

4/8/72

Dear Js,

Alas and lackaday, my 59th dawned with us apparently iced in. I can recall two Easter-day heavy snow storms, one a delight from infancy and another, in the 30s, that coincided with four new tires going bad at the curb while the car was snowed in in Washington, of all places. This morning I have to go into town because it is the thuds Saturday I've had no mailbox, to pick up a fantastic buy in a second-hand lawn mower (to become my honeysuckle specialist) for \$10.00 and guaranteed to work (bought from a guy who still recalls me as the man Joe Pyne treated with respect) and in the event Lil needs groceries. Until the latter determination, which will follow her slow emergence from semi-consciousness to full consciousness while she sips a cup of fresh herba mate in bed, I'll start to respond to your copious and to this point entertaining (I'm sure I'll come to the value, too) mailing including several letter from Jim I merely saw when it arrived because I had to work hard to prepare for the patsy role I address in several enclosures.

That has had one advantage: one of my young friends had to work late last night. His office has a WALS line that thus became available to him, he had heard part of the show, and he now agrees that I should have gotten mad at the beginning, said look, if you are using me to sell a novel guised as a work of serious non-fiction, bybye. If you want to talk about the "ing assassination, letss do it and lets have responsive answer, not irrelevant fillibustering by Frank, with or without the counsel of his accompnaying flack. If the guy had cut me off, he'd have look worse than I and I had nothing to loose. But the campaign against my being what is natural for me and has worked in the past-it is the way I did open the subject - has reached such proportions that I had decided all my world can't be wrong, I must be, and I don't want to alienate my young friends, and this was an old and good friend. It won't be that way with Eason, believe me, if Frank shows up and if Eason doesn't cancel. I've suggested to Eason, when he phoned, that if Frank refuses to appear he tell Frank he will have me interview the book by phone, and that is precisely what I'll do, with Frank's voice on nice fat points if the kids come through as I've asked them to do with a previously-recorded show.

I can't sell my own book, but I might make this literary whoredom a bit less pleasant for the richer whores attracted by the commercial possibilities of corrupting major issues. Betsha Huie never pulls another-and we met but once.

Right on the Sony tapes. When the treas. says I can, I'll get use a couple of the Sony's at that I think low price.

The letter opposing Kaeindienst is a legit story not published hereabouts. The AP story on her "mild conversation" with Senator Gurney about Richard the Lyin' Hearted, which says "I met him at the governor's conference in Tulsa" and then she has a heart attack provokes wonder about what would have happened if she'd met him alone! Face to face and maybe Dita's be in Heaven, the ITTS so much happier. Bet they'd give her a real sendoff.

I didn't catch the Sevrweid on the hidden or jailed or tortured "sent" former drug addicts and beggars in China, which is just as good. The change in this man since Stevenson's death is one of the more intriguing things about the "big-name" TV broadcasters. He was with S, walking with him, when it happened. The change was instantaneous. He did a panel show on TV in Phila once that I caught in which it would seem he confessed the total alienation of his own son.

Je left me hanging in midair. After telling the touching story, related to "Dita's hospitalization and getting a 15-cent get-weller, she narrates the warms of the Glorious Leader who promised a handless VN girl that his daughter would send her a get-well card. Well, did said VN girl GET well? Did we grow her a new hand? With such magic practised today, it is unkind to totrture the imaginative mind? Or is there, in sooth, an end to Nixonian magic?...How Hopoe can sustain that great stuff makes me marvel. The column on the condition of the country built to a beautiful climax. I didn't expect it to conclude so superbly with reminder of the election of Hitler with so perfect a description of our today.

Je's 3/30 note on the Princeton conference: The old biddies laid a stale egg. The only parts that would interest me are Burke Marshall's exact words and the full confessions by Hoover's former finks. These I'd appreciate, and if possible, Marshall separately so I can file it separately. He becomes increasingly of strange interest. Now, if this comes to much work, please instead phone the Pacifica foundation, not the station, and ask Bill Stein if he can supply it to me. I think he will. And remember, they are running everythin they have on tape into a computer, for instant retrieval and supplying to college and possibly other stations. He visited me about a month ago. If this is unclear, time having passed, Je's note enclosed.

Maybe (Je's 3/27) that crazy ABC bit that Dita did all this because she was going to get fired and wanted to prevent it is the most sensible thing yet. Thus she snuck into Dineen's sanctum sanctorum all the way up there in NYC, retrieved the original and flew back into that "known columnist's" waiting arms. Makes sense-if anything does.

Again with Je's note as reminder, returned, on Feltrinelli, the enclosed Post story indicates one of the suspicions I've had, that the extreme of the extreme right did it, may not be farout. The Minutemen pulled some such stuff here. They contrived the Wilkerson bombing, and my former network-director source has supplied with with all their scientific stuff, including booby-trapping, many items from which could have been exactly what was there used. They did a first-rate job of inflistrating the left. They had a young married woman student at a university lay every member...Been a long time since I saw as nice a Shrdlu as the Etaoin you sent from SR.

As you will see from enclosures to be added, I played Mc<sup>llan</sup> right despite the protests of the young. He now realizes he has no book. He continues to blab to Jerry, who informs me promptly. I have an unanswered letter from him and he sent me a copy of the PW interview with Frank that Mich had sent him, so if you see, don't bother copying, thanks. Same with SR review Frank. Have.

Later. We've also has snow. I had to go to the post office even though on Sat's I don't because Lil doesn't go to the office because thanks to the county I have no mailbox, a long, unpleasant and time-consuming story which is part of a battle I'm having with the county commissioners who can't control their arrogant engineer. I've actually had to engage a contractor to work on the end of my lane, which they dammed, agreed to fix, and for a year simply haven't and won't. It is kind of like poor Warren, with the staff running the old man around like a baby, making him think he was really doing something. The commissioners have inspected, promised, apologized and the job remains undone. The contractor, who knows one well, called him instead of doing the job several months ago, for the county responsibility was obvious, as was the beglignce and defective engineering. What is worse is that the initial cause was illegal work done on the property of a neighbor who was the partner of a former commissioner, and that neighbor is getting over a heart attack. That has inhibited what I was willing to do, but having to drive when I would walk because the end of my lane was made into a pond and with the end of Wil's working period, when she may again want to walk, have left me no choice. I don't know where the \$\$\$ is coming from until I sue, but weather permitting emergency repairs, privately-contracted, begin today. I fully intend to make as big a stink as I can and try and get a bit of responsiveness and responsibility in the county government, although it may hurt me. I'll resume after catching up with other mail. Best H

4/9/72

Each morning, it seems, I am just a bit wearier. Today, having slept later than usual, until 6:30, I am more, not less aware of it. With awareness, I find myself wondering why. Will the change in weather (hard freeze again last night, predicted for tonight, strong, cold winds) which will permit walking and other kinds of outside work make a change? Lil thinks it is that I am sort of obsessed by the idea of getting older. I don't. I think I'm just tired and tiring faster. As I pondered it this morning, considering what I'd do with Bud and Jim due here at 10, I have come to feel that the oppression ~~iffed~~ is to a small degree from the lack of meaningful help from those who could so easily provide it and prate as though they do and mostly from intrusions into the writing of what I have researched. And another major part is my inability to move forward with the legal situations I have brought to the point of doing something by so much effort.

It is when I am making an organized record, pouring it out on paper, that I get a kind of relief from all of this, that the weight falls or is unfelt. Writing is what I want to do, get all this writing that I will do done and, hopefully, turn to other things, the first no less oppressive but promisingly commercial, the story of the city man turned famous (trye) farmer only to be ruined by helicopters. Kind of a blending of Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House and The Egg and I. It will be painful but, I've been told by several agents, should make a movie. I think it is this, the necessary reliving of that hard period for the suit, that today makes discomfort. It can't be abided and can't be avoided.

Today I suspect it is because of the mess Bud et al have made of the things we'll be discussing that depresses. I did all the work except drafting the complaint (and of that I did a rough) and the legal research. We're in court on that the 14th. We'll have little time for the Ray case, on which we should spend much time.

Having reconciled myself to never again making a living, I have no trouble with that, only worry when, as now, the interest falls due and it will clean us out to meet it. Lil had accumulated that much from her pay and she wrote the check last night. She also announced she gets but one more check.

So, if I seem a bit thick, maybe these things will help explain it, for with anticipation of a better mood I turn to Jim's informative letters I skimmed on receipt several days ago.

The Hoppe stuff is consistently great. I could never sustain anything like that.

And your note on the girl: I thought you knew of Matt Herron. He turned half-hippie while a Black Star photog (and a great one). He was a N.O. friend soon due back from Africa with his 32-foot boat, wife, boy, girl and draft-resisting, term-serving former apprentice. Fine, decent, warm human being. He will be living in Calif., where his in-laws do. He is maligned by Frank. Meanwhile, the letter I wrote that girl, who sounded so rational on the phone, was sent from her Madison address to the hospital (part of Univ Chi) where a doctor put it in an envelope and returned to me with the note no longer here. Got it yesterday or day before. So, I suspect she is sick, was reaching for help, and, having anticipated that as a possibility, can only hope she went where I directed her, a psychologist friend who is also human.

Lil rather enjoyed the Ramparts Russo piece, but by the time she read a few graphs in bed at night she was asleep, and it took her some time to read it. I've not had an answer from Kelly.

Je's notes KPFA 3/28 Denise Bourdet on ITT does have what was not in Post and is interesting in various ways. Journalistically it is because she cuts through all the nonsense, says what the statements mean and not what they say, whereas the paper hewed the line of saying what they say, which is to lie to the people. A general, perhaps hasty, perhaps wrong comment on the Kleindienst matter: We live in an age in which there is no real political courage, no genuine political principle, so this horrible man has a fine prospect of confirmation, with all the evil that will mean and only because nobody has really fought him as it would be easy with a couple of good kid researchers to fight him, on his record, which is pretty public. He is that arrogant. His bare face hangs out all the time.

I do hope that the letters Jim writes, which are helpful in many and different ways, are not a burden to him with his awful schedule. On the patchcord (3/30) he may have hit it right on the button. The VOH does use 5 1 1/2v batteries and the TC40 uses 4. I'll ask a friend with the phone company or ask Bud when he is here if he has anyone he can trust. The minimum charge here at the only shop that shows any prospect of knowledge is \$8.00

hr and I lack confidence in their clock as well as their knowledge. In trying to dub, I've been feeding to the Sony because it has better quality and because there was some trouble with the recording part of the VOM. Next I'll try it the other way and see if the cord works both ways and if that overcomes the blasting. My Concord patchcord would probably work from Sony to Sony, for they use the same kind of plug Sony does on the mike. Your recollection of the Morelco plugs is correct. They are identical with the VOM.

On the tapes, thanks for the info on the new kinds. Lil will compute what we dare risk on the Sonys for my next trip. We got another mailing from Sony, enclosed, in case you didn't and in case any part interests you. There is no need to replace the cassettes I snet you. It will cost a quarter of what they cost me, 50¢. I made them for you, so keep them or reuse them for dubbing. I missed a couple of good ones of that period, sorry to say, one of a panel with Martin Agronsky. I do hope that some day you write of this period, as you can, when even tiny things can have value and meaning.

Tea: we get and prefer a Japanese green in DC. Can't afford the better but enjoy the cheapest. Lil's taste is like yours' (except for the cream and sugar. I like some Chinese reddish teas the identities of which I do not know from the dim past when we ate in Chinese restaurants where few spoke English. The Earl Grey is a scented tea, prized in England but not by me. I'm using it up because I don't like the ordinary teas, including Lipton's. And Julian Schuman is the man whose name I couldn't think of I thought might want my books. If you ever hear how to reach him, I can forward through a prof. friend in Canada, and I'll say as a gift from you. You had mentioned him during the Visit. Lincoln Square footnote is good idea. I should be there before too long, and my photo has been taken at such places so often it holds no terror. Last: Cubans. First, embassy USSR, when reporting.

Text ITT releases. I suspect we'll see full texts none of them because of hankypanky and as of now I think it has past point of real utility, unless something else breaks out. I have come to understand these kinds of semantics rather well, and Hoover never fails to use them. Most of the private people in the business learned the same lingo from him and use it as he does.

Marshall: If I didn't tell you, as I think I did in confidence, he finally admitted that he regards Jackie, not the family, as his client. Jones Harris, who may not be trust worthy source, says this is some more of the Kennedy supersmart stupidity. He has posed as close to them. He finally married Heidi (Alfred Gwynne's) Vanderbilt. He is son Jed Harris and Ruth Gordon, stepson Carson Kanin, as I recall. Luftmensch, if you know the German. ... Glad you got to see Terrill on TV. Office, I presume, or during goofoff. That was one time it would have been goof for Je to have had one.... Time has caught up with you on invites: Demos invited. Hacks, natch.

I do not repeat or comment on it, but it is where you share your enormous knowledge and understanding of the Chinese that you expand my possibilities of understanding. Your phrase is reenter the world scene. I think the Chinese timing on this was keyed to their own feeling of being able to do it on a basis of equality as much as the strategic concepts, the world situation, but favorable to this timing. They now have IT and the means of delivery.

I agree with you on the diminishing-returns aspect of the phoney cases, esp. vs. the blacks, but I think you are taking a too-restrictive view. I think Angela's address, for example, was more than fine, it was constructive and will reach many not touched before. But I also feel as I have from the first that one of the intents of all these phoney prosecutions was to immobilize, and that it continues to do. As I look back now on what I wrote in '68 on this and related matters, I feel good about my understanding, and others are now realizing and saying the same thing, simplified as the provoking of violence to require force in its repression, to drive the country into a more authoritarian stance and at the same time gain acceptance for it, including from the eastern liberals. The government can and probably will lose most of the cases and still win its main point. But it suffers a by-product, a unification among the oppressed.

On the Cold War, we'll have to await time's unravelling. I think the entire concept and form of imperialism has changed, not from altruism but from non-profit. There will be a lingering domina-theory, anti-red paranoia, but it is my view that US interests will too-late again shift to Latin America and home. Our economy is all but perished. The anti-red character of post-war relief has Frankensteined on us. And until someone uses the BOMB, all relationships are changed. We remain the most stupid, the least understanding, like Abrams statement in today's papers about how big a mistake the NVN have made. We made

the arrogant blunders, first in demanding what I call a reverse Clausewitz, getting at the conference table what we cannot wrest by arms, then saying they won't negotiate in good faith, which the rest of the world will understand means only that they won't bow before us and meet our terms, and they have established their good faith and capability by the offensive that after all this time still caught us by surprise and has been a smashing success. They can't lose, we can't win, and we can't find the grace to accept a settlement. They'll not again agree to the saving of a white face, as they did on USSR's intervention in Geneva. Or to oversimplify, I think the forces of the cold war will turn upward and they'll have to find something else to waste money on besides the kinds of military production that have kept the factories going. The possibilities are limitless, but not for the biggies. You can't rebuild cities in GE and GM and Boeing and Lockheed plants.

The Chinese understanding of us cannot be as empire-builders because the empires were built before our time, before we had the capability, and now that time is past. I don't think they have a better view of us because we abused them less, for I think they think we abused them less only because we had less capability, not higher standards. I could, were it not that if my guests are on time I'll not have time, carry this further. I could argue that this emergence of China can become the most important single stabilizing force in the world today, and the one most likely to bring a state closer to traditional international peace. The alternative is inconceivable, use of the BOMB. On a few years, with their numbers, they'll have the great advantage there, of having best chances of surviving its use. The more primitive nature of their society is in this direction, too. And in time, as the men responsible for the bad relations pass, the relations will, perforce, improve, between the Chinese and Russians, too. To me the key thing is what everyone ignores: no matter how fierce the rhetoric and personal attacks, neither has abrogated the mutual-defense treaty. This means to me that despite everything, they're determined to stick together against the rest of the world. As the common border means greater likelihood of conflict, it also means the best way for two allies to fight, one with his back to the other, that is, put another way, facing the real ~~enemy~~ enemy and not having to worry about the shiv in the back. Nixon will get nothing anti-Chinese from the USSR, I predict.

What you say of Mao knowing he was wrong on Tito blows my mind wide open. I'd never stopped to think of it that way. Of course? And brilliant.

On McArthur, considering Willoughby, how could he have been other than misinformed by his G2? You are undoubtedly ~~xx~~ right about McA being 25 years out of touch with China, but that does not satisfactorily (to me) explain his stupid decision to march too far north. That comes from long-standing US military policy. He might have done it without this, on his own, simply because he considered it his Holy Mission or because he held to ancient and long-outdated beliefs. Old imperialism, and for this who the Chinese were would have made no difference to him. Hope you have since explained your notes on what he told you. And that whole era shows how our military never learned their Clausewitz and have only a Neanderthal concept of politics, taught by the ignorant to the ignorant at the major military institutions of ignorance that succeed only because the possible adversaries are so weak.

Story on mturners magnificent! You have, for the first time, made sense for me of that crazy contradiction: Mao probing the Russians under Stalin so wrong in their interpretation of Marx and then deifying Stalin as the true exemplar of Marx! Cunning these heathen Chinese! If we agree, as you correctly say, on the ridiculousness of all of this, I think we should also remember that we are the ordinary ones who do not have the major problems to grapple with, and that those who do have to improvise, have to find some ways of coping with or getting around them. History is replete with such seeming stupidities that so often have to exist in some form, such being the state of the body politic in each era. The one time we could have escaped it FDR died. Then we had Truman, Churchill, and that plagiarism of Hitler at Fulton, and only now is the fatx diminishing from a full fire to a simmering, fizzing flame in a frying pan.

Guests never on time, now due, so I'd best knock off. I do hope you have time for such illuminating letters (And while Lil now hasn't time to read them, I just read excerpts to her while she washed her hair—she like that moroner story best!) They tell me what I could not learn for myself or dope out independently. Many thanks.

30 March 1972

Dear Harold:

Odds and loose ends:

I have two notes from you about patch cords, one dated 3/3/72 and <sup>an</sup> earlier undated one received here 15feb72. I don't know what an attenuator is, but assume it to be some sort of filter to reduce a signal carried by a patch cord during the dubbing process. I have run into this blasting process myself, with recorders which have built-in automatic amplifiers like the Sonys. I suspect, but do not know, that this may be caused by a different voltage between the sending and receiving machines. For instance, our Craig ~~uses~~ uses five 1 1/2 volt cells, whereas the Sony uses only four for a total of six volts. We can dub from ~~the~~ one to the other, but not the other way round, and I never can remember which way and have to experiment each time.

As for your problem of fixing up a patchcord between the VON and the Sony, I simply wouldn't dare try to obtain ~~add~~ relay any advice on it from here. For a very good reason, I don't really understand what you are talking about. I remember the old Norelco plug, but don't recall whether it had five or three prongs. I gather both had one extra prong to make sure it always was plugged in correctly. The three prongs meant a simple mike circuit was involved. The five meant a remote on-off switch for the mike was included. The only thing I can suggest is to find a shop somewhere with someone who recognizes the equipment and the problem, and by that I mean both machines with their respective plugs and cords.

To answer another question, the TDK tape does not have the sensor. Accurate has seen ads about Gillette tape but hasn't had any experience with it.

Now to surer ground, where I have some idea what I'm talking about. The Canadian tape you sent was a very good job. We've heard that and the CBS forum, not having got around yet to hearing the Ted White program. Still another came in yesterday and appears to have something by Marshall Green. We'll get to both in time. We've already returned the little tape of your conversation with Jerry Ray. We agree with you. He's not stupid.

Tea: We are pretty ignorant in this sector, and plead guilty to ~~liking~~ liking the same kind the British do -- red Assam or Indian -- and with cream and sugar. We also like Chinese and Japanese tea, and are so ignorant that we don't know the difference between fermented and unfermented. Which is the kind the Russians use, which comes in bricks?

Here we can get quite good Japanese green tea, which is all pretty much alike, and some rather inferior Taiwan tea which may be green but more often is reddish. We have not yet seen the kind of Chinese tea we really like, which is a delicate green tea from central and south china. If you want some of this common Japanese tea or some of what we consider rather inferior Taiwan tea, we'd be glad to get it for you. Earl Grey we've never heard of. Lipton is pretty much our speed, come tea time.

Regarding anyone in China who would like a copy of the Whitewash books, I don't doubt someone would be delighted to see them.

The only Chinese in Peking whom ~~Excelsior~~ <sup>I know that</sup> I know is Chiao Kwan-hua, vice minister of foreign affairs and who I doubt would remember me since I met him only a couple of times in 1949 in Hongkong. He was the one who came from China to make the opening statement for the People's Republic at the UN, and was back in Peking during the Nixon visit. ~~Whether~~ he has returned I don't know.

Felix Greene was there recently, but I don't know where he's staying. Julian Schuman is there permanently, apparently, and I know him, but don't know how to reach him.

I have no doubt Chou would be interested in seeing the Whitewash series, assuming he has time to read them, which I think is doubtful. The best I can suggest is the next time you are in NY and have the time to drop in at their headquarters (it's now in some former motor hotel\* which they bought for \$4 million) and inquire as to how to get them to him. In writing to him you could refer to his interest expressed in the Excelsior article by the Mexican correspondent. It's an interesting idea, and I believe Chou and his office would be glad to know the obverse of the official story, which they are incapable of believing. Next to Chiao Kwan-hua in the foreign affairs hierarchy ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> Huang Hua (pronounced whahng whah) who was ambassador in Ottawa before the Chinese came to the UN and who is in effect the ambassador at the UN when Chiao isn't there. If you could get in touch with him I'm sure he could tell you very quickly who'd be interested. He was a student at Yenching during the time I was there and I was aware of him, but never met him. He was Ed Snow's translator when Ed first went to Yanan.

■ In copies of letters to Jack Anderson you express interest in a text of a JEH release on the ITT memo. Dated 25mar72. I haven't seen a text from him moved on the wires or reprinted in any paper for many years. If by any chance one should show up in the NYTimes when Jenifer gets to that issue, we'll certainly make you a copy.

Several letters to various people from you about Burke Marshall. He always has interested us since the GSA-family contract was announced, and for a long time we had him doped out to be the likeliest candidate for the agent in the Kennedy camp. Not so sure now. He seems more like the typical rich man's son with the peculiar arrogance and stupidities of the rich aristocracy. There must be other factors, of course, but this seems thus far to be the more dominant one. In another reference you asked someone if he were the son of a vp of Standard Oil. I looked up both in an old Who's Who and he isn't. Possibly a relative, since both families live in New Jersey towns, but his father has a different name from that of the Esso veep.

The last thing I have set aside to deal with is Karnow's review of Terrill's book, which we're very glad to have. It sounds excellent, much in keeping with what I recall of his manner and approach on TV, which was good and sound if not too incisive. On one minor point I would differ from him (or Karnow, as it may be his reading of Terrill) and that is where he says the Chinese toyed with the idea of inviting one or more leading Democratic figures, presumably along with Nixon, but in the end chose to vote the straight Republican ticket because the GOPs are more hostile to the Soviet Union than demos like Harriman.

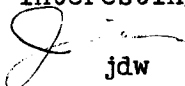
\* Lincoln Square Motor Inn, West 66th Street, New York; opposite the Julliard School.

This no doubt was part of the equation -- the Chinese rarely do anything for just one single reason -- but in one of Ed Snow's articles in Life last July or April he attributes to Mao a statement that if the Chinese want to deal with America, they know they MUST deal with Nixon, the implication being that having spent a career preventing anyone else from dealing with the Chinese, Nixon is the man in charge and will be the one with whom they have to deal. He also attributed to Mao some sort of statement along the lines of why shouldn't we talk with Nixon? We talked with Chiang Kai-shek, didn't we?

I'm particularly conscious of this business of the necessity of dealing with Nixon because I missed it at first reading, Ed slipped over it so skilfully by emphasizing the point that Nixon was, after all, the man in charge. Then when Nixon made his blockbuster announcement that he was going to Peking, we both sat down and very painfully figured out that the real reason the Chinese were going to receive him was that they knew his career and realized that not only could he prevent anyone else from approaching Peking, as he had in the past, but that he could do so at least to the end of his first administration, and if reelected, up until 1976. If the Chinese had decided they were ready to reenter the world scene, we reasoned that they felt this would be too long to wait, and that if they had made such a decision they would follow it up with real action. None of this was too easy to conclude because of our indignation at Nixon's gall. We then realized that the Chinese certainly knew what they were doing and felt better. I then happened to go back and re-read Ed's articles, and there it was. He had told us so months before.

A word about an entirely different matter: As you may have noticed, an all-white jury last week returned a verdict of innocent in the case of the two surviving Soledad Brothers, who with George Jackson <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ accused of murdering a white guard at Soledad Prison three days after another white guard had shot three black prisoners in a yard brawl. The word had just reached the prison that the first guard had been exonerated by a grand jury. The state had no case except four former cons who testified reluctantly, and the defense argued effectively they had been bought off with better treatment or promises of parole. The next day Angela Davis came to trial in San Jose, and again the state thus far has a very thin case against her, purely circumstantial, and I'd almost bet she will be acquitted. In view of earlier acquittals of Bobby Seale and others in the East, it begins to look like the establishment policy of tying up the leaders in long litigation is beginning to run into the law of diminishing returns. The prosecution made a serious mistake with Angela, pitching its main case against her on the theory that she was consumed with physical passion for George Jackson, whom she was determined to get out of San Quentin with the other two Soledad Brothers because she was in love with him. Putting the case on the level of a dime-store true love romance in the case of a serious and dedicated revolutionary like Angela, will, I devoutly hope, bounce vigorously against the racist ~~paranoid~~ jerks who apparently are so ignorant and narrow-minded they can't even imagine, much less understand, what is involved.

Thanks again for all the good tapes, clippings and always interesting correspondence.

  
jdw



30 March 1972

Dear Harold:

This replies to yours of March 13, which was in response to mine of March 8 in which I apparently offered certain ideas incompletely or in distorted form about Sino-Russian relationships and associated problems such as the Cold War.

I wish I could share your optimism that the Cold War is ~~indeed~~ over. In its most virulent form it is, of course; but my suspicions arise from the belief that it was merely an exaggerated form of certain endemic maladies from which we suffer as a people and as a nation, certainly at times as a mob. Our anti-Russian suspicion was inherited from the British and dates back to Jefferson's time. Partly again because of our British heritage, partly because of suppressed guilt feelings over our treatment of Indians and blacks, we are almost incorrigibly racist much of the time, unable to escape the narrow subjectivism and violent response pattern into which racism locks us. The Cold War, and the McCarthyism which was its finest flower, grew from rich soil. Talk about religious conflicts: we waged the Cold War with all the passion our Puritan forefathers lavished upon the Devil and Popish Plots. We may tone it ~~down~~ down, even overcome to some extent ~~and~~ the intellectual straitjacket it has tied us up in for a generation, but its roots are alive, nourished by the same elements that helped it sprout and flourish in the first place.

I believe the Chinese understand this -- that they view us as potentially hostile not only to the Russians, who are both Communists and the second most powerful nation, but also to themselves because they are both Communists and potentially the most powerful nation of all because of their immense manpower and demonstrated capabilities. HOWEVER, and the capitals are necessary, the Chinese know we are a long way off, and they understand us well enough as individuals and human beings to believe that we are not fundamentally and temperamentally addicted to empire building. I think they believe firmly that the dynamics of capitalism impel us toward empire building, but that this is a passing phase which we should outgrow if given a little time. They have had some bad experiences with us, but not as bad as with other powers. They fought the Opium War with the British. They fought the French over Indochina. They fought the Japanese, first over Korea, then Manchuria, then all of China. They lost all these wars. The only time they've fought us was in Korea, and they consider they won that one. They know that there are times when we can be reasonable and practical. With others, they are not sure. Especially are they not sure about Russia, although from long experience they understand Russia as well or better than anyone. In their minds, their bill of particulars against the Soviets is hotter than the one they had against the Czars. After all, the Czars were imperialists in an imperialistic world. The territory the Soviets still keep was taken by the Czars, but kept by the Soviets. You are correct that much of the griping about this is for internal political purposes, and I agree with your opinion that the Chinese do not particularly want this very cold region back and would go farther -- with a Russian population it would be a hell of a problem to them. But that does not keep the issue from being used as a bargaining point.

Also used ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> occasional disputes along the present border, but again I believe that most of these are symptoms of bargaining situations ~~and~~ and that in any case thus far ~~has~~ <sup>have</sup> come about along rivers which demarcate the border. Both the Chinese and the Russians know that rivers meander and change course. Both know when this happens peasant populations are stranded in the other country. Both have settled many such disputes in the past and know exactly what is involved and what has to be done. The fact that a dispute like this breaks into the open means that it is being used to thwart or distract the other side in some current larger situation. This has been going on since the 16th century. Both sides are used to it. And as you say, China is usually pretty reasonable when it comes to really settling a border.

In that interesting tape you sent of the CBS forum among Cronkite, Severeid, Bernard Kalb and some other guy, one of them quoted a foreign diplomat in Peking as saying that what has happened in China is 20 per cent Communist and 80 per cent Chinese. I think that ratio probably applies to their relations with the Russians too. That is, they part company with the Russians ideologically, as you point out, as to who really represents true Communism (particularly where the developing nations are concerned) but ~~that~~ their basic reaction to the Russians is that of another power sharing the same land mass. When that power is still the same first group of western barbarians the Chinese ever encountered in force, they understandably have reservations. The Chinese always have dealt with barbarians; in fact much of the fun of being Chinese has consisted of having barbarians around to worry about politically, be amused by, to play off against each other, and even to feel sorry for. But western barbarians were somehow different. They actually used gunpowder in guns. They refused to learn Chinese in most cases. They not only challenged the Chinese national, and more important, cultural ego. Far worse, they ignored it. As the first of these fearsome characters, the Russians made an indelible impression, and Stalin was no help in overcoming it in spite of all the lip service the Chinese pay to him.

Of course Mao was wrong about Tito. He knew perfectly well he was wrong. But by denouncing Tito before Stalin dared to, (because it would ~~also~~ <sup>also</sup> ~~lead~~ <sup>lead</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~idea~~ <sup>idea</sup> that the Communist nations were separate entities), Mao, who had invented Titoism, avoided being called a Tito and a dissident. Stalin knew perfectly well what Mao's game was, but could not afford to let it be known that he knew. ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~able~~ <sup>able</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~because~~ <sup>because</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Communist~~ <sup>Communist</sup> ~~world~~ <sup>world</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> ~~who~~ <sup>who</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~able~~ <sup>able</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~because~~ <sup>because</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Communist~~ <sup>Communist</sup> ~~world~~ <sup>world</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> ~~who~~ 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His inciting the Chinese along the Manchurian border came at the best possible time from the Chinese standpoint, not only for domestic purposes but also vis-a-vis Mao's relations with Stalin.

With Japan disposed of, China no longer had any highly visible external enemy, particularly since Russia was now not just a collection of barbarians but a nation of Communist brothers, supposedly. The ~~dis~~appearance of capitalist imperialist American forces along the Manchurian border, and in a friendly Communist North Korea at that, could hardly have been more propitious. The difficult job of getting the country under control with all the land reforms, taking over of private enterprise and other unpleasant things most Chinese were none too keen on, became suddenly much easier in the face of possible invasion from Korea. And by sending Chinese "volunteers" into Korea the Chinese created a situation which called for far more help from Stalin. As I've mentioned before, the Chinese came out of this deal with the most powerful army in Chinese history, thanks mostly to Russian arms which the Russians could hardly deny, partly due also to the enormous experience the Chinese picked up there, and the side benefit of getting rid of a lot of former Kuomintang troops who had surrendered and whom they didn't trust anyway.

If the Chinese hadn't had an American menace to scream about they'd have had to invent one, but they didn't need to. We did it all for them and probably insured the success of the revolution in China and certainly advanced it by at least a decade. And Russia paid. That's the beauty of it all from the Chinese standpoint.

After Stalin died in 1957, the Chinese mourned more convincingly than anyone. The Chinese are expert ~~mourners~~ mourners. A death occurred in a Chinese family next door to us in Peking one time, and for days we enjoyed the alternate feasting and caterwauling -- everyone had a hell of a good time -- and the ladies dutifully took turns as chief mourners -- "You've cried long enough, Sister. Let me take over for a while."

Now that he no longer actually had Stalin to contend with, Mao could afford to diefy him and thereby embarrass Khrushchev. He did. Moscow, which always had suffered all the ills of the Vatican syndrome, now became firmly locked into it, due in no small part to all the caterwauling about the great Stalin from Peking. The next year the Chinese launched the Great Leap Forward and began the commune program. All very un-Russian. All very contemptuous of the bourgeois ideals ~~with~~ and materialistic yearnings of the Russians. China was going her own way, meanwhile making a frightful nuisance of herself by continuing to refer to that great ~~man~~ exemplar of true communism, Joseph Stalin, who by this time had become a non-person in Russia. China subverted the Albanians (next door to Yugoslavia) and meddled in the Hungarian revolt, if not others. That did it. ~~Khrushchev~~ Khrushchev knew perfectly well what was happening, decided he'd had enough, and pulled 10,000 Russian technicians out of China in 1960. The ~~Chinese~~ Chinese resented like hell their taking their blueprints with them, but believe <sup>me</sup> on balance were glad enough to see them go.

This is all pretty ridiculous, but we live in a ridiculous world, and the Chinese would be the first to say so. Like you, I think most of this is unnecessary and probably unwise and certainly unfortunate. The Chinese would agree but never admit it, of course. When they need the Russians, they know how to get them.

More elsewhere,

*J. Edgar Hoover* jdw