expansion of Dalian management program.) The President and Zhao will make brief remarks characterizing significance of agreements.

9:30a.m.

Farewell: Li and Zhao will bid farewell to the President at the Great Hall.

S. 32

Travel to Shanghai

1:00p.m.

Foxboro-Shanghai Joint Venture: The President will tour a successful US-PRC joint venture in high technology. He should make very informal remarks on the importance of this type of cooperation.

2:55p.m.

Fudan University (one of China's leading liberal arts universities, founded in 1905; strong in science and engineering fields). The President will have the opportunity to meet with its President (a graduate of Smith and MIT) and distinguished faculty, to visit the computer center - the centerpiece of which is a new Honeywell system purchased under a World Bank loan -- and to visit a classroom and converse with students.

Highlight of this visit will be a 20-minute speech to about 1,000 students and faculty. This speech can emphasize the common values our people share, including:

the importance of educational and cultural contacts after a hiatus of thirty years. Historical references illustrating the mutual benefits of contacts between the US and China in the educational field, mentioning, in particular distinguished Shanghai university graduates who have made important contributions to the West (I.M. Pei, Wang of computer fame; Professor Xie, Fudan president) in the tradition of many before them. Note importance of exchanges: 10,000 Chinese students now study in the US; 160,000 US citizens visit China.

- -- the importance of technology and America's role. America has achieved global leadership in technology and development. Explain the difficulties we overcame in our modernization and development, and the role of education in that process. Importance of technology transfer to China and a contribution to modernization;
- our common dedication to world peace. Peace and security in the Pacific Basin are essential to China's modernization program. On a personal note (and given the importance the Chinese attach to family, especially their elders), the President may wish to allude to his family ... i.e., when my great grandfather lived, America was going through hard times. Now as I look to my grandchildren, I think of how far we have come and yet how far we have to go to build a more prosperous and peaceful world for all nations; and
- -- the speech could conclude with a youth-and-the future theme (Lincoln or Ben Franklin quote may be appropriate here).

7:00p.m.

Banquet hosted by Shanghai mayor (The President and his party will be treated to a formal banquet by Shanghai's leadership.) Since this will be the President's last public remarks it should include a review of the accomplishments of the trip and an expression of appreciation for the hospitality he has experienced. The toast should include references to the importance of Shanghai as the gateway to economic cooperation between the US and the PRC.

TUESDAY, MAY 1

9:15a.m.

Visit to Rainbow Township On his last day the President will visit the Rainbow Township and witness first hand a characteristic setting of the Chinese people. His visit should not be an endorsement of the Communist system. Rather, it should be manifested in terms of the President's curiosity about the introduction of incentives, profits and the responsibility system to the communal environment and its effect on productivity. The President will be greeted and have a briefing on the township, tour a child care center and witness a children's program, meet with ordinary people in the fields and conclude with a visit to a private residence. There will be no formal remarks, but the President should be prepared

to comment on the responsibility system and the enormous strides China has made in agricultural development.

2. 2.

10:35a.m.

Depart Shanghai for the United States.

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1984

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT:

Public Diplomacy for the President's

China Trip

As public attention increasingly focuses on the President's forthcoming trip to China, it is important that the Administration take advantage of public opportunities to advance the objectives of the trip. At the same time, we should speak clearly and consistently regarding these objectives.

Robert Nevitt, Director of East Asian and Pacific Affairs at USIA, in conjunction with your public affairs offices and the Interagency Group planning the trip, has developed a public diplomacy strategy in support of the trip, as he did for the President's Japan/Korea trip. The strategy and its supporting action plan are attached. The plan will be revised and updated as planning matures.

Mr. Nevitt will establish a Public Diplomacy Task Force at USIA on March 21 to coordinate and help implement the strategy. He and his Task Force will coordinate interagency efforts, reporting to the Assistant for National Security Affairs. A member of the Task Force will be assigned to work with the White House Press Office before and during the trip. The Task Force will provide public diplomacy guidance and assistance concerning the trip, and will coordinate its efforts closely with policy-making offices and interagency groups. To ensure the necessary consistency, the Task Force should be made aware of public statements or other public affairs events related to the trip, including major speeches. The Task Force can facilitate interagency staffing on matters such as speech clearance. USIA is authorized to draw staff support, to include officers detailed from appropriate agencies and departments, to carry out the Task Force mission.

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

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The Task Force can be reached at (202) 485-7829. It will provide weekly status reports to the Assistant for National Security Affairs, the addressees, and other appropriate offices.

Public affairs activities prior to, during, and after the President's trip should support and reinforce the basic strategy and its objectives.

obert C. McFarlane

cc: Edwin Meese, III
James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver
Richard Darman
Larry Speakes
George Keyworth
James Rosebush
Robert Sims

PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CHINA TRIP

Introduction

In designing a public affairs strategy for the President's trip to China our central concerns are public perceptions of the trip's purpose and accomplishments. There are bilateral perceptions — those of China and the United States — and the broader worldwide perceptions of both allies and adversaries with an interest in U.S. China policy. In response to the NSC, the Department of State has developed an overview of Themes and Objectives for the President's trip. The public affairs strategy grows out of the Department's analysis of the political themes and objectives and seeks to project how the expectations and accomplishments of the trip will be reported through the media, thus influencing perceptions. The revised draft strategy which follows is based on this premise. It should be read as a general declaration to guide us in the preparation of specific public affairs guidance on each of the identifiable bilateral and other issues. A tentative listing of these is attached at Tab A. A proposed action plan is attached at Tab B.

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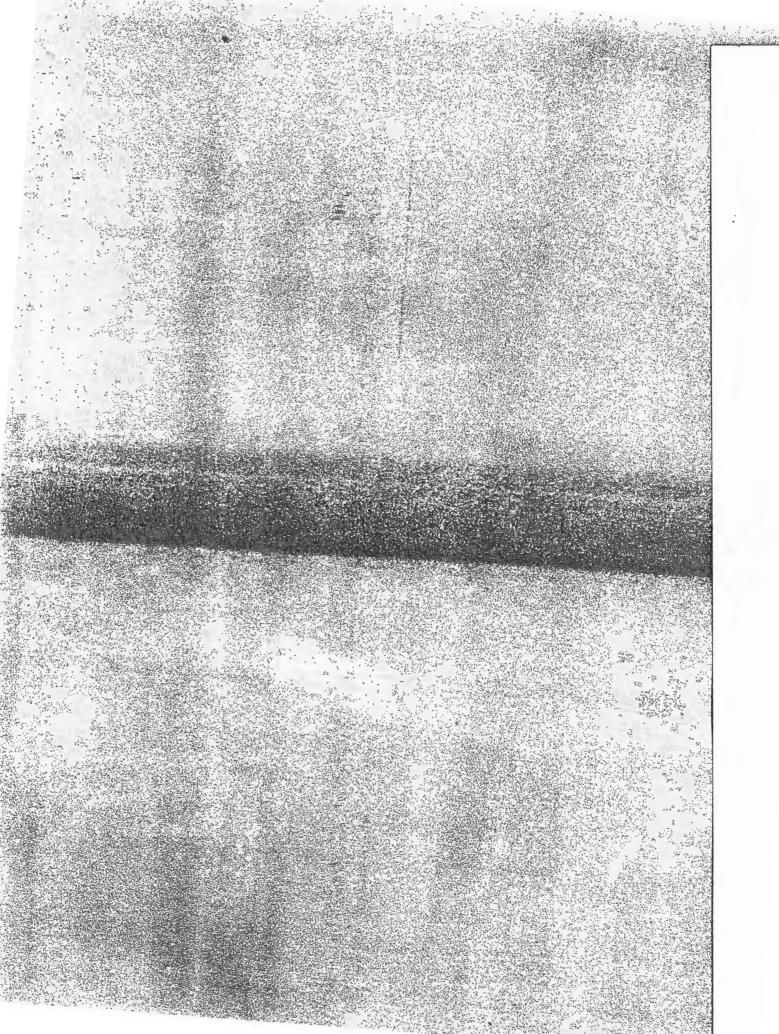


PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA

I. Objectives

- -- To stress the President's personal interest in building bilateral relations on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interests in the promotion of peace and prosperity high level contacts serve to highlight the importance the U.S. (and China) attach to the relationship contacts are increasing and are mutually beneficial.
- To give weight to the fact that the President's trip as well as U.S. China policy has been consistent through four U.S. administrations President Reagan is the first U.S. President to visit China since the death of Mao and the ascendancy of Deng Xiaoping, Premier Zhao Ziyang and party Chairman Hu Yaobang.
- -- To demonstrate the strength of U.S.-China relations and that these relations, while integrated with our overall foreign policy, are not directed toward or dependent on the actions of any third country the relationship stands on its own.
- -- To affirm U.S. interests in the development of a strong China through cooperation in Chinese modernization i.e. an economically prosperous, secure China will enhance opportunities for trade and commerce as well as contribute to peace and stability in the area and worldwide.
- -- To demonstrate that while the U.S. and China have vastly different political, economic and social systems, there are many areas of agreement and mutual understanding increasing China's systems are evolving and can become more compatible with our own without repudiation of the basic principles of either country.





II. General Issues

There are several categories of bilateral issues between the U.S. and China. Broadly speaking these are: political and diplomatic, cultural and educational, science and technology, security and strategic, trade and commerce, with considerable overlapping. There is also the Taiwan issue. There are problems in each category of issue, some significant, others mere irritants. The United States and China agree in some areas -Afghanistan, Kampuchea - and have differences in others - the Middle East, South Africa, Central America. In others the situation is less clear -Korea, arms control. Nevertheless, the two countries have in place, or are developing, consultative mechanisms for dealing with issues that concern them both. While a presidential visit is not necessarily the forum for the detailed resolution of outstanding issues, it can serve to establish or maintain the atmosphere of cooperation, friendship and understanding in which problems will ultimately be resolved. This and the following are desired public perceptions to be associated with the President's trip to China.

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-- Taiwan

The United States has "recognized the government of the Peoples' Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and has acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." The two countries have agreed in several communiques that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other relations with the people of Taiwan. We will live up to our word as contained in the several communiques that have been signed by the United States and the People's Republic of China. In the communique of August 17, 1982 the Chinese stated their fundamental policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan. The U.S. stated its intention with regard to arms sales to Taiwan. Our position has not changed. We remain firm in our belief that the reunification of China and Taiwan constitutes a matter for the Chinese themselves to decide. Our only concern is that the solution be peaceful.

-GONFIDENTAL

-- Trade and Investment

There are still problems to be resolved in defining the basis for commercial relations between the two countries which were so recently estranged from one another, and who operate under different economic systems. In the first five years of the relationship the U.S. and China were first occupied with setting up diplomatic missions and operations, then and with developing a network of agreements on which to further the process of normalization. Agreements on cultural exchange, science and technology (including educational exchange), and trade were signed and mechanism for ongoing consultation were set up. As the relationship has grown, particularly the trade relationship, other areas in need of specialized agreements have been revealed. At the same time, greater contacts in a variety of areas have given rise to problems. In many ways this is the sign of a maturing relationship. Chinese emphasis on rejuvenating its legal system is encouraging in that it can contribute to the development of fora for the resolution of problems in trade and other areas. With the understanding that exists of the mutual benefits, there is every legitimate expectation that investment, tax and other agreements will be signed that will smooth the way for increased involvement by United States firms in China's trade and development.

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-- Educational and Cultural Exchange

The importance the United States and China attach to education is a common bond. Historically, including the period since 1972, cultural and intellectual interchange has been a key element in U.S.-China relations, forging broad ties of friendship and understanding that are necessary foundations of a growing, maturing relationship. The difficulties for U.S. scholars working in China, and the independence of U.S. institutions in handling Chinese scholars and developing relations with PRC counterparts are not insurmountable problems. Our official relations in the cultural area were interrupted last year, but will be renewed in even stronger form during the President's visit. It is important to note that unofficial private exchange in culture and education have continued to grow unaffected by developments in the official relationship. This is symbolic of the strength of U.S.-China relations.

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-- The Soviet Union

The United States deplores Soviet impulses to impose its will on other countries as they have done directly in Afghanistan and through Vietnamese surrogates in Kampuchea, and view with distrust the general expanionist tendencies of the USSR in the Pacific and elsewhere. The United States seeks to have China more fully understand our dedication to a lasting and meaningful peace, which the President has termed "our highest aspiration." We believe that through consultation and cooperation, the United States and China can contribute to world peace. A web of relationships and common purposes bring the United States and China together independent of either country's relations with the Soviet Union.

-GONFIDENTAL-

- Science and Technology

Our S&T relations with China are by far the most extensive and comprehensive such bilateral exchanges in the world. This is a good reflection of the complementarity of our two societies. The United States feels that both its and the world's interests are served in seeing China gain the benefits of modern know-how and facilities. The U.S. is a natural counterpart to cooperate with China in its principle goal of modernization. Of the "four modernizations," three (agriculture, industry, defense) are dependent on the fourth, S&T. To this end President Reagan in early 1983 conveyed to the Chinese his decision to liberalize our export control regulations governing transfer of high technology.

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-- Compatibility of United States and PRC

The relationship with the Peoples Republic of China is based on the traditionally sound basis of recognition of mutual self-interest, which should provide for a realistic and healthy future that is in our best interests. The U.S. recognizes the Peoples Republic of China as "a friendly, non-aligned nation." Historically, there have been feelings of close friendship between Chinese and Americans. Among the Chinese leadership and educated public there is a significant number for whom a reservoir of positive feeling for the U.S. exists. Coupled with the ability of the United States to complement China's interests, there is the foundation for building further cooperation between our two societies. Expanding cooperation will help build a better life and a prosperous, optimistic future for both our peoples.

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III. Summary

- Goals

Generally, develop positive U.S. and international attention to all objectives and issues through a variety of USIA channels, all media and other means.

-- Problems

Many of the problems in U.S.-China relations relate to vast cultural differences, thirty years of hostility and broken communication, and incomplete Chinese understanding of our perspectives, traditions and normal practices.

On the U.S., the American public lacks knowledge of China, its past and present and apart from government officials and sinologists, have relatively superficial appreciation for the dynamics of U.S.—China relations. There is the risk that in some quarters the President's trip itself will be perceived as inconsistent with the President's view of American values and embracing China too warmly. The President's public statements before and during the trip and those of Administration spokespersons should be designed to enhance and reinforce perceptions of responsible leadership in the national interest and in the interest of world peace and prosperity. Our positions with regard to world affairs are fair and consistent. The President's position on the issues, Taiwan included, are well known and consistent with the long—range aspirations of the Chinese people and people everywhere for sovereignty, independence and economic development.



-- Approach

Dealing with the China trip has to be from the high ground. The dignified, businesslike style should mark all that is done and said. The visit offers an unprecedented opportunity for stressing the substantive content that marks a maturing relationship which is overcoming its differences. Electronic and print media treatment should be sought through responsible writers and commentators by giving them opportunities to discuss the issues with Administrative spokespersons and the President himself. This approach is addressed in greater detail in the attached work and action plan.

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TENTATIVE ISSUES

FOR WHICH GUIDANCE WILL BE PREPARED

Bilateral Issues

-Cultural and Educational

- -- The Brooklyn Museum exhibition
- -- The Cultural Agreement and Implementing Accord
- -- The Science and Technology Agreement and Educational Exchanges
- -- Problems in educational exchanges
- The private sector and educational/cultural exchanges

-Science and Technology

- The Science and Technology Agreement
- -- Technology Transfer
- -- S&T and Chinese modernization

-Political and Diplomatic

- -- Invitations
- -- Agreements
- -- Consulates
- -- Taiwan

-Trade and Commerce

- -- Civil Aviation
- -- The Trade Agreement (s)
- -- Maritime Agreement
- -- Grain trade
- -- Textiles
- -- BIT
- -- Concessional financing
- -- Tax Agreement



-Security and Defense

-- Nuclear cooperation and nonproliferation

- -- Arms Sales
- -- Military training and exchanges

-Multilateral Issues

- -- Arms Control
- -- Korea
- -- The Soviet Union
- -- Afghanistan
- -- Kampuchea and Vietnam
- -- ASEAN
- -- Japan
- -- The Middle East
- -- Central America
- -- South Africa
- -- Technology Transfer and COCOM



ACTION PLAN FOR PRESIDENT'S CHINA TRIP

DAY/DATE EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

ASAP

Placements on CCTV of material designed to prepare China for visit. "Profile of President" and Chinese students in America tapes prepared by USIA.

"Profile of a President" awaits

clearance from the White House; the student tape is in preparation now. Placement has obvious value as scene setters in China. We are assured they will be used.

March 21 White House Backgrounder:

Assistant Secretary Wolfowitz on announcement of trip and dates in briefing room.

Arranged.

March 22 Foreign Press Center Brief:

or 23 Either Deputy Assistant
Secretary Bill Brown, and/or
Gaston Sigur, on broad issues

involved in trip.

As with all of the rest of the White House and FPC briefings, dates and participants are tentative.

March 23 President's taping date (see "Presidential Activity").

Week of March 22 or later Electronic Press conference with U.S. correspondents in Beijing by Wolfowitz. USIA is set up to do this with either voice only or with video; but unreliability of Chinese circuits recommends voice only.

This will go down very well with Beijing correspondents, and be as much for goodwill as passing information, although it will be valued for that as well. With reaction from post, a decision can be made whether to do additional feeds like this with other briefers.

Week of White House Backgrounder:
March 26 Sigur and/or Brown on broad aspects of visit.

Begins a series of detailed backgrounders for small groups of traveling press corps.

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DAY/DATE EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

Week of White House Backgrounder:
March 26 Deputy Assistant

Deputy Assistant Secretary of

Commerce Lawson on trade and commercial aspects of the

relationship.

Week of Foreign Press Center Brief:
March 26 Deputy Assistant Secretary

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce Lawson on trade and commercial aspects of relationship.

March 27- Secretary Regan reports 28 to President and briefs press at White House. Secretary returns from his China visit March 26. Need to schedule meeting with President and press briefing.

March 27- Secretary Regan on TV to 28 or discuss China.

later

April 3 <u>Foreign Press Center Brief:</u>
Wolfowitz briefing on East
Asian policy.

This briefing is already scheduled for the opening of the Los Angeles press center and will be piped to L.A. The China trip will have to be a highlight of the briefing, but it will be a tour d'horizon.

April 4 White House Backgrounder:
Science Advisor Keyworth,
to brief in a conference room
on scientific and
technological exchange.

April 5 White House Backgrounder:
USIA Area Director Nevitt
on educational and
cultural exchange.



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DAY/DATE	EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE	PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE
April 9	Foreign Press Center Brief: Keyworth briefing on scientific, and technological exchange.	
April 9	Foreign Press Center Brief: USIA Area Director Nevitt on educational and cultural exchange.	
Week of April 9	Chinese student roundtable. Exchanges of views on academic exchanges by Chinese students in the U.S.	USIA is talking to the PRC Embassy, which would have to approve and oversee, about the feasibility of this. Good by itself, it would provide an opportunity for the President to participate. It would be ideal if it could be held at the White House to highlight the President's personal interest in exchange so important to China. Vice President to host, President to walk in. Photo opportunity. Select White House press corps and resident Chinese press.
April 12	NHK, Japan, interview with Security Adviser McFarlane, at the White House.	This will be important to reinforce the perception in Japan of the U.S. as pursuing an Asian, not just a Japanese relationship. NHK has requested this. (The same rationale could apply to doing a similar interview in Europe, but there is no similar request.)
Week of April 16	Interviews and OpEd pieces Shultz, Regan, Wolfowitz, Sigur, Lawson and others. McNeil/Lehrer, Nightline, etc.	These need careful preparation and orchestration. Discussion should precede definite commitments.
Week of April 16	Outside "experts" to brief, author articles or appear on media.	A considerable amount of this is happening, but opportunities should be seized to facilitate more that is useful.



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DAY/TIME EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE

PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

April 18 White House Backgrounder: Secretary Shultz in the departure briefing, Room 450 in OEOB for briefing.

This is the final and most authoritative word to the press corps on the plans and purposes of the trip.

April 18 Evening

Secretary of State Shultz appears on USIA's WORLDNET, inaugurating the Pacific network into the system, explaining the full import of the President's trip to China.

WORLDNET is an interactive network through which USIA has put Secretary Shultz and others before audiences in U.S. Embassies around the world. This is to heighten the President's image as a Pacific President and provide gratifying attention to important audiences around the world. The event itself will be newsworthy, as past experience has shown.

During the trip.

Daily briefings in press centers by Larry Speakes and Assistant Secretary Wolfowitz or Secretary Shultz.

Network interviews for the morning shows by Secretary Shultz, National Security Adviser McFarlane, and Assistant Secretary Wolfowitz, as available.

Wrap-up of press conference by Secretary Shultz on last day of the visit. Again, schedule changes will dictate timing.

After the trip.

USIA pamphlet on the exchange of visits for distribution in China.

Pamphlet will emphasize the mutuality of relationship.
Layout, etc. for this is complete, and only waits for pictures of President's trip before printing in Hong Kong.

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DAY/DATE

EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE

PROBLEMS, QUESTION

OpEd pieces, interviews or briefings.

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PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITIES

EC *****

March 26 Kick-off of "Pennies for Pandas" campaign by First Lady at National Zoo.

April 1

President's taped remarks on the inauguration of Japanese television cooperative satellite service from the U.S.

two minutes in whi Partnerships will

Text still to be o

Photo opportunity with Chinese students at U.S. universities.

As with all of the and whether these depend, at the ladent's schedule sensitive as meabe pinned down a student roundta. This association strongly symbolimportance of both U.S. and

Week of April 9 Participation in Chinese student roundtable.

Treated earl!

President looks at the film of the places he is to visit, made by CCTV.

This both m ing the pre preparation fully, U.S showing th Chinese ha trouble to film.

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DAY/TIME EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE

An OpEd piece over the President's signature.

PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

This, like speeches, provides a controlled situation wherein the President can cover a whole range of issues in his own terms.

April 12 Elementary school principals speech by First Lady in New Orleans which includes "Pennies for Pandas" event.

Interview with Radio Beijing, Xinhua and Peoples' Daily. This would be part of the scene setting, putting the President on the other media which is very important in China, complimenting his appearance on TV in China.

Foreign policy speech.

If the President gives such a speech, a portion should be given to the themes of the China trip. This would be the major opportunity to cover the whole range of issues involved in our China relation—ship on the President's terms. It would be a report to the country as the relationship takes on new importance.

Presidential aircraft loads two AMC jeeps for delivery to China for use in helping feed pandas in the wild.

During Presidential speeches, the trip. interviews, etc.

As scheduled.

During Fin the trip. Zoo for

First Lady visit to Chinese Zoo, stressing U.S. support for effort to save the pandas.



DAY/TIME EVENT, PARTICIPANTS AND PLACE PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

When and if there is specific progress to report from the talks with the Japanese on trade and other issues, attention called to this should be couched in terms of over-all Asian policy and the efficacy of personal diplomacy by the President on his trips.

USIA SUPPORT

PRESIDENT'S CHINA TRIP

The coordination of public diplomacy for the President's Chir trip is backed up by a range of activities in Washington and the field.

In China, the USIS staff of 11 American officers will be supplemented by 15 American Chinese speaking officers. This group will operate press centers in each of the cities the President will visit with facilities for the media that inclueverything from filing to money exchange. USIS will have sit managers for every occasion, and actually manage occasions involving cultural and educational affairs.

In Washington:

The VOA will provide coverage of the visit by assigning correspondents to the trip. Editorials and interviews will trun supporting the objectives of the visit.

The USIA press centers in Washington, New York and Los Angele will brief and provide platforms for briefings on the trip.

The USIA speakers program will be programming people who wispeak to the U.S./PRC relationship.

The Brooklyn Museum Show, which will open in Beijing durir President's visit, was arranged through USIA Arts America office, which will provide a traveling curator for the sh

USIA's electronic services will provide the channel for and voice/picture linkages with overseas posts.

USIA press services will put correspondents on the pres for the trip. They will provide extra "Wireless File" to the posts where the President will visit, including news round-ups and opinion surveys.

A pamphlet on the exchange of visits, Premier Zhao's United States and the President's to China, is laid for printing and distribution.

Television services, in addition to managing the ellinks, is producing a video program on Chinese stu U.S. for placement on Chinese TV. A previously probiography of the President can also be placed whe leared at the White House.