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Record Group/Collection: Donated Historical Materials
Collection/Office of Origin: Bush, George H.W., Collection
Series: Personal Papers
Subseries: China File, Peking Diary

OA/ID Number: 25874
Folder ID Number: 25874-003

Folder Title:
Peking Diary Volume III

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Redaction	Redaction of person's name from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 203) (1 pp.)	4/13/75	Ø	
02. Redaction	Redaction of a half sentence from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 212) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	4/23/75	Ø	
03. Redaction	Redaction of half sentence from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 213) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	4/23/75	Ø	
04. Redaction	Redaction of five sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 218) (1 pp.)	4/28/75	Ø	
05. Redaction	Redaction of two sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 219) (1 pp.)	4/28/75	Ø	
06. Redaction	Redaction of a half paragraph from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 229) [ADDITIONAL RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/9/75	Ø	
07. Redaction	Redaction of half paragraph from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 230) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/9/75	Ø	

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Collection:

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Peking Diary Volume III

Pinksheet Number: sm46
OA/ID Number:
Date Closed: 10/19/1999
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2000-0032-S
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
08. Redaction	Redaction of four sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 238) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/15/75	✓	
09. Redaction	Redaction of four sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 241) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/25/75	✓	
10. Redaction	Redaction of seven sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 242) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/27/75	✓	
11. Redaction	Redaction of a half sentence from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 247) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	5/30/75	✓	
12. Redaction	Redaction of three sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 268) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	6/16/75	✓	
13. Redaction	Redaction of three sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 269) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	6/16/75	✓	
14. Redaction	Redaction of one paragraph from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 287) [ADDITIONAL RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	7/3/75	✓	

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15. Redaction	Redaction of a half sentence from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 296) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	7/10/75	Ø	
16. Redaction	Redaction of a half sentence from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 297) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	7/10/75	Ø	
17. Redaction	Redaction of four sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 301) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	7/14/75	Ø	
18. Redaction	Redaction of four sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 302) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/08/2007.] (1 pp.)	7/14/75	Ø	
19. Redaction	Redaction of five sentences from Peking Diary (REDACTED PAGE FOLLOWS ; pg 321) [RELEASED BY G.B. ON 05/23/2007.] (1 pp.)	8/12/75	Ø	

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PEKING DIARY

Vol. III

seemed to be pleased to be on U.S. soil so to speak, have a drink of whiskey. They were an attractive group, mainly doctors, very serious about their work. Some of the doctors in the health care group would come at their own expense. The Schistosomiasis Group was one of the exchanges, and Jay Taylor accompanied them. The Chinese hosts for one group came. That was 5 to 6:30 and then at 9 we went to a dance at the Cameroon Embassy where I was bearded by Agence France Presse, Reuters, and the Italian news agency asking about the Sihanouk comment. Sihanouk made a statement saying that he had told us to get out of Phnom Penh etc. etc. I'll put this in the file. I gave it a "no comment." We got home very late. I think the Africans were pleased we were there. It is impossible for me dancing. The big highlight was a Canadian girl doing the twist or something. She was fantastic. More action than we had seen around here since that girl that used to work in Finance of the RNC who got fired by Odell, (Barbara?). End of April 12. Winds came up - "dafora?" Tremendous wind and dust in the air. It was really a lousy night's sleep.

Sunday, April 13 - Went to our church service. Henrietta Morris joins us. We pick her up at the Peking Hotel and then shoot up to the service. A relaxed day. Friendship Store. Shopping around. Interview with John Burns that he is doing for People Magazine - on his way out of China soon, to work for the New York Times. A ping pong lesson by a Chinese kid who put friendship first, who isn't as good as Ho (?) but a very nice fellow.

Counselor case of Reed Gardner who was here with a British tour group

headed by Dr. Brown. Reed Stokes Gardner freaked out, threatened to kill Mao, threatened to blow up the Forbidden City, threatened the life of Dr. Brown and also the life of our counselor officer, struck a Chinese in the hotel room, locked himself in, said he needed the seventh key, cast a spell on Jerry Ogden, the counselor officer, by holding his hand in the air and calling him Satan. The China Travel Service would at first not negotiate with the United States Liaison Office, the Brits were leaving early Monday morning for Moscow and they threatened to tell the Moscow airline people if Gardner tried to go along. The British tour director, though he behaved well, was trying to get his trip on its way and shake leave of this guy. Great calling back and forth. Good State Department support. They sedated the man late, late Sunday night and kept him in custody Monday in a hospital, and delivered him to the airport, sedated him again, and we sent a marshal, trained security guy, with him to Tokyo where he was delivered to the boy's father who got out of bed in the middle of the night in Utah and started arranging to go to Tokyo. Good counselor work and good support by Department and Embassy-Tokyo. Kept us up at night.

Main topic of conversation is still Sihanouk and the Sihanouk-distorted story of what we tried to do. Monday, April 14, the ambassador Cesar Romero of Peru and his beautiful German speaking wife, whom we had met in Zambia, paid a courtesy call. They should be a good addition to the diplomatic community. Going away luncheon - very special and Chinese, at our house for Bob Blackburn. Going away reception for Ambassador Stachowiak of Poland. 5:00 p.m. A great big affair, less deadly because we were outdoors and in the Polish

gardens diametrically across from us looked beautiful. They have this tremendous embassy with apartments, massive swimming pool, good tennis court. Our place looks miniscule in comparison. Showed the movie "40 Carats" that night with the Gurd Rugas. Getting ready to go on the trip to Hong Kong and Canton. People are still wearing their padded clothes. I am told that on some mysterious signal from somewhere everyone changes to summer garb. Took a long walk Sunday after trying unsuccessfully to fly a couple of my Tientsin kites. Everyone stared at Fred. We had to tell them that he was a dog, "xiaogo." Some didn't know what he was. Some of the kids did. High school kids kind of barking at him as he went along. Little kids kind of run alongside him. Others scared to death, jumped out of the way. Old people seemed to smile a lot. Some old cancer victims from the hospital next door were sitting outside near the park with their pajamas and bathrobes on, smiled warmly as we went by. Kids were following along behind us. Spring was in the air and it is very pleasant. We walked past the park, past the big, multi-story apartment buildings that are up past the British Embassy and all around the block. Saw the soldiers lining up for their diplomatic guard duty, being lectured by some officer. They went on past and watched lots of action in the park. Then walked along the streets where the cyclists stared like made at Fred. Cycling we are using our goggles alot with the dust in the air. They help.

Note: My heart aches for the people in Cambodia who have battled for what they thought was right down there. It is going to be a lot of misery. Sihanouk's position is not clear but he doesn't appear to have too much flexibility from the Khmer Rouge. Watson Wise called. He used to be so pushy at the UN and than at the National Committee, always asking some special favor, mainly want-

ing to be appointed ambassador. He wrote saying he was here representing an important furniture company. It turns out to be some small outfit. I told him he could not get a visa. He wrote back saying he figured out some way to get in and he now found out about the house guest visit visas. I told him we can't do it. He called today and asked if he could stay with Holdridge whom he has never met or heard of. I heard him on the phone when the line was dead saying, "Who was that fellow I saw yesterday - was it Cross?" and then when I got on the phone he said, "My good friend Chuck Cross told me to give you a call on this." Life goes on just the same.

April 15 - lunch at the New Zealand Embassy. Morning in the office with the briefings by our political people for me - this one on Sino-U.S. relations, tracing the troubled history since liberation until now. Very interesting. Call from the Ambassador of Mauritius and dinner at the Egyptian Embassy. The Ambassador from Mauritius is based in Pakistan but he is also accredited to Peking. Very nice guy - friend of Byroade's. Interested in being sure the U.S. keeps its position in the Indian Ocean, thinks we need to do a better PR job showing the number of ship days, how many Russian ships there are there compared to ours. He seems very friendly to the United States. Dinner at French. Topic was the subject of Vietnam and Cambodia. Paladín, the Danish Ambassador, and the French tut tutting. I always get the feeling at these talks that there the other side's position is clearly that all the violations and corruption and the lack of elections by South Vietnam is disgust. And nothing comparable for the North. It does seem we are betting on the wrong people in some places.

Wednesday the 16th - leave for Canton (Kuon Hso?). The plane is a two hour and thirty minute flight - non-stop, Boeing 707, leaving at 9:00 a.m., getting in around 11:30 a.m. I noticed out at the airport again that people recognized me and I am amazed at that. There is no way that they should know, but some way they do. And you hear them discussing and pointing "Busher! Busher!" which is my Chinese name. The airport has a new board, and people stare at it, which flips the destinations, arrival times etc. It is made by the Japanese and is the subject of tremendous interest. It would go unnoticed in other airports except for people bitching that their flights were not on it. They had us in first-class. The flight was full in the back.

April 16, 1975 - Mr. Lee of the China Travel Service met us at Canton Airport, escorted us all around Canton in the afternoon. He asked about the cancellation of the cultural performance for Washington. Asked whether there was a chance they would go in the future, etc. I told him that there was principle on both sides. We understood their principle; but our principle was that you ought not to politicize cultural performances. Indeed when we had been asked to make certain changes in the program for the Philadelphia Orchestra when they came to China, we did. And we thought it was only right that China make it in ours. I am absolutely convinced on these kinds of incidents that we need to make our position known to the Chinese in a friendly and frank fashion. We do have principles and it is time we stood up for them without being contentious. Everybody in our mission knows what I am talking about when I say that China talks about their principles, and when they want to turn something down, they can turn it down on principle. But they do not

big
misheard!

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accord others the same courtesy when it comes to understanding their principles.

Bar and I were immediately struck by the difference in Canton - tropical, humid almost like the Gulf Coast, very, very different. The water is soft compared to Peking's rock hard water. There are more pedicabs. There are as many bicycles, I guess, but they didn't seem as noticeable. The streets are more narrow than the wide streets in Peking. The costumes are more varied, but maybe it's because it's warm weather. In Peking it's been cold and there's been great similarity. The food was similar. The Cantonese of course, most of them, speak Canton dialect, but Mandarin does seem to get by. Stayed in the hotel right across from the fair grounds.

Went to the fair, looked around. On the first floor of the fair there are exhibits of Chinese goods and then upstairs there are more exhibits and consultation rooms. You always sit down and have tea and consult when you buy something. The American contingent at the fair so far is quite small. China is still way back in the background as far as really pressing their sales to the United States. They just don't go about it correctly. Indeed many of the people they get to the fair are promoters. I am convinced they could attract much higher quality people to the fair if they really went about it working hard. Lunch with Horowitz and Bill ^{Rope}Rop(?) both of whom share a suite down here to help advise American business people. Gene ^{Theroux}Shirow (?) from the National Council and U.S. China Trade, a very decent fellow, was there. Had dinner with him, Horowitz, Rop^e and Schweitzers, a couple with Hanover Manufacturers out of Hong Kong, and a Mrs. Ploudman (?) whose husband used to be a professor at Berkeley.

It is warm and tiring. We slept under mosquito nettings in the bed. The bed was like a center-fold, went right into a big crevice. I didn't sleep at all. Just this trip re-emphasizes what I felt when I went to Shanghai and Hengyang (?) and those trips -- and that is that you must get out of Peking to begin to get the feeling for all of China. It is oh so different here.

On the train there is music in the background - propaganda all around. Trip from Canton to the border - one continual agricultural operation, terraced fields, every inch of ground used. In fact I wonder whether some of this isn't for the benefit of people coming in, although it is certainly farming for real. Lot of water buffalo, lot of geese, lot of ducks, some very, very young children in the fields, old men with poles (double-pole carrying) and it looks like the same methods used two thousand years ago. There are no tractors to be seen, and I have not seen a truck yet; but there is plenty of manual labor and plenty of action on the fields that are so green that your eyes ache almost. Man washing his water buffalo using rather dirty water to do it. Cows standing up with his front feet peering into a yard. Gaggle of geese with green rings around their necks, bright green. Bunch of ducks and geese being led by a tender, knee deep in water across a mirky looking pond. Green, green, green, Man casting a net in the water for shrimp or fish of some sort.

Good reasonable food on the dining car. Car trains look like something out of 1910 in the U.S., but they are clean as they can be and a very smooth roadbed. As far as the eye can see there are bright green fields and

cultivation. Some irrigation going on with a fair amount of pumbing of water, raising it to a higher level. Crops mainly look like rice. I wonder about the disease and mosquitos with all this standing water around here.

April 21, 1975 - back into China after four fantastic days in Hong Kong. I am dictating this at night in the Tang Fung Hotel across from the fair grounds. We had a marvelous visit in Hong Kong including a tennis game with a fantastic girl player, Greta Ho and Robert Ho, her rich husband. Then a beautiful lunch at C. Y. Tong's (?) house, one of the largest ship owners in the world. Then the following day an all-day picnic with Kenneth Hue(?). The contrast between the way these Chinese live and the way we see the Chinese in Peking or Shanghai is just unbelievable, all of them extremely rich, all of them extremely gracious, extremely Western. Wives stylishly dressed, pleasant, enjoying the freedom to the fullest, capitalism to its maximum. Amazing contrasts when compared to what we have been used to over the last six months in China. Indeed some of the things in Hong Kong seem garish. The fashion shows seem decadent, I've got to watch to see that I don't get overly "Peking-ised" by time there. The creature comforts seemed somehow lavish, but the hustle and bustle, and the competitiveness, and the energy of the people in Hong Kong, couldn't help but impress after the drabness and the sameness of Peking.

*write
Greta Ho and Robert Ho
fantastic
* write
even*

Bemises arrived late but met us at the Hilton. We had a couple of really good relaxed days before taking the 10:00 train for the border on April 21, the Queen's birthday. Some of the Chinese came to Chuck Cross' house, the first time they have ever done it. But it was because I was there, head of the U.S. Liaison Office. The trip up the border was not and humid, but it

worked very well and everything was in order as we crossed back into China after four days of liberty in Hong Kong. Met by Mr. Lee of the Travel Service. Came to the Tang Fung Hotel where we went to the fair and looked around. Then had a reception for all American businessmen. I am not impressed with the quality of businessmen for the most part that come to the fair, although some are high class. Sears Roebuck, Union Carbide, RCA and others, but there are a lot of promoters in this sphere of business. Had a beautiful Chinese dinner with Rop² Horowitz and Blackburn who is on his way out. And here we are again back where we belong - on our way to Shanghai and Peking.

Telegram about Rog Morton wanting to come here. The Department seems uptight about it, but I think they just don't want to take the chance of saying "no" to some of these people. The telegram referred to a visit by Russell Train who had called me a while back to say he had been granted permission by the Secretary to come. I wired back and told them if they didn't want him to come, just tell him and he would understand. But apparently they don't want to do that. I still feel that we hold the China thing too close on certain things. And yet I understand you can't have everybody running loose as a free spirit in a society that is complicated. Ten - here we are in our old mosquito nettings about to go to sleep for the second time in the Tang Fung Hotel. What a contrast between this place -- with its kind of worn linoleum floors, filthy bathroom floors (although the water is hot) -- and the Hilton Bangkok Suite where we lived for several days. It's unbelievable. There is no air conditioning. The paint looks all dry and dirty and there's really a kind of run down look to the whole place. End of April 21.

*Contrast
monsters!!*

April 22, 1975 - another day at the fair. I met with the former No. 3 man, Mr. Huang, at the fair. We are wondering what his position really is. White haired and very friendly. We chatted about the UN and then about trade. He recited the Shanghai communique and how both sides should live up to that. I tried to drag him out on "Most Favored Nations" to see how badly that was bothering them. I discussed the fact that the fall-off in agricultural trade was not political but was a result of their harvest, to which he agreed. We talked about the need to understand U.S. markets and comply with some of our special regulations like canned foods etc. The talk was a good one. Held in a hot and somewhat odorous meeting room on the first floor of the Canton Fair Building. The Fair Building is actually two or three buildings, attractively done with displays on the first two floors, and on the third and fourth floors consultation rooms. The consultation rooms also had many beautiful things to show. I took Bar back up there this afternoon to see the baskets. There are many, many more on the display than we ever see in the stores.

It is hot and humid in Canton. The mosquito netting keeps any air from getting through. I kicked the netting off at night only to be chewed up by bugs. Not a pleasant night at all. So many of the Chinese goods are just not good. Their cameras, most of their machinery, their typewriters, their sewing machines are just not really the kind of articles that have any appeal. A lot of their cabinet design stuff looks like it was designed in the U.S. back in the twenties or thirties. I think, on the other hand, some of their handicraft and other imitation porcelain etc., are superbly done. Their basketware, closely knit baskets, are just beautiful. Large and small, shapes of animals (deers, doe, monkeys), all of these things -- attractively done. They display their silks well. They have many things

that have no appeal such as thermoses and wind-up clocks. I am wondering what countries buy any of these things.

The party for American businessmen attending the fair was successful. There must have been a 100 or so who attended. Some are kind of promoters and not particularly attractive people. It is unclear how people get invited to the fair. They should not be dealing through so many middlemen. They should be dealing with higher quality. Herb Horowitz, an excellent economic officer, feels that some of these promoters sell arrangements for others to come to the fair as their agents at rather high prices. There are several rather unsavory characters who might be doing this. It would be bad if it were true. The Tang Fung Hotel was built in the early sixties and looks like it has been really run down. The bathroom floors are really filthy. The plumbing leaks and really is disgraceful, although the rooms are rather large. The linoleum is all cracked up.

They have a lot of young kids who are learning languages at the fair. They are there to help out foreign guests. They serve as waiters, interpreters, busboys. It is a pretty good idea. We heard today that President Thieu left office, resigned. The decline in Southeast Asia is all around us.

We were supposed to take a plane to Shanghai and see a Shanghai acrobatic troop tonight. We got to the airport at four o'clock for a plane that was leaving at 4:35. There was a confrontation between China Travel Service, Mr. Lee, and a stalwart looking group of people at the CAAC counter in Canton who told us that the flight had just left. The CAAC crowd took the offense by showing a telegram that indicated they had just learned we were on the flight. China Travel man Mr. Lee argued back and told me later that they would all criticize China Travel about this. We stood around for a few minutes

wondering what to do and we discovered there was a plane into Peking, so we cancelled out our Shanghai plans and climbed on a plane that left about 5 for Peking. I am not unhappy but the Bemises and others were trying to get to Shanghai so I hope they can do it later on - the Bemises and Bryants. The foul-up was rather massive but I am not sure we don't have many such foul-ups in the States to compete. Many is the time that I have been around when flights have been cancelled. Flying on a Soviet ^{Illyushin?} ~~Alusion~~ 62 (?), non-stop Canton to Peking - about a three-hour run. About the same as Houston to New York. They served a rather nice looking cold-cut plate on the flight, tea and juice. We will wait to eat later on. Almost the end of April 22. Arrived April 22 - late at night. The house had been all torn up, being cleaned and stuff. Our message got in about 5 or 5:30 and there was Mr. Wong and Mr. Chung with the dinner all prepared by Mr. Chung - Sun having gone home. Kuo to meet us. The rug still up, but great to be home.

I worry about the fall of Thieu - no personal attachment whatsoever. I have complete conviction that there is such a thing as a domino theory. Thailand, the Philippines and others rushing towards new alignment. Kim Il Sung of Korea talking much tougher now about the South in Peking. Obviously trying to capitalize on the decline of the free countries in the southeast. A new report that Laos is engaged in heavier fighting there. Tremendous attacks on Kissinger and Ford. Isn't it amazing how a guy can rise to the top of the heap, and then be pushed off, and there seems great rejoicing as he tumbles down.

April 23 - back at the office. Inspectors and the security people are in doing security checks all over the place. I do not have the feeling that

the Chinese do a great deal of electronic spying on us, but it is good to check. Weather beautiful. Peking instantly greener. Bryants, Bemises and Bar off sightseeing. She is getting to be an expert in that, knowing her way around all these nooks and crannies. Lunch at home. Dinner at the Chin Yang Restaurant joined by the Clevelands and ^{Meredith} Jane Blair who are here on the Mayors Welcoming Group from Washington. One of the Lexinshe (?) (China Travel) guides started arguing with Jane Blair about the system and how their system is better than ours. I told her she ought to have lowered the boom on him. They also brought up the performing arts troop. Mr. Lee brought it up to me and I lectured him rather severely. I am wondering if a central directive didn't go out on these from China Travel. Sihanouk is still in Peking. His mother apparently dying. Now some talk that he won't go back at all. At least we tried. Early to bed. Nice change.

House, into
standard
|||

Visitors, when you have an awful lot of them, do become an effort. Life changes a lot. The Bemises and the Bryants are exceptionally easy. It is a strain on Bar I think. She feels she has to go to do all the things with them. Bemis and I played tennis on the 23rd - Te and Little Stone. End of 23rd.

April 24 - office work. Reception for Mayors Committee, a group of people that take care of foreign visitors in Washington. They have been nice to PRC and they have gotten a very good tour. They talked to the Bank of China people and they visit around. We were only able to have half the group because we didn't think the resident would be finished. Nordlingers(?), Norberg, Adams, McNottens - very good group. Nice quiet dinner at the residence. Bar took the Bemises and Bryants to the Summer Palace and I had lunch with John Burns, ~~Ballow~~ and Perito (?) at the International Club. Just digging out

from under paperwork. Assessing Kim Il Sung's visit. Kim Il Sung's talking militantly about Korea, China apparently down-playing this. Went to bed early, about 9. Fell asleep at 10. Had one of the best sleeps of my life. It is beginning to get warm in Peking. Kicked off all the covers. //

April 25 - It rained a little bit. We had a quiet lunch at the residence with Bemises and Bryants. Staff meetings being held in our office now at 9:15 every morning. Go around the room. Big turn-over in USLO staff. Almost a total turn-over. From five to six we had the Molecular Biology Group and the Investigation Group going to the United States. These group receptions are deadly, but at least they are good for having the Chinese in. End April 25.

April 26 - a long day, going to the Ming Tombs and the Wall. Use of Polaroid camera, first you ask to take the pictures. They they don't want it. Then I took the picture of someone else. Showed the others the instant picture, and then they all wanted it taken. What good the little gestures of friendship do in diplomacy! We are witnessing the unraveling of Kissinger's personal diplomacy. There was an article that someone showed me in Time Magazine today where I was mentioned, along with Laird, Richardson, Rumsfeld and Scranton as a possible Secretary of State; ranked as No. 3 I think. And if somebody asked me what would I do in that, it's hard to know exactly how I'd answer, although I concede it's most unlikely.

Southeast Asia - total reassessment of policy, summing up with China - probing in more depth to determine what they mean about hegemony. Convincing them that we are not hegemonic; insisting to them, more than we do, that the rhetoric of the Third World, which is causing an unraveling at the United

Nationa (what Pat Moynihan's article I just read said) is no good for world peace; continuance of the policy with the Soviet Union; trying to redraw the lines, perhaps in the Pacific, so we are not committed in wars we shouldn't be involved in, where we'd have no support from the American people -- not a withdrawal, but a re-examination, along with allies, and coming out in six months with a new Asian policy; continuing along in the Middle East but less spectacular personal diplomacy; attempting to get negotiations between the parties-extremely difficult-and using public opinion more in the United States, if possible, to understand the Arab point of view (if I am correct in my assessment that Israel has been more recalcitrant). We are a little bit out of this out here. These are just very general thoughts. I would use the UN ^{more} and multilateral aid, but I would do it only with the insistence of credit, ^{for USA} We have got to be realistic. We have to have our eyes open. We have to insist from the Secretary General and others that the United States be credited for the enormous support that we might elect to give in these channels.

The 26th was a delightful day. Many kids working and you see the enormous energy of China. I think of the contrast between India with its democracy and China with its totalitarian set-up, and I just am appalled at what I understand to be the difference. True, the price has been high, there is little freedom, there is a kind of peculiar way of doing things and yet in fundamentals China has done an enormously good job. A way has got to be found to take the goodwill that exists for the American people and get it over under the American government. Not easy, given the climate of tearing down, the disruption at home. We had a lovely, peaceful six person picnic, light, at the Ming Tombs. And then a delightful dinner served by Wong and Chung at home.

Following a matched doubles tennis game. The Canadian tennis tournament is on. Spring is here. The security people are in town. The ^{curriers} carriers are here. All in all I feel very happy here.

We must convince China that we are not their stereotyped blasphemous charges of imperialists and of those who seek hegemony. The Taiwan issue, if we solved it by giving away Taiwan, in my opinion would not take care of the problem, because then China would wonder what next, where could we be counted on. Some compromise must be found on that problem. End of the 26th.

Morning of the 27th - cool, fresh, gray and foggy, breezy out, a very pleasant day for a Sunday. Church at the Bible study place. Then a good tennis game with Bemis, Wong and Akwei. Then a visit to the track meet with the Algerians. The Algerians were outmanned. Sitting across from us at the track meet was a sea of Chinese faces. It looked like half the People's Liberation Army was there. And a neat square covering what, used in Yale Bowl was Portal 15-16, was the Navy and some Air Force along. The whole sea, in what they claim is a 100,000 seat stadium, of khaki on one side. There were a few empty seats in the place, but it was pretty near full. Women athletes in the shot put, high jump - men in all kinds of events, hammer throwing guy out-throwing the Algerian guy by 10 yards at least. I can't wait to see the great American track team come here. The stadium is pretty with a kind of synthetic carpeting on the outside of the track. Grass infield and a good looking track itself. Pole vaulters and high jumpers landing on great fluffy, spongy pillows. The wind was blowing and the pole vaulters had some difficulty. The event started just like the basketball game with the teams marching, holding each other's hands on high to stimulate

include

friendship. ^{Tung} Hse Dung and others were in the grandstands. We had lunch at the International Club - nice pick-up lunch - you get to see all levels of the diplomatic corps there. And then a big Peking Duck dinner with a standard of 8 yuan per person. There were twelve of us - the total bill was a 119 yuan including two wines, Mao Ti, and shoushing (?) and plenty of beer. Not bad for Peking Duck.

Monday the 28th - at 8:30 the phone rang. It said they are expecting you at the Double Bridge Commune at 9:00. We had put in to go to a commune on either Monday or Tuesday. We went to the commune. That was amazingly short notice. Bemises and Bryants and representatives were still in the sack. We just ran out there and it was a worthwhile event. 40,000 people in the commune.

The country is green now. In fact today we sat outside in wicker furniture at noon. It was just plain hot. I worked hard in the office on mail. The pouch is lousy at times, and the mail itself not too great. Bemises and Bryants getting ready to ^{go}. Applied to go to Nanking, Suchow and Shanghai, and today, departure less than 24 hours away, clearances have been made. Lot of preparations going on downtown for May Day. There are four main parks, including the Temple of Heaven and the Workers Palace Park, which is where Tung Wu had his memorial service, that are going to be all dressed up for May Day. They have performances - dancing, opera, all these different kinds of things - for the people in the parks. I can't wait to see it. It should be interesting. Dealing with the Chinese on airlines etc. is extremely complicated. Not much else to report. Close, April 28 - dinner in the park at the ^{Joudsa} Jouds Restaurant. A kind of seedy looking group of people around there and the food awful. The first lousy meal we've had in China.

It looked kind of like lower echelon African and East Europeans gathered there.

The Kim Il Sung communique with the Chinese came out. It took up ten pages, blasts against the United States, glorification of revolution in Africa, strong anti-Israel position, strong anti-imperialistic language. China degrades themselves in paying homage to Kim Il Sung, the glorious and noble leader. There was a frenetic, orgiastic greeting for Kim Il Sung with Chinese and Koreans breaking through the lines and weeping. He is a self-annointed leader and all over North Korea they keep building the man up. Basically rather unattractive, and the thing that gets me is that we continue to criticize Park in South Korea. And the civil libertarian groups continue to point out the imperfections of his regime. Yet nobody focuses in on the ridiculous leadership role of Kim Il Sung, with its self adulation and its totalitarianism. A communique like this makes us realize how far we have got to go in our work with China. The communique did talk about the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland but that was the Chinese side talking about that. In the blue news of April 28 Bob McCloskey was asked whether the United States had intensified diplomatic efforts with China or the Soviet Union pertaining to a settlement in South Vietnam. He said, "I have not said that we didn't." Now I am wondering here in Peking whether we are making secret overtures to China without my knowing about it. I'll try to find out about that. Kissinger's super secretativeness does not get the job done in my opinion in terms of getting maximum inputs for foreign policy. When I left I talked to Henry Kissinger about this. When he was here I talked to him about it. I talked to Habib and Lord all about it. I have

cabled Scowcroft a time or two on it and I must confess I do not feel we are fully clued in on what is going on with the PRC. A lot of contacts are made in Washington and I am sure we know absolutely nothing about them.

April 29 - Holt Atherton called from Tokyo saying that he is going to pick up his visa on Tuesday morning - all set to come. A few hours later he called back. Instead of giving him the visa on May 1 they gave him a visa for May 3. No explanation. No airplane til May 4. This probably has something to do with May Day, but it is so inconsiderate and it is so difficult to get things done. The Bemises wanted to ship a rug out and they go through all kinds of rigamarole; finally are told they can't ship the rug because it was bought after April 1. They went to the Friendship Store and down to the railroad station.

The Bemises and Bryants get to leave and go to negotiate for another compartment on the train. They went through for twenty minutes discussing with various officials what it would take to get another train compartment. Finally some big woman came up and the price was all set for an empty compartment next door. Then they are told there is no room. Now, of course, somebody could have been getting on the train down the line, but there is a great bureaucratic screw up on a lot of the dealings.

It is frustrating to try to get the people to visit, for example, at our house. You send in a list and then you never hear anything for a time. The tendency is to get discouraged, but we cannot do that. Today we get a message that all Vietnam is being evacuated. The Japanese diplomatic reception for the emperor's birthday -- people said, "Well it's good the chapter is closed, we're pleased it's over." The Bryants left. Visit with Ralph Pauls. Then

the diplomatic reception to say goodbye to the Stegers. The Lucases, also a great family, left. Then a language lesson. End April 29.

A long talk with the Syrian Ambassador who is very militant against the U.S. He is absolutely wild. With the fall of Vietnam he says that Israel is next. He was just gloating as much as he could. He didn't tell me this, but he told the Canadians. There is a great euphoria sweeping Peking about Southeast Asia. Distinguished group from the Chamber of Commerce from San Francisco including Tom Clausen, head of the Bank of America, and many other attractive people. It is fun having groups like this here. Bar and I played in the mixed doubles of Canada. They have a scorekeeper and it's their big event internationally.

Went to the National Day Reception for the Netherlands and there I heard, not through the State Department telegrams but through gossip at a reception, that the big, big men in Vietnam had surrendered. The Vietcong were there, three little guys about four feet high that rushed happily out of the room. The Vietcong and the North Vietnamese embassies are bedecked in flags and having understandable celebrations. Firecrackers are heard. It is a rather sad thing and you can sense the hostility and certainly the tension when I walk by certain groups at these receptions. John Small of Canada made an interesting comment. It is important that the U.S. stand firm in Korea, and it is important that this slide and decline be halted. It is important that these people stand for something. Where is our ideology. Where is our principle? What indeed do we stand for? These things must be made clear, and the American people must understand that, as soon as America doesn't stand for something in the world, there is

yes

going to be a tremendous erosion of freedom. It is true. It is very true. And yet it is awful hard to convince people of it at home, I am sure. I am a little annoyed about getting nothing from the State Department, hearing about the surrender of Binh Dinh from a drinking party. Canada apparently today also announced that they threw a second secretary, press attache, out of Canada for involving himself in subversive activities. Will there be a retaliation?

May First today, but April 30 I guess ends up as a gloomy day. A lot of dust in the air. And all in all not a happy time, but we are big enough and strong enough so we can regroup, redefine and move forward. A lot of human tragedy there. A lot of loss of life. Off to the Pakistan Embassy for dinner. End April 30.

May 1 - unbelievable. Extremely difficult to describe. Six parks were all made over into playgrounds, all kinds of cultural performances, singing, children in the brightest colors of greens and reds and yellows and blues you've ever seen. Banners all over. The night before the buildings were all lit up including the railroad station, hotels, the Square, the Hall of People etc. All the lights in the streets were on. Then the next day the festive air continued on what turned out to be a beautiful day. With Jerry Lavesque, Bar and I drove with Kuo out to the Summer Palace. There we were enchanted by the literally hundreds of thousands of people milling with great happiness through the park. There were all kinds of performances - singing, dancing, flowers, games - it was unbelievably spectacular. Something that I couldn't quite visualize. I had always thought of May Day as tanks and Mao standing in the Square with people running on by him. But that wasn't it. The Square was crowded but they were all crowds going into the

parks. We came home for lunch and then bicycled down to two fairs - the Workers Palace Park and the Sun Yat-sen Park on either side of the Great Gate at Tien An Men Square. These parks again were like the Summer Palace, full of activities, full of dances, full of games. Kids could drive little cars, they had all these industrial exhibits, derricks lifting, boats running, one warship firing its rockets into the air. There was a sign. We saw Chu Teh being carried down and then being propped up and walking to great applause to a crowded square as he came to watch a comedy and some singing. They had a choir. It looked like they were ex-factory workers, older women, and it was spectacular. The only thing was that there was a sign in there talking about supporting the people of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam against U.S. imperialists. People were extremely friendly. I used the old give away Polaroid gambit and they were absolutely thrilled, particularly the children. The whole day was perfect.

We were supposed to go either to a soccer game in the afternoon at 2 o'clock or an acrobatic performance at 7:30, but we stayed at the park all afternoon. And then I felt a little tired at six so we didn't go to the 7:30 performance, although I am sorry we missed it. I have seen one of those. I saw lots of South Vietnam tourists - PRG - with their little signs. The whole aftermath of Vietnam making me slightly sick, but anyway there was no animosity towards us anywhere that you could feel. I think the people are not sure at all that we are Americans, but it was a spectacular holiday, and I am told that October 1 is very much the same. I don't want to miss it. End of May 1. Add to May 1 Ricardo Castaneda, Deputy Foreign Minister of El Salvador, came to see me. He was here talking to the Chinese on a round-the-world trip to get El Salvador in as head of FAO. He is a delightful

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young man and it is always a pleasure to see him.

May 2 - the Sri Lanka Ambassador, Karannogada, came to see me. He was convinced that we should move in and give much, much more aid to South Vietnam and North Vietnam. I told him that there would be too much heartache, too much concern in our country about the things that had gone wrong, and that we were not able to do this. One of the heart-breaking things is the way our position in Vietnam is totally misunderstood. You have to be here in Peking with its dominating continuing theme every day in the red news and in the blue news. It makes an impact on the diplomats and they in turn reflect it to us.

Visit from my old ailment from Pakistan. Ailments here seem to be worse than elsewhere. They seem to hit harder. Even a common cold is more severe. CBS series on Benjamin Franklin has come here and is a marvelous thing to have. It is a wonderful series and I am grateful to Paley for arranging this. Saturday, took it easy. Laid up most of the day. Went out to play in the tennis tournament with Akwei, Bennaceur of Tunisia, and Ratanavong of Laos. Beat them 6-1, 6-love. Canadian tennis tournament. It is a very good event. All the ranks and the embassies mixed together, also all ages. It's a really nice thing. I wish we were in a position to reply. Soon the outdoor courts will be open at the International Club.

Sunday, May 4 - I was laid low with the bug. Bar went to church and I stayed flat on my back. We did have lunch with the Harlands and then I cycled up to the Club in the afternoon, but generally speaking I was cramped up and suffering from the darn bug. Peregrine Worsthorne of London came by with Claire Hollingworth to see us Sunday night. We had a good visit

with him. He had been to call on the Foreign Minister along with some other distinguished London journalists and then they were taking the tour. He reported that he had had a long couple of visits with Kissinger. Kissinger was rather gloomy at the time. All in all it was rather a sad report. He is a conservative fellow and wonders what will happen if the U.S. really does turn isolationist. I tried to convince him that the U.S. wouldn't do it, although I do think this is a period where we will pull back somewhat. Celebrations continue over at the Vietcong and Vietnam embassy - parties and happiness, understandable but sad. The weekend was a lost one as far as I'm concerned due to health, but the weather in Peking continues to be beautiful. We are awaiting our new house guests. All in all it was a rather restful way, while sick, to recover. End of May 4.

Monday, May 5 - health problems, beautiful young German doctor came over. But my gut condition wasn't bad enough that I didn't mind discussing these intimate details with her. I stayed home - Bar and I went out and met Holt and Flo Atherton and we had dinner at the house. I just didn't feel like moving. I lost six pounds with this new bout, captured from eating some food at the Pakistan Embassy again.

Tuesday, May 6 - was another wipe out. We did have lunch with the Athertons, and at dinner walked up to the International Club. But no events - quiet in the office. The digestion of Cambodia and Vietnam taking place. After some confused statements at home, it sounds like the right tone is being hit - in other words we will look ahead, that we will not have recriminations. There is no question that the Vietnam thing has hurt us in the eyes of the Third World, and certainly in the eyes of most of the diplomats around here. And as I say, there is a total misunderstanding as to why we

are involved. It is so easy to classify us as imperialists when a war is half reported. The corruption and cruelty on one side only reported - others get a distorted opinion and they can throw up your own sources to you.

Listened on May 6 to the President's press conference on the Voice of America. I thought he did pretty well. He was pressed on cruelty and cited cases of 80 Cambodians and wives being killed - a little less vague, and almost predicting slaughter in Vietnam with the fleeing of the refugees, saying that means slaughter will follow. He will probably get clobbered on that answer. May 6 - Ismet Kittani called. He is leaving the U.N., on his way back to Iraq. I am anxious to visit with him. He is coming for lunch Friday. It is amazing how the U.N. keeps touching our lives out here.

Sent a letter to the Foreign Minister saying we hadn't seen him in a while and wanted to visit. It will be interesting to see what comes of this, if anything. There is great frustration about getting appointments with Chinese officials. We submitted one protocol list, got some of the calls granted when I first came here, and then nothing else. We resubmitted a list of protocol calls and have had nothing. Have sent a letter to request to see Chang Chun-chiao and have received nothing. Have received no answer back on that. Have asked several people for dinner. Some have come. Others have not. There is a tremendous difference between the people that Ambassador Huang Chen can see in Washington and the people we get to see or don't get to see here in China. We get to see as many as, if not more than, other embassies, but not nearly as many as we would like. The result is a great deal of scurrying around, comparing rumors and notes in the diplomatic community.

And yet I will readily concede that the Foreign Minister is extremely busy with calls. The problem is you don't get to see the political people, you don't get to see the Army people, you don't get to see the collateral officials as their people do in Washington.

Yes

Got the word that all water will be turned off from May 10 to June 5, just in time to encompass the Roger Mortons, Kendalls and others. In a way it will be good. They will see how things of this nature work in China, but I will miss the good hot baths we get around here. They turn the water off by entire districts to run some gigantic Roto-Rooter through. The water is very hard in China so it needs that kind of attention I guess. People Magazine article came out - not bad. May 6 - Bar is off to the Wall and the Ming Tombs yet again, with the Athertons. I must play in the tournament and I am dragged down, by this tummy condition. You get hit hard by things here. There is a lot of pneumonia and bronchial stuff but we have been spared a good deal of that. When you feel good, you feel very, very good. After exercise you feel terrific. I don't know how I'll fare though, because I have lost six pounds now in the last six days.

Colon

Troubled again by Southeast Asia. China continues to support revolutions in all these countries and yet many of the countries like the Philippines, Malaysia and others keep trying to get closer to China. They have to because they don't see in the U.S. the firm kind of interventionistic support that they have been able to count on in the past. I can't honestly feel that Southeast Asia is vital to the security of the United States. We must make some new kinds of declarations, but if somebody said to me today what would you declare, I'd be damned if I know how I'd define it. With Congress unwilling

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to give any leeway to the Executive, and making clear that they really won't support any substantial spending, certainly for arms, it's extremely difficult for the U.S. to pledge anything. Economic recovery, private investment, aid to refugees - these things we can do. Others we can't do. Some of our treaty obligations seem to be outdated. Perhaps we need a bold new look at all of them -- all of the treaties -- and then a restatement of what kind of support we will give to Southeast Asia, free countries and the socialist and communist countries. China is in the horns of a dilemma. They talk against hegemony and yet they support revolutions. Chiao Kuan Hua is quoted by some Britishers as having said that there is a difference between support and export. They support revolution, but they don't export it. It is a very fine line of distinction, and not overly convincing an argument.

Mr. and Mrs. Berman of Hess's Department Store came by. Realistic view of China it seemed to me. Not the euphoric Shirley MacLaine, "you're right, we're wrong" approach. Tonight, the 7th, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce delegation - high-level business types - interesting to see their reactions. Mid-way through May 7. Won in the men's doubles. Then dinner at the Peace Hotel in a beautiful room that nobody at USLO had dined in. Off in a courtyard, the Peace Hotel, kind of stark and Russian looking - turn an abrupt right and you go into a lovely courtyard where one of the Ching emperor bigshots had lived. Food was excellent. Very high standard, with swallows nest soup and sweet fungus soup, dessert and a marvelous meal. San Francisco Chamber guys all got up and made a lot of toasts - most of which the Chinese didn't understand. The Chinese high-level trade delegation,

headed by Mr. Wong of the Organization to Promote Trade, were in good spirits, competitive in the drinking department, encouraging the people from San Francisco on. They are very relaxed in dealing with private groups. I made a small toast, told the Chinese that they were fortunate to have a high level delegation of principals here, and told the Americans that they were honored by the presence of so many high level Chinese. There were about 60 people there. The mood was excellent. The San Franciscans, which included the head of the foremost dairies, the head of the Bank of America, and one of the top people in Federated Stores and others, all were very, very pleased. It is the kind of experience that can really help. There does seem to be a genuine friendship, genuine good feeling at that kind of a meeting.

May 8 - back thrown out playing on Canadian court. Bad physical condition. Agonized our way through the mixed doubles match. Stomach cured. It is hard to describe state of health in Peking. The climate is harsh on things. When you get a bronchial thing it hurts more, it's more active. When you get a stomach thing it seems to be more acute; but on the other hand when you feel good there is a certain euphoric feeling of it. There are great highs and lows. Some of it must be psychological because of the isolation we incur here. We had a quiet lunch at the USLO with the Athertons. Reception for a New Zealand doctors group at their embassy. The Russians and other Eastern Europeans are concentrating on numerous invitations for the 30th anniversary of the crushing defeat of Hitlerite Fascism. There is no credit given to the United States' role, or anybody else's role, in ending the war against Germany. Indeed, the Chinese came out in recognition of the crush of fascism and gave credit to the Eastern Europeans -- Russians, Bulgarians,

and others including Stalin -- but no mention of the U.S. role. I think this is gross. The Russian Ambassador sent around a calling card in honor of this thirtieth anniversary. I talked to the West German Ambassador and decided not to go to these things, and, out of respect to him, not to go to the East German one or the Russian one. I hate to antagonize Tolstikov but they are overdoing this a little bit. John Holdridge went and represented us. Dinner at the Minzu Restaurant with the Athertons and Andersons. One of these pots where you put thin slices of mutton - very thin - into the hot water and cook it and then at the end you put a whole bunch of ingredients, like bean noodles, lettuce, onions and more muttin, and come up with a delicious broth. Good and reasonably cheap. Delicious food.

Friday, May 9 - Chuck Cross arrived from Hong Kong. Lunch with Ismet Kittani, Iraqi Assistant to the U.N. Secretary General. Disturbing reports from Cambodia. People in the French Embassy apparently saw Sararakay(?) ? pleading for his life, then led off. Embassies including the Russians' looted. Little cadres of guerrillas reporting only to their chief. Coming in and totally undisciplined. The cities vacant. People hurded away. The whole story pre-liberation here was that there would be no blood bath. Initial reports sound like it's going pretty well. As the story unfolds it will be extremely interesting, and Sihanouk's position becomes extremely difficult.

I continue to worry about the secrecy with the way Kissinger runs the foreign policy. I have requested a visit with Chiao Kuan Hua just to get brought up to date and to chat. And yet I am not at all confident that things

haven't gone on in Washington that we don't know about. Perhaps I am getting overly suspicious myself, but there have been too many examples of these kinds of things happening. I recall asking Habib when I was home in February whether anything had gone on in Cambodia. He told me "no", and then I get back here and we publish in the papers in the States a long list of contacts that we have had, including the talk with Sihanouk of somebody coming to see him in Peking. I hit the roof and wrote Habib a long letter.

Won the mixed doubles tennis finals. Sad, sad, sad tennis. Rushed over to the reception for the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. It was not one of the two festivities here for "Crushing of Hitlerite Fascism." I get upset over the way the Chinese played the Hitlerite Fascism anniversary - mainly sponsored by the Russians. It was the Russians and the Chinese of all things who liberated the world from Hitlerite Fascism, particularly the Chinese. What an interesting view of history. The Russians gave us no credit either - in fact here they billed it "Crushing Hitlerite Fascism", but when inviting Averill Harriman they called it the "Liberation of Europe," much politer. I talked to the West German Ambassador and decided not to go to the reception of the Soviet Union. At the Czechoslovakian reception I saw Tolstikov who was a little rude and huffy about why I wasn't there. I said, "Well, Holdridge was there." He said, "Holdridge is not Bush," and went on to tell me he liked Harriman's speech, and again bitched that I wasn't there. I stood pleasantly listening.

Dinner at the Sick Duck Restaurant. I think it is the best Peking Duck in town. We had the Spanish Ambassador, the Peruvian Ambassador, Lady Barentson and Mrs. Barentson - Lady Barentson being 80, a wife of a former New Zealand Ambassador to the U.S. and house guest of the Harlands.

Saturday, May 10 - amazing problems getting the Athertons' horses and

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stuff shipped to the United States. You go first to the Friendship Store, then to the customs at the railroad station, then back to the Friendship Store for the shipping office. Quite a bit of paper work. Not too bad once you really understand it. The air freight for two pots and a horse to the United States was something like \$375. The goods cost about a third of that. Won the men's doubles - Akwei and Bush v. Mehta of India and Murray McLean of Australia. Again a sad match. Back held out. We won it 3-1 and then went to a tennis dance at 8:30 given by the Canadians. They fixed it up like Hawaii. It is amazing how decorations and little diversity that would just be routine at home stands out like a sore thumb here. They did a beautiful job on it with flowered leis, and all in all it was a very special evening for Peking.

In the car I counted, going along the road between our house and the Worker Stadium, the vehicles. It went something like this. Ten bicycles, olive truck, olive motorcycle, bike, bike, bike, 15 bicycles, three olive drab trucks, 22 bicycles, one car, 22 bicycles, 10 more bicycles, 3 trucks, line of trucks with students near stadium, motorcycles, bikes, trucks, one car, thousands of bicycles. As you go by the stadium they are having an athletic event and trucks pour in from the countryside bearing literally hundreds and thousands of students, young people, soldiers. You see the soldiers jumping out carrying bright red pom-poms. They don't look self-conscious about it at all. You see squads of soldiers and students lined up - nobody seeming to keep order except the platoon leader of some sort. And they all wait patiently for their turn to march into the stadium. Trucks all muster. When in the stadium, the crowds are as big as they are

in the United States. There is no real traffic jam because there are no cars. They all pile into the back of trucks and head on out to the countryside, commune or wherever they came from. They look good. There is no question about the fact that the people look in good health. They seem happy.

The grayness and the severeness of winter has given way to much more laughing, playing, kidding around, little kids wrestling the same as the whole world over. They play marbles. You see some card games. Holdridge and Cross saw some gambling game at the Summer Palace among kids and were amazed. Summer Palace Restaurant is a beautiful one, and one of the best places in Peking to eat. ||

Sunday, May 11 - Athertons departed. I told Mr. Kuo that I wanted to go at 11:45 a.m. Shie yi dien san ke. Then I changed it, saying I wanted to go a little earlier. He thought I said something else. So when 11:30 rolled around, no Kuo. We rushed and hastily called a taxi from the International Club, made it with no problem and about 1:20 p.m. Kuo cycled up. I apologized profusely to him. He looked very upset about it all, but he is very good to me. He is extremely thoughtful of me and leads me around to different appointments to make sure we are on time and welcomed etc.

5:30 p.m. - we showed to the Moliarianis of Argentina, the Ruggieros of Italy, the Rugas of Germany, and the Costellos one film of the Franklin series that CBS sent. Had a nice relaxed day. Church was fine. Played tennis with the boys and had a consultation with Mr. (?). Mr. Gee had loaned him the tennis thing and he came out. I played on the court with the three

Chinese guys. Then we took some Polaroids and then he said he would like to visit with us. So we went in, with Mr. Law translating, to almost a formal conference - just sitting there, the three of us in our tennis clothes. And he thanked me and said the other officials were very pleased to receive the tennis information. I offered to get him more. I asked him which ones he wanted to keep. He said whichever we didn't want. I went rigorously through it-very formal. Also told him I would like him to come down and see the Laver? match, so we could then work out a time to invite the others. He is very grateful. He seemed to want to do it.

Weather is warm now. I can bicycle in my tennis clothes, to many stares I'll admit, to the club, three blocks away. Today as I sit here with the window closed, this Monday, May 12, it is warm. Turn over in personnel continues. Bill Thomas is arriving. I wrote a letter to Chiao Kuan Hua saying that I would like to see him. We get a call from the Foreign Ministry Saturday night saying the Foreign Minister was going on his trip to Paris and therefore he was not able to do it. We did give him very short notice, and I don't think it means too much. But nevertheless there it is. Morning of May 12. The Elkins and Bryans arrived after a diplomatic luncheon.

I had met with the ambassadors of Hungary, Norway, Lebanon and Peru. It was a good lesson for me to see how others see us. I listened to all the dribble about our being imperialists and colonialists, dominating others. I know what motivated us in Vietnam and I think most other Americans know

what motivated us in Vietnam, but I hear the Peruvian talk about Vietnam¹ in terms of Peru-U.S. relations. Really upset apparently with the way we handled his country, the feeling that we were indeed imperialist. Pleasant but quite tough about it. The Hungarian, much more diplomatic in a sense, but nevertheless rigid in the fact that the new regime should take over and that we should help it. He also made the point that we ought not to differentiate between the North and the PR~~C~~. Not to try to act like they are two separate ones. I asked him how soon there would be reunification and he shook his head. Elie Boustany of Lebanon - of course interested in the Middle East. The American people do not have any concept of how others around the world view America. We think we are good, honorable, decent, freedom loving. Others are firmly convinced that though they like the people themselves in our country, that we are embarking on policies that are anathema to them. We have a mammoth public relations job to do on all of this. *

The Bryans and Elkins arrived in the afternoon, went to the hotel. We just walked in, went to the 17th floor where Jennifer told us they were (Room 1718, 1719), picked up two keys, walked in and put the people in the rooms. Baggage all appeared. There was no checking in, no signing, no nothing. Anybody could have picked up the keys, walked up there and sacked out.

Out to the airport to get Rog Morton and Anne. The protocol people came out, proving that they wanted the visit, and that they were very pleasant about it. They were surprised to see me standing there alone to greet a

minister. I frankly think this is good. They offered at a dinner by Wang Hai Jung to do anything they could to make the Secretary's visit pleasant. I told him that we were going to low-key it. We were just pleased that the Minister of Foreign Trade was coming for lunch. Late dinner at the residence. Then everybody hit the sack. Tuesday the 13th - we all went to the Great Wall - Chuck Crosses and our guests, and then I came home and then went to the Ming Tombs.

Cambodia has seized a ship of the United States. China is being unhelpful about that. God it is a tough world we live in. Yesterday was the first day it rained in Peking - real rain - in six and a half months. There has been some kind of mist that dampened the ground and then promptly the ground dries; but this was a good rain. And as we drove to the Tombs you could see standing water for the first time. The countryside is green. The hills around the Wall are green and bright and spring is here. The wind was whistling down from Mongolia but it lacked the zip, the thrust of the winter. It was beautiful. We climbed to the top, took pictures and gave the Polaroids away. It was a great day. Elkins came laddened down with cheese and the Bryans with tennis balls. And also taped music for our listening pleasure. Marvelous presents. CBS tape thing is working great.

Almost through May 13 - Big diplomatic reception. Many ambassadors to meet the Mortons. Dinner at the Min Zu with the Mortons, Elkins, Bryans and Bushes. I am emphasizing the informal approach to this entertainment. People help themselves at the bar. Food on the tables but not

passed. I wish there was a way to warm up a reception like this, to get Morton to speak, but it didn't work out that way. The Soviet Ambassador, who had been a little tough a few days before, seemed rather pleased to be there, at least very pleasant about it. The flags of rejoicing are down at the North Vietnamese Embassy, but they are working under a pretty full head of steam. They are very confident.

How long
did they
stay?

Wednesday, May 14 - word reaches us that the Mayaguez, a U.S. merchant vessel, has been captured by the Cambodians and hauled into port near Sihanoukville. I am wondering what to do. I am convinced that we need speedy action. The Chinese in Washington and here are unhelpful on this (see note). The Cambodians here are also unhelpful.

On the 14th we took the Secretary to the Non Yuan Commune where a Mr. Li, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, showed us around. Polaroid worked again. Handing the people at the "Respect the Aged Home" a copy of the picture. They were absolutely thrilled. One is impressed by this "Respect the Aged Home." Neat clean rooms, people living rather comfortably in clean conditions, a tailor room where they were making suits for next winter for the old people - so different from pre-liberation China in terms of death. Most old people still live with their families. The family is still terribly important in the Chinese life. The communes usually start at 9 - this one went to 11. Lunch with the Minister of Foreign Trade, Li Chian Min, and Wang Yao Ting of CCPIT, both good high-level officials, particularly the Minister, came to have lunch with Morton.

It is hard to get information out of them. It is difficult to get statistics from the Chinese. You throw out a suggestion about census, but they do not hit your bid. Tennis with the Secretary with Wong and Te. ^{Morton} I think it is a good thing to have these Chinese and others such as Mr. Tang of the Protocol to see just the Secretary and me walking around rather informally. This was true when he arrived at the airport and true when he left on May 15. The tone at the luncheon was good - pretty relaxed. Of course things like the capture of the ship by the Cambodians mentioned before must be on their minds, but there is no discussion of that kind of event at all.

Peking Duck dinner for about 21 of our good-friend ambassadors. Shirt sleeve weather now. Peking duck is still a great treat. It is warm now at night, kick off all the blankets except maybe a sheet. On the night of Tuesday, May 13, I opened the windows on both sides of the house and in the middle of the night a howling storm with dust came blowing down from the Gobi Desert, right through our bathroom, clearing out the kleenex and all the things sitting on the shelves, knocking down the flower pots outside. Fred and Bar slept through it, but I had to get up and batten down all the hatches. It wasn't cold, just dust and tremendous wind - da feng.

Thursday, May 15 - I saw the South Vietnam (PRG) and the North Vietnamese flags side by side on the North Vietnam embassy. This was the first signal of reunification. They are having a 3-day celebration to support their victory - to go with the week-long celebration a week ago. But it was amazing to see the two flags on the same pole. Went to the Temple of Heaven with the Mortons

in the morning, after a briefing with the Secretary. Lunch at the airport. Huang Hua from New York arrived when we were eating dinner. But I did see Mrs. Huang Hua. Mortons left after having a hectic but good visit. Marched off just prior to a hundred and some Japanese socialist members of a delegation. The Japanese are in here in very large numbers.

The ship has been released. The first word we got was that 30 people were off. They were released, the ship was taken by the Marines. Now we hear that the other nine are released. Then a flash has come from the State Department. This will help. It shows our spine. It shows our unwillingness to be pushed around. Nobody knows what the Cambodians were doing in this, but it was impossible for the United States to let this happen on the high seas at this point, given the recent happenings in South East Asia. There may be some static about the U.S., but I am convinced that this is the kind of thing the Chinese and others understand. China has been unhelpful as hell on this, and they missed, in my view, a real opportunity to help out. The Ambassador of Norway, Anda, came by and wanted to discuss the Mayaguez ship incident - Cambodia. China continues to be unhelpful. They blasted the United States - hsi enien - calling it an act of piracy, claiming the vessel was in Cambodian waters. The Cambodians come out strongly on the sixteenth talking about spying. Anda of Norway thought it was a good thing we responded forcefully. I get the feeling from talking to the Australians, Mr. Plimsall at least, that they do. I am recommending that we factually set the record straight. China should



not blast us on an incident of this nature.

May 16 - Elkins and Bryans spend a lot of time shipping their stuff out. We had lunch with Ismet Kittani, the U.N. Chef de Cabinet, who had been the guest of the Chinese. He leaves today. 4:51 - Sir James Plimsall, Australian ambassador to the USSR, formerly to the U.S., came to call. He came with Steve Fitzgerald. There are these little divisions in Australia; but Plimsall very friendly to the United States, and Fitzgerald, certainly not unfriendly to the U.S., but much more sympathetic perhaps to China and others than we would be on some issues. Spent some time at the customs trying to sort out the shipment of things. It is not easy to do, but once you understand the system it seems to work OK.

The staff was a little divided on what kind of reaction we ought to have on the gunboat incident. I wanted Washington to simply set the record straight as to what we had done diplomatically. Others felt why respond - China will always have to have the last word. If we come out with something, they will come out with something else. Very much like dealing with the Russians at the U.N.

Plimsall, on another subject, described his experiences in Moscow, requests to see people and having them go unanswered, and control on where you can travel and restrictions and guides and permissions - it sounded very much like China. Although I gather they are more courteous about it here.

May 16 - Kendalls arrive tonight at 10. Kendalls appeared at the airport on CA flight. Everything went smoothly. Laddened down with 80 lbs. of cheese, couple of tennis rackets. etc. On the 17th sightseeing. Lunch with Elkins, Bryans, Kendalls at the Summer Palace. It was a thing of real

beauty. You see some litter around - maybe a little more at the Summer Palace than at other sightseeing places. Great family scenes, marvelous food at the Summer Palace restaurants. The lake is alive with boats. You can rent a boat and go down a little canal for a picnic off the Summer Palace. People appear happy. Summer has removed some of that head down, grim look from the faces. The Elkins and Bryans departed for Shanghai. It went smoothly. Tons of bags. Called from Shanghai. No one was out to meet them from China Travel. Probably met the train. They called Sunday and said they were moving on to Hong Kong. I hope things went smoothly there. I am a little concerned about our guests traveling on because I don't want them to foul up the overall house guest situation. The Elkins and Bryans are so damn thoughtful that wouldn't happen with them.

Dinner with the Kendalls at the International Club. Just a good pick-up. That food is very good, very cheap. The Africans are bad around there. The young kids are rude to the staff, they drink too much beer and they are all in all quite obnoxious. Mr. Law and Mr. Fay keep smiling, but you hear vulgar ~~rarities~~ out of these rather rude Africans. The Africans are frustrated, and they keep talking about "these stupid Chinese," and throw in a few four letter words. And it really is not pleasant. }

Sunday another trip to the Tombs and the Wall. Fred running around and enjoying the Australian picnic as well as ours at the Jing Ling Tomb. He goes crazy when he sees chickens or pigs. But he has been a pretty good dog. Five o'clock Kendall and I called on Mr. Tolstikov. Mr. Tolstikov always sees the dire situation. He is very critical of the Chinese, He

was the boss of Leningrad. He is a tough, bullet-like guy, friendly and easy to visit with. An hour and a half flew by with his vodka and tea, Russian candies with the big bears on them, two kinds of caviar and a very pleasant conversation. Tolstikov is always suspicious. He thought Morton was here to do something mysterious. I leveled with him and told him exactly whom Morton saw and what he did. I am not sure he believed me, but he passed word through the diplomats that there was some secret motive. On the morning VOA, I heard Mansfield say that Ambassador Bush contacted the Cambodians in Peking. The whole story has now come out through press conferences and statements about our contacts with the Chinese and the Cambodians. I am glad for this because China has blasted the hell out of us and I think it is important that the U.S. get its side on record.

May 26, 1975 - the Blakes went to the commune. Bar, the Blakes and I went to lunch with Phil Jessup, Jr. and his Australian wife, both just here from Indonesia, Harland's family is gone - a very pleasant guy. I took Bar to the airport to catch the Air France 175 leaving at 6:20 p.m. Fred immediately went into a total blue funk. We had a reception for the track team so I had to leave Bar a little early at the airport. The track team were made up of gigantic athletes, darn pleasant. Debra Sapenter from Prairie View came and presented a tray for Bar and a plaque for me from Prairie View. Dr. Al Thomas. I was impressed with the orderliness of the group. They did not drink too much. Some of the Blacks got off and watched the television and others joined them. All in all it was a good reception. I took the Blakes over for a jowdze dinner in the park - not my favorite place although the jowdzes were much better than the food we had before.

Tuesday, May 27 - ~~Doug~~ ^{John} Holdridge departed. We all trooped out to the airport at 12:40 to see him off, leaving the Blakes alone at the house. There has been a massive turnover in the staff, but I am convinced that we are getting a lot of good new people for USLO. Harry Thayer will do just fine. Bill Thomas has taken over nicely. Jerry Lavesque in administration going great. We will miss Don Anderson in political, but I understand the new guy will do alright too. Horowitz left the next morning, Wednesday, May 28. Went to the first track meet at 3:00 p.m. It was a first-class show and I felt real pride as the Americans tore around that track. They jumped to big leads on all the foot races. They did loose in the final analysis some of the women's weight events, the javelin throw, women's discus and the men's shot put. But the track team conducted themselves great. I often thought it would be fun to win a lot and I would have the same grace in victory they showed. They handled it very well. They were gracious although not condescending to the Chinese. Bob Gegangak (?), the old Yale coach, was here and he did a first-class job. Joe Scalzo ^Z (?), the head of the AAU, was a disaster. He sat talking about friendship in the most platitudinous, almost condescending, way the whole time. He didn't seem to know a hell of a lot about track, but he was a master of the platitude on friendship, and I later learned that he had been a disaster on most of the trip. In fact, the staff were kind of joking about him the whole time. Sometimes the man brings stature to the job and sometimes the job brings stature to the man. I don't know how big a job this is but it certainly is bringing stature to a funny little guy. Pleasant enough man, but ineffective as he could be, I thought, in terms of this mission. That evening we had 30 tennis enthusiasts including Te, Wong, Lo, Fei and Chi to our house - the first time they had come. Te, the youngest of the players sat glued with

his eyes popping out of his head, watching the Laver-Connors match. It was a big successful evening. Fred ate too much cheese and then refused to eat anything else. Only now on Friday as I dictate this is he beginning to eat.

Exchanges like the one with the track team really do some good. There were some 50 or 60 thousand people in the stadium, tons of PLA and Navy. The first day we all marched down - the so-called leaders - with the sports minister and others onto the field in a pouring rain, shaking hands. The friendship march came in with the hands held high. A lot of kind of ceremony in the beginning with music and no speeches fortunately. And I am sure that with about 120,000 in two days, maybe about 160,000, seeing our athletes, that it made a real impression. At this time of the year the climate can be harsh. There is a bronchial disorder around - ups and downs. People get hit and hit hard, even though the weather is generally very good at this time of year. Unusual and it does make it a "hardship post."

Miscellaneous - I like this idea of clapping for oneself. It is not a bad custom. It is hard to get used to as somebody does something or says something and stands up there clapping. But it is kind of interesting. Tennis group left at about 8:30 - successful evening, cheese and wine. Kendalls and others brought us a lot of cheese and it is really a great thing to have. Horowitz' got off on May 28 early in the morning on the Trans-Siberian. It is a marvelous ceremony. The cars are very pretty - bright mahogany inside, polished, two to a room with a little lavatory in between. Toilets at the end of the hall. Old fashioned cars, looked like they were built around 1900 but apparently they go well and the five-day trip to Moscow is a delight. Everybody takes along his own food

to get through outer Mongolia and also through Russia. Women are not permitted by the British Embassy, and it is true by us, to ride alone on that train. A lot of the Russians get drunk and get unruly I am told.

*Train
color*

May 28 - Dr. Watson from the State Department. One of the things we take for granted at home is medical care. Here we try to set up some contact with the Chinese but Watson was unsuccessful. The Chinese are unwilling to discuss the kinds of things that we need. We have no one to refer to for general disorders. We thought we could have a contact point with a good English speaking doctor, but that is impossible to set up. The Chinese have such a situation in Washington, but here no. It is just one example of the enormous difference. Some of the embassies have doctors - the Czechs, the Germans, the Australians, the Canadians. Their doctors look after their own people and are willing to help out others, but there is no instant referral service. There is no discussing patients once they are in the hospital with outside consultations, and the Chinese hold us off on this just like they do on many many other things. The Czech ambassador is very nice and offered to have the Czech doctor look after me if I got sick. Some didn't want to do this, worried about Communist infiltration I guess, but I'm certainly going to keep it in mind. Watson seemed to think the guy had a very good little dispensary over there. The second day of the track meet the weather was much better. There was a high wind but records were set. The United States runners got so far out in front that it didn't look like a race at all, but the Chinese, struggling to keep up, broke all China records. In the long distance run two Chinese followed almost a lap behind our runners and both of them broke the Chinese

record. Early relaxed dinner on May 28. I am getting very tired. We have had a hectic schedule of visitors, receptions, jumping around from place to place, and guests. You get tired in this community very easily.

Thursday, May 29 - went to the Rumanian industrial exhibit. I wish some of these countries would, in something like economic matters or industry, forego the challenge to slug the anti-imperialists. At the opening of the Rumanian trade fair there were so many references to anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism. They are careful about not hitting the U.S. itself, but in some cases the thing is very clear. Had a call from Rog Morton in the States. Came through loud and clear. He is talking about my going back to be in the Cabinet, possibly to be involved in the campaign. God I hope they don't ask me to run that campaign. I had a note from Maurice Stans saying, "hear you'll be in the campaign." I don't know what he is talking about. I hope it doesn't come true.

I am continually amazed at how hard it is to get close to the Chinese. It is difficult work. I am convinced we see more of them, have better personal relations than others, but you can get just so close and that's it. The doctor experiences were typical, but you visit and push and try to do it in a way respectful to them. You are held at arms length. They are just determined not to let us, or any foreigner in that regard, get too close. It is impossible to pick up the phone, ask somebody over, and have a meaningful discussion about Southeast Asia or Russia or someplace like that. It just can't be done. If they have some business they want to talk to you about, they call you up, but that hasn't happened on any major

matters or policy matters for a long time. The Cambodian ship incident could no more be discussed here in detail, trying to explore the other's motives, than fly to the moon. And this is true the way others work. There are disorder problems in China down to the South. Teng Hsiao Ping is rumored to have gone down there to try to quell some of the disturbances himself but I don't think this has anything to do with it. It is just this middle kingdom syndrome. We are the foreigners, the barbarians. For polite people they act in very strange tough ways. No question about it.

Lunch on May 29 with Irwin Miller of Cummins, pleasant man. His wife wants to sightsee. They are here on business. Afternoon interview with Eddy Woo of the Baltimore Sun who left China in the mid-60s and is back to Peking for the first time since then. Then an attractive young man, a Black fellow named Ord Coombs from Yale, who is in the Class of 1976, SBT, at Yale. A very attractive guy here with a guardian group, very much concerned about the deterioration of public schools and education in the U.S. There is no discipline, says he. And it is not just to be blamed on the war. He really doesn't quite see yet where education in our public schools is going. I was most impressed with this young man. Return banquet for the Chinese, given by the AAU side for the Chinese on May 29 at the International Club. Went well. ^{Gieganjack} Gigangak (?) funny as hell. Talked as he would in an American banquet. It got out of hand, in that some of our kids got drinking too much and showing a not particularly good side. We cut off the mao tai and that calmed things down. The banquet was not unruly in an American sense, but the Chinese are so proper and so precise that I hope they were not offended by this. That mao tai really does hit a lick. A great big mustached pole

vaulter was the only one that really got out of hand. White guy. Some of the "whale squad" - hammer throwers and the discus great big giants came up and had some pictures taken in the front, but that was all in good humor and everything went fine. All in all it was a very successful trip in spite of Scalzo ² (?). Tomorrow come the newspaper editors. Spring is a time for delegations I guess. Our summer schedule will be lighter. We have had enough guests for a while and now I am ready for family - close family. I miss them very much. End of May 29.

The newspaper editor reception was the key of the day. We had many officials from the China News end of things, including the editor of the People's Daily, and Mr. Ma (?) from the NCNA. The editors were to see Teng Hsiao Ping and were to see Chiao Kuan Hua - saw him on Saturday actually. The reception was held outdoors - rather pleasant get-together, and after that I had dinner with Creed Black (?), John Emerick ^{Emmerich} (?), Tom Windship ^{Windship} (?) of the Boston Globe and Mike O'Neill of the New York Daily News. It was good to get all caught up on how things were going. Little chance to really discuss politics. I had known O'Neill when he was at the United Nations and Emerick (?) when he was editor of the Houston paper. Knew Tom Windship(?) through Nancy Ellis, and knew Black back in the Washington days.

Saturday the 31st - marked by the reception of the Tunisian National Day. An affair from 12 to 1. Followed by lunch with John Burns and Ada Penegalle (?) from the Italian News Agency. Relaxed lunch here and then tennis later on in the day. Reception at 5:00 - showing TV cassette to the Turkish, Brazilian, and Quate DCM and Lebanon ambassadors. Great way to entertain. Relaxed early night at home. Long walk for C. Fred who is coming out of his blue funk.

Sunday, June 1 - a long bicycle ride down to Lule Chan (?). All through the Chen Min(?). Went into some stores. Bought a soy sauce jug, and, I think, a pretty picture for Bar. I like these solitary bicycle rides with her in the middle of town. Some of the streets are so quiet and one keep thinking what was China like before, what do these people think and know of their system. You keep hearing examples that they know very little. One man out at the Tombs identified one of our people as American, and a friendly peasant out there kept talking. Finally he said, "no, no" in Chinese, "the Americans wouldn't dare come here." There is no hostility toward Americans that I can feel. After all the propaganda which seems to continue, I just wonder what they really think. There is a [?] tension between the obstructions of getting things done, and the enormous decency and kindness and genuine humor of the people.

Right now many of our observations of the winter have gone by the board. You see couples every night holding hands out near the park. You do see more splashes of color. The Mao suits have gone off and now most of the Chinese wear sports shirts of admittedly all the same color - white or a light bluish. So there is still a sameness, but a sameness with some difference. It is interesting in talking with other ambassadors - they all feel the same in terms of the Chinese holding us at arms length, not willing to give.

There are many rumors going through the diplomatic community that Ford might not come here. If I were starting over I don't think I would schedule a visit right now, but to cancel, that's something else again. There is no discussion that I know of, and I tell them that, but there are a couple of articles, the main one in the Baltimore Sun, saying, "if the President comes..." These rumors fly through the diplomatic corps. There

really is not that much substance to work with, so when something like this comes along, they grab at it. Another rumor Saturday was that there was a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party going on. Perhaps that is true. I asked Tolstikov and he said, "if such a meeting is going on, it is to deal with questions of labor, women and youth." The big question in politics is now should normalization take place while the existing leaders are in office or should it be delayed. My own view is it depends on whether the Chinese side is willing to compromise at all on "peaceful."

Sunday, a pleasant day with church, long bicycle ride, quiet lunch with Harry Thayer, a little nap, a very good tennis game - me and Xiao Yong v. Te and Akwei. We won the first set and lost the next two, but it was excellent doubles and I must have lost five pounds. Then Paul and Louis Miller of the AP, who are in town, came by for a drink. Washed the bicycle, got caught up in a bunch of paper work, in bed by 9:30 - good sleep. End June 1.

Monday, June 2 - - steamy at times, rain comes along and clears it off. Not terribly hot in terms of Houston weather. More in terms of Washington, D.C. weather. Reasonably relaxed day. Only an Italian reception in the evening, 6 to 7. Rushing off at 20 to 7 to join the newspaper editors for a mammoth dinner at the Horn of Plenty. The standard for the dinner was \$40 a person. When we go out in Peking we usually use 10 yuan which is about \$5, but in this dinner there was bear's paw, there was a special upper lip of a rare animal in Northeast China (not a deer, not a donkey). The Chinese debated at length as to what it was. There was the swallow's nest soup, the bear's paw, the exotic animal, sea slugs and on and on. Far too much food, too

many wines - Chinese white, plenty of mao tai, beer, juice, swa(?), all the things a normal dinner has but obviously they get taken on a deal like this. And then Tuesday night, the Third, I had to repeat it when Irwin Miller of Cummins Engine and his business group had a similar dinner, almost identical. The donkey-like animal wasn't served, but the rest was about the same and I left bloated. Chinese food is excellent but it doesn't need, in my opinion, to be forced with these mammoth banquets. One never eats them this big when out-of-town visitors are not here.

The diplomatic community is interesting. Many of the Europeans are blasé, tired and look down on the Chinese. It burns me up. Many of them, and many others too, go away for most of the summer. Most of embassies go on summer schedules, when they don't work in the afternoons or only an hour or so in the afternoons. The pace changes here, but the U.S. has its laws and I believe we need a disciplined shop. So on we go although I would like to give people more time off in the summer. The new staff is shaping up well now. We have our own people in most slots and it's going pretty good. No more talk about the ship incident.

The journalists met with Teng Hsiao Ping on Monday and he reassured them that Ford was welcome whether there was progress on Taiwan or not, a theme that many journalists in Hong Kong and elsewhere simply don't accept. They are building the President's visit up into a massive "if you don't solve this Taiwan problem, the visit has got to be a failure." I have been urging for a long time that we start knocking this down through backgrounders etc. I notice there was a Peter Juma(?) story in the Baltimore Sun that knocked it down. The visit in my view should be hailed as simply a visit

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to get to know the Chinese leaders. Teng went to Paris. There were no agreements, no signed communiques, but he had good talks with Giscard d'Estaing of France. This is the kind of meeting this should be billed as. There are global reasons why it makes sense. Little talk these days here of Sihanouk. His mimeograph machine is broken and here he is supposedly in Pyongyang, North Korea, when Kim Il Sung is traveling in Europe - very weird. The Chinese must be getting very concerned about Sihanouk's role. Marcos of the Philippines is coming soon. He is making anti-American noises. He must protect his flank. There was a story in the papers about a Chinese diplomat in Canada involved in smuggling money to an American. Reuters published it practically on the eve of the Marcos visit. That will upset Marcos enormously because the Chinese should not be feeding money to the Philippine insurgents. The same problem exists in Indonesia. China calls it "supporting" not "exporting" revolution.

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I worry about the discipline of the United States compared to this place. The papers are full of the school's problems and the Friendship Day in the United States where a guy got ice-picked. China is rigid in their discipline. They haul people out and they shoot them, like the guy that hit the French lady with a cleaver a while back - I noticed in Saigon they are doing the same thing. That's not the answer, but nor is this total permissiveness that we get. One gets a very different view of his country when he lives abroad and lives in this, the most cloistered, enclosed society in existence.

Tuesday, June 4 - lunch at the residence for some of our new security guards and communicators. The Acquavellas, the Konopiks, and our new security chief Evans Dewire. Nice young people - the ones that had their

wives along, both married to oriental wives - one Hawaiian, one Japanese. They seemed to be adjusted. Mo put in a beautiful new stereo set downstairs for the residence and the music is unbelievably great here. It makes a real difference. Fills every corner of the room. Indeed the residence is looking very nice.

Tuesday afternoon I went down to the banner shop to get a welcoming banner; bright red satin with gold characters, for Neil Mallon. He is 80 years young and we had an appropriate Mao quotation to present it to him. They sew on the characters individually - price about 15 kuai I am told. After that went to the hospital to get my card for the swimming. You line up and it is a real madhouse. What you need to get is a fluoroscope of your chest and pay some dough, but by the time you get through doing all this it is amazing. We waited and waited for the fluoroscope guy. Finally there were about six of us standing there so he put us all in together. Steve Fitzgerald, the ambassador, said, "OK everybody take off your shirts." So I joined in the fun and started to do it and so did he. Jennifer Fitzgerald knew it was a joke but some young French girl or German girl, who only spoke a little English, started to unbutton her shirt. Then she said, "No, I've been here before. You don't have to do this." She finally realized we were giving her the big yak. The hospital, helped built by the Rockefellers years ago, is rather attractive. The hallways are clean and it looks no better and no worse than most American hospitals. I am glad to know how to get there in case we have some emergency.

There was a lot of turmoil with foreign kids running around, pushing in, and I think the Chinese sometimes are awfully patient. My stamp collection

hobby seems to have screeched to a halt. Though stamps are missing, I can't find out how to get new ones. They are very complicated.

I brought home a picture for Bar from Lilly Chan(?). It is hanging in the hall. Has young chickens in yellow, painted by the Shanghai normal school teacher. I think she will like it. Hot water being tested - will come back on on schedule on the 6th. Everyone was told to leave the water off. Little Katie Rop~~er~~ fooling around with the bidet left the water tap open - sure enough the water came in under great pressure - flooded the bidet - flooded the floor in their apartment and flooded the place below. Fortunately it was an American apartment. It happens every year says Mo resignedly.

I feel a genuine affection for Mr. Kuo, Mr. Wong to some degree, Sun the cook, Chung the young guy and Mrs. Tang our teacher. Also Mr. Leo in the office. They are so decent and refined, quiet and wonderful and helpful. And I think they know that we appreciate them. Mrs. Tang made some reference in our language lesson about leaving in 1977, and she really sounded kind of sorry about it. After eight months it is inevitable to get attached.

There are rumors about going back and doing something. If I did go back, I'd much prefer to have some kind of a Cabinet post that would give me time for campaigning but have some substance, rather than just be involved in the campaign. I won't be good and I see these clippings that Burch is out front. But there is Mel Laird holding the behind-the-scenes press conference, saying, "Well we'll keep Burch on til after the convention. He is a good man at getting delegates." Kind of the master's

voice from behind the scenes. I've never understood this Machiavellian side of Laird. I like him, but I've never felt close to him. And I suppose I wouldn't be human if I didn't say I felt his hand in the VP situation very clearly and coolly. But I felt it on the back, not on the front. Bemis, Lias and Devine had a meeting regarding my political future - very thoughtful of them.

All I know now is to do the best job one can here. There is no credit in this work, but I think it is an accumulative thing and you've got to keep digging. I've tried to give the right impression of America here - not too formal. We have a good organized staff, tried to move around in the diplomatic community, tried to increase our contacts with the Chinese, tried to have interesting people from the States here, and tried to learn and make suggestions to Washington. Beyond this though, it is hard to "do" anything. And yet I won't trade it for England, Paris or any of the other posts. The others get more notoriety, and Elliot's publicity is good I think out of England, but I think this is more substantive in one sense and certainly more interesting. A beautiful letter from Jeb about the problems of Columba adjusting, how much he loves her, how marvelous she is, and what she needs is self-confidence. It was a thoughtful, sensitive piece - an attractive kid who has got it all. I just hope he is fully happy because, knowing him and his sensitivity, he would be deeply hurt if she was ever hurt. Henrietta Morris of San Antonio, Texas, nine years in Ambassador Annenberg's office is here as our secretary. She is awful good. State Department pro, but she is like you, Jane, in that she is willing to take on additional stuff and does it cheerfully and fast. Jennifer adjusted much, much better and doing a good job too. End of June 3.

Hurray, George arrives tomorrow.

On June 2 note - Mogan Jacobsen of the East Asiatic Company came. We get a lot of these businessmen dropping in, and I haven't put them on the tape. He is from Denmark but represents American companies like DuPont and others. He goes around to the various corporations and presents the U.S. brochures and helps the follow-up with sales. One June 3 Ambassador Harland brought by Ambassador Lendrum of New Zealand, now their ambassador in Moscow. We talked some about the US - PRC - USSR relationship.

Miscellaneous - there is great misunderstanding. People go back gushing over hospitality and it is awful good, but some of the delegations simply just don't get to see what they want - the Scistosomiasis delegation investigating hook worm caused by snails never saw a snail all the time they were in China - at least didn't see snails in the infected areas or see acute patients who had been affected by the disease. They had a feeling there was some politics involved in all of this. The fact remains they never saw an infected snail. The Chinese just didn't want to talk about the "infected areas" and all in all the scientists felt frustrated. This is the side of things people don't see. Jay Taylor of the State Department can fill me in for the record on this, but the delegation was frustrated time and time again from seeing infected snails. It is Jay's belief that since Chairman Mao vowed in 1957 to get rid of this plague, indeed wrote a poem in support of eradicating Schistosomiasis omiasis called "Farewell to the God of Plague," that the issue is politicized and that they didn't want these people to see the infected snails. This can be repeated in many, many other fields.

Memorandum for the record - looking over the wages and salaries paid -- embassies who can "afford less" pay a heck of a lot less. But for the record, month's salaries are as follows: Mr. Chien-Kang (cook), 300 yuan; Chang (second cook), 165 a month; Wang Teh-Yi (our #1 waiter) 280; Mr. Chen (waiter) 180; Chuon and Chen (woman worker) ^{ah yi?} our i.e's (?) 150 yuan for a month. Overtime rate appears to be at 1.20 yuan per hour for Chien-Kang and Wang Teh-Yi, 9.0 per hour for the rest. End of item.

June 4 - visited the flag shop in the morning to see the banner for Neil Mallon. It is all laid out and a lovely quotation from Chairman Nao about the future being in the hands of the young. It will be perfect for Neil - bright red satin with gold fringes and each character individually sewn on - fantastic work and he will love it.

The Chad ambassador came to call. The whole interview was in French. I showed him the TV and he was amazed and obviously liked it. 12 to 1 was a reception at the German Embassy for just the Western Europeans and obviously those that Ambassador Pauls felt were "the inside" to meet their new DCM. We had a little going away lunch for Don Anderson and then that evening George arrived. We played tennis and lost to Te and Wong as an opener 6-3, 6-4. George was tired and I played lousy, but it was a good start. Early dinner at the International Club. The only other incident was that during the middle of the night our brand new stereo system, beautifully set up and coordinated by Mo crashed to the floor with the bookshelf giving way. Fred jumping straight up. Fred is glad to have a member of the family here. George went jogging early in the morning.

June 5, 1975 - the press carries an articles by De-Teng about sweeping - you do not get dust out without using a broom. They might have to use force on Taiwan. The more they keep saying this, the more difficult it is to solve this problem on the part of the United States. Of course this thing was picked up and carried all over the Taiwan papers. And it is just the kind of thing that will hurt at home. We are having a little hassle about an agricultural attache. Ag wants to send a Champeaou here who they tell me would not be acceptable. And then we have got a problem about space, support, apartments, hotels and enormous other complications. My own judgment is it would be good to have somebody here if all those things can be resolved. Don Anderson, head of the political section, is leaving on the 5th. He did a first-class job here. Weather - overcast, cool on the morning of the 5th - very pleasant.

North Vietnam is saying that the United States, under the Paris peace agreements, should not put substantial amounts of money into North Vietnam to reconstruct the country. My own judgment is we should do absolutely nothing. Perhaps we should respond to a legitimate request for humanitarian aid, but we must not get involved in economic reconstruction until the rhetoric in Vietnam cools and until the heartache in the United States is healed a little bit. We are not going to buy their friendship by getting into the front of the line to hand out dough. And in my view we must not take that rather short-sighted action of thinking that we can balance off Russia and China only if we get in now. There will be plenty of opportunities, and I think it would be a big mistake to give aid now.

Called on Ambassador Tschoep of Austria. His predecessor was unhappy and I predict before long he will be unhappy. Some of the Europeans, used to the fine things, simply have trouble adjusting to Peking.

I notice in the EA press review that a Professor Oksenberg of Michigan is stating that the decline in trade might be due to the dissatisfaction with the continued U.S. backing of the ROC. Hogwash! In a previous note I am sure I said that this would be predicted, but it is not true. I am convinced of it, and we keep getting told that by leading trade officials. The more I think of the ship incident, the more I think the Chinese did not really object to our position on it despite their rhetoric.

Don Anderson left. Danish reception. Arabs talking about the Ford-Sadat meeting, the problems in Lebanon. Visit Hong Du Tailors for George to pick up a couple of suits. Mrs. Molinara of Argentina visited to see her rubbings(?). Tennis party at house to see TV.

Small group came over to see the tennis - Jeff Martinson, young guy from Australia, and Rosa from the Canadian Embassy. This is a marvelous piece of equipment. Friday, Chinese photographer with both a lacaflex(?) and a hasslebad(?) came out to take my picture and Harry Thayer's. At 11:00 in the morning Harry and I made a call on Lin Ping, director of the American and Oceanic Department. He is considered cold but he has been pretty nice to me. A lady interpreter, Madame Chong(?), does an excellent job. The only substantive question was when Lin Ping asked how the President's trip in Europe had gone. The Chinese are continually talking about Europe, our interest in seeing us keep up our defenses. Teng Hsiao Ping, in going to Paris, talked about a strong Europe and kept talking about the Russian threat.

In the afternoon we went to the Chinese v. Japan weight-lifting in a gym on the south side of town near where they had the tennis game. Mr. Chou and Mr. Knee(?), both of whom squired the track team around, were presiding officers. The weight-lifting all starts the same way with flag, march on, and pinning up friendship awards and then trying to do their thing. They have excellent automated electric equipment, the same as in track. They gave the coach in track an electric starting block that he claimed was as good as anything he'd ever seen. And here they had all kinds of electronic judging and everything else.

Went to Swedish National Day where I had a discussion with Ambassador of Norway. His view was that the Chinese would agree against infiltration, if we did something on Taiwan.

Dinner at the residence - that soup and noodles dish. Henrietta, Jennifer, George Jr. and Harry Thayer and then to the spectacular outdoor acrobatic performance at the Workers Park in the Forbidden City. It was the most romantic setting. It was warm, swallows flying around just before the sunset. The roof lines in that part of the Workers Park are fantastic. It is an unbelievable setting for a performance and the acrobats were amazing. Scrambling up poles up-side-down, the big furry dogs looking almost real, the magicians, the bird callers, the plate spinners, the colors - the whole thing was just great. The place was full - perhaps 3,000 people crowded into an open-air amphitheater. We sat right in front of a big contingent of PLA soldiers and when the mimic did the sounds of cannons and guns I must say it gave me a very weird feeling. A baby right behind us loved the dogs and the parents were very friendly. One other group, a friendship group, probably from Canada, was there. The Chinese are caught up on this

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friendship thing and they have got to cater to their Mao constituency; but they don't want to overdo it. A great evening.

Saturday, June 7 - called on Hsiao Peh, the deputy director of the information department, and also the deputy director of the MFA Counselor Department. Followed by call on Hsu-Huang, the director of the Domestic Service Bureau. Mallons to arrive today. Middle of June 7. The calls went well. Hsu-Huang I think understands that we at the USLO try to treat the servants and others furnished by DSB with respect. His English is good, he is a jovial man and pleasant. The talk with the Deputy Director of the Counselor Department, and on Hsiao Peh, were good - nothing new out of them. The Counselor man had been in his job twenty years and we know very little about him. This whole question of reuniting families and of people coming to China and going from China is very complicated. They hold their cards awful close. Tennis in the afternoon with the Swede Laenhofen(?) and Finocchi of Italy. The match was disrupted by rain and we went inside, a rather pleasant arrangement. Went to the Australian reception for their Minister of Foreign Affairs, and then the Mallons arrived. We went to bed early. They were dead tired.

Sunday, the Wall again and the Tombs, a beautiful picnic and the Te Ling Tomb, Jennifer and Henrietta providing great food - sliced him, sliced turkey etc. for many people. Tennis in the afternoon. George and I beating Sri Navas(?) and Finocchi and then Finocchi and Wong. Dinner with the Mallons at the International Club.

Marcos is here and the red news of Sunday, June 8, is full of a lot of nasty anti-U.S. stuff. The Philipppines having to regroup, feel they must take a slug at the United States while in China. The red news also talked

about U.S. unemployment, a subtle suggestion that we were decadent and falling about. Chinese warning the Philippines about one superpower coming in the back door, while the other was in the front. Two articles on North and South Vietnam and all in all it is not a very happy piece of paper. But it is accurately reflective of the problems we are undergoing here. I go through varying opinions of what China wants with us. In essence they say, "Look at what we do, not at what we say." They feel they must keep their Third World leadership by slugging us all the time. But I can just imagine how they'd feel if an official government organ took after them the way they take after us all the time. They apparently don't think about that. They continue to slam us around, not as much as they used to obviously, and the China specialists will say less than they might; but I say they are doing it too much, because I worry more about American public opinion than some of our China specialists, and public opinion's effect on our being able to perform and fulfill a policy. I think China needs us as much, and quite definitely more, than we need them. But I do think there is a basic mistrust of the United States after all these years, and it bothers me. It is hard doing anything about dispelling that mistrust with the contacts as restricted as they are, and with Washington holding their cards as close to the chest as Washington does. End of June 8.

June 9 - still and hot. Great for tennis but the Club is closed on Mondays. Mallons off sightseeing, discussion of whether I will get to see Romulo. He apparently wants to see me (cable) but it may be difficult.

Had a beautiful Peking duck dinner at the Sick Duck after visiting the Summer Palace in the afternoon. We had a banner made for Neil with a marvelous quotation from Chairman Mao. It goes like this:

The world is yours as well as ours, but in the last analysis it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life. Like the sun at 8 or 9 in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

-- Talk at a meeting of Chinese students and trainees in Moscow, November 17, 1957

The banner is in bright red with gold tassles and all in Chinese characters. I think Neil really liked it. Philippines cemented relations with China. I talked to a Philippines TV guy out at the airport on June 10 and he said, "Of course we'll continued to be friends with the United States, but now it looks like we've got this all-Asian unity thing." He was a young kid, somewhat confused by what was happening. Supporting the decision, wanting to stay friends with us, sore at the way some of the United States people were abusive, but he had many, many United States friends that he loved. Clearly a dilemma.

Thursday, June 10 - the Somalia Ambassador came to see me. He was all upset about some criticism in the United States Senate about Somalia having Russian ships in there. He felt it perfectly OK to criticize the United States about Diego Garcia(?), colonialism etc., but he didn't quite understand why some senator would criticize Somalia. I believe in working closely with these guys, and now I am determined to get more contacts with them. But it is difficult.

Romulo could not see me. I am sure it simply could not be arranged without throwing up some doubts with the Chinese. Lunch at the residence. Bar came in dead tired after 26 hours on the plane - looking great though and bringing lots of news from the States. Mallons still here. Tennis in the afternoon. Hot and windy. Fred took a bath and left a ring an inch thick in the tub but he is much less dirty than he is in the winter. Dinner at the residence. End June 10.

June 11 - a relaxed day. Work at the office. Barbara showed the Mallons around. Lunch at the residence. Fantastic tennis game with Te and Wong and dinner at the International Club. I am firing off a cable requesting consultations and a desire to visit with Haig and David Bruce. The Teng interview seemed to me to take some of the pressure off the President's visit, suggesting that he not have to solve this problem during his visit here.

Bar's birthday the 8th, my 51st the 12th. My legs felt older. Good God isn't it awful to get old, but I don't feel old. I am missing about a quarter or half a step on the tennis court though. I enjoy chatting with the girl in the carpet and wall hanging end of the ~~USLO~~ ^{Friendship Room}. She is very attractive. She is studying English and you can see how these people, if they fix themselves up, can be extremely beautiful. The old man in that department couldn't be more agreeable. Most of the Chinese we get close to on a personal basis are extremely friendly. But there is still a wariness about us as foreigners. End June 11.

June 12 - Doro, Marvin and Neil arrived along with a small industry delegation. They looked great, giggling, bubbling over with enthusiasm -- having enjoyed Honolulu, tired, not seen anything of Tokyo, only one night there and into Peking. They were great. They rushed down and played basketball, rode down to the Great Square. Marvin played tennis with Te and then off we went to the Soup (?) Restaurant where we had eel and they all loved that. Neil Mallon bought the dinner and it was all pretty good.

The board at the International Airport is amazing. The departure board, all electronic, spins out such exotic names as Pyongyang-Korean Airlines, Hanoi-CAAC Airlines. And as you watch the delegations come and go it is fantastic. You see the cadres dressed in their finely tailored

Mao suits, very rigid contrast to the plebian dress of the masses, and actually I saw on one delegation several pale pink, green and yellow dresses along the lines of those that were modeled in the store last year. But these people were all getting on the plane and leaving China, not staying. When Neil Mallon got on the plane on the 13th, two big delegations were out there. Several Hong Ges(?), one of them headed by a rather senior looking PLA type. Riding out in the morning I am impressed by the early morning park activities. Families, studying, exercises for one another, tremendous activity, lots of bikes parked in front of the park from 5:30 on. Yelling along with the martial arts. Jumping around on t'ai chi ch'uan. Jogging on the roads, staying fit. It is hotter now so the early morning activity means more. Climate in Peking is nice but it is harsh. New visitors get tired easily, come down with colds, bronchial stuff - not as much with the coal burning now though. Their air is a little cleaner and Fred stays cleaner longer. Good symbol of that.

The red and blue news playing up the Schlesinger charge about Berbera in Somalia being a Russian base with missiles. I am sure this concerns the Chinese enormously. They are damn sure concerned about what's happening in Vietnam. They are, I am sure, very confused about Cambodia. In fact it has been quiet with Sihanouk apparently still in North Korea. Weird silence. The Chinese probably wondering whether they bet on the wrong horse. Cabled Kissinger asking for consultations in the States. Perhaps going by to see Haig and Bruce about NATO. I think that would be helpful to the Chinese to do that. It's been a long period without any substantive discussion with the Foreign Minister. End June 12 - 51st birthday - wow!

June 13 - Ambassador from Laos comes over - half tennis, half diplomacy. Ambassador Clément of Cameroon - how does he get his films from the United States here. Lunch with Judge Weigel. The judge had been shown all over China as a guest of China Travel. These visas work in very mysterious and strange ways. I read in one of the Hsinhua News that Vietnam is saying, "Yes, we can give them aid etc." Very graciously willing to take it. And then later on they day, unless we give them aid, they will not account for our Missing-in-Action. They play a strong, tough, dirty, filthy game. In the United States and certainly in the diplomatic community in Peking, there doesn't seem to be an outcry against this kind of thing. There is a prevalent feeling here as the Peruvian ambassador expressed it to Bar that the United States should be doing more for the Third World. It was a theme that we heard at the United Nations, but it is escalated now and it is particularly prevalent here. Laos Ambassador, with his country moving steadily to the left, kicking the rightists out, Communist troops taking over most of the communities, Cabinet move to the far left -- this poor ambassador here, a most delights fellow -- Lien, tells me there is really no change, that we are welcome, that everything is OK. Our school teacher is being interrogated, our aid mission is being bombarded and harassed, people are held captives, and darn it there is such a thing as a domino theory.

Went to call on the Ambassador of France, Claude Arnaud. He had a couple of little children running around on bicycles through a lovely French embassy. Quite a change and rather nice. Patrick, age 2, and a baby, age 9 months. Mrs. Arnaud had been married to one of the Cabinet officers in Laos who had

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been forced to flee the country that very week. She is a beautiful person.

Cocktail party at the Bulak's of Turkey. The diplomatic corps is being given a free trip on Swiss Air to Europe and half the corps is bailing out on this plane.

June 14, 1975 - good tennis at the club with the boys - hot now, but when the wind isn't up, it's fantastic. That afternoon a stiffly hot reception at the British Embassy for their national day. Toasts to the queen, then Minister Lei Chiang, the Minister of Trade, made a few remarks. Teddy Youde toasted the health of Chairman Mao etc. They have a beautiful large residence - embassy with pool and courts, separated by a walk that goes into the Indian Embassy. The whole thing was rather nice. Then to the New Zealand Embassy to meet their Minister of Trade. They opened their swimming pool so we all went back, suited up and came back and dove into the clear cold water. It was very nice.

Sunday, June 15 - church, visit to the tailors to get the kids suited up - about \$70. Then Ambassador Small and his family came for lunch, bowling, a little wine drinking - carpet bowling in the house. Then at the International Club lunch. Tennis was indoors that afternoon because the weather was bad. Marvin threw his racquet which really burned me up with the Chinese all watching. Sportsmanship and that kind of thing mean so much more here. We joke about friendship first here a little bit, but carefully. But it is an important concept and I ate him out for that display, much like what I might have had when I was his age - but he should be getting over that. Actually he is doing darn well - in his work and from reports from the Congress job he had - the reports were fantastic.

Monday, the 16th - Ambassador Paludan of Denmark came to visit me. We reviewed Southeast Asia. My view at this juncture is that the U.S. is better off to have the war over, that our presence is still wanted by the Chinese in Southeast Asia, that they can make all the anti-troops statements they want but they don't want us to pull out of Japan, and I don't believe Korea. They don't want us out of the Philippines and they are worried about a Soviet naval presence at Camranh Bay or elsewhere in South Vietnam. The recent disclosures by the Secretary of Defense about Somalia having a Russian base at Berbera, I am sure, will concern the Chinese enormously. China continues to support revolution inside countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and others, and the Philippines, but there is some reason to feel that they cut down on that support after relations are extended. They do give tangible support as well as vocal rhetorical support, and this does not bode well for solving some of the problems that lie ahead of us. China's emphasis now is on a strong Europe and this comes out time after time again. Paludan agreed with my assessment in Southeast Asia which pleased me. I do think he is a fairly knowledgeable and serious ambassador. Went to sign the guest books for Sato(?) at the Japanese Embassy and then I drove out in the car for lunch at the Summer Palace with the kids and Lois Ruga who had ridden out on their bikes. George and Marvin got back in one hour and ten minutes. Bar and Lois taking a little longer - apparently it is a great ride out there. That afternoon we had another reception for the Rural Small Scale Industry's Delegation here from the States. Young, aggressive guys - most attractive. Then a Chinese communications technique investigation group that was leaving for the States, headed by Mr. Lee-ong(?) (see notes). He was thrilled about going there, looking forward to going to the States. I showed him the space film that we had dubbed in in Chinese on Apollo VIII and it showed some of the communication center. He was literally amazed.

These cassettes, if we can figure out how to use them properly, are bound to be good. I asked him to come back here when they return. He was very interested in doing that and we should follow up on this. The Rural Small Scale guys were disappointed in the part of the program that always started off with a prepared speech and prepared presentation. They like the part where they went into factories and actually could get to talk to the workers. They left Peking Monday for the rest of their trip. Black-tie dinner at Ambassador Pauls' - June 16. The second or third black-tie dinner I have been to since I have been here. The evening was cool fortunately. It was a going away party for the Swiss Ambassador, Natural, who is off to Lebanon. Somehow this European style here in Peking seems weird to me and most unusual, but it has its certain civility too that is rather nice at the same time. Pauls of Germany has been very pleasant and a friend. The Ogawas were there - extremely nice, the Japanese.

Personal - I worry about our house in Maine this summer and a lot of the details. Getting the kids where they are going. But I think it will all work out. Moving around and making plans and arrangements - it is just so entirely different in this country from the States. People think you can just call up and make reservations, but it doesn't work that way at all. The little interpreter for the communications group told Bar, "Your husband is very famous in China." I am continually amazed that people even have the vaguest idea of who I am here. It happened at the airport a while back. It has happened around Mr. Law(?) and others at the Club. It's confusing and I think all right since we are trying from this whole style end of things to make some kind of an impact. But I clearly feel we are not fully clued in by Washington. I don't know what's going on but that ceases to worry me. I worried much more about it in the beginning than I do now. I am learning

a lot. I think our office is shaping up very well. And I am just not going to worry about Kissinger's peculiar style of operation where he holds all his cards up against his chest and refuses to clue people in on what really is happening. End of June 16, Monday.

Outside Bob Garedo's(?) apartment is a kind of military compound in San Litun(?). A big billboard there reads "people of the world unite- defeat the American agressors and all their running dogs." The text is from a statement Chairman Mao made in 1970 condemning the American incursion into Cambodia. The interesting thing is that this sign is still there. There is also one like it in the railroad station though that one is clearly an old one. Most of the signs like this came down when Nixon came to China. I am wondering whether they have a different indoctrination for the Chinese soldiers than they do for the general populace right now. Most of their television does not reflect strong anti-American bias. Their movies seem to show defeat of the "Japanese imperialists" quite a bit. China still feels they can knock the hell out of us in public fora and then want to have a good relationship. The contrast between public statements and private assurance, the contract between public bravado and catering to Albania etc. and private decency and kindness to us - these things are enormous.

June 18 - at the staff meeting Bill Thomas brought up that he had been stopped after midnight. He had been to the New Zealand party Saturday night, came back to the embassy, left some of his clothes, bundled up some and started to walk back to San Li Tung(?). It was a very hot night. He was followed by two men and two women. They finally stopped him, asked him what he was doing. Hassled him. Several times reached for the bundle. He kept on walking and they followed him all the way to San Le Tung(?). This was one of the street patrols, similar to what I had been stopped by going up

the alley when I first came here. But nobody grabbed the bundle. There seems to be some difference here about what we ought to do. I don't feel too strongly but I do feel we ought to be on record with the Chinese that this kind of behavior is not acceptable as far as diplomats go. Pascoe had heard about bayoneted soldiers patroning Peking after midnight and apparently they do have stricter restrictions at night. June 17, farewell for Serge Romensky of the AFP. It is a very slow news time here. The newspaper people, the diplomats, all claiming they have never seen it so slow. Very little hard news. Went to the Turkish embassy. They want to trade embassies. Prices have soared. Their embassy, instead of costing 95,000, the Chinese now want to get 160,000 yuan a year. Actually it's not a bad deal. There are eight apartments and an office building more than two times bigger than this one; and in addition they have large entertainment rooms and stuff. But the trade is not in the cards. Incidentally they fired their gardener for using pots too much instead of planting in the ground. If they fired him, every gardener in Peking would be fired because they all used these flower pots instead of planting in the ground. Off to Beideho and the beach tomorrow. Bar has read the book Prisoner in Peking about the British journalist that was kept during the war. She is appalled. One night we saw Mr. Gee(?), the very man who had hung the cat of Mr. Gray(?), the British journalist. It was weird seeing him and thinking how things could change awful fast. A little scary. On the surface these people are all so pleasant, nice and cultured, they really are. End of June 17.

Marvelous quote from June 17 - Hsinhua News (red news) - talking about the junior table tennis tournament, 1975 National Championships held at Shihchiachuang(?). Talking about all the players, and then they say, "the young players of various nationalities took time out to seriously study

Chairman Mao's important instruction concerning the question of theory. Using Marxist Leninist Mao Tse-tung thought as their weapon, they related the class struggle and the two line struggle on the sports front to criticize the revisionist trash such as "skill first" and "championitis." They expressed their determination to contribute their share to the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on sports. Following the principle of friendship first, competition second, and taking Chinese mountaineers' heroism as their example, the junior players displayed the spirit of daring to win and showed courage and tenacity. They were warmly praised by the spectators." Wow!

June 18 - work in the office all day. Ambassador and Mrs. Marty Salomies of Finland at dinner. The dinners drag on sometime although the food was excellent. This protocol of not being able to get up and leave is too much. I struggled around and got the crowd to go outside to see the pool and the sauna. The Finnish daughter and finance were there and this move was well received. It was very warm. We walked up there. I had a long talk with the Soviet ambassador on Korea and various aspects of China. The Russians are very down on the Chinese here.

Thursday, the 19th - we left early in the morning for Beideho. It is a six-hour train ride -- six of us in one compartment. We lowered the upper births and some slept. The food on the dining car was excellent. We were met at the railroad station by Mr. Fay(?) and taken to a delightful cabin in the compound run by the International Club. Many of the staff of the International Club was sent down there to the seashore resort which is open mid-June to the first of September. It was a great treat. The water was clear and lovely, warm, about 76 degrees I'd say. The bathrooms were wet, but the facilities

worked, and our "villa" was excellent. It was off by itself. Not many people had gone there yet. We also took a trip on Saturday to the Great Wall - an hour drive and then went to Pigeon's Nest. That end of the Great Wall is certainly less spectacular. Beideho itself is almost like Bermuda; wide streets, clean, drenched in sunlight, architecture, buildings painted with a cream colored wash, stores wide open and clean. Some English sign "Welcome International Friends", an old German bakery, marvelous basket and bead ware. People still stare a lot. Chinese go to this resort. Within the compound some of the houses apparently are owned by factories, communes and other organizations. It is all very vague as to which ones are. One odd note. The sentries are there, bayonets drawn in the evening but they are always there, conspicuous in the daytime. The only thing I saw our guy do is run off two Chinese who tried to come up from the walk at the beach too near our house. Why they insist on having these guards posted all through the compound, I don't know. It is very very strange and gives a weird impression for a seaside resort. It is very informal in dress, the food, as I said, is excellent with an excellent Chinese restaurant. Dinner with the French and Peruvian ambassadors on Friday night. We had a young man from the club in Peking assigned to our house - cleaning up and looking after it. He did a pretty darn good job. All in all it was very relaxing. The kids all got sore throats, a common ailment and something easy to get here in China. Rained some but most of the time was clear and sunny. They put in broad retaining walls along the ocean, but enough for trucks and cars to drive along, although you seldom see them. You can take bikes and you can go quite a ways from the compound itself, but you are very much aware that you are being watched, certainly by all the people, and that your movements are well known.

Miscellaneous notes - we are making arrangements to have Dorothy christened a week from Sunday.

Sunday, June 27 - returned to Peking. Left at 1 and got in at 7 in a tremendous downpour. On the train we had a fantastic meal. The food is excellent. I think we had nine courses, six beers for five of us and the price was ten yuan, twenty. Unbelievable. The train was fairly hot but the fan got going and it was OK. Arrived home to find plenty of mail. Some of problems that make China a contrast - the reuniting of families, they are extremely difficult, they won't give out information, they are very tough on letting Chinese come into the USLO Compound. I am sure it is true for others. They are not compassionate in this regard. They won't give out information. We ask on cases and they are simply not forthcoming.

I noticed in a New Republic speculation by John Osborne about the Scali-Moynihan swap. Nobody ever gave an explanation he said as to why Scali was appointed. I well remember Haldeman telling me that the President wanted Scali at the UN because he was an Italian and he was on the "New Majority" kick at that time. Apparently the Chinese are jamming the VOA. Even some of the English VOA is coming in worse lately, but I think they are talking about the Chinese broadcast. Apparently the Russians and others are doing this as much but China insists on that(?).

The Philippines seem reassured by what China said about supporting guerrilla movements. I still have enormous trouble about China's differentiation between the "support" and "export" of revolution. They believe in "support" not "export," but a government being "supported against" must find the distinction tough.

If one of us leaves Peking there would be a lot of "fare thee wells" about it with our counterparts in the Chinese ministry etc. etc. Their man Chi Chu(?) left PRCLLO in Washington with no fanfare at all, just disappeared and now it turns out he is to be assigned here in Peking.

They are extending their contacts on Capitol Hill, inviting senators and congressmen by the dozens to PRCLLO, and yet we cannot see any of the Chinese political leaders here at all. Major difference. We still have good access, but I keep telling myself, "reach out - work - make others invite and come up with suggestions on whom to have over."

The PRC won a big propaganda victory as one of the released "war prisoners", former KMT officer, hung himself in Hong Kong. Taiwan handled this abysmally. There has been some change since South Vietnam. When Anand Panyarachun, Thai ambassador to the U.N., came here before, he called me up. This time he came to negotiate the communique and of course there is no call.

My good friend Romulo was here with Marcos. He said he wanted to see me but no call. These countries simply do not dare let China understand that they are working closely with us or they think they can't do it. I think China would understand but they don't seem to think so. I am convinced we are not totally clued in on the different things that are happening from Washington. I simply don't know what to do about it. I have asked for clarification on one message but it hasn't been forthcoming.

Monday, June 23 - busy day in the office. Staff meetings now three days a week. Lunch with kids at residence. Met the Russell Trains (four) on JAL 785 at 3:00 p.m. They are staying in the hotel. Those arrangements worked well. He told me that he mentioned the visit to Kissinger a long time ago and that Kissinger's immediate reaction was, "Sure, that's great.

I hope you'll go to China." Then we had all this flak from the State Department. I want to look that up and see why the resistance. //

Tuesday, June 24 - fascinating visit to Middle School (full report in file). The Trains, the Thayers, the Bushes all trooped down. I asked about a basketball - said our kids liked to play - and the next thing I knew they were watering down the basketball court and following some performances we saw in the school the kids engaged in a 5 on 5 basketball game. Great fun for them. As I do at all these things, I said, "Do you have any questions about the United States? I would be glad to answer them." One teacher did ask about the curriculum and so we had for the first time some type of give and take discussion. Lunch with the Rumanian ambassador and his team. They have a special entree and we try to do this quite frequently. We don't often learn, as yesterday, but we did discuss Asia, Europe, and Portugal with which Rumania has a special relationship. Rumania feels we should immediately recognize Vietnam. They feel Vietnam is much better, Vietnam is now realistic toward us. I mentioned the MIA problem. I told them that we were damned upset about that - holding MIAs hostage in order to get economic aid. People are so unrealistic in this part of the world about the intention of some of these countries. A guy like the Rumanian naturally is Communist, but he overlooks the aggression and the support of revolution that has troubled me so much. Good man - it is good to have these exchanges. *

At four o'clock Dr. Myers, a friend of Alex Head's came by. He is a teacher at Cane(?) College, an older guy. Very interested in languages. He had been out to Honun where he had seen an American woman named Shirley

Wood and had visited normal teacher's college out there. Had a very interesting story to tell about this woman's life on the campus, her isolation, the fact that there was indeed need for dictatorship of the proletariat because some people had a way of getting in to the front of the line to buy bicycles which were rationed. Some of these visitors have very special chances to see things. Followed by a visit by Dr. C. P. Li and Dr. Jerome Loh. Dr. C.P. Li, on his last trip here, saw Mao. He is an older man, he knew Mao for a long, long time. He is sympathetic to this regime. He is doing a lot of work in Chinese herbal medicine and has suggested that through that we might find ways of moving things forward during the President's visit. Exchange of medical technology. Dr. Loh of Gary, Indiana was with him, bright Chinese guy, and both of them were most interesting. Dinner at the Japanese Embassy. They invited the Swedish and Mexican ambassadors wives plus all the Bush children. Very informal and a nice evening with Coby(?) beef. Mrs. Ogawa does things in the most beautiful way. The Trains and all had their eyes opened wide by the school visit. It was a great one.

The schools are very disciplined. Kids volunteer. They sit with their hands on the back. They raise their hand. A lot of the recitation seems to be rote. Tremendous amount of propaganda. Write a poem telling what the Mao thought means to you. Write a poem describing the virtues of dictatorship of the proletariat. Write a poem exposing Pin Piao and Confucius. The kids look healthy. There is certainly a lot of order and discipline in the schools, on the playgrounds, everywhere else. I wonder what it would be like bringing a chinese delegation through some of our public schools in the big cities or elsewhere.

June 25 - went to the revolutionary street committee. Luncheon for

for Russell Train at the residence with some of the top Chinese environmentalists; Wong Chiech, responsible person for the environmental office of the state council; Yu Lin, responsible person and architecture bureau of capitol construction committee; Wong Ting, vice deputy head of bureau of foreign affairs of capitol construction committee; Lieu Tung Fa(?); the interpreter; Harry Thayer; Chris Ballow and I. The Chinese were extremely interested, it was much more relaxed, much more give-and-take than any other thing I'd seen. They do have a Vice Premier in charge of their environmental matters, they do have standards, they are not doing the kind of job we are doing, they keep saying they're new and need criticism etc. They were amazed at the figures of U.S. spending on environment. The agency - some \$4 billion in FY 75 with industry another \$6 billion - a total of \$10 or 11 billion a year on environment. They could hardly believe that. They talked about their concern about all kinds of waste, and they talked about the maximization of human wastes and how they process that. But all in all the meeting lasted from 12:45 to 3:00 p.m. and they were still going strong, asking good questions. We have a report on that in the file. It seems to me this might be a good subject for them to have on the agenda for the President.

Substance

Ambassador Drulovic came to call at 3:00. He was on time so we had to herd him in with Harry Thayer until I shook the Chinese. The Trains and Bar rushing off to see the Temple of Heaven. Drulovic is a good man. He is strongly bias, of course, toward socialism. But I can talk very frankly with him. I am continually worried about the way the anti-Americanism kind of feeds on itself in the climate of Peking. It is assisted ably by blasts in the Hsinhua News, the red news, against the United States. In

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the June 25th issue for example there was a long blast by China's delegation at the World's Women's Conference in Mexico. Mainly against super-powers, hegemony, colonialism, a lot of anti-U.S. stuff. In that same issue "What is the Pac Jung Hai(?) clique up to? And a long blast against the U.S. support of Korea and corruption etc. in Korea. And the next one is Korean residents in Japan meet to denounce crimes by U.S. in Pac Jung Hai(?) clique? We get this almost every day. And I remain convinced that China is making a big mistake in continuing to thrash away at us on this kind of thing. But the experts all say, "Well it's less than they used to do, and you've got to understand they need to put out rhetoric," and some of that is true. But it is a funny way to show a desire for better relations. And I get fed up with it right up to the teeth.

Dinner at the Summer Palace restaurant for a going away party for a very able Mo Morin and his wife Ann. Mo is a GSO, he gets out and leads, works with his hands, works with the Chinese. They don't work for him, they all work together. He takes one of the great things about China, namely the willingness of all to work etc. and through executing things himself and being fair and being knowledgeable, he has the respect of all from the mechanics to the office staff - first-class guy. He will be sorely missed. The Summer Palace is unbelievably beautiful at night with lovely shadows across the lake. The Park was bare, unlike most times when it is cram full of tourists. The dinner was a multi-course marvelous dinner. For 18 the price was 249 yuan or about \$7.50 per head. It went on and on for many courses. Very good. The walk from the restaurant through the park, about 15 minutes, was just magnificent. Planes taking off from the military base next to the Summer Palace - one dover prop, one four-engine prop plane, one

jet -- the only thing marring the peace and quiet of the evening. Spectacular pink clouds over the unbelievable roof lines. Dorothy now has an appointment to go down and talk to the Minister about her being christened. What an experience! Baptized in Communist China.

Musk ox. Ripley has about convinced me that giving a musk ox is not too good an idea. The Chinese might have a face problem on it. Secondly, the environment is not too good for its survival and oxs are out for a lot of reasons.

Summer plans may change. Two congressional delegations coming in August. Damn it! I hope I can get away.

There are a lot of little things. Russell Trains were here. Jennifer did not get their passports from them, inasmuch as they are staying in the hotel, until three days after they got here. We turned them in and then got back some feedback from the Public Security Bureau saying that they were ticked off about this. The controls are rigid. Never let it be forgotten. Comparisons between controls on us and the controls on PRCLO in Washington are practically negligible - are unbelievable. One of the KMT (Kuo Ming Tong?) prisoners released, killed himself and China still reaps propaganda gain over Taiwan on account of this. Taiwan looks niggardly and mean, keeping their former officer from returning home. Ten of them have applied for passports-visas to go to Taiwan. Peking making the most of that one.

Lunch with Mr. C. P. Li who saw Wang Hai Jung and Nancy Tang at dinner last night. Tonight he is supposed to see Chou En Lai. He will call me tomorrow. He is the one who was a friend of Chairman Mao's many, many years ago. He is a doctor with credentials in anti-cancer, lives in

Arlington, Virginia. An old, old man interested in seeing peace and total relations between China and the U.S. He thinks that China reunification would be peaceful with Taiwan afterward. And he thinks Taiwan would have to negotiate if indeed the U.S. scrapped its treaty and set up an embassy in Peking. He is putting a lot on faith it seems to me. Sincere, decent old man, however.

To finish with Dr. Li, he came to see me again on June 28, after he saw Chou En Lai and got front page treatment for this. There is a telegram on this subject. He came to see me at 2:30 in the afternoon. He had seen Chou En Lai and had seen Nancy Tang and Wong Hai Jung for two hours. He had seen Chou En Lai for close to an hour. He threw out the idea that China might make a statement for "domestic consumption" about peace. Since it is an internal matter it would have to be done that way. He wondered whether we would be interested. I gave him no promises, simply said we would convey this to the proper channels. He is getting a big rush by the Chinese with Wang Hai Jung, a Vice Foreign Minister, and Nancy Tang going to his hotel room for two hours. I ran into him on the night of the 27th at the hotel where he was with his wife's sister's husband who was 72 years old, a graduate of Cornell, leftist, vice secretary in the Agriculture Department, a rather impressive guy. I don't know exactly what Li is up to, but this could be some kind of a signal. We will see.

Thursday, June 26 - we had a big duck dinner with the Russell Trains, hotter than hell in that restaurant. The Peking duck very special. Friday June 27 - went to the ping pong match between Laos and China. Women and men marching in, hand held high, the same ceremony of putting the pins on, absolutely fantastic ping pong. The Laos guys looked good but they were just wiped out by the superior Chinese play. Bar is sight-seeing people to death, doing a marvelous job on it. Unbelievable.

Got some excellent tennis in with the kids. Saturday night - that was the night Dr. Li came again - played tennis and went to the Jowdze Restaurant. Very hot. You can lose four or five pounds playing tennis in this heat. Sunday, June 29 - the Trains departed. We went out with all the color - just the same time that President Bongo of Gabon was leaving town. Literally thousands of people at the airport with bright colored flowers dancing up and down. Soldiers with bayonets, marching, a spectacular Chinese send off. Something I had not seen since we were spared going to the airport. The big thing that day - Dorothy was baptized at our little Chinese church. The ministers were extremely happy and smiling - pleasant, wonderful. It was very special. There were six guardian group people taping and flashing pictures of the ceremony, not knowing what was going on really. But we were very happy that the Chinese agreed, after they consulted in a meeting, to baptize Doro. They wondered why we were doing it. Bar explained that we wanted the family together and hadn't been able to do it. A very special day, an occasion. 12:30 - Tom Gleason, the President of Woolverin Worldwide came for lunch. I was at the airport meeting Tricia Everett, Doro's friend - 18, cute. Got in late. Pleasant relaxed evening and then Sunday evening a going away party for Burns and Finocchi of Italy. Carpet bowling championship of Peking. Relaxed evening.

Still quiet on the diplomatic front.

In the last few days India has aborted her democracy. The hypocrisy of Mrs. Gandhi is very clear. I never have liked her because of the great criticism against the United States, but I hate this for her country. Somalia, after making a big row on our lies on the airbase, refused to let the

journalists in to see the base or the part of the base that they wanted. I doubt that there will be any publicity on that here. The anti-American publicity gets to you after a while, although I keep saying it is relatively less than in the past. Is China aggressive or not: That is the big tough question - hard to answer. End June 28.

Miscellaneous - China's attention to these Third World countries is amazing. In how many big countries do they give such a grand stylish welcome to chiefs of state from tiny African countries for example. The airport is bedecked, downtown is colored banners all over and big signs of welcome in French or English or whatever the language might be. Children, soldiers marching around, dancing enthusiastically, welcoming; all make an impression on the visitor.

June 30 - sometimes I think we analyze everything too much on this China-watching bit. Chou En Lai met Dr. C. P. Li outside the hospital, and maybe that was news, but from that one appearance there was a lot of speculation that Chou was on the way back. Articles began to be written about the re-emergence of Chou En Lai. Two days later when the President of Gabon comes, he meets Chou En Lai in the hospital. The analysts, quick to jump and analyze, never really consider that maybe Chou just felt well enough that one day to meet his friend by a villa on the lake. Reading these Chiense tea leaves is important, but you can get so close to it that you don't see the forest from the trees. Every little analysis, who stands at what place at a reception, what is going to be the meaning of this article or that -- again it is important, but there are basic inconsistencies. And these are analyzed. We need it, but I hope I never get too close to it to lose the broader prospective.

submit

important points

Schmid, the Austrian minister, came to call on Harry Thayer and me. Steve Fitzgerald came by with Dave Finkelstein of the Ford Foundation. Foundations have not been permitted in here. They are a no-no so far as China goes. The Ford Foundation finances some of the exchanges, but this makes no difference so far to the Chinese. Teddy Youde had as his guest at a six o'clock reception Vice Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly. He is the head of the British Intelligence operatus. Interesting that he is here. He had dinner with the Chinese ambassador in London. Michael Willeford at the dinner, British Foreign Office man, mentioned maybe Mr. LeBailly should go. The next day he was on the golf course and got a phone call saying he would be welcome to go to China. They operate in strange and wonderful ways. Dinner at the Peking Hotel on June 20 with Dr. Li, Dr. Niu and his wife from Temple University at Philadelphia, and Dr. Chang and his wife from Catholic University. Dr. Niu is doing some interesting genetic work on goldfish here in China for four months. And Dr. Chang is on a similar project - not goldfish. Big spread of Chinese food, drinking the mao tai - kids got a great big kick out of it. Eleven course dinner.

The Somalia incident at the base concerns me. Somalia denied everything. Now I see they are inviting congressmen to go there. Congressmen have accepted. It will be interesting. God, I hope the Defense Department is not lying about all of this. Although the pictures indicate they are not. Yesterday Somalia turned back some diplomats who asked to see that particular segment of the photographs. What indeed is the truth?

July 1 - a little incident at the gate where a Chinese-American with an American passport came to the USLO with his sister and his elderly

parents. He was permitted in but his sister and elderly parents were detained. Jerry Ogden went out and asked the soldiers if they would let them in and they did. But only after a discussion which Mr. Ren, our interpreter asked the three why they had not gotten "the unit" to arrange their getting in. They said they lived at Nanking and thus their unit couldn't make arrangements. Chinese are always stopped coming into the USLO. It is a little embarrassing when they are American citizens. And even when they are not.

Uneventful day. Went to a reception for Canada National Day on a steamy 11-12 time frame at the International Club. I didn't wear a coat. I did wear a tie. I was somewhere inbetween the Chinese with their open shirts, very comfortable, and the rest of the diplomatic corps - all suits, coats and ties. I had a coat but I left it in the car at the last minute. Tennis at five and after a meeting with the kids - getting ready for the Fourth of July picnic. The picnic is amazing. Hot dog rolls - can't get them. Cooks, will they let us have any. Waiters - so far no go. I think they wanted the International Club to provide the food but we wanted Mr. Sun to do it. A bit of a stand-off. We are going to have the Chinese on July 3, and the movie and picnic on July 4. Kids all went to the Egyptian embassy with El-Abd's nephew, a wise lad from Georgetown. Bar and I watched Hawaiian Five-0 on the tube.

There are enormous problems sorting out the toughness of China from the gentle, civil side. Thailand's prime minister is here now and they agree

to self-determination for people, rerecognition of Taiwan, recognition of the PRC, and all the same formulas of the Philippines and others. Thailand clearly worried about subversion, wonders whether there will be enough change on China's part to protect them. China leaders assured the Philippines there was, that they would not subvert, but the Philippine leaders, I am sure, are not convinced.

On these moves China appears to be having its cake and eat it too. They are dictating the terms to the smaller countries, and yet there is no clear indication that they will stop sending telegrams to the communist parties encouraging them on. The next domino clearly is Laos. The government has already moved into almost total control of the Path et Lao. The question is will they be governed from Hanoi, will they be nationalistic and "free" even though under Path et Lao rule. It is too early to say. There is some border fighting between Cambodia and Nam, and then of course Hanoi and Russia have both backed Mrs. Ghandi, where China has come out strongly against it. There are differences in socialist and communist camps no question about that. But how lasting will they be. Much of what we are doing is based on the fact that China and Russia will not get together against us. Everyone that comes here, whether they be Chinese-Americans, whether they be delegations, whether they be from other countries, feel that the breach between China and Russia at this point is enormous. What about when secession takes place? End of July 1.

July 2 - had a good meeting with Teddy Youde and Admiral Lebailly, head of the British combined intelligence service, a most attractive guy who was

gotten off the golf course the day following a casual remark by a Brit at the Foreign Ministry who suggested to the Chinese ambassador that he might like to come to China. Hauled off the course - there was a message from the Chinese Embassy saying, "Would you like to go?". In the afternoon Tom Gleason, the head of Wolverine International, that makes Hushpuppies, came. They are doing some shoe business in Tientsin. The quality of the Chinese shoes are great. They think the leather working and the whole procedure is excellent. Tom, of Grand Rapids, an attractive fellow.

Went to a poorly attended reception for Air Iran's inaugural flight at the Peking Hotel. Many of the ambassadors and chiefs of mission are out of town this time of year. Went to the International Club to join Bar for a showing of t'ai chi ch'uan and woo she(?) (martial arts). Hotter than hell, but a couple of good movies and a couple of live performances. Very good. Dinner there and back to show the movie about Billy Holiday's life - "Lady Sings the Blues." Sad - dope, dirty talking. Brought home the contrast between our societies pretty damn well.

Thursday, July 3 - mainly at the office - preparation for the various receptions. The Chinese came in and announced that we had the cooks. Mr. Wong told me he couldn't sleep all night worrying about the waiters and sure enough it was announced we would get a certain number of waiters for both Thursday and Friday. Wang Hai Jung, Vice Foreign Minister, Mao's niece, is the guest of honor at our reception. We are expecting about 250 Chinese. Hot and windy. But soon that one will be over. Lunch at the International Club. Watching India with horror. Mrs. Gandhi has aborted democracy. China will be worried about it, because if something happens there, and Russia gets a larger toe hold, it will send China right up a wall.

End July 3.

Still July 3 - our reception for the Chinese. I decided giving the big barbecue on the Fourth should preclude, including the Chinese, until we saw how it worked. So we had a separate reception for the Chinese on July 3. Wang Hai Jung, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the ranking guest. Yao Yilin(?), the Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, the second ranking guest. Huang Hsu Tse, Vice Minister of Public Health, third ranking guest. Chao Cheng Hung, responsible official from sports and physical culture (handled the track team), was there. CCPIT, Ministry of Education, and nice Mr. Chou Chiu-Yeh, Chinese Peoples Institute for Foreign Affairs, who handled the Albert-Rhodes visit. Nancy Tang was there but she didn't sit in the head room. We did it the Chinese way. Bringing the ranking guests into the dining room which was cozily arranged. The day was clear so most of the other guests were out in the two patios.

Wang Hai Jung is absolutely impossible. Totally negative. You ask her what she thinks about India. She turns around and says what do you think about India. She is most difficult to get any intelligence statements out of. I said, "Does the Foreign Minister visit you"? She said, "Sometimes he's busy, sometimes he's not." And on and on it goes. Just like pulling teeth. She can be pleasant, but she is totally unproductive and turns every question around into a question for me. It is an interesting intellectual exercise trying to come up with new queries, but frustrating as hell to have them punted deep into ones own end zone. She is most unimpressive.

The reception was OK. The USLO people milled around and people arrived promptly at 6 and left promptly at 7. I think it was a plus. On the Fourth of July it was a tremendous success. We all got out and worked on the roof, on hanging up plastic banners, weighing them down with welding rods, setting up tables, cooking hot dogs on charcoal. It is hard to light. But

it all fell in place with the rain drizzling a little during the day, but clearing miraculously in time for a well attended, perhaps 500 people, reception. Dogs, Miller beer, American cigarettes, a raffle, coca cola, lots of loud music - John Denver style - and it was great. The Americans wore red, white and blue. We had American flags around and I am confident it conveyed the right kind of impression about our country. A few Chinese came from the International Club. Mr. Law from my tennis playing, Mr. Wong and just a few others. But the word will spread around. Next year we should do more. The dogs were good, the rolls came. And we ended up with far too much food. Interesting ploy on the servants. We asked for cooks and waiters. It was all impossible to get them but finally at the last minute we got the waiters and the cooks. They wanted us to use them as caterers, but we backed them down. And the whole thing worked out fine. I don't know why I got up-tight about this reception, but I wanted to see it click and I am confident that it did.

Saturday morning, July 5 - kids are about to leave. They are off to the sauna bath at Finland but we managed to clean up the yard. Bar and Mr. Kuo doing the sweeping. Wipe off all the flags, put the supplies away, dry off all the wet beer and coke cans. All in all the place is back to normal. Mr. Wong is fantastic as usual. Being the head of a mission is a little frustrating. The Somalia matter - I tell them its all around the diplomatic community and what do we do about it, how to counteract Somalia's propaganda. The answer is do nothing. Send in some cables on C. P. Li and there, though C. P. is gone, the answer is do nothing. But the cable is condescending, telling us that C. P. Li's remarks about Ford being welcome in China parallel other remarks of that nature. How stupid. Of course we know that.

Back to the Fourth of July. We raffled off prizes, including a couple of big red drums, a couple of coca cola red coats and a great big exercycle I'd used only slightly. Pictures too. This was a big feature and everyone seemed very interested in it. I hope the Chinese don't object to it, but it was really fun. American cigarettes went over well.

July 5 - reading cables, doing mail. Quest in terms of news here. Telegram from Chuck Percy from Moscow saying to batten down the hatches, that his delegation was arriving. That will be fun. The family leaves for Shanghai and Nanking on the train tonight at 6:00. I'll stay here because Thayer will be going away next week. Going to a soccer game tonight, taking it easy. Fred will be lonely. End of July 5.

July 6 - Sunday, the family left yesterday for Shanghai and now I am a bachelor. I am reading Grey's Hostage in Peking which, along with Ricketts' book about their imprisonment back in the early fifties, is interesting reading. The Ricketts come out as great admirers of the system of rehabilitation and a kind of ashamed that they were spies. Hostage in Peking is very different. It shows the horrible and ugly side of the Cultural Revolution; the Marx 500 million, stoning embassies, stripping embassy people as they were thrown out of China, spitting on them, plastering posters, vilification, and ugliness that one doesn't see now. And frankly it is kind of hard to imagine. But it is a good lesson to keep in mind. Church service was terribly attended. Not counting the Chinese there were seven or eight of us. Hot and still. Go out to see Mo Morin off at the airport. A mix-up on the drivers but that is standard procedure. George got his tooth fixed the day before he left for 60 cents. At the hospital he paid \$650 before

to get it drilled out and he was in great pain. He is now a great admirer of the Chinese medicine, and he is struggling, as a lot of us are, as to whether this universal health care - how it should work, etc. etc.

Today is George's twenty-ninth birthday. He is off to Midland, starting a little later in life than I did, but nevertheless starting out on what I hope will be a challenging new life for him. He is able. If he gets his teeth into something semi-permanent or permanent, he will do just fine. Went out to the airport, saw Mo off. Dinner at the International Club. Tennis with Te. It is warm enough now to take it out of you. My legs get tired. I have been taking the Cerbix T(?) vitamin pill. Felt pretty good this summer. Stomach troubles gone. Peking can be harsh on people. It can be rough. Fred had a bath - he is cleaner than he is in the winter. A lot. I took him for a long walk last night. Children back away from him. Some of the adults look curiously.

I am troubled by a book Hostage in Peking. It shows a totally different side of China. Mobs screaming. Struggling with the driver, Law Wong(?), who sounded exactly the same as my driver Kuo. Dragging him before 15,000 screaming people, trumped up charges, when he photographed things he was accused subsequently of spying on China, smearing paint and wall posters all over the guys room, keeping him for months in solitary confinement - two years prison in all. Trumped up stupid performance by the Chinese and the British in Britain in retaliation - they come charging out of the embassy swinging sticks, thus giving provocation to raid and sack the British Embassy here. Ripping the clothes off the women, touching them, vilifying the men. Filthy language. All the things one doesn't think of when one thinks of China. It is "must reading" because it only happened in 1967-68 and part of 1969, and it gives you a real indication of what things were like only a

very short time ago. The people are so nice here but they can be so obtuse, they can be so removed - so little chance for contacts. The enormous contrast between life here and Huang Chen's life in Washington. He can talk substance with anyone he wants. I can sit formally for one hour with Wang Hai Jung who says absolutely nothing. Middle Kingdom syndrome, with a underlying hatred of foreigners, is amazing. And yet we see so few manifestations of it. You can get close to these people - the ones that you know - but I keep in mind that if a word comes from some unseen mysterious place, we could be cut off, isolated, and, after reading Grey, vilified. In spite of this, there seems to be an interest in America, almost, you might say, an affection for America. I have not felt any hostility on a personal basis at all. I take personally, I am afraid, some of the things that China says about us - adequately recorded in the red news (Hsinhua News Bulletin).

Also I keep in mind China tells us, "don't listen to what we say, but watch what we do" - a paraphrase. Don called from the States late the night of the sixth. Bugged down in red tape on the children's travel through some travel agent. Hope we can get it worked out. But it is hard in China. You can't walk down to some air line ticket agency and get the best price. Hard to cash checks. Hard to conduct normal business. Back to the Grey book. I am glad I read it, but I must say it has altered my perspective. The Rickett prisoner book (I'll get the name) was an apology, showing how their thought control or their discipline or their self-cleansing sessions were really plusses to point out the good things of the system. But Grey's was a little more down to earth, and in my judgment a little more factual. End of July 6.

July 7 - the family gone to Shanghai, Nanking, Wusih. The high point was the lunch with Ambassador and Mrs. Huang Hua. They came alone in a green Shanghai. Talked in a relaxed way. She talked a little more than Huang Hua did. Not much substance covered. But a very warm and friendly atmosphere commented on by Pascoe and Thomas as most unusual. I asked if they were continuing the discussion we started at the U.N. He said they did not do it last year. I asked if there would be any unusual items for the U.N. General Assembly, and Huang Hua said no just the same ones. He did mention the Middle East debate. It was good to see him. There was genuine warmth there. And they are leaving for the States in four or five days. July 11.

Private
Comments

In the afternoon Ross Monroe of the Globe and Mail, taking John Burns' place.

July 7 - midnight phone call from Don. Discussing the kids' travel arrangements. From this vantage point it appears that President Ford is doing a heck of a lot better. That is good. Thailand has come and gone. Kukrit setting up diplomatic relations and Kukrit claiming he got proper assurances on subversion of Thailand from China. But the radio station apparently goes on though China denies it. And China still makes a difference in its own mind between export of revolution and support for revolution. The Iran Vice President was here. He took a big haymaker at the United States - so what's new! Some squeals out of Cambodia in the news, hitting the U.S. imperialists. God I get tired of that over here. Indonesia, on the morning news, says it is going to establish relations with China in a while. End July 7.

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July 8 - a very quiet summer day with tennis at 5 - Akwei and Wong

beating Bush and Xiao. Wong does not play net. He stays back. He wears sneakers with no laces in them. He is about 18. He makes some good shots, but he is a wild kid, and I found the language barrier difficult in trying to help him with his court position. He loves to win. He took the ball and banged the hell out of it, it went straight up in the air, when he missed an overhead. I was delighted to see this. It proves to me that Wong is a normal, red blooded tennis competitor.

Long walk with Fred where he spotted the Polish cat again. Practically pulled my arm out of my socket as young Paul Lambert and I tore down the road, past the PLA guards (2 at rigid attention with bayonets on their rifles for the first time early in the evening). Fred made a dive at the iron gate, sticking his neck all the way through it in quest of the illusive cat. We then had to sniff around the tall grass for five minutes til Fred satisfied himself the cat was gone. What a horrible international incident if he ever caught the cat. Lots of couples out on the hot summer night. People jump away when they see Fred. They shy back. They show their kids Fred - kids in their arms, but then the sidle off as we get near with Fred on his rope.

Lunch with the Ballows - two daughters - Chris and Jennifer. A message from the milkman saying it was very difficult for them when we had certain numbers of bottles delivered one day and then changed it the following week. What a contrast. In Maine the milkman grins with delight when we up our order. He shows a certain disappointment when we have to cut back, but he is ready to serve. We have been having kids galore and thus we have increased the supply. Now they are in Shanghai and I cut back on the amount of milk. But apparently this causes a bureaucratic morass. We have now settled on two milk-one yogart policy. And if we need more we will dispatch

someone to pick it up at the Friendship Store. They're simply not adjusted to making these changes. Their computers cannot memorize or cope apparently. Milkman, a pleasant guy, shows up in a brown looking jeep-kind of thing every morning and gets the milk in place -- delivered by 7:30. Today I greeted him in my old pajamas and he seemed genuinely amused. He likes Fred.

I wish I could tell what China's real intent is. After reading Hostage in Peking and reliving some of the horrors of the Cultural Revolution I can't be sure. Should Soviet Union and China get together, it would be, in my opinion, a whole new ballgame. And yet there is a latent interest in and respect for the United States. China keeps wanting us to be strong, wanting us to defend Europe, wanting us to increase our defense budget, etc. And yet their rhetoric and propaganda against the imperialist aggressive U.S. is so blatant that it makes me furious. But the question is what is their real heartbeat? What is their real intent? I don't think the United States has anything to fear from China. The talk about how we lost China infuriates the Chinese and now it infuriates me. I can see where it is very clearly wrong. China was not ours to lose and that has been part of the problem.

At the soccer match the Africans were all cheering like mad for the West German team - incongruous politically. The Chinese don't like the Africans it seems to me individually. I think they look down on them. And I know the African students here don't like it here in China. I talked to some who are going back in two or three months to Tanzania to work as railroad specialists, working with the Chinese. They are most anxious to get back - something that is very natural. The life style here is very

There should be no

different. They are shut off from girls, they are shut off from entertainment as they know and like it, and the result is they all sit around the International Club becoming slightly somewhat of a problem. As I drive along the streets I wonder whether the average Chinese kids rats tail(?) about Maoism, Communism or whatever it is. They are thoroughly indoctrinated day in and day out; drilled on radio, loudspeakers, in the parks, in the mountains, on the trains. But with their standard of living where it is, I wonder if they really have time to do anything other than to listen and support the system. The disturbances in the southern part of China - Fukien province and others - I am sure would give us a different perspective if we saw them. Peking is quiet, controlled, disciplined (and pretty hot in the summer - not as hot as Houston but not unlike Houston either - humid, rains clear it for a while, back comes the humidity).

The dress is much more relaxed now. Pastel shaped blouses on the women. Still baggy panted. Dresses on the kids and the men with light colored sports shirts - short sleeve, open at the waist. On the night of a contest at the Peking Stadium the people go in by the thousands. The whole street, which is a two-way street running from the International Club to our house and beyond, becomes a one-way artery with literally thousands and thousands of bicycles. Yesterday coming back from tennis I got caught in the maelstrom and it was really rather panicky. They shoot by too, with people rushing I guess for the better seats. And the younger guys driving like Bernie Olfield.

Hostage in Peking by Grey is still on my mind. Imagine hanging the guy's cat, plastering posters all over his room, dabbing black paint everywhere, the vindictiveness of the accusations. Two years in solitary. And little inconsistencies like making him renew his driver's license for his car, making him pay for heat when none was delivered, etc. etc. Unbelievable.

End July 8.

July 9 - Gunthers and Henrietta came for lunch. Tennis in the afternoon. Played at the Canadian Embassy with small David Ambrose of Australia and Akwei. It was a good evening out there. Then a very nice dinner at the Soviet Embassy in honor of the French ambassador. Tolstikov of the Soviet Union is a pretty good guy, former boss of Leningrad, and interesting kind of man. Sitting in this palatial embassy with dining room of pink marble walls and great high ceiling - good dinner with two kinds of Russian caviar first, three wines plus vodka and much fancier than we can possibly do. The meals are served by a group of young men, all bachelors who are there for a year - some go on to college. They look like central casting sent over some typical Soviet guys.

Thursday, July 10 - Bar came in on a special CAAC flight. They originally were scheduled to come in the afternoon. There were no seats on the flight, so after a lot of hassling they arrived. The trip went well. It was hot in Nanking, etc. etc. but they saw a lot of sights and apparently the train trip was OK. Carsey Manning and Slim Childress of Stuard & Sullivan (?) came for lunch. They are having a rough time getting business done with the Chinese. The Chinese say quote us on the biggest fracking(?) equipment you've got. Pressed for what formations need to be fracked(?), what kinds of specifications and all, the Chinese simply won't respond. Either they don't know what they want or they aren't willing to give out the necessary specifics. These guys are getting increasingly frustrated. Don sent the children's travel for Moscow. It appeared on a special flight. Beautifully handled all the way to Tokyo on Northwest. Transferred to JAL and it worked out very well. Farewell party at 6 o'clock for Folco Trabalza of Italy. He is a man that has been most unhappy here. Indeed he had close to a nervous

breakdown. He is now going off to Belgium to finish his diplomatic career, and he is happy as a lark. A pleasant guy, but typical of the kind of guy that ought not to be in this very complicated and difficult environment of Peking. I talked to Mr. Chi, head of Protocol, asking about the Foreign Minister's plans for fall at the U.N. No response. He told me, "I understand you had lunch with Huang Hua." They do keep up with what I do.

Rumors in Peking about a new poster campaign right here in Peking. Apparently posters went up and they were ripped down. British journalist Peter Griffiths apparently was held for an hour, taking pictures of the posters with Ross Monroe's wife. Had a long talk with the Mongolian ambassador at the Russian dinner. Very pleasant, talking about the hunting and fishing in his country, and rather relaxed. We have very few contacts with Mongolians, and I thought this one was a good one. China is worried about Russia gaining influence in Hanoi. China seems at this juncture to be the only power with any communication in Cambodia. Cambodia still insulated, still cut-off. Rumors of mass evacuation on Phnom Penh still prevalent, with gory details of the long march out of Phnom Penh. Oddly enough I think the United States is in a better position to be influential in Southeast Asia, provided we do not move too quick trying to purchase the friendship of Vietnam. I am for sitting that one out for a while. More and more thought to what the President can do on his trip to China. Cable came in giving me clearance to go on my leave. But I am now struggling with the forthcoming congressional delegations; one to be headed by Percy, the other by Bob Byrd. I'll be here for the Percy delegation, but I would like to get home before the other one hits, so I can get a good rest in Maine. Talked to Bob Costello of Kellogg Company who are building ammonia plants.

He is having a frustrating time. He cannot get an office. They have now offered him an office in the new wing of the Peking Hotel but at a very expensive price. China is not above trading on price now. They are not above holding people up on price where they see the chance. They can be awful tough, these people. Very disciplined when they think they are one up. I have been reading about Chinese negotiations and they can whipsaw you pretty good. Dinner at home - just family. A nice Mr. Sun Chinese dinner.

Friday, July 11 - morning working out details for the kids' travel, for reading up on the news, Mongolian reception at their embassy 11-12, then luncheon (going away) for Quasim Al Yagout of Kuwait, going off to ROME as DCM. Ambassador Folco Trabalza will call this afternoon at four.

Trabalza came by, bringing us a silver pitcher with the U.S. engraved on it - he had bought it in Shanghai. Very beautiful present. Quiet evening on the 11th. Saturday a spectacular day. Hot tennis, leaving me slightly worn out. Three sets in the big heat around 9:30 to 11. Then took Dorothy and Tricia to the Great Wall. Then John Boyd's singing group had a picnic at one of the Ming Tombs. Spectacular beauty. The reds turned orange, the sun went down, the silhouettes of the trees looked exactly like those in many of the Chinese paintings, silhouetted against sky and mountains. And the music sounded extra special. Fred behaved well, refused to chase a big flock of sheep that were strolling around the tombs. The police were out there. They kept a lot of the kids back and seemed to be busily watching everything that went on - signaling Dorothy and Tricia to climb down off one of the walls of the tomb. Not bad since the whole thing is crumbling.

Beautiful glazed tile lies all around the tombs. Except for the one or two that have been restored, they are in total disrepair. And yet they are perhaps the most beautiful place in all of China.

Got a haircut and found I could carry on a reasonable conversation with the barber - not good, but enough to understand a little of what he was saying. Practice is absolutely essential in the language. There is a great cynicism in the diplomatic community about the lack of freedom in Peking. Most people understand it, and John Burns, who is going back now to be with the New York Times, put it well when he talked about tranquility and the luxury of time. These things replace many of the freedoms that we are used to and don't have.

China's red news, Saturday, July 12, highlighted the decline of the U.S. economy - numbers of people marching on Washington for jobs. And if you read the article with the statistics on crime and lack of safety on the streets, it would sound like the whole society was coming apart. Why they highlight this in the red news I don't know. Clearly it is our internal affair, but they insist on pointing up how decadent we are and how on the decline we are. They would go right through the roof if we put out an official story of some sort saying how deprived they are of freedoms, and how dictatorial they are in their state, and how they have subjugated people, who undoubtedly are freedom loving, to rigid controls. Contrasts. They do such a job on the basics and yet they can be awful severe.

It was cool at the Ming Tombs - I almost needed a sweater. The rain came and cleared it up and then we got to Peking and the house was very very hot. Tried to sleep with no air conditioning, just because it seemed cooler outside - ended up having to get up in the middle of the night and turn it on. Stiffling. The picnic was held at the Ma Ling Tomb.

Saturday the Foreign Ministry sent word that they wanted to treat my family plus another couple or so from USLO to go to Harbin and Dairen and also to Taching, the oil field. This is in Northeast China, old Manchuria, and should be a great trip. I told them I would like to do it, starting out next Wednesday or Thursday. Petersmeyer will be here. Sunday hot. Temperature around 95 degrees. Tennis at 5:00 p.m. Church in the morning by bicycle. Shopping at the stores later. Popcicle concession is a big thing. They sell them like made; depending on what kind between two to 4.5 cents U.S. People throw the paper around. There is littering in the places where the masses are not mobilized to clean up. Up at the very top of the Great Wall. Unfortunately people sometimes use the very top point as a bathroom - rather odoriferous in the middle of the summer and a little ugly. Unlike the streets which are swept and watered by these big machines, there are places that get fairly littered and dirty. The Greek guy that got in the traffic accident was driving without a license and going like hell. God there are some horrible foreign drivers in this country, and I am surprised there are not more accidents. Bar had a bicyclist run into them in Shanghai and we saw the same thing at Canton. Maybe there is a higher casualty rate than we know about.

Tennis at 5:30 with Lao Wang. Then a tremendous rainstorm about 10 at night that cleared the air slightly. Note - India's democracy has been set back by Mrs. Gandhi - China is jumping all over her. China is way behind even a totalitarian India in terms of individual freedom. They are really challenging her hypocrisy, I think, something I feel strongly about. But I keep coming back to the society here, wondering how long there will be no individualism. How long everyone's head will be down and tail up.



How long before there is a real quest for individual decisions, what standard of living people want, freedom to travel, freedom to read, freedom to study, freedom to get away from the music and propaganda. The oppressive heat here makes one wonder about these things more than when it is crisp, and there seems to be a zip in the step and in the air. End of Sunday, July 13.

July 14 - I am just reading an article in the June 29th Los Angeles Times about child care centers. A Mrs. Weissbourd reporting that she was told by the Chinese as follows:

We asked the teachers what they did with naughty children. We were told there is no such thing as punishment. They talk with any child who is misbehaving and persuade the child that he or she would not do whatever it was. I am sure they showed us their best. I would do the same here with visitors, but they communicate positive attitudes about caring for each other in such a way that it works.

That is her comment. Mine is -- on my way out to the Tombs I saw a woman and a couple of kids. She grabbed the kid, conked him right smack over the head. Children crying, and later, on the way in, we saw a young person getting strangled. One group had his arm behind him and the other had him twisting his ear, leading him somewhere for a little discipline. The point is what we see is not exactly the way it is. We see a remarkable participation by the kids in school, all disciplined, holding their hands up, reciting. But I am wondering how it really is behind the facade for the foreign friends.

Monday July 14 - in the office all day. Lunch, home with the kids. French National Day - San Le Tun(?), at the French embassy. Chiao Kuan Hua appearing. He was very rude to the Russian ambassador. Not rude exactly, but shunned him. Spoke to me but with no great warmth and friendship. I

said I hadn't seen him in a long time. He simply nodded. There is an enormous difference in the way we are treated here and the way Huang Chen is treated in Washington. I am not sure that a lot of this isn't because of the way Kissinger decreed it, but I guess I'll never know the answer to that one. Farewell duck dinner for the Thayers, our kids - 14 people at \$151 k'uai yuan - not bad. The dinner was good. We laid off some of the dishes. Came home and watched Kojak on the TV. End of July 14.

July 15 - rather quiet day - a visit in the office at 2:30 by the Merrills - he owns some Annapolis newspapers - worked in the State Department, was visiting the Lamberts. Long chat with him. Final tennis game with Akwei and Bush v. the kids - victory! Went to George Marconi's for pizza and drinks and then to meet the CAAC 922 to pick up Greg Petersmeyer. We called out and the plane that was supposed to arrive at 19:50 was going to get in at 20:50. Little later we called again just to be sure and they said the plane had already arrived at 7:20. It is difficult to pin these things down. The Merrills told me that Paul Warnke was here in China coming as a visitor. In the red news it also says that a U.S. revolutionary student delegation leaves Peking for home. The delegation was met and feted by Chang Hsing-shan(?), deputy head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We had heard that Jerry Rubin had been in. Perhaps this was his delegation. That is all the item said. They differentiate between party and government. Party entertains these far-outs. Rest of the news typical - meeting and greeting different delegations. God they come here by the thousands. End of July 15.

July 16 - 7:40 the Trans-Siberian pulled out with the Bushes aboard. The music plays and there is a nice little wave off down there that is rather pleasant. It is going to be a little warm on the train, but they

were excited. How they will be in five more days I don't know. All the visas fell into place at the last moment including granting of the visa for Tricia Everett.

July 16 - kids left early on the train. 11:00 a.m. - I went to a fish-in at the Soviet Embassy - Harland, Bush, ^{Burak} Bulak, and Fitzgerald. Amazing performance under which the Soviet herd the fish in big nets towards the little bridge. They jump way out of the water and we stand around with nets on long poles, catching fish that are somewhat smaller than a blue fish but bigger than mackerel. They weigh pretty heavy and they jump like hell. It was hot and sweaty but we had a great day. I wrote a separate report on this which is available. Then to the ambassador's pool on his 16 hectare compound - big, typical Russian dinner, eating a lot of the fish and a marvelous soup - cold and other ways as well. Too many wines, too much vodka, too many after dinner drinks, and all in all an exhausting performance. 5:30 - meet Dr. Ayensu of the Smithsonian. He is a Ghanian - he is here visiting the Akweis. Working for the Smithsonian. Got the word that we are going to leave tomorrow at 8:00. Baggage to be there at 8:00 and we at 8:30 to head on the 9:00 plane for Dairen. Get back next Wednesday, so it will be a six-day trip. And I am looking forward to it. I will cover that on a separate tape. (not included in material sent to JK)

Arrived back in Peking Wednesday, July 23 - 5:00 p.m. Whipped by the heat. Back to the house for pick-up dinner - a martini and early bed. Thursday, July 24 - briefed the staff on our fascinating visit. Zeder ran into complications - tried to get a visa in twenty-four hours from Tokyo since he didn't get his visa when he left. Couldn't do it. Couple of very clear phone calls. Tennis with Petersmeyer and the two Chinese.

Catching up on piles of correspondence and clippings. The dead fish that I gave to Kuo were served for lunch. They just cannot accept things. I guess he would have been stopped going out the gate if he had taken the fish. I should have thought of that, but I thought maybe they would be able to do that. The pride in the astronauts, though this one will not be too well received in China because of the Soviet aspects. Lambert's kid in the hospital for two weeks for appendicitis. Good treatment by the Chinese. Mind diverting to vacation and Maine. Wrestling with my conscience about leaving before the second congressional delegation arrives. If I don't go, I'll only get a week in Maine and not see as much of the kids. And end up hectic and tired for the consultations. It really isn't necessary for me to stay, and I told the Department I will abide by their decision. Quiet dinner at Julebu. Hot but not unbearable at all in Peking. End Thursday, July 24.

July 25, Friday - to work early to get caught up. 7:30 - staff meeting. A lot of people have gone down to the beach - Beideho, off to Hong Kong, etc. Lunch - Amb. Lien Pravongrieng at our residence. Just been named Ambassador from Laos to the U.S. He is not a Path et Lao. He must be distressed by the way his country is going. Middle of July 25. Lunch went well. The ambassador asked me to find out where his agreemon(?) stands. I don't quite see that he will make it to the U.S. with the Path et Lao taking control of the country on such a rigid control, but maybe he will.

Note - my watch was going to cost \$300 to have it fixed in the States, my ~~Patrick~~ Phillip(?). The Friendship Store fixed it for \$12.50.

July 26 - the office. Tennis in the morning. Badminton in the afternoon. Hotter than hell indoors. Really aching tired that night. Lunch with Jacques Groothaert of Belgium and Madelyn back from vacation in Europe.

Groothaert is kind of down on the Chinese, points out their tough things and keeps it in mind. Maybe he is smart to keep the negative things in perspective, but that attitude can be overdone here. Amazing to see Kukrit of Thailand and Marcos of the Philippines meeting and talking about throwing out the U.S. bases. The cycle is almost complete although the Asian countries are not in Red China's orbit at this point. The big question is: Does China want to expand, or will they be content to offset Russia with a presence in Southeast Asia but not encouraging revolution in those last remaining free countries. This is the enormous question, and of course it brings you back to Taiwan and what should be done there. The Korean ambassador had a film, invited many ambassadors here - showed a vicious propaganda film against the United States. John Foster Dulles derided, officers from the Pueblo submitting to humiliations, signing a document admitting their guilt. Then a Korean lecturing Americans at the border. Pure propaganda and vicious and filthy - shows an adulation of the great and glorious leader Kim Il Sung. And all the time at home the evils of Kim Il Sung are not pointed up. Simply the shortcomings of Park Chung Hee in South Korea. We don't seem ever to learn.

One thing you get from living here is the force and control of the Communists, the power to manage thought, the power to use propaganda. Sometimes it seems so obvious, but when repeated enough perhaps people will believe it. If China wants good relations with us, clearly they ought not to be attacking us the way they do all the time officially. I am sure they would object to some of the anti-PRC propaganda from the Committee on Free China etc. at home. But it is not official. Maybe it is too much of a distinction to ask.

Sunday, church, two-hour bicycle ride, lunch with Bryce Harland of New Zealand at the International Club. Very relaxed day. A reception in the evening for Chad. Then Ambassador Akwei of Ghana and his three kids, charming, all coming over to watch Telly Sevalis and Mary Tyler Moore and MASH. That kind of entertainment means an awful lot here. The Chad ambassador, following the overthrow of Tombalbye in Chad, is heading home. He is unhappy as he can be about it. He has been here about 14 months. His wife, 30 years old, and six small kids. He is reportedly nervous about what awaits him in Chad. Kind of sad. It was a really hot day. I wore a coat to the reception and wished the heck I hadn't done that. No exercise. Too tired from the exertion the day before. Prices seem to be going up on the things they sell foreigners here in China.

Received a cable from the States asking me to stay until the second delegation, arriving August 20, at least leaves Peking. This of course I will do, though it really screws up vacation, and guarantees I will not see two of our kids before they go back to college. Steve Allen and his attractive son came by. They had been on a fascinating visit around China. We'll get more on that later I think. China launched a satellite today. China must think it is weird as they see us refuse to vote funds for Turkey. These kinds of actions must convince them that we are getting to be as weak as they think.

All the CIA publicity bothers me too. One tends to become more conservative after he has lived here a while. Conservative in the sense of guaranteeing freedoms which would make one want to see the excesses of the CIA controlled, but also conservative in the fact that institutions that have served to preserve freedom, or to hopefully prop it up in some places, are being dismantled.

And this I don't think is good. I read Agee in Playboy and clearly he is a socialist or communist, wanting to overthrow the institutions. But he gets wide publicity riding in on the anti-CIA mode of the liberals. Of course I am offended by the assassination plots etc., but the problem is you see the tip of the iceberg and get no credit for the great bulk that lies below the surface.

Reading Stillwell by Barbara Tuckman. Very interesting book. Makes one understand a great deal about mistakes that were made in the past. And when one reads the Committee on a Free China report about how great Chang(?) was, again one only gets part of the picture. You don't see the corruption and the loss of human dignity and life that seems to have, a lot of it at least, disappeared from Mainland China. Why can't the two sit down and work something out between them. That would be the real answer, but it seems unlikely, certainly at this point. End of Sunday, July 27.

Monday, July 28 - we are having our morning staff meetings - Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays now. It is a little better. 8:45 to whenever the business is finished. 10:00 - DeLois Blakely, a black girl who for ten years had been a nun, came in to see me. Most enthusiastic, and visited with all the African students. Said that they had recommended that she come see to me, that they were friends of mine, etc. She said that students were missing female companionship and that every once in a while a Chinese girl looked at them in a more than sisterly way, but nothing was ever done about it. She confirmed that the students were totally isolated on a physical basis.

Lunch with the Caterpillar Trade Group that came to town, headed by Don Koonon(?) from Hong Kong and Dell Lammers(?), Vice President out of Peoria. Refreshingly straight forward. Good guys, talking about their business experience with the Chinese, sitting them down and asking them

many good technical questions. But they haven't the slightest idea why they are here. They think it has to do with pipeline equipment for laying pipe, but they have no idea whether the Chinese are interested in one machine, ten machines or any machines at all, or maybe a thousand. They have no idea and they have been here almost a week.

and point

In the afternoon I went to call on Ambassador Ogawa of Japan. They are working on their "hegemony" clause, the Russians insisting it not go into their treaty with China, and China insisting that it be in the treaty. Japan caught between Russia and China. They are also working on a consular agreement to open a consulate on Shanghai. China opening one in Osaka. And on a fisheries agreement. They are way ahead of us on these kinds of details. In the afternoon we briefed the Electronic Industries Association at 4:30 followed by a reception. This is the first industrial association to come, made up of vice presidents at Collins, General Electric, ITT, etc. Again a very straight forward good group who had been presented a schedule with some travel and some discussion, and they wondered whether this was different. Actually it is just the same as if they had been an opera group or a stamp collectors group or whatever it was. We rushed from our 5:30 to 6:30 reception, at which we were joined by a group of Chinese petroleum chemical technical survey group off to the States, to the National Day of Peru at the International Club. Hotter than blazes. These things can be punishingly hot and unimaginative, but the Peru ambassador, Espejo, was must anxious we come.

After that, dinner at Harry Thayer's and home. Bar is having four silk cummerbunds made. Beautiful brocaded silk, total cost 25 yuan. Monograms being put on my bathrobe (40 cents). Imagine what they would charge in the States for that. End of Monday, July 28.

Tuesday, July 29 - political briefing, quiet lunch at home. And a going away party for Ralph Larello(?), Pete Bergin and Mike Woods - our security guards. Young kids, twenty to twenty-seven, unmarried - they pull eight-hour duty at USLO, rather boring performance but they have done pretty well and made a lot of friends in the diplomatic community. What could they do if we were overrun by a hostile force - answer, zilch.

Gowon of Nigeria was overthrown, thus bringing home to me the instability in so many of these countries. The U.S. comes in for an enormous share of criticism, but when you look around the world you can see why the U.S. gets the begrudging respect of so many other countries. India's abortion of democracy, the great changes in Southeast Asia, the turmoil in Africa. To all of these we clearly present a comfortable, reasonable and encouraging alternative. Rumors abound that Sihanouk will be going back to Phnom Penh. I'll believe it when I see it. He may go back, but I don't see that he'll have much influence. The slaughter and the isolation now of Cambodia worries me. Both Vietnams want into the United Nations now. God I can clearly remember how they castigated the U.N. and said there would never be two Vietnams. It all depends on whose ox is being gored. And yet the countries are united, including China, against keeping the ROK(South Korea) out of the U.N. China's satellite is orbiting the earth. It will be a little difficult for them to criticize picture-taking by the big powers. Saw Lin Ping at the Peru reception - almost as if our trip had not taken place. End of July 29.

July 30 - hassle over C Fred. He now cannot go as extra baggage but rather as a separate package at baggage rates - \$9 a pound, times \$28 a dog plus \$12 a cage equals $9 \times 40 = \$360$ one way. Sorry, he stays here!

Lunch today at our house with Steve Allen and his attractive son Bill. They have been on a tour of China in the company of the China Travel Service.

Bar leaves today on Air France. Steve Allen spent some time running down information on a religion. They have an office of religious affairs in Peking. He told his guide he wanted to see it. The guide's reply was, "How did you know about that?". Big rain, one of the biggest in Peking in a long, long time. Cooled things down although it is warming up again now.

Bar departed on schedule. Early night sitting outside on the patio reading. I keep wondering about the excessive protective nature of the State Department, particularly the Secretary's approach to China. Just got a letter saying that no ambassador should come here - tourism, familiarization, or curiosity. Why the excessive protectiveness? Plimpsall of Australia was here. Had a great visit with Steve Fitzgerald and they both profited enormously. Apparently Sullivan of the Philippines and Bill Cargo from Nepal wanted to come, but they have both been turned down. I wrote Oscar telling him that I disagreed with the decision but would certainly abide by it. I think we need more openness. I realize that things are sensitive, but I believe the open approach is better. I don't see how this could get us in trouble at all.

Our trade with China will be way down this year. Less than half of what it was last year, with no great commercial deals in the mill. People will focus on this next year in terms of deterioration, although we have been lucky that they have accepted the fact that the decline in trade this year is due to less agricultural goods being shipped from the United States because of the good harvest here in China.

Sounds that I will not forget. The early morning singing in the park - loud and usually very good tenor voices for the most part. The organized cadence of kids marching (Y, er, Y, er). The never ceasing honking of horns downtown in Peking, the jingle of bicycle bells, the laughter of the children as they play near the park, the blaring of the loudspeakers with the exercises of the propaganda whether it's on a train, in a park, at a building site, wherever. The July and August sound of the crickets.

I have studied Chinese. It has continually brought home to me how difficult it is to operate fully in a foreign land without the language. Went to try to cash in a few yuan for Bar yesterday at the airport and simply couldn't get through to the guy. So we finally just gave up. He was trying to be helpful, he was smiling, he was trying to explain and I just couldn't understand. Oh, the frustration! The dollar is stronger now. Yesterday they were giving 187. It had been 174. I gave an Arab 180 and said, "Keep the change" for \$1 for Bar. He pointed out to me it was 187. Embarrassment!

As we drove to the airport, four little kids were standing right on the side of the highway, one of them acting almost like a bull fighter or a flag man at the railroad. Standing with one foot on the side of the road, very dangerous if two cars were trying to pass. He stood there. He's about 8 or 9 years old and stood defiantly with his flag out. Kuo immediately pulled to a stop and turned him in to the local policeman along the road. The policeman started to walk down the street to reprimand the kid and what did they do - they took off like scalded apes, just the way the kids would do in the United States. I continually see the similarity between kids here - wrestling, shooting games, ball playing, occasionally the reprimand by parents, occasionally the tears by the very little ones,

the interest in sports, enormous curiosity of kids.

Went to the hospital to call on two Americans. A Dr. Fang who is from California and is 68 years old. At one point they thought he was dead. He looked like it yesterday. His wife was there and his son arriving. And a young kid from Bethesda - 17 year old boy who was stricken with a throat disease. The boy was flat on his back. He had had a 104 temperature. He was being drip fed intravenously. Looked uncomfortable and he did seem to appreciate the fact we came by. The hotel rooms were private, clean, all the windows wide open. Cool because of the rain the day before, and generally it looked like a pretty nice place to be sick although slightly dark. Both Mrs. Fang and the boy told me they were getting excellent care. End July 30.

Thursday, July 31 - economic briefing. Our trade is off tremendously with China. Less than half for '75 of what it was in '74, mainly agriculture. Now the deficit is about 2 to 1 against them, but there are no major sales in sight. I don't believe the claims and asset thing is affecting us. I also do feel that there is some political pressure on us in trade. They are buying some things from others such as old field equipment, where we have the best, but they are going elsewhere. I don't think it is a major factor yet.

Ethel Fang and Ted Fang of Sacramento came in. Ted, the son of Dr. Fang who is now in the hospital and very very sick. He got into China - though his visa wasn't for August 1, he got in on July 30. Pretty good. They are worried about their dad. He is getting good care. Fifty-fifty chance to live. That night saw the Red Detachment of Women. Dramatic, colorfully staged ballet. The dancing not as good as some of the great western ballets. Normally the ballet dancer ends with her arm bent, fist clutched, defiantly

looking to the future. Much good martial music, some symphony like music. Lots of posing, posturing, shooting with guns, ridiculing old China with its landlord cowering, whipping their warlord's troops, giving presents which is frowned upon now. Women as sex symbols. The whole bit. But a great evening with spectacular dancing and staging and action. The place was filled. The message in everything they do is loud and clear. How long can China sustain this?

August 1 - Swiss National Day. I have now gone to open neck, short sleeve shirts. One or two on the outside that look Chinese, but the Europeans for the most part insist on coats and ties. Paludan of Denmark is an exception. So is the Belgian. The Swiss are moving out of their beautiful Chinese looking embassy to a new one at San Le Tun(?). Too bad because you really do feel like you are in China when you are in that embassy. Lunch with Teddy Youde on the beautiful large grounds outside of his house. We had drinks there and then outside again for coffee. Big shade trees. All of which was a field 15 years ago and now beautiful gardens, tremendous amount of space. I wish that I thought that the U.S. would ever be able to acquire this much space.

Wrote the Mayors Alioto, Lugar and Lila Colkrell. They are coming in September and I will miss their first part. Tennis at the International Club with Mel Searles of Exxon, now moving to the China Trade Committee, Harry Thayer and Petersmeyer. Then the Marconis and their little children came over to watch television.

Frustrations as China protests to us on the use of a form which asks whether people are Communists, and have them lumped in with thieves, crooks, etc. I am not sure how I would have handled it because clearly that is our

internal affairs, but they raised hell about it. They don't want us to attach an escort to the Percy group. They are iron fast about that too. These people are frustratingly difficult to deal with in every way. And it is not just us. The other ambassadors told me that they feel that the groups that come to China are assiduously kept away from the embassies, emphasizing the people to people thing. If one starts comparing it to what their ambassador is allowed to do in our capital, the differences are overwhelming. I must guard against the increasing frustrations of always running into stone walls. Sometimes politely, sometimes firmly, but sometimes rather acidly, but nevertheless always there. Petersmeyer got his extension, but it came back with a kind of defense of their policy of two to three weeks is sufficient. But they did grant us an extension after giving us a short lecture, in a paper they sent over. The land of contrast. The decency, the kindness, the civility, the grace, compared with the iron willed, dogmatic, unsensitive demanding "we're right, you're wrong" kind of behavior. It is hard to sort out. End of August 1.

Morning of August 2 - after a great night's sleep, back under the air conditioner because the heat is coming back again after a couple of cool days. Ready to depart for Tombs and swim at 11:00.

Swimming in the Ming Tombs Reservoir with Fred was fun. The Chinese are a little nervous about dogs. I must say there is quite a bit of human filth along the edge swimming that makes it less than exciting. Bathroom habits in China leave something to be desired as do the general conditions of public facilities and what pass for private facilities. Spectacular picnic out there. Dinner with the Syrian ambassador. Unreasonable

in his view on Israel, but more and more I can see how our special relationship with Israel causes problems around the rest of the world. The Africans and everyone else are upset with us about Israel, and we really don't get anything out of it, except we are, of course adhering to a fundamental principle.

Sunday, church. Hot. Percy delegation supposed to arrive at 1:55. I am dictating this and they say another report says 7:00. Something must have gone dramatically wrong. They are very bad about advising us on details. Turn down the liaison officer to go with the delegation. Reluctant to give out information on the visit. Seem to be bypassing on this to go direct. One of the things about a free country is they can go direct to Congress or to anybody else, whereas we have no chance at all to talk to their political people or what dissidents conceivably exist here. Travel restricted etc.

The big discussion of two Vietnams. I am delighted that we are standing firm to see South Korea in before we will permit the entrance of the Vietnams. Some try to make the distinction that you need the agreement of both divided states before they can go in, but that in my view is absolutely ridiculous and we ought not to knuckle under.

August 3 - delegation detained in Shanghai, finally arrived at 10 p.m. Hung around and waited all day. Great warmth and feeling to see Javits, Pell, Stevenson, Percy, Finley, Heckler and McCloskey. Great Mark Percy the kid, attractive McCloskey son. Nancy Stevenson warm and friendly. Nancy Tang in her Mercedes shot across town and arrived just before the delegation and then drove off. She lives on the western side of town so was a little late getting there. She is a Deputy in the American and Oceanic Affairs Office and yet she is a member of the Central Committee. So in one hat

she is way over the others, and in the bureaucratic system she is below them. Very articulate. Seemed warmer and friendlier at the dinner Monday night.

Monday, August 4 - gave a buffet lunch for the delegation. Food fair. Relaxed, no ties, no coats. Percy a generous toast to me and all in all it went very well. Dinner that night at the Peking Hotel for the delegation. Wang Hai Jung sitting next to Percy. Percy, Javits and Pell all toasted. Rather frank. Percy talking about the differences between the systems, they excelled in cleanliness of streets (Shanghai and Peking vs. Chicago and New York), elimination of vice and crime, Chairman Mao's principles etc. We could learn from them, and they could learn from us on science, technology and our constitution. Javits, though differing from the war in Vietnam, stated that it was a question of principle, the principle of self determination. Pell calling the USSR a super power, thus causing smiles between Wang and Nancy Tang, made an impassioned plea for the U.N. It was a good evening. Again relaxed and no crises. This delegation seems to be first-rate. Bed at ten. Couldn't sleep at all. Maybe it's the mao tai. Strong stuff. Bitten by two mosquitos - one in the eye, one on the arm. Woke up all swollen up.

Tuesday, August 5 - not much. An insistent call from Somalia (of all people), ambassador wanting visa for his son and wanting to visit with me. Somalia has looked ridiculous on this base in Berbera, and I think most ambassadors in China at least understand that they were caught red-handed. But he continues to kind of take the offense. Big debate on what we ought to do at the U.N. Still very much on everyone's mind. Kuala Lumpur consul was seized and we get a telegram expressing concern and urging caution. Kuala Lumpur of all places. I often wondered that if somebody wanted to

embarrass China, the best way to do it must be to have an attack on the American chief of mission or personnel here in Peking. What a flap that would be. In terms of the hostages, the Chinese might just muster the PLA and go charging in and catch the culprit and the hell with the hostages. Seems unlikely, given the peace and tranquility here. Stranger things than that could happen. We take no precautions here at all for our own safety. Travel freely in all alleys and downtown night and day, walking the dog. End August 5.

Percy delegation was here. We invited the insect control delegation to come to the house. I tried the new cassette on Washington on the leader of the delegation. It worked very well indeed. Washington scenes in Chinese - eight minutes. Percy is doing a good job leading the delegation.

August 6 - we met with Teng Hsiao Ping, Chiao Kuan Hua out of the hospital - elaborate notes on this meeting so nothing required here.

August 7 - continuation of August 6. We had the press over - wine and cheese. McCloskey sent some California wine, shipping cost far more than the wine, but they brought it out on the plane, so all I had to pay was from Shanghai to Peking. Cheese, wine, noodle soup and watermelon. It worked well. The press are grateful to have this kind of shot at the Americans. The whole evening was a good one. The delegation is a good one.

I am going through some enormous frustrations here about what this Mission should do. Harry Thayer feels, and probably properly from being briefed at the State Department, that we should not make any interventions on behalf of Chinese for the most part. Percy brought some clothes and some money and asked that we send it. Harry is very nervous about sending that along, feeling that we would be "exceeding our brief." My view is that we ought to be trying to help in any way we can. Of course not doing anything that would be offensive to the Chinese. He feels that the State Department wants it all handled through PRCLLO. It is a problem and I am

frustrated because I like to see things happen. I respect Harry and I know he is giving me his best judgment and best advice, but I feel that if our relationship can't stand that kind of action, why we're on pretty thin reeds.

August 7 - lunch at New Zealand embassy with Ambassador Ogawa, Somalia ambassador in the afternoon and a going away banquet later. Lunch with Ogawa and Bryce Harland - then a long visit with the Somalian ambassador, who was anxious to get his son's visa stamped and his passport, fearing that if it's not in there, the Somalian ambassador in Washington will turn down the son. The son apparently wants to see the overthrow of the Somalia government, or at least he disapproves of some of its policies. Sometimes one forgets the problems of other small country ambassadors. The ambassador told me he was being withdrawn along with six or seven other ambassadors. That evening the going away banquet at the Sick Duck Restaurant for CODEL-Percy.

Funny demands made in the case of the Percy old clothes, the case of shopping. We must try to be responsive to these demands and avoid a lot of grief. Frankly they didn't seem very much to me. Stevenson very generous in his toast to me, as were the others.

Friday the 8th - went out to the airport, saw the group off and then Jennifer, Greg Petersmeyer and I left for Beideho. We shared a compartment with Ada Princigali(?). It was hot but not unbearable. You carry ice, have a drink, good food on the train, four berths so you can sleep. And at 5:30 we pulled into Beideho in time for a swim and a good dinner at the outdoor German restaurant, now open. Beideho does not seem like a Chinese city. The Chinese themselves by the seashore are much more relaxed, many cadres go there to stay on vacation and the diplomatic set has a nice relaxed time.

Only the soldiers reminding us that we are in China. I left an Arizona Highways magazine, old, on the train. When I went to leave Beideho three days later, I noticed Mr. Fay signing a long form and piece of paper, all full of forms and instructions. It turned out that the train was returning the magazine to him and having him sign for it. They do trust you. We bought some tee shirts and we didn't have the coupons. We signed for that and then I went down and settled up with them. They are meticulous for detail. Nancy Stevenson kept waiting to go swimming because she didn't have all the forms filled out while the others, Marion Javits and the kids, were spashing merrily away in the pool, having just dived in. Hot mid-day sun in Beideho. Hot at night. Some bugs but not too bad. Our little cottage not getting much of a sea breeze. Three or four days is about the right length of stay there. Saturday night - Beideho.

Sunday, the 10th - came back in order to meet Flanigan. Supposedly at 8:25. I got word after we were back that his plane had been turned into a charter flight. Frustration.

Flanigan - I asked him to stay with me provided Travel Service agreed. I mentioned to Nancy Tang that he was going to stay with me and she expressed surprise. At Beideho I get a call from China Travel that they had understood that they were going to stay at the Hotel. Then another message at Beideho saying that Flanigan had rejected staying at the hotel. They want him to stay at the hotel, he is their guest, he should stay at the hotel. We will see about that.

Long ride back on the train. Hot, humid, not bad though. Dinner at the Club. Tennis. The most humid weather we have had so far with Wong, Thayer and Petersmeyer. There are so many little frustrations here. Doing things the normal way. The answer politely coming back, "it is not convenient."

Our liaison officer on the CODEL delegation wasn't convenient and yet they couldn't or wouldn't handle the request the way it should have been done. John Lewis, a professor from Stanford, knowledgeable sinophile, was just in over his head, pulling his hair out, as the congressmen went off in all directions. Yet China would not permit us to really be fully involved. For some reason, in the United States at this juncture in our relationship, we are permitting China to get away with murder on the Jewish question. They are far worse in their statements about Israel than the Russians, and yet the Russians, because of their own Jewish immigrants, get all the heat. China doesn't let their people go to and from very easily either.

African students, about to leave, came out and watched us play tennis on the lawn - two of them. Nice boys. Lonely. They should go on. End of August 10.

August 11 - lunch with Jan McCrary and the Salzers. Lot of pouch. Went out to the airport to get Flanigan. There was a massive foul-up. China Travel had invited Flanigan. He just went in and got his own visa. He had been visiting President Marcos. They were upset about his staying with me, so I sidled over to him and told him first thing that he ought to stay with them. It worked out very well and they whisked him off th the hotel. But he came for dinner. Dinner with the two Brigits. He didn't know what his program would be, but he had been treated extraordinarily well.

August 12 - we visited the Peking brewery. I have a separate report on the brewery in the file. It was old, beat up, very nice people, I took them a case of Millers and we sat around sampling, tasting their five kinds of beer and the Millers after the meeting. It worked out well. I believe the Chinese like that kind of applicable gift thing. There is a certain

unnaturalness not to be able to give modest presents, without worrying whether you are going to hurt feelings or get people in trouble.

Lunch at USLO. Ambassador Anguiano of Mexico came by to offer to help with some Americans held hostage in South Vietnam. Vietnam matters, North Korea matters are very much in focus here. The U.S. vetoed the applications of the two Vietnams to get to the U.N. because the U.N. Security Council refused to even consider South Korea which certainly qualified. But this kind of move has more repercussions and discussions here. The whole third world cast, the whole climate, hostility toward capitalism, China's special friendship with Korea, and the determination not to let the Soviets take advantage of her in South Vietnam - all give more emphasis in the diplomatic community to anti-American positions. It gets a little annoying at times, but I must say that I like to defend our positions and battle with some of these guys. I am convinced that Chinese respect one for that, and I am convinced that some of these foreigners, like the Somalians and some others, do too.

That night dinner with the Flanigans at Kong Lu Restaurant (?) following the drinks at the USLO residence. Lots of rain. Flanigans drenched at the Great Wall. These diplomatic receptions are made annoying by the Korean, sloppy looking guy who has a terrible interpreter with him. And his speeches are too long and they are all the same. If things were not sensitive, I would try to joke about it a little bit, but that would not be good. At the reception on the 13th he unavoidably had to shake hands. He always looks uncomfortable at this, but he is the dean of the diplomatic corps and it gives me no problem at all.

Wednesday, the 13th - Pat Wardlow, the economic guy, arrived. Mohamed A. A. Abuelhaffan, 31 year old ambassador of Kuwait, new, came to call on me. Attractive young guy. Then at the Tanzanian reception he came dashing up

to say hello. I believe he will be a good friend. Arabs seem genuinely friendly. I discussed with them throwing Israel out, urging against it, saying it will damage the U.N. itself. And I have no hesitancy in visiting frankly with them. Some of the sophisticated Europeans that kind of impotently wring their hands about the U.N. get to me a little bit more than the direct emotional Arabs, whom I like enormously. Actually the Arabs and the Israelis aren't very different in this nice sense.

Ambassador Small of Canada came to call. A thoroughly decent man. Great, honest, open, friendly; respects our position on the United Nations incidently and doesn't hesitate to tell others when he agrees or disagrees with them or us. Farewell reception at Tanzania for Wambura. He has been here six years. Too long. The reception was hot, outdoors, I wore a coat, which I don't like to do. There is a certain sameness to the receptions. There have not been too many of them lately; you mill around and get information from various ambassadors and greet certain Chinese and exchange little tidbits. It is worth doing, particularly in Peking. That night the farewell banquet in Peking for the Insect Control Group for the United States. Terry Atkisson in charge. He is from Texas A&M. Very delightful. There were many toasts, some good, some lousy. An excellent banquet and excellent fellowship. I believe these kinds of delegations really do help. Peter Flanigan briefed our economic staff and they agreed that it was the best briefing they had had in capsulized form about the U.S. economy. Had to take three bottles of whiskey down to Insect Control Group who needed to write their "final report." End of August 13.

August 14 - Thursday, a little hot and sticky. The mist hanging in over Peking. The weather really isn't as hot as Houston, nor as tough in any way, but people bitch about it a lot here. Ambassador Ogawa and his wife will be coming at ten thirty. At this juncture I don't see how

Ford could make any real movement on the Taiwan question. I will have a better feel for this when I go to the States, but it is tough to see how he can, given the mood in the United States of not wanting to let down friends, of standing up for capitalism, etc. It is awful tough, and these people don't seem in a position to make any concessions. Time will tell. I would like to see full relations for a lot of reasons, none of which result in immediate change between our two countries. But I would like to see us solve the problem, and yet I would not recommend overthrowing Taiwan at this point, just blatantly and openly.

Ogawa's wife came over and we chatted. She is on her way, taking her child to the States. Barbara and Casey Manning, businessman and typically Texas, typically warm - here to sell some equipment to the Chinese. That afternoon Mehrotra, head of India's office here, came to call. Very much interested in what Teng Hsiao Ping had said about India and Sekeam(?) and whether China would take the matter of ~~Sekeam~~ ^{Sekeam}(?) to the U.N. They apparently won't. Pell having asked Teng Hsiao Ping about this at his meeting. That night a cookout in our yard arranged by Jennifer, a farewell for Mike Woods and Pete Bergin. Marvelous incident when the steaks all went up in a massive flame, and the Chinese were running and jumping around. But it turned out to be very nice. Hot, warm outside but beautiful sky, and the terrace looked spectacular.

Friday, the 15th of August - routine day. Greg Petersmeyer left. Not much happened.

Saturday, the 16th - went to call on Wang Hai Jung about Puerto Rico. Separate coverage but I feel strongly on the Puerto Rican issue. I hate to see these countries at the U.N. pushing because of their instant majorities to try to make it look like Puerto Rico is being deprived and Puerto Rico is the same as some colony. The record on votes establishing Puerto Rico's

desire for either commonwealth or statehood is very clear, but the mischief makers, in this instance led by Cuba, lead the way. I emphasized internal affairs, and she said that internal affairs is important, but so is continuing revolution. I am troubled that we don't make our principles as clear. We have got them. Sometimes we are embarrassed to stand up for them. I think more and more we are going to have to take these forceful, forthright positions, emphasizing freedom, and pointing out the advantages of capitalism. We seem to retreat from these all the time. Ted Fang came to see me, the son of the sick guy. He wants to see if his father can be transferred. The father is staging a recovery - so difficult. No nurses around the clock. At one point they thought that Mr. Fang was going to die, but now he may be able to be moved toward the States in a month or so. His poor mother, sitting there speaking both Canton, which the father speaks, and Mandarin, is almost on round-the-clock duty. Claiborne Pell arrived around noon. Tennis with Pell. Then a beautiful picnic at the Ming Tombs. Spectacular. Saw satellites - seven or eight of us in the van and a real special evening. Very special indeed. Jennifer did a great job on the picnic. Pell left early in the morning for Rumania. Church, then the rest of the day sitting in the patio, a tremendously hot sun. Relaxed in the afternoon. Tennis with the Flanigans who returned. Dinner with the Flanigans at the Julebu International Club. China is being difficult about escort officers from Hong Kong attached to various delegations. They are continuing their policy of little fairs scattered around. I noticed there is a new Tientsin straw fair.

Hassle about the agricultural officer - Ag wanting to assign Champeau and my feeling is that Champeau is unacceptable. Still feel we are not probably informed by the Department. We are too cautious on many things

here and I sense an accumulating feeling of frustration. A lot of that simply is that I need to get back to the States to get refurbished. Some of it is fundamental in the way this policy is run. I think these visits from senators and delegations and all these kinds of things help increase understanding about the United States; and yet there seems to be an official worry that somebody will say something that will foul up all the relations. Our relationship is not that frail in my view. It is too important to the Chinese, and I also think that the more exposure to Americans the better off America is. End of the 17th.

Monday, the 18th - Wang Hai Jung to come to lunch. Gledhill, a partner of Bob Bushman's in San Antonio in a drilling venture, came in. English fellow, very interesting. Talked about the frustrations of selling to the Chinese - crew boats. They do do some shipping business with them which is apparently more normalized. But he reiterated the sensitivity of oil stuff. Went to the Marco Polo Store - Jennifer and I - and sat fascinated as we saw the beautiful jades and much better quality stuff than at the Friendship Store. I found myself becoming instantly fascinated with jade, with the differences. They pulled out one for 100 yuan and then showed us one for a thousand, and the difference was very, very clear. It is such a subtle art. The gold working and beautiful. Charm bracelets with charms of real gold are attractive. I bought more than I intended to. This store is separate and apart for export. Occasionally they let someone go there to buy. Lunch with Wang Hai Jung, Lin Ping, Nancy Tang, Mr. Ding and Mrs. Hsi who used to interpret. The mood was relaxed but they sit there with a straight face and very pleasantly accuse us of being in favor of hegemony. And I argue back, somewhat I think to the consternation of my colleagues. But this idea of just sitting there and talking about the

weather does not appeal to me, and I totally believe that we have got to stand up for our country's position and advocate it. My problem with some here is that there doesn't seem to be a willingness to advocate, to battle for our position. The result, in my view, is China gets away with saying they have "principle" but nobody's making clear to them that we have "principle." It was a good lunch and Wang Hai Jung was more forthcoming than I have seen her. She did not seem hung up over my demarche of Saturday on Puerto Rico. All in all it was a pretty good meeting.

5:00 p.m. - Bob Piccus of ITT in Hong Kong came by. Talking about trade, the frustrations of doing business with the Chinese, their need for better communications systems, telephone satellite etc. But he just wants to keep plugging away.

Self-reliance vs. dependence. Pragmatic exceptions to self-reliance. Continuous question. How long will China be able to keep this discipline, this uniformity, this conformity, this lack of consumerism, this lack of dissent? How long can it last? Quiet evening at home watching television. Those cassettes are fantastic. Walked the dog, off to bed.

August 19 - Harry Thayer in the morning got a telegram saying his brother was very sick. In the afternoon his brother died. It became clear that I cannot go home, that I should permit him to be with his family, that I must stay here. I am absolutely heartsick. A real character builder. I have been looking forward to this vacation immeasurably. And worse than my own feelings Bar will be desperately hurt, though she'll know I have to do what I am doing. Lunch with the new security people - John and Patricia Chornyak(?). Pat Wardlaw from Texas, our econ section, and Henrietta. Nice people at USLO. Dinner - going away - for the Laotian ambassador Lien.

Supposed to be posted to Washington. His Path et Lao leaning government never even sent in for the agreemon(?). He is married to part of the royal family, and he is uncertain as to what will happen to him when he goes back to Laos. These human things are very sad indeed.

Wednesday, August 20 - the congressional delegation arrived, headed by Bob Byrd, Derwinski, Slack, Nunn, Pierson. John Anderson coming in next Friday since his mother died. They will travel to Kweilin, Kunming, and Sian. Standard banquet of welcome for the delegation. They are trying to figure what questions to ask to add to the overall record. I could handle all of the questions they asked. At least I must be learning something after ten months here. There is a sameness to the proceedings. We were out at the airport, Mr. Chou(?) of the Association for Foreign Friendship was there. He had just discharged the previous delegation last Sunday. Now he sets out again. I do think these delegations help our relations. They get more understanding of China, and we have a change to pick up different facts about China here at USLO.

Miscellaneous - American citizen died in Tientsin. It is the darrest procedure getting a body shipped out of China you've ever heard of. They want \$7,500 to ship a body to the United States, \$750 if it is cremated. They only have cremation. They don't have the proper refrigeration to keep the body for long.

Some steaks came in today on the plane. What a treat! Welcoming banquet - night of August 20. Banquet went very well at the Peking Hotel on the first floor. Wang Hai Jung was the ranking guest. Bob Byrd does an excellent job. He is serious, but seems to lead and get things done. And on his questions, if he doesn't get an answer, he very respectfully but forcefully goes back til he gets one. Next morning visited with Oscar

Armstrong about some problems. I am convinced we are not informed. We see none of the option papers. And I filed a protest on that. I also told Oscar I was upset about the rule of no ambassadors coming to Peking even for consultation. Apparently this is the way the Secretary wants it. Pete Bergin and Mike Woods, young security guards, left. Fine young guys. Good morale, decent, clean cut kids, did a first rate job. Lunch with Oscar, Bob Perito and Stan Brooks, talking over the various problems of USLO. In the evening we were received by Chiao Kuan Hua in the Great Hall of the People.

We had a briefing session with the CODEL and then went to the Great Hall - meeting finished at 6:45, dinner at the Great Hall by Chiao at 7:00. Food at the Great Hall isn't as good. We had some kind of a duck, wrapped like Peking duck but sweet sauce which was good. Rest of it seemed rather heavily fried, square cut pieces of heavy fried stuff which I didn't like as well as some of the other Chinese food.

Friday, August 22 - a few black women with one of the friendship delegations from the Midwest came by. Effy McKesson, black GOP vice chairman of the Minnesota party; some of their group didn't want to be seen at USLO. There is this feeling that if they are seen, they don't see the true China. The Yost committee on China Exchanges feels that way. Their smart young people feel they won't get as much out of it if USLO is included. The Insect delegation, the guy from that committee, did not want to invite me to the banquet given by the Insect Control Delegates. When I went there the Insect people were extremely courteous, the professor was real nice, said I had added considerably to the thing by going, but these young escorts seem to have the wrong impression. I have discussed this with the State Department. Without government intervention they would never have these exchanges going. And I think they should cooperate more. The same is true on some of these

visiting delegations - friendship. But they have no obligation at all to cooperate.

Got up real early - clear and cool. Definitively cool at quarter of six in the morning. Took Fred for a walk. Unbelievable the change. It is the first day of all. Autumn in China started about a week ago. Still hot in the daytime but much much better today than it was last week. Amazing. Still get reports from South China of unrest in factories, unwillingness to pay overtime, workers are lectured that they should struggle against the proletariat dictatorship. But I am convinced that at sometime in the future the society will have to adopt to the basic laws of supply and demand and incentive. No question in my mind about this anymore.

Chiao Kuan Hua was in good form, long discussions of the Middle East. Their position is fundamental though he did claim that they told the extremists on the Arab side that they should avoid violence. If the people in the United States realize how hostile they are to Israel, it would make relations much more strained. Chiao is very friendly in his mentions of me; Bob Byrd was also very generous. I do think these little niceties help in doing the job better.

Note - I asked Mr. Lie(?) at the International Club to see if I could give them tee shirts. The word came back that since they were very low in value it would be alright. Now I will take them to the various players there. Press reception at USLO for the CODEL group followed by a swimming party at the Canadian embassy. Sihanouk appears to be going back now from Pyongyang, where he has been for a ridiculous period of time, to Cambodia. Khieu Sampahan feted by the Chinese here in Peking.

Note - the enormous contrast between the civility and decency and friendliness of the Chinese, and this tough side. On Portugal they don't

"recognize" the communist party there. We have a lot in common in a situation like that, and really both want the same ends but for very different reasons. It would sure be an entirely different ball game if they ever got back together with Russia. End August 22.