

Dear Js,

2/26/72

Generous mailing and letter 22 fascinating. My fear is that you'll feel compelled to write when you have no time, but this is a very valuable letter. It helps my understanding, such, and helps my understanding of my uninspired understanding of such gargantuan events involving a country of which I know so little compared to you. I do have some knowledge of the east, believe I am alone in having (very accurately, let me boast) predicted the Jap. attacks (as of preceeding 9/15), did dig Evans Fordyce Carlson out of oblivion (and had the whole thing stolen, including the movie Gung Ho!, the title of my piece.

As by now you know, I have been trying to keep you both current with TV. I missed some of what you saw, although I was impressed with the uniformity of that impressive guard. I did not understand they were carefully selected from the north. I did notice how well they maintained parade positions for so long and was surprised at the informality of the very few in charge, something unique I am sure, both informality and small number.

You detected correctly on Ray, when I was afraid to really spell it out. He has, as you also know. But I felt he fell for it; instead of what he now says, that it didn't happen. Oddly, the UPI Exam story has several things not in the eastern versions of the same story. How easy do you suppose it is for him to carry a block and tackle undetected? If it were four-foot, then it would have had to have 200 feet rope for him to make it. Not 20-foot height as I'd been told but 40! Imagine the ease with which a to-priority prisoner walks all around in a max. security jail with all that kind of bulky stuff! And they have become deliberately lax under this new warden, who, frankly, I liked. I haven't signed in or out last six times, nor did Jerry, so there is no record of our being there! Too many other things relate, like recent effort warden to get TV crew in. He has protested this in every way he can. Bud has finally written letter I asked of him 8-10 months ago, telling warden he and Ray have long made clear Ray wants no media people and he expects warden not to write him each individual case. That was not enough. Ray had already said no to this one. He didn't know, but it was net crew, and they spent valuable time going there without an advance ok, also strange.

Trying to cope with a mind like his is pretty difficult. By now you know the docile reaction. I figured wrong. I feared he might break off, at least protest or express resentment but instead he wrote me what he did not tell his lawyers! And a long letter. He got one out to me alone when you could have sent me. He had written it in advance. I suppose that if he lives over a period of time more by being straightforward than by being honest or right I may reach him in time. I'm returning that extra carbon because he expressed interest. I do not want to overload you or your files, but unless I request return, not necessary, and the only reason I asked you not to throw it away if because I had made no extra carbon should I later want a dupe, as I can't now anticipate. Sometimes it can be worthwhile having a copy in sane hands. The Ra stuff, when I carbon, is only to the lawyers, and on the assassinations, I can't regard Bud as sane. Anything can happen, so extras elsewhere can have potential use. With a few words from JER I could break this. With a good publisher, without a word from him I now could. But the curse on me and the subject is too much to overcome, hence letter to McGraw, for which thanks on taking time for comment. That Irving Trust crack got around fast. I think I sent you one of them in print, crossing in mail.

Now for the really interesting part, China. I think a number have credited Snow publicly. But note also enclosed, that DirtyTricky had idea 11 years ago, for DirtyTricky reasons only. And someone beat us to it in spotting him a copier. George Dixon, with whom I worked for four months in his brash, bushy-haired reporter days, before successful marriage and moderation required for successful syndication, was sharp when I knew him. And inconceivable.

I didn't note faces generals. Aside from contextual reasons for cool reception, there is one everyone seems to have missed, not to give offense to preceding dignitary visitors. I think we both foresaw that it would be difficult for either side to really lose. Either might fall far short of what it expected, us more than they, but both had to expect +s. In this case, as I think I've indicated they have one-upped us in our forte, P.F., and used us to

do it to us and for them. There are rich harmonics and chords nobody has noted, and as I would expect, would most of all reach the right nerves in China and among her closer neighbors. When WE fly in there in massive planes and they clean the streets by hand; and then Nixon is content to fly, as he has never, to my knowledge, in any other country, in a smaller plane, an old and outdate one, of USSR manufacture at that; when we take in all that supercostly electronics stuff and they walk or use bikes on its broadcasts; when Nixon has this enormous entourage and there is only Lone Chou; it gives a special perspective. We are, in the eyes of their peers, almost hat-in-hand....There were times when from the reporting the sit. seemed ambivalent. Regardless of what comes out of it or doesn't, an more than enough, from my point of view, already has for it to be an enormous success, I think they have even more contempt for us and what we represent plus a better understanding of how danergous we are and can be, how stupid, and how crazy the system that that vomit up a Nixon. I am certain that at the very least Chou was reflecting a sincere personal contempt in the lack of expression and other things, like speparation in walking, that I have reported. Separately, we reached almost identical conclusions, you saying on the beginning of the third day of the success, "they're going to get something very substantial and valuable to them if they haven't already gotten it." I think they had enough when Nixon asked, and all the much since then has been rich gravy. VERY rich!

I'll go farthur than you (folks rushing in and all that) on "It doesn't have to be Taiwan." I am aware of the number Of lock-stock-barrel-tank-cannon-last man desertions to Liberation Army (note every TV ref. I heard used these words) of Chiang's forces as fast as we trained them, as I am of at least a number of Chiang defectors of high station. The problem is not Chiang. It is the investors, us and the Japaense esp. I rather suspect that we will in time learn that the Japanese read the clicking of the ping-pong balls as the tolling of chimes and have started to unload what they could. I am aware of traditional oriental patience, that they do not expect anything overnight. I think the only real hangup now is what you indicate elsewhere, Nixon's position. I think that can be skirted without costing him much if anything, but I think he is too stupid, Kissinger too Strangelovian and, if anyone else with imagination is left, he'd never be heard. A declaration that Yaiwan has always been part of China matched with a declaration not to shed blood to return it could be based on the sayings of Chairman Chiang. He could even be offered lifetime governorship.

I'm inclined to part with you on VN, whether Le Duc Tho is present or not. Here Nixon has to fear his hawks and generals and Mao has to avpid any inference of interference in any other and esp. smaller country. Besides, I think Mao/Chou too wily not to realize that VN settlement is meaningless with any remaining US presence in area, if only faect, not a man on land. Nixon can't think of anything like that. Most I can conceive declaration of principles, and that could be much. Like North Atlantic Charter, which would give the stupid Nixon those great names. Roosevelt and Churchill, to vote this year. Le Duc Tho's presence, his leaving Paris, could have other meaning, if it really happened. I fear there is a traditional and lingering lack of full trust in the powerful neighbor to the north, a fear that they might be sold out, and I don't think it possible, at least not likely. What I call a statement of principles and you a regional settlement may not be far apart. Aside from the changes of the nuclear age, with which we have come to grips less than anyone, as I have been trying to get my young friend Howard, who has all my old VN files, to consider, very much of what Nixon has done is domestic, regardless of where he implementns. The budget, deficits, balance of trade and other clues are, I think, the really important ones, but US leaders lack comprehension of how to cope with these things and if they did realize the only means possible, they'd lose all real political support, for it means the most radical change in the economy, with no real uses for the largest factories of the ultra-rich (GM, GE, etc.) Unable to do anything here, the pol looking ahead looked east, where he had to look anyway because of what's there.

If I indicated I feared China would go for a pact agaonst USSR, I don't recall and don't think I ever conceived it expert, possibly, as a Nixon endeavor, and then he couldn't word it that way. I am well aware that the pact stands and that not only has China not broken the milotary alliance, but the USSR has been careful not to. Either can initiate a kove to kiss and make up at almost any time but more importantly, it is a mutual declaration, not having been declared null, by both, that they do and will stand together against others.

Not one of my press friends or the younger ones with whom I infrequently discuss these matters is aware of this pact from what they say and reflect and not one comprehends the significance of neither side abrogating it despite the bitterness between them.

None of this is to say the Nixonists would not conceive of either trying or trying to make it look like a secret deal of this kind was in the works.

The real high hangup is the need of capitalist economies for war. Were it not for that, there would be relatively little problem today now that both China and Russia are established as major powers with enough nuclear zap, as China has now, save that it remains vulnerable. Were I to have any hunch of an unforecast worry, it would be Japanese paranoia, for they have overfast become oversich and overexpanded, with major political forces also forces of evil and of the evil pass. You don't mention them, but I fear they can be enflamed rather easily by their politicians to visualize a threat I do not from the resurgent China whose chains have forever broken. They'll be looking at Sinkiang, not the people who go out and clean the streets. And give back worn-out drycells they think may yet have value.

In general you are right in talking of a traditional counterbalance. But I think our internal controls have drifted and the negotiators who intend to negotiate very little and pretend very much are no longer the spokesman for the money-holders. Today it is military/management, and that may alter it in a way I haven't tried to think through and don't know if I really know enough to try. I suspect that the playboy Hottermich (who is among the reasons I'll be sending you some LIFE's) may see it the way you say. Nixon can see it any way he is told as long as he is also told profit comes from it. I don't think it is as much his wisdom as he need that led him to make his bid with the older Chinese leaders still alive. I think without this and despite what he has reduced in VN casualties, he'd be in dire political straits, and the country's economy is that way. Full credit to him. He can't any long argue he inherited the war with his war budgets.

Where you tell me of the nuclear-age, revolutionary leaders and their consistency with the methods of the distant past you really fascinate me...I saw Je's note before reading to this point and enjoyed the Panda story so much I interrupted her bookkeeping for a client to show. Great! Brilliant, really.

I was not aware that Service and Davies reported Mao would have preferred us for allies. What was done to them is then even more insane (whom the Gods would destroy!). Sometimes when you have the time, I'd welcome expansion on the "astounding rapport in many ways" we have with the Chinese. Unless you mean that they are a new frontier and we or the "older" countries are closest to ours. I think we have forgotten it in most parts of the land and in the control of every aspect of life. Reflect a bit and see if you think it is fair to say we drove Mao into Russia's arms. I think that under any circumstances there would have been a close relationship politically, despite Mao's daring to be right about too-literal interpretation of the dictates of the USSR. There could have been closer economic ties with US, but I think there would have remained the political bond with the USSR.

Only if you get to details would I agree that it is foolsh to predict what will come of this. I think that despite the bankruptcy of Nixon and whatever sinister device lurks in Kissinger's mind, this is a major development in history. In its simplistic formulation, China is the debutante on the world social scene and is recognized. She has come. She is established. But that is an over-simplification, a recognition of the very minimum. It means her recognition as a major power, an equal. I think it also means the end of the kind of adventures on which we alone have embarked in recent years in other lands. They can now be only in China's turf, and she will not now have to accept them. And won't. This means problems for us, not them. I would not be unwilling to believe that it can mean the end of wars as we have known them, from the one we have yet to know, nuclear, to counter-revolutionary. If this eventuates, then it is perhaps one of the most significant developments of all history. They'll be taking credit for Nixon for it here, but it will be less his due than Dulles', if I may be obscure as I have to come to the end of something I've enjoyed. We repeated the same mistake we made with revolutionary Russia and forced

both into a degree of unity and self-sufficiency that would otherwise have been more difficult, whether or not inevitable. It is so helpful to have an enemy around whom your own enemies can rally with you.

Too bad about the White's. Once they opt wealth and fame, they are different and before long they are like the angel who can't go home. He has become his own pope. I think you'd have found that bit of TV entertaining and a bit painful, knowing what he could have been. There are few Snows, and few can travel that road with as little privation as he (he is also adressed in the LITs). He is, in fact, just about unique in the success of his survival. Most others have a problem just surviving in any form enabling the preservation of integrity.

On the NBC documentary: if you ask too late, I do have it. If you will in the future write about this period and its meanings, I think the other one of which I wrote, *Misunderstanding China*, would be worth having. I think it was CBS. Use office address and I bet they xerox last copies if necessary!

It thinks you must have your own futures files. Why not the piece you think Fairbanks would do so well? I think that despite the greater detailed knowledge an historian and scholar might have, the piece could be more effective done by a first-personing journalist. I'm told that there is a trend toward commercial preference for the first person in non-fiction. This is but a beginning. There will be many rushing in and retailing vicarious work. By the time you're ready for it, there will be a market of respectability.

I went through the package (your efficient post office starting cancelling stamps carefully about 2 months ago!) to return what Je asked be returned promptly. I'll go over the rest as changes in pace or in between times. I've still not decided how to complete the epilogue on which I've been working and I'd best get back to that. If I face surgery after consultation Wednesday (and I can't imagine it's being serious if even necessary) and if it is not immediate, as I think after two months it would not likely be, I'd rather have the writing done so that while it is healing I can use the one hand to edit. By my god, if I have to write ~~expert~~ ads, poor Lil! The book is a monster. But dynamite. I hope to continue the surgery I have started, this time on Marshall, Lattimer and Graham, who I'll treat relatively lightly, as a utensil. China kind-no pun. Not Chinese China, bedroom china.

I noted your comment "poor Vawter" while going through what you sent. When Graham had been promised access through any path, he selected and so told me before Lattimer saw anything, why so selective in your expressions of solicitude? But as you may have imagined, Vawter has been silent. And the regulation I told him he didn't know, the one that controls him, requires that he forward his decision as an appeal so that, if it becomes necessary and he is silent, I can fly to the closest federal court.

Thanks agains for all of Je's trouble and for your taking this time I know you really son't have. It is also good for me to get mature views on anything. All our current friends are young, with the intolerance and positiveness of all young ever, and immature despite their intelligence. Those we know of our age are without political understanding or interest. There is virtually no progressive interest of any kind in this area, not even among the few peaceniks. And while I've been winding this up, I've given Lil your letter to read before I put it away and we forget it in her major preoccupations as a temporary breadwinner.

By the way, your ref to Je's taping and my knowledge that she transcribes: I was given a not-too-old dictabelt machine, master and leave. They both work but they need going over. I can't now and can't expect to be able to pay for the belts. But this works backward and forward and there is no skip when you stop. I'm sure overhaul would cost little and I'd be happy if you could be interested. It can't be over six years old and hasn't been used for three. Unless the friend who bought it was conned by the dealer. But even if it is older, I think it would be a real convenience in transcribing. You could still tape on reels and then you could dub on belts what you want to transcribe. Best regards,

22 February 1972

Dear Harold:

This is to assure you that we're still here, merely swamped. Your mailings of Feb. 3, 4, 9, 12, 15 and 18 all at hand, and some of the things you asked to have returned will be enclosed. If not all, some later. In any case this is not an attempt to ~~answer~~ answer much of it, but merely to take care of the most immediate items.

Very little was carried out here on Ray's second attempt, but enough to give us the idea that either the whole preposterous thing had been fabricated or that he had been tricked into ~~something~~ something so totally against his interests. Your last enclosures throw much light on this, even though you yourself had few details to go on. We enclose copies of the little we have been able to pick up locally on it, and will send anything further. Your letters to him and to the warden were wonderful. If anything can save this situation, they will.

Since we first heard of Ed Snow's illness, on the 5th, we have been greatly depressed. Mostly because he could not savor what is going on in Peking, but also because he meant a great deal to both of us for very personal reasons. But we do feel that even when he became seriously ill last fall he must have known quite clearly what was going to happen, and even though he was the most modest person in the world he must have known that if he had not done what only he could do it might never have happened for ~~any~~ many more years or without a holocaust.

I was able to see part of the <sup>arrival</sup> ~~arrival~~ scene ~~on~~ at Peking on television, and here at home Jenifer was taping the puzzled comments of radio and TV correspondents who were baffled by the cool and correct ~~reception~~ reception. Did you notice the stony faces of some of the generals at the end of the reception line? And a nice note that gave me much pleasure: the honor guard was composed entirely of northern boys, tall guys who are so well proportioned you don't notice their height until a man of ordinary stature like Nixon walks in front of them. How many times in the past have I seen the Marines assemble their tallest for the guard to honor a visiting Chinese general.

Nixon is now beginning his third day in Peking, and in spite of the gaffes he and Pretty Pat have pulled here and there we begin to get the feeling that something big is in the works. ~~Probably won't~~ Probably won't all come out right away, but the promptness with which Mao saw him and the subsequent opening of the floodgates of publicity for domestic consumption indicate the Chinese know they're going to get something very substantial and valuable to them if they haven't already got it.

It doesn't necessarily have to be Taiwan -- Chiang already has signalled that, as he has done twice in the past, he is ready to dicker and go along in some kind of a coalition. Nor does it have to be Vietnam. (In spite of the protestations by both sides that they're not going to settle Vietnam, the report that Le Duc Tho is supposed to have arrived the day before Nixon from Paris could be of great importance.)

Our guess would be that something much bigger is in the works, some kind of a beginning toward an overall regional settlement, none of which can be spelled out immediately but which will have the farthest-reaching implications. I do not think the Chinese would go for much less. They certainly would not go for what you are worried about -- an alliance against Russia. They are still dedicated Communists and in spite of their ~~new~~ fierce independence would never fall into the trap of undermining socialist unity in any serious way or risking their leadership of the underdeveloped nations and the third world. In spite of the fact that they now are more worried about a Soviet pre-emptive strike than anything else, they would never jeopardize seriously their ace card -- their mutual aid treaty with Russia which does not expire until 1980. They may seem to, but never in reality.

This does not mean they do not fully understand how much room to maneuver they now enjoy, now that the United States needs them again for their historic role of a counter-balance both to Japan and Russia from the American standpoint. Add to this Nixon's campaign needs, and you begin to glimpse the bargaining power they have been able to bring against Kissinger and Nixon. Whether these worthies realize fully what they are up against is another and in the long run irrelevant ~~question~~ question.

History will show that Nixon was wise, probably for the wrong reasons, as usual, to make his bid with Mao and Chou instead of waiting until their successors take over. These two have earned through bloody experience, if anyone ever has, the right to speak and bargain for their country. They are true originals, yet classic Chinese statesmen as well as consummate politicians. George Marshall called Chou the ablest negotiator he had ever met. Mao understands his people better than anyone since the founders of the Ming Dynasty. Their willingness to deal with a fink like Nixon -- and Chou made it plain he knows Nixon is a fink when he tossed off that remark about hostility "for reasons which are well known" -- is not merely the traditional Chinese willingness to deal with the barbarian ruler who comes seeking a deal. The promptness of their response after Nixon had his little chat with Mao can mean only they know they've got him where they want him and have decided to go through with something they think is much to their benefit. They are acting exactly like the Mings, as a matter of fact, and the marvelous thing is that it is working in a nuclear age. Their image of China is that of a great, powerful and peaceful nation which reasons with its barbarian neighbors and if necessary knocks their heads together in order to assure peace in the world. The fact that these plans have gang aft agley in the past does not impress them. Whose plans don't?

Someone like John Fairbank could write a hell of an article on the Ming pattern in Nixon's reception. Even an illiterate like myself can see familiar ~~many~~ parallels. For instance, the minute it became known here last week that two musk oxen were being readied as a gift to China, I would have bet anything <sup>over</sup> → that this meant two Pandas would be forthcoming. If there is anything more powerful in Chinese tradition than hospitality, it is the etiquette of gift-giving and exchange. Never less than the gift proffered, certainly, unless an insult is intended, and never too much more lest the original giver be made to lose face. The Mings practically impoverished themselves toward the last, trying to keep all their satellites happy. A Jesuit named Father Matteo Ricci wrote a highly illuminating journal about all this toward the end of the 15th century.

Fairbank and others understand that the People's Republic is the first truly sovereign Chinese government since the Mings were toppled in 1644. They followed the alien Mongols and were succeeded by more aliens, the Manchus. The Nationalist government which was formed after the Manchus were overthrown were merely a continuation of the foreign domination which brought about the Manchu downfall. That is all ended again. China is being ruled by Chinese again, and this is the central fact.

Service and Davies have made it clear that Mao's first choice of an ally was, like Sun Yat-sen's before him -- the United States; powerful, remote, yet with an astounding rapport in many ways with the Chinese. We made the mistake of driving Mao into the arms of Russia just as we had done with Sun Yat-sen; it is in the Chinese tradition to pursue their own best interests in the long run, merely pointing out courteously that there has been a slight delay "for reasons which are well known."

It would be foolish to predict what may come out of all this, but I will be foolish and say I wouldn't be surprised to see some sort of framework which eventually could include both Russia and Japan. The Chinese, all things considered, have as much or more reason than anyone to mean it when they say they want peace.

Re Ted White: too bad he seems to have become an Old China Hand in the worst sense of the word. He and Annalee Jacoby wrote "Thunder Out of China" in 1947, an excellent account of the ~~Kuomintang~~ Kuomintang corruption which led to the Communist victory. I haven't seen him since he first arrived in China in 1936. Brash, then, but well trained, by Fairbank.

Many thanks for letting us know about the NBC documentary. We may send for it. We too find a swing back toward objectivity in the news, but haven't seen enough yet to try to assess it. The NBC thing sounds better than any we have encountered thus far, and you may be right, someone may have passed the word. Let's hope it keeps up.

More later, and all the best, *Jim* jdw

He did, ekchully. The night  
we heard the musk oxen were to be sent  
(17 Feb) I asked, How come musk oxen?  
Answer from Fount of All Wisdom:  
Because - pandas.

Yesterday (21 Feb) the news  
caught up with FoAW.