Dear Readers,

It is our great pleasure to introduce to you the Autumn 2015 issue of *Chicago Journal of History*. The last quarter of the year has seen both cheers for the 70th anniversary of allied victory in World War II and tears for the losses of lives in Paris, Beirut and Mali. The four months during which editors at the *Chicago Journal of History* worked to bring forth this new issue have been a time of intense resonance from the past and anxiety over the future. In light of the historical discourses surrounding our time and sometimes even our lives, we feel especially honored to add a new issue to our online and printed forums, conceived as platforms for lively exchange of ideas, sharing of research insights, and participation in a common intellectual life for history students. It is above all our hope that the journal could serve as a vivid proof of the relevance and significance of the academic work done by young scholars at the undergraduate level, a stage for adventurous spirits and a source of pleasure for curious minds.

The Autumn 2015 issue presents three studies. Each essay considers a particular historical crisis and surveys human actions in response to the challenge. In the first piece: "Autonomy or Agency? A Geopolitical Analysis of the Northern and Southern Lakȟótas' Political and Military Leadership", Zachary Barker, then student at the University of Pittsburgh, places the Native American leaders' decision-makings at the center of his explanation for the surge and decline of Lakhonta political power in the 19th century. Critical of deterministic assumptions in Native American historiography, Barker illustrated how divergence in economic conditions, sociological structure and psychological experiences between the northern and southern Lakhontas would account for their different reactions to territorial encroachments from the east. It seems to the author that these responses, oftentimes simplified as either heroism or defeatism, were the product of both historical realities and conscious choices. Successful or not, these actions represent a historical possibility for the Lakhontas in its full sense. In a way, his comparative analysis of northern and southern Lakhonta leadership restores individuals, families and tribes as active agents capable of shaping their historical narrative and responsible for their proper historical consequences.

In "Time Machine: the Westinghouse Time Capsule, the 'World of Tomorrow' and the Changing Understanding of Time at the 1939 World's Fair", Evan Stark, then studying at Washington University in St. Louis, uses the first time capsule as a lens through which he brings to light the American and international society in 1930s. Building a collection of observations around the physical object, Stark unifies multiple dimensions into one narrative: he explores the dual identity of the capsule as technological innovation and corporate propaganda, depicts a precarious balance between future optimism and present anxiety, and examines how the time capsule's charm was felt in corporate and popular culture. The essay concludes that the capsule challenged people's understanding of time, but it was the epoch, full of hopes and tensions, that transformed the time capsule into a complicated symbol, something that might not have been intended by its inventors.

The third essay "'Synergy in Paradox': Nixon's Policies toward China and the Soviet Union" explores the nature and extent of Nixon's rapprochement efforts in light of important primary documents. Preston Thomas, then student at the University of Chicago, seeks to define Nixon and Kissinger's vision as an "indirect entente" against the U.S.S.R, rather than an outright strategic rebalance. He is convinced that the trajectory of a series of talks between Chinese leadership Mao and Zhou and their U.S. counterparts Nixon and Kissinger was intentionally set within the boundary of Asia-Pacific. Hence, the strongest implication of Nixon's rapprochement policy would concern Indian-Pakistani conflicts, solutions to the Vietnam dilemma, as well as the status of Taiwan. According to Thomas's research, only in the long-term is the new Sino-American dynamic conceived as a force against the expansion of Soviet influences in East Asia.

It happens that the three articles in this issue cover a span of about one hundred years from first 1860s, then 1930s, to 1960s. Although they treat historical crises at modern times and with an emphasis on United States history, editors at the *Chicago Journal of History* encourage students of diverse backgrounds and specializations to submit their works on topics across a wide periodical, geographical and thematic spectrum.

Apart from the three student contributions, you will also find in this issue a conversation with Mme. Annette Becker, professor of history at l'Université de Paris-Nanterre. On November 25th 2015, Professor Becker delivered a public lecture on Raphael Lemkin and the concept of genocide at Temple d'Issy Moulineaux in Paris. On this occasion, in an exclusive interview with *Chicago Journal of History* before and after the talk, she related to the past and present of her career as a historian studying the violence of war. She reflects on Lemkin and the domain of international law as a force against war crimes, and traced through the history of war tactics in light of the novelty of terrorism. From an academic perspective, she talked about her use of images as historical sources and commented on potential differences in World War I and II scholarships in the United States and in Europe. Near the end, she gave her advice to students in the United States interested in the history of war and violence.

Again, we invite you to explore this issue and encourage you to share any afterthoughts and criticisms with us. We could be reached easily on the "Chicago Journal of History" Facebook page, and by email address: ughistoryjournal@gmail.com. It is your feedback that enables the journal to continue to enrich readers' experiences, to cross territories of campuses and to bring together a diversity of cultural and methodological perspectives.

"Autonomy or Agency?" A Geopolitical Analysis of the Northern and Southern Lakȟótas' Political and Military Leadership[*]

By Zachary Lewis Barker, University of Pittsburgh

"They are the only people that make rules for other people, that say, 'If you stay on one side of this line it is peace, but if you go on the other side I will kill you all.' I don't hold with deadlines. There is plenty of room; camp where you please."
-Crazy Horse to He Dog
(Fort Robinson, Nebraska, Spring 1877)

An old Teton saying epitomizes the importance of history within the culture of the Lakȟótas (Teton Sioux): "a people without history is like wind on the buffalo grass."[1]

If not for the Lakȟótas preserving their own history, modern historical interpretations of their northern Plains empire would be limited by foreign Anglo-American primary documents. The Lakȟótas maintained their rich history through oral tradition and band historians' recordings of the most significant tribal events in Winter Counts.[2] Such an emphasis on their people's history encouraged a rich cultural awareness and pride, legitimizing the notion of political, eco-

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1   Bull, Amos Bad Heart and Helen Heather Blish. *A Pictographic History of the Oglála Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. xix.

2   For a more comprehensive Winter Count, see Oglála historian Amos Bad Heart Bull's Winter Counts, published in Helen Heather Blish's *A Pictographic History of the Oglála Sioux*.

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nomic, and militant supremacy. This ever-present historical consciousness consistently influenced political and especially military decisions, leading the Lakȟótas to expand their territory and increase their dominance over the Northern Plains at an unprecedented rate from the early 1800s to the late 1850s.[3] Despite their dominance of the Northern Plains, multi-generational inter-band rivalries and disputes lingered below the surface of prosperity, threatening to undermine the temperamental unity among the seven *ti-ospayepi* (tipi divisions) of the Lakȟótas.[4]

After interactions with the United States military and government increased in the 1840s and 1850s, a new fracturing element became prevalent, namely the question of whether to resist or accommodate the increasingly restrictive demands made by the American government. Militant and conciliatory arguments subsequently proliferated among the Lakȟótas; generally younger warriors favored militant resistance, while middle-age warriors transitioning towards non-military roles within Lakȟóta society often favored a more conciliatory response. The age division in opinion of response is best understood when examining the economic differences in the Northern Plains during the 1840s, which was the time period conciliatory elder warriors came of age, and the 1860s, when the militant warriors began participating in war and politics.

During the 1840s, when the Northern Plains were an unrestricted trading zone, Native Americans from many tribes used their status and control of the land to dictate the market in which multi-ethnic "white" traders and explorers participated. At this time there were relatively few Anglo-Native conflicts largely because there were not many Anglos within the region. While the Lakȟótas were unchallenged and in control of their territory, there was an abundance of buffalo, game, and traders. As this economic landscape began to disappear by the middle of the century, the elders who favored peace with U.S. agents likely envisioned anoth-

er economic boom if they came to peaceful terms with the American government.[5]

Conversely, by the 1860s, the younger warrior generation was only willing to maintain peace with the Americans if they abandoned their migrant trails, military forts and trading posts in Lakȟóta territory (Figure 1). American dismissal of Lakȟóta demands led to two major wars with the Northern Plains empire.[6] In the Powder River War (1866-1868), the Lakȟótas, along with the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos, raided and fought the American military and Anglo civilians to much success (Figure 2). At the conclusion of the Powder River War, with the American abandonment of the Bozeman Trail and Forts Kearny, Smith and Reno, the Lakȟótas secured complete control and sole occupation of the Powder River Country for the next eight years. Although the Fort Laramie Treaty, signed at the conclusion of the Powder River War, promised to respect Lakȟóta territory, upon the discovery of gold in the area, the United States became increasingly disinterested in keeping its citizens out of the Lakȟóta nation. In the Black Hills War (1876-1877), after American miners, soldiers, and migrants began encroaching into the Black Hills region, the Lakȟótas employed similar tactics to those used in the Powder River War, successfully fighting the Americans at the Battle of Rosebud and defeating them at the Battle of Little Bighorn.[7] The majority of warriors fighting in the Powder River and Black Hills Wars had no recollection of the olden days in which white trade brought valuable resources to the Lakȟótas. This new generation of Lakȟóta warriors predominately associated whites with bringing about difficulties to their people, making conciliating their aggressors unfathomable.[8]

Despite their military success against the United States, the loose unification of the Lakȟótas and inability to permanently settle political and societal disputes would prove to be their downfall.[9] Ultimately, the decentralized na-

3   Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *The Journal of American History* 90. 3 (2003): 833-862. Print. & White, Richard . "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Journal of American History* 65.2 (1978): 319-343. Print.

4   The seven *ti-ospayepi consist of the Brulés, Oglálas, Itázipčhos (Sans Arcs), Húŋkpapȟas, Mnikȟówožus (Miniconjous), Sihásapas (Black Feet), and O'ohe Nuŋpas (Two Kettles).* Walker, J. R., and Raymond J. DeMallie. *Lakota Society.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. Examples of the divisive nature of Lakȟóta disputes are evident in the effects of Crazy Horse's Uncle, Male Crow's military failure in an expedition against the Shoshones and Crows, found in the first chapter of Kingsley Bray's *Crazy Horse*, the after effects of Red Cloud's murder of Bull Bear described in the second chapter of James Olson's *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, and No Water's attempt on Crazy Horse's life described in the sixth chapter of Mari Sandoz's *Crazy Horse*.

5   There were however exceptions to the generational divide. By the early 1860s, some elders, typically in Northern Lakȟóta bands, also began to question the ideology of interethnic relations and cooperation.

6   For a detailed analysis of the two non-European empires in the North American Plains region, the Comanches and Lakȟótas, see Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* and "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures."

7   Message from the President of the United States, March 15, 1875, information in relation to the Black Hills country in the Sioux Indian reservation.

8   These difficulties came about in the form of indiscriminate killing and military hostility, land encroachments to build railroads, forts, and telegraph lines, which pushed away buffalo, and distribution of rations and cheaply made goods which caused dependency on whites.

9   This juxtaposition of Lakȟóta opinions, is not meant to suggest the decisions of the Lakȟótas to resist or capitulate was right or wrong; it is more meant to demonstrate that Lakȟóta society placed an emphasis on independent pragmatic decision
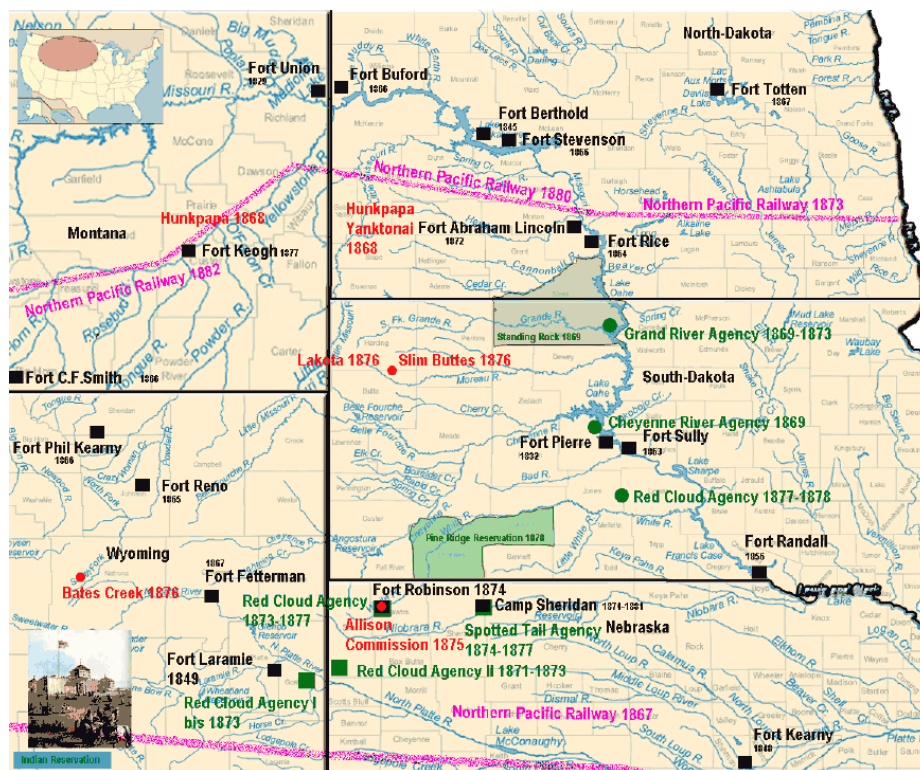
Figure 1 Courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota

ture of Lakȟóta society and the oppositional ideologies of band leaders inhibited the political and military cooperation necessary to maintain national sovereignty and further perpetuate Lakȟóta success against the United States military.

Once the Lakȟótas completed their gradual migration from the Upper Mississippi (1750s), across the Missouri River (1780s), and into the Northern Platte (1790s), they quickly became the preeminent empire of the Northern Plains.[10] However, prior to settling into the Black Hills region, their journey presented them with numerous challenges. While migrating across the highly contested Northern region of the Great Plains, the Lakȟótas' survival depended on constant adaptability. As a key cog in the Missouri River economy, the Lakȟótas oscillated between trapping, hunting buffalo, growing crops, and acting as middlemen within

the trade networks. Their survival tactics would once again require adaptation upon the arrival of European traders, who severely undermined the Lakȟótas' economic role, forcing them to seek economic expansion west of the Missouri River. In order to do so, they would have to defeat their sedentary agricultural rivals in the region. [11] This only became feasible once European diseases rapidly ravaged the highly concentrated agricultural villages in the 1770s, finally allowing the Lakȟótas to continue west, settling in the Northern Platte and Black Hills territory.

As the Lakȟótas established their empire in the Northern Plains region, their economic and cultural emphasis began to solely focus on hunting buffalo and acquiring horses. This shift in philosophy brought about radical change to the Lakȟótas' economic structure, culture, and daily life. Suddenly, this new buffalo/horse based economy put the Lakȟótas on a direct path towards contact and confrontation over limited amounts of land, horses, and war honors with the Kiowas, Arapahoes, Crows, and Cheyennes.[12] Once the Lakȟótas became fully immersed in the culture of horse

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making. Hyde, George. *Red Cloud's folk; a history of the Oglála Sioux Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937., Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux..* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961., & Sandoz, Mari. *Crazy Horse, the strange man of the Oglálas: a biography.* 50th anniversary ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

10   Bray, Kingsley M.. "Teton Sioux: Population History, 1655-1881." *Nebraska History* 75 (1994): 165-188. Print. & White, Richard . "The Winning of the West." 319-343.

11   The horticultural northern Mandans and Hidatsas and southern Omahas, possessed "large populations, numerous horses, and fortified towns," easily resisting "incursions by the less numerous and poorly mounted Sioux." White, Richard. "The Winning of the West." 323.

12   Bull, Amos Bad Heart , and Helen Heather Blish. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux.*

Figure 2 Courtesy of Imgkid.com

raiding and trading, their unusually fast population growth and aggressive military control of the ecologically rich "indeterminate zones" and hunting grounds allowed them to dominate the Northern Plains well into the late nineteenth-century.[13]

The Lakȟótas were at times, loosely organized from a governmental standpoint. Band leaders often made decisions solely in the best interest of their familial based camps rather than the Lakȟóta nation as a whole. Additionally, political, military, and personal disagreements made inter-band cooperation more difficult, often going unresolved.[14] In spite of these conflicts within Lakȟóta society, the majority of the population was in favor of maintaining their warrior-nomad lifestyle, political independence, plains-horse economy, and spiritual traditions. Additionally, the victory of the Powder River War had demonstrated the viability of warfare in

forcing legitimate United States governmental concessions. While Crazy Horse's kicamnayan military tactic made up for the disadvantages faced by the Lakȟótas in combat against the American army.[15] The victories at Rosebud and Little Big Horn, moreover, had shown the supremacy of the Lakȟóta military when the nation was fully unified.[16] However, by the time the Lakȟótas had begun to reach their climax in terms of military prowess, the empire had essentially been split in two.

Although the Lakȟótas' acceptance of peace treaties and subsequent U.S. transfers onto agencies prior to outright military defeat seems to contradict the resistant mindset of the Northern Plains empire, upon consideration of the demographics of diplomatic participants at events such as the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, it is clear that those willing to negotiate with, and capitulate to, the United States were only representative of the Southern Lakȟóta coalition rather than the entire Lakȟóta nation.[17] Fortunately, for those who

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13   White, Richard . "The Winning of the West." 330-336. Only war parties ventured in indeterminate zones as they were too dangerous for bands to travel into these regions to hunt. This placed minimal pressure on the animal populations in these contested areas.

14   For detailed examples of Lakȟóta disputes see the disagreement amongst Black Bull's Brulés in 1803 found in Richard White's "The Winning of the West", Red Cloud's murder of Bull Bear in 1841 found in Catherine Price's *The Oglála people*, and No Water's attempted murder of Crazy Horse in 1870 found in Mari Sandoz's *Crazy Horse*.

15   Similar to the guerilla tactics employed by, Mao Zedong (China), Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam), and Che Guevara (Cuba), Crazy Horse's, emphasized attacking at the "moment of maximum instability, fighting fluidly in open terrain, maintaining constant mobility, and preventing the enemy from establishing a secure permanent position."

16   Bray, Kingsley M.. "Crazy Horse and the End of the Great Sioux War." *Nebraska History* 79 (1998): 167-284. Print.

17   *Ratified treaty no. 369, treaty of April 29, 1868, with the Brule,*

opposed the policies of the capitulators, the loose political structure and geographical differences of the Southern and Northern Lakȟótas simply allowed for, after politically pragmatic consideration, all who opposed the Southern policy to join the northernmost peoples in establishing a strong military coalition.

This paper will argue that by the middle of the nineteenth-century, there was a clear geopolitical break in the Lakȟóta Empire between the southern and northern peoples. Set in motion by the significant increase in American migrant trails cutting through Lakȟóta territory, when the geopolitically distinct Northern and Southern Lakȟótas developed their strategies for resistance, their responses to American encroachment were, not surprisingly, as different as the regions they inhabited. Ultimately, this paper will use this geopolitical perspective to explain two critical questions of nineteenth-century Lakȟóta history; first, why did the Southern Lakȟóta leaders accept U.S. transfers onto agencies, and second, why did the Northern Lakȟótas develop into a more radically militant and nationalist group than their southern relatives? This paper answers these two questions with a focus on the leadership of Spotted Tail and Crazy Horse.[18] In regards to Spotted Tail (or Siŋté Gleška), his decision to capitulate to the United States is of great significance due to it being the first instance in which a prominent Lakȟóta warrior and headman used accommodationist politics to counter the pressures of the American government and military. His decision to rely on political diplomacy allowed Lakȟóta communities unable – for a variety of reasons – to resist the U.S. militarily, to protect themselves from further American aggression. In Lakȟóta histories, Spotted Tail has often been portrayed as a "sell-out" or traitor who gave in to the demands of whites. This paper argues against these notions. Similarly, Crazy Horse (or Tašúŋke Witkó) has often been just as misrepresented and misunderstood. Tašúŋke Witkó has often been portrayed as one of the greatest, albeit naïve and foolish Lakȟóta warrior leaders, due to his drawn out refusal to negotiate with the United States. This paper argues against the notion that Crazy Horse possessed minimal talents for political and societal leadership or military innovation.[19]

This paper is composed of three parts. Part I specifically addresses the implications of the different ways in which secondary sources have explained the Lakȟóta "defeat" or U.S. "victory." Part I, then positions the overall argument of this paper, explaining the downfall of the nineteenth-century Lakȟótas from a relatively new and as yet underdeveloped position; namely the importance of understanding Lakȟóta political leaders' reasoning behind their differing responses to United States expansionism. It then concludes with a brief emphasis on the relevance and importance of studying historical agents within various Native American histories.

Parts II and III explain the oppositional responses to American encroachment and demands by emphasizing the geopolitical differences between the Northern and Southern Lakȟóta. Part II begins with an introduction to the general structure of Lakȟóta politics as well as the history of the Southern Lakȟótas prior to the late 1860s. Part II then focuses on Spotted Tail's political leadership of the Brulé Lakȟótas in the context of his decision to submit himself and his people to American treaties and Indian agencies. Part III examines the features of Northern Lakȟóta society and the development of Northern Lakȟóta nationalistic-militant decision making. Part III then examines Crazy Horse's distinct and successful military strategies. Lastly, Part III will examine why after such resounding military success, the Northern Lakȟótas failed to remain united after the Battle of Little Big Horn.

Throughout the hundred years or so of historical research on the Lakȟótas, there have been multiple distinct shifts in interpretive paradigms. This paper reflects and contributes to the newest shift in Lakȟóta historiography. Undoubtedly influenced by the work of past historians, this work nevertheless offers a new and unique explanation of the eventual confinement of the Lakȟótas on U.S. agencies. While the eminent historians Richard White, Pekka Hämäläinen, and Jeffrey Ostler have made groundbreaking contributions to historical understandings of Lakȟóta imperial ascension by stressing Lakȟóta historical agency, they neglect to similarly explain how Lakȟóta choices and actions ultimately contributed to the empire's downfall.[20] This contradictory historical shortcoming is mystifying; if the Lakȟótas possessed the agency to dictate their imperial rise, then surely they made enough autonomous decisions to contribute to their downfall. This paper will explain the erosion of nineteenth-century Lakȟóta sovereignty from the perspective that the decentralized structure of the Lakȟótas' politics and military, seen in the North/South divide, greatly hindered their ability to maintain any semblance of Lakȟóta independence once American intervention occurred. Hitherto, the dwindling buffalo population, the unfulfilled promises of the local American military personnel and In-

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Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee bands of Sioux Indians, and the Arapaho Indians. (April 29, 1868).

18   While Sitting Bull and Red Cloud certainly deserve historical attention, their actions predominately influenced their own and neighboring bands, the leadership of Crazy Horse and Spotted Tail transcended band divisions.

19   Neihardt, John. *Black Elk speaks: being the life story of a holy man of the Oglala Sioux*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.,*Voice of the American West, Volume 1*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

20   See Hamalainen's "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures.", Ostler's *The Plains Sioux and U.S. colonialism*, & White's "The Winning of the West."

dian agents, and lack of understanding of Lakȟóta dynamics by the national government have all tended to be overstated in Lakȟóta historiography. Contrarily, there has not been enough emphasis on the political actions of the Lakȟótas in a political environment, which despite Anglo-American encroachment and enemy Native American tribal conflict, they still largely controlled.

The differing Lakȟóta historiographical perspectives can essentially be divided into two broad stances, "inevitable conquest" and "imperial conflict". Traditionally, the earlier historians of the Lakȟótas tended to explain the story of "conquest" as an inevitable process, in which superior peoples overcame archaic nations. These outdated histories were representative of the racial ideology of the time. This scholarship on the Lakȟótas, and more broadly the Indian peoples of early America, prevailed until the late 1970s when a new wave of historians attempted to develop a history of "how Euramericans and Amerindians shared in the creations of the society that became the United States of America." [21] These more recent historians have tended to write from the perspective that conflicts between the United States and Lakȟóta empires were brought about by a struggle for control over limited resources between, comparable, albeit different, empires in terms of power and influence.

To break these two schools of thought down further, both perspectives can be divided into subfields. The inevitable conquest's first subfield, tends to write with notions of racial superiority, "manifest destiny," and ethnocentrism.[22] Only by ignoring or dismissing the intricacies of the cultural, political, and economic landscape of the Lakȟóta people and more generally, the Northern Plains region, as racially inferior can the fall of the Lakȟóta empire be rationally explained as an inevitable conquest.[23]

Opposite the ethnocentric perspective, the second subfield portrays the Lakȟótas as passive victims lacking the sophistication or knowledge to ward off the remorseless surge of American expansion's guns, germs, and steel. The racially superior perspective is obviously problematic due to its ethnocentric bias. While the second subfield, which positions the Lakȟótas as helpless bystanders, may invoke more empathetic feelings than the ethnocentric stance, it is equally problematic. Although it is obviously true that disease and technological advances often favored the U.S. empire, this historical factor is often overemphasized and used as a blanket and overly deterministic explanation for the demise of all Native American peoples.

There were multiple Native American empires that survived or avoided rampant disease during the same time periods in which others were totally decimated. Secondly, in regards to combat and military technology, during the peak periods of Lakȟóta imperial prominence, the American empire was still a fledgling republic. During the nineteenth-century, especially around the antebellum and civil war period, the U.S. military was far from an overwhelmingly powerful force. It was not uncommon for units to be comprised predominately of untrained militiamen or volunteers. In many instances the Lakȟóta military often had far more disciplined and combat proven warriors.[24]

While historians of both "imperial conflict" subfields write with a tone of equivalence in terms of power, influence, and societal sophistication between the United States and the Lakȟótas, there are significant differences in regards to which actors are recognized as being instrumental in determining the outcome of Anglo-American and Lakȟóta conflicts. The first subfield attributes the primary cause of the imperial defeat of the Lakȟóta nation to the actions of the American military and government officials.[25] Either the direct strategies and conscious efforts of American personnel simply outmaneuvered their "ignorant and or naïve" counterparts, or less directly and perhaps unintentionally, the ambivalent promises and contradictory policies carried out by American personnel were so unpredictable that they forced Lakȟóta political leaders to make rushed, reactionary, and potentially detrimental concessions without the assurance of equitable compensation. While at least acknowledging the competency of the Lakȟóta empire, this subfield nevertheless overemphasizes the effects of Anglo-American decisions.[26]

21   Richter, Daniel. "Whose Indian History." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50.2 (1993): 379-393. Print.

22   "Crazy Horse's Treachery: How He Laid a Trap for General Crook - The Latter Has a Narrow Escape.", & "Operations of Gen. Crook Against the Hostile Indians." *Union and American* [Greeneville] 30 Mar. 1876: 1. Print.

23   Michno, Gregory. "Crazy Horse, Custer, and the Sweep to the North." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 43.3 (1993): 45. Print. & Smith Jr. , Cornelius. "Crook and Crazy Horse." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 16.2 (1966): 14-26. Print.

24   Olson, James C.. *Red Cloud and the Sioux problem*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965. 44. From footnote 14. Carrington to Litchfield, July 30, 1866. Carrington, Frances C. *Army Life on the Plains*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1910. Additionally, Lakȟóta leaders Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull (or Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake) effectively acquired significant amounts of the latest gun models not long after they were available, as seen by approximately fifty percent of Crazy Horse's warriors possessing guns upon their disarmament during agency surrender in 1877. (Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 111-112 & 284.)

25   Ambrose, Stephen E.. *Crazy Horse and Custer: the parallel lives of two American warriors*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975. Print.

26   Hedren, Paul . After *Custer: loss and transformation in Sioux country*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. 3-50., Hyde, George. *Red Cloud's folk; a history of the Oglála Sioux Indians.*, Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.*, Olson, James C.. *Red Cloud and the Sioux problem.*, & Ostler, Jeffrey. *The Plains Sioux and U.S. colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

The final and least explored subfield in Lakȟóta historical work, in which this paper takes part, focuses predominately on the ramifications of Lakȟóta leaders' decisions and how their success or failure hinged on the decentralized nature of their society rather than the privileging actions of the United States. Although few historians have fully committed to this perspective, it is likely to be the most accurate representation of Lakȟóta history thanks to its restoration of Lakȟóta military and political self-determination.[27] In order to explain more accurately the degeneration of nineteenth-century Lakȟóta society, historians must focus on the divided actions of Lakȟóta political and military leaders.

Some militarily pragmatic historians may feel an argument centered around Lakȟóta political actions causing the dissolution of their nineteenth-century society overemphasizes the strength of a Lakȟóta empire that was simply too small to turn away American imperialism. However, it cannot be emphasized enough that the defeat of the Lakȟóta empire should not be thought of as a foregone conclusion. There are multiple instances in which nations, significantly smaller than and seemingly subordinate to their aggressor, used effective military and political tactics to permanently turn away the advance of an aggressive, imperial force. The Vietnamese and Seminole deterrence of American imperialism, as well as the Ethiopian defeat of colonialism should all serve as proof that the defeat of the traditional Lakȟóta nation was not necessarily a foregone conclusion.[28]

When Native American historians write with the notion that the Lakȟóta defeat was inevitable, they are essentially dismissing the actions and decisions of Lakȟóta political leaders as irrelevant. By assuming that the Lakȟótas inevitably succumbed to the United States, historians imply that Lakȟóta political and military maneuvers did not make a difference. This in turn justifies historians' failure to thoroughly critique and analyze the decisions of the most influential Lakȟóta leaders: Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, and Crazy Horse. The most appropriate perspective on analyzing the downfall of the Lakȟóta empire must focus on the decisions and mistakes of their own political leaders, for they are the ones whose actions had the greatest impact on their defeat.

Lastly, it is important to offer an opinion in regards to the notion of "Indian History." Daniel Richter's article entitled, *Whose Indian History?* laments the state of Native American history, claiming that the end of the line may have been reached in terms of historical contributions due to "its scant impact on larger areas of scholarship."[29] Although there have been numerous ethnically united "Indian" movements, the notion that there is some sort of all encompassing "Indian History" Native American experience could not be further from the truth.[30] This generalization is often seen in ethnocentric historical interpretations, similar to the outdated notion of a universal African experience seen in the early works of sub-Saharan African history. Throughout the heterogeneous histories of Native American peoples, some felt they could benefit economically by offering minimal resistance to American encroachment, such as the Mandans and Hidatsas trading along the Missouri river. Others, like the Crow scouts who served in the American Army in the Great Sioux War, saw an alliance with the American military as an opportunity to exact revenge against enemy tribes, while some tribes did in fact join together to resist the American advance, like the Lakȟótas and Northern Cheyennes.

To suggest that that historical work on Native Americans has run the gamut and no longer serves to benefit "larger areas of scholarship" is equally problematic. Only by viewing Native Americans as an anomaly, a group of people so culturally and historically different and unusual than all other peoples throughout all eras of history, could one conclude that the history of Native American tribes is no longer useful or applicable to the grand realms of academia. The fact remains that Native Americans are humans with tendencies and habits that have produced historical narratives not dissimilar to European, African, or Asian histories. Native Americans were a wide ranging group of people. Some were undoubtedly victims of unwarranted violence while others acted sadistically and mutilated enemy Native Americans and Anglo-American settlers. Some nations only took up arms to defend themselves in response to illegal seizure of land and property while others decided to strike first before they became victims. Some leaders sought only to ensure their own personal gains while others were determined to protect their people and way of life at all costs. These actions and responses are no different than that of other groups of peoples, who throughout history have been forced to confront the

Press, 2004.

27   Bray, Kingsley M.. "Crazy Horse and the End of the Great Sioux War." 94-115., Bray, Kingsley M.. "'We Belong to the North': The Flights of the Northern Indians from the White River Agencies, 1877-1878." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 55.2 (2005): 28-47. Print., Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures.", & White, Richard . "The Winning of the West."

28   For detailed historical works on these military conflicts, see John Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*, Harold Marcus' *A History of Ethiopia*, and Stanley Karnow's *Vietnam: A History*.

29   Richter, Daniel. "Whose Indian History." 379-393.

30   Gregory Evans Dowd's *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* examines the development of the notion of a shared "Indian experience". The Pan-Indian movement lasted seventy years and ranged from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Although there are other instances of prophetic, religious, Pan-Indian revivals(i.e. Ghost Dance revival of 1890), they tended to resemble reactionary movements using religious based explanations to the hardships given tribes were facing. While these movements emphasized returning to traditional practices, they did not necessarily represent the reality of the ethnic and geopolitical differences that existed amongst the given Native American peoples.

presence and encroachment of foreigners. What follows is one of these stories; namely how the Lakȟótas confronted U.S. invasion of their homelands in the second half of the nineteenth-century.

While political compromise between the sedentary Lakȟótas ("Loafers" and "mixed-bloods") and Americans was a common occurrence in the first half of the nineteenth-century, the advocacy of political negotiation by prominent warriors and nomadic headmen was unheard of. This changed in the mid-1860s when Spotted Tail, one of the most revered Lakȟóta warriors of the time period, and the nomadic Southern Lakȟótas began advocating political negotiation, rather than open warfare with the United States. Indicative of a monumental turning point in Lakȟóta society, Spotted Tail's political advocacy and peace policy with the United States conflicted with the ideals of many Northern Lakȟótas. As both the northern and southern peoples became increasingly entrenched in their oppositional ideologies a clear geopolitical split occurred amongst the Lakȟótas which would have serious implications for both groups in their resistance of American expansionism. This section examines the general structure of Lakȟóta politics and the factors that led to the settlement of the sedentary Lakȟótas, as well as the reasoning behind the Southern Lakȟótas' reliance on political negotiation rather than warfare.

Some historians such as George Hyde have misinterpreted Lakȟóta politics in terms of ascribing sole decision making power to a band's head chief, assuming Lakȟóta political decision making was vaguely autocratic. In reality the decision making process was rather decentralized, independent, and fluid. As Catherine Price's *Oglála Politics* demonstrated, there was far more than one individual in each of the seven *ti-ospayepi* that had a significant political voice within the decision making process. Despite the United States' misguided interpretation of Lakȟóta politics, the political decision making process was far from autocratic. At any given time, *akicitas*, shirtwearers, respected elders, and medicine men could significantly influence the decision making process.[31] That being said, those headmen within the Lakȟótas were still chosen for their positions because they possessed the traits most valued by their peoples for maintaining an appropriate balance among war and peace and religion and politics. Their opinions were typically considered to be in their people's best interest and it was therefore likely that the majority of people would approve of their decisions. However, Lakȟóta society was also built upon independent decision making; whenever one head of family or group of kinsmen disagreed with the decision making process of their leaders,

they were free to pack up their camps and join another band that more closely held their political views.[32] This is seen in the fact that there were significant numbers of inter-tribal marriages and relocation amongst the seven tribes.

This balance within Lakȟóta society between acceptance of political leadership and individualism explains why agency capitulation was an easy decision for some, a pragmatic alternative to others, and, in the case of the final surrendering parties, a settlement preferable only when facing death. These distinctive responses to U.S. invasion among the Lakȟótas can be best understood in terms of geography. Those Lakȟótas concentrated along and slightly southwest of the North Platte River (Brulés and Southern Oglalas) were among the earliest Lakȟóta people to become dependent on the agencies, while those north of the Platte, concentrated around the White River, Black Hills (Itázipčhos, Húŋkpapȟas, Mnikȟówožus, Sihásapas, and O'ohe Nuŋpas), and were among the last to capitulate.[33]

Prior to the foundation of the Lakȟóta agencies in the early 1870s, there was a well-established faction of Lakȟótas who chose to abandon nomadic buffalo hunting. Between the 1820s and 1840s, this group of Lakȟótas began to settle close to American forts and trading posts. As Anglo traders began to inter-marry amongst the Lakȟótas, a significant "mixed-blood" population emerged in the Fort Laramie region. Despite the major cultural differences that developed between sedentary Anglo-Lakȟótas and their nomadic relatives, the Loafs-About-The-Fort peoples, or "Loafers," remained heavily involved in intertribal Lakȟóta political counseling. The other significant pre-agency group of sedentary-Lakȟótas was predominately of the Brulé and Lower Oglála. This faction broke away from their relatives following the Smoke-Bull Bear whiskey fueled mêlée of 1841. After Red Cloud shot and killed rival chief Bull Bear, Bull Bear's band dispersed to relatives both south of the Platte and north into the Black Hills. Within five years of the feud, Old Smoke's people (Wágluȟes) established a permanent settlement in the Fort Laramie district. A significant number of the Wágluȟe women began to marry Anglo traders and military personnel and like the original "mixed-bloods" in this region, the sedentary Lakȟótas would also play a significant role in the following years of contested Lakȟóta politics. Like any distinct political group, these Lakȟótas frequently sought to protect their own political interests, which frequently opposed the ideology of their non-treaty and non-agency relatives. These Lakȟótas, along with the Spotted Tail and Red Cloud Agency residents, would

31   Walker, J. R., and Raymond J. DeMallie. *Lakota Society*. 28-40. & Price, Catherine. *The Oglala people, 1841-1879: a political history*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. Print.

32   Walker, J. R., and Raymond J. DeMallie. *Lakota Society*.

33   Bray, Kingsley M.. "Teton Sioux: Population History, 1655-1881." 165-188., Bray, Kingsley M.. "'We Belong to the North': The Flights of the Northern Indians from the White River Agencies, 1877-1878." 28-47., Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.*, & Olson, James C.. *Red Cloud and the Sioux problem*.

form the most significant capitulation faction and were often the only Lakȟótas interested in negotiating away land and residence in the form of treaties.[34]

In both nationalistic Lakȟóta history and other non-Lakȟóta derived histories of the Lakȟótas, the mixed bloods and "Loafers" are almost exclusively viewed as "sellouts." [35] Portrayed as allies of the American military and traitors to the Lakȟótas, too quick to abandon the buffalo hunt, fattened and slowed by the white man's food, and poisoned by his alcohol, some of these descriptions of sedentary Lakȟótas may certainly have some basis in reality. It should nevertheless be recognized that these Lakȟótas lived in markedly different conditions to their relatives to the north. While the northern bands of Lakȟótas resided in a region void of any Americans and filled with far more buffalo, the bands to the South were directly in the path of the Oregon Trail and the booming white population that came with it.[36] Increased contact with Anglo-Americans led to the incorporation of some aspects of the outsiders' culture into Lakȟóta life. This resulted in particular changes within Southern Lakȟóta society. To say this change made them any less Lakȟóta denies the Lakȟóta long tradition of cultural adaptability.

The circumstances surrounding Spotted Tail and the Brulés' capitulation are markedly different than the pre-agency settlement of sedentary Lakȟótas. Although the Southern Brulés interacted more often with Cheyennes and sedentary Lakȟótas than the Northern Lakȟótas, Siŋté Gleška was still one of the most renowned Lakȟóta warriors of his time. Recognized both as a fierce warrior, from the numerous war honors he achieved fighting Pawnees, and as a leader acting within the best interest of his people, Spotted Tail succeeded Little Thunder to lead the Brulés in the late 1860s.[37] It is unlikely that the Brulés would have tolerated a leader who, according to his political opponents, was only concerned with appeasing the demands of the United States military and government.

In the Plains region during the mid nineteenth-century, there was far from a simple ethnic dichotomy of Native Americans and whites. The Lakȟótas, as the dominant people of the region, viewed their allies and enemies in different ways. While they regarded the Cheyennes and Arapahoes as being of comparable superiority, they viewed many foreign tribes, such as the Pawnees and Crows, as ethnically and culturally inferior people, who they could attack or raid at any time.[38] Many critics of Spotted Tail's pro-agency actions argue that by his advocating for peace and signing treaties with the Americans, Spotted Tail called for total peace among his people and an abandonment of Lakȟóta warrior tradition. Such judgments, however, fail to account for the fact that Siŋté Gleška made peace with the U.S. merely to protect his people from American aggression, not to abandon their frequent and successful battles and raids of enemy tribes such as the Pawnees.

In *Spotted Tail's Folk*, George Hyde consistently argued that Spotted Tail adamantly believed there was no point in militarily challenging the Americans due to their overwhelming superiority. While this idea is overemphasized and clearly tainted with an American-superiority complex, Hyde's theories, once the ethnocentrism is removed, nevertheless suggest factors that likely influenced Spotted Tail's decision. In particular, the Battle of Blue Water Creek – in which General William Harney's attempts to arrest Brulé warriors for the Grattan Fight led to the death of Lakȟóta warriors, elders, women, children, and infants – had a significant effect on the Brulé collective psyche.[39] Hyde's assumption of the "battle's" effects is not a ridiculous proposal; since the establishment of the Lakȟóta empire in the northern Plains region, the warrior generation of the 1850s had not experienced a military slaughter close to the magnitude of the Battle of Blue Water Creek. Battles with Pawnees, Crows, or Utes, were considered to be disappointments if more than a few warriors were slain, and led to mourning and shame within Lakȟóta camps. Losing dozens of warriors in battle, having their women and children slaughtered and taken prisoner would have been difficult for the majority of Spotted Tail's people to cope with. [40] While this would not have kept young warriors from seeking out revenge and taking up arms in future battles against the Americans, the young warrior population of the Lakȟótas only constituted a fraction of the Brulé population. Even if Siŋté Gleška had the desire to relocate the Brulés in the North and join the militant Lakȟótas, it is likely that such a commitment would not have been sup-

34   *Ratified treaty no. 369, treaty of April 29, 1868, with the Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee bands of Sioux Indians, and the Arapaho Indians. For a list of documents relating to this treaty see special list no. 6 (April 29, 1868).*, Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 114-115., & Kappler, Charles Joseph. *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties Volume V.* Washington: Government Printing Office , 1941.

35   For an example of this commentary, see the Loafer portrayal in Mari Sandoz's *Crazy Horse.*

36   Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 33-41 & 73-87.

37   Ibid., 99-129.

38   Hamalainen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." 833-862., Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 27-32., Walker, J. R., and Raymond J. DeMallie. *Lakota society.* 124-157., & White, Richard . "The Winning of the West." 319-343.

39   Engagement between United States troops and Sioux Indians. Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting information relating to an engagement between the United States troops and the Sioux Indians near Fort Laramie. February 9, 1855. – Laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

40   Taylor, Emerson Gifford. *Gouverneur Kemble Warren; the life and letters of an American soldier.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932. 18-29.

ported by the general Brulé population after such a disaster. It was more practical and safe for the non-warrior Brulés if Spotted Tail simply allowed his warriors to fight with the Northern faction if any so desired, while keeping the rest of the Brulé population in peace efforts.

As an experienced warrior headman, Spotted Tail presumably understood the limitations of fighting a full scale war against the Americans. While it is unlikely that a Lakȟóta warrior would have believed that the Lakȟóta military was outmatched by their American opponents, he likely felt that the Lakȟótas – with their subsistence needs – were not capable of supporting a year-round war effort.[41] Historically, this theme is not dissimilar from the limitations peasant rebels have frequently faced in revolutions.[42] Considering Lakȟóta culture placed great importance on the hunt and general collection of food in the months leading up to and immediately after the harsh northern Plains winters, Lakȟóta warriors could only realistically be devoted to significant military expeditions in the summer months, after which they had to return to their respective hunting grounds to support their families and bands. This argument is supported by the Brulés' involvement in the Julesburg raids of 1865. When militant advocacy was at its peak amongst Spotted Tail's people immediately following the Sand Creek slaughter, they joined the Northern Cheyennes in carrying out successful raids of the Julesburg way station and destruction of the Overland trail. Following their success in the South Platte region, they remained in the area for the fall hunt and winter preparation, eventually settling east of the Powder River with minimal interest in carrying out additional military expeditions.[43]

Following the Overland trail destruction, in the spring of 1864, while Spotted Tail and other Southern Lakȟótas attempted to find an appropriate political and military position with the United States that would maintain their independence and sovereignty, the "Loafers" and "mixed-blood" Lakȟótas had become full participants in the American sponsored Indian Police programs. Prominent around American forts and trading posts, these Lakȟóta, drawn primarily from the Kit Fox society, served the Anglo-Americans by acting as informants, protecting the forts from bandits and, in general, shoring up the livelihoods and property of Anglos in the area.[44]

At this point in time, while the sedentary Lakȟótas had become willing employees of the American military, Siŋté Gleŝká and the Brulés were disinterested in the demands of the United States. When the American military was preparing their expedition against the Northern Lakȟótas, they decided that the Brulés – who in reality had minimal if any involvement with Northern Lakȟóta actions – needed to be removed and forced as prisoners of war to Fort Phil Kearny. In response the Brulés, led by Spotted Tail, acted quickly, attacking and killing Captain William Fouts and several other soldiers before fleeing to the North.[45] Acting independently of the military actions of their Northern relatives, Spotted Tail and the majority of his people were mostly uninterested in the following military conflicts carried out in the spring months prior to the start of the Powder River War in 1866. Although not as frequently involved in military rebellion as the Northern Lakȟótas, Spotted Tail's people remained independent in the Powder River Country, clearly resisting the demands of the American military and government.

What ultimately brought Spotted Tail into his first significant contact with Anglo-American capitulation advocates was the dying wish of his daughter, who asked to be buried at Fort Laramie by the grave of Chief Smoke. After the burial, the Brulés remained in the vicinity until Siŋté Gleŝká along with several other Brulé and Southern Oglala headmen signed a peace treaty with the United States in late June of 1866.[46] Yet Spotted Tail did not sign the treaty in order to appease the American government; he made the decision after it became clear to him that there was minimal, if any, room for his people to hunt in the lands of their Northern relatives. Therefore, a peace with the United States, which guaranteed Brulés hunting rights in their territory south of the North Platte, while avoiding dependence on government rations, was a pragmatic decision.

Spotted Tail had little interest in the United States' expectations of eventual agricultural adoption. Rather, he decided to establish a peace with the American government to achieve the permanent freedom of his people to hunt on their land and continue fight their traditional enemies.[47] While it is clear that Spotted Tail and the Brulés were far from the subservient actors that they are often portrayed as, they still took a political (albeit calculated) gamble by entering a peace with the United States. While Spotted Tail's political faith towards the United States certainly, in hindsight, seems to contain elements of ignorance and naivety, he surely understood that the peace would only last if the United States held up their end of the agreement.

Indeed, the logic of Spotted Tail's gamble becomes clear when one considers Spotted Tail and his Brulé peoples' position within the geopolitics of the Northern Plains. The

41   Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 92.

42   A prominent historical example of this phenomenon took place during the Mexican Revolution of the early twentieth century. Samuel Brunk's ¡*Emiliano Zapata!* details this phenomena.

43   Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 94-96. & Bray, Kingsley M. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life.* 46.

44   Hyde, George. *Spotted Tail's folk; a history of the Brule Sioux.* 100-103. The Kit Fox Society was one of the numerous military societies found in Lakȟóta culture. Primarily in charge of maintaining military leadership and discipline within the tribe, their participation in the Indian Police program was

    viewed with disdain by the Northern Lakȟótas.

45   Ibid., 100-106.

46   Ibid., 106-111.

47   Ibid., 129-136.

Brulés were certainly, aside from the "Loafers" and "mixed-bloods," on the lower levels of Lakȟóta society in terms of possession of hunting territory and military power. This is especially obvious in comparison to their militant nationalist opponents in the North, who possessed an abundance of hunting grounds and a superior army, putting them in a far stronger position to resist American demands. Although Spotted Tail and the majority of Lakȟóta headmen eventually entered further treaties and agency agreements with the United States they still maintained significant control, political influence, and decision making within Lakȟóta agency society. [48] Unfortunately, their politically pragmatic gamble came at a cost.

Once Lakȟóta capitulators formally agreed to submit themselves and their followers to their respective agencies, Indian Agents and American military officers enforced laws that efficiently and drastically altered many major aspects of Lakȟóta life. Immediately upon arrival at an agency, all Lakȟótas were forced to surrender their weapons and horses. Without horses or guns, Lakȟóta autonomy was effectively eliminated. Lacking the staples of their culture, Lakȟótas were no longer capable of providing sustenance to their people or acquiring goods to sustain their economy. Lakȟóta warriors who surrendered to the agencies were stripped of their identity and consequently, the Lakȟóta people as a whole became largely reliant on the American government for food and employment.[49] Unable to leave the agency without special permission from the U.S. military or government, the days of freely hunting wild game and roaming the Northern Plains became a mere memory.[50]

The only manner in which an agency Lakȟóta could escape confinement and acquire a weapon or horse was to enlist as an Indian Scout in the U.S. Army or become an agency policeman. Those that joined the U.S. Army were to attack "enemy" Native Americans such as the Nez Perce as

they desperately fled towards refuge in Canada.[51] Those that became agency police arrested "unlawful" agency Lakȟótas in addition to capturing and returning Lakȟótas fleeing the agencies to join the free bands of Crazy Horse or Sitting Bull. Both of these pseudo-warrior occupations were a compensation for the freedoms of the pre-agency Lakȟóta warrior societies.[52] Migration to the camps of their nationalist relatives in the North became an increasing occurrence for those opposed to these features of agency life. The Northern Lakȟótas, at war with both the Anglo and Native Americans in the region, successfully maintained the nomadic warrior society for another decade. [53]

While the regional dynamics of the Southern Lakȟóta territories encouraged early permanent agency residence by "Loafers" and "mixed-bloods," and the eventual surrender of Spotted Tail and Red Cloud's followers, in the Northern Black Hills, Belle Fourche, and Cheyenne River region, the radically different Northern Lakȟóta territories encouraged the development of a nationalistic and militant branch of Lakȟóta society. This section analyzes the geographical and military features of the Northern Lakȟótas. In particular, the valuable territory they controlled, their unified nationalist ideology, and the exceptional military leadership, with an emphasis on the brilliance of Crazy Horse as a political and military tactician allowed them to be successful against the United States in warfare.

Considering the scale of Anglo invasion would not come close to resembling that of the Northern Platte until after the Battle of Little Big Horn, unlike the Southern Lakȟótas who were limited in their viable responses due to their location and proximity to whites, the Northern Lakȟótas essentially had free range and control of their main areas of habitation. Additionally, thanks to their military dominance in wars with other Native Americans, they were also in control of a far greater range of hunting grounds than their southern relatives. This allowed the Northern Lakȟótas to turn to a variety of locations to supplement their food stocks with deer, antelope, and other wild game when buffalo were sparse in the area; a luxury that their southern relatives

48   This political fracturing, seen in Lakȟóta society, between political leaders adopting either a policy of militarily nationalistic or pragmatic accommodationist response towards foreign attempts to regulate or take over their government should come as little surprise when considering the political history of the Lakȟótas within the greater history of imperial attempts at political repression. This historically thematic political split occurs across cultures and time periods. Demonstrative of this argument is the Irish political response to Britain's Act of Union of 1800 and the similar fracturing in political ideology between the nationalistic Young Irelanders and political pragmatist, Daniel O'Connell. For detailed historical work on the Irish response to the Act of Union, see J.C. Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland* pgs. 306-351.

49   Ruby, Robert. *The Oglala Sioux: Warriors in Transition*. New York: Vantage Press, 1955.

50   Bray, Kingsley. "Crazy Horse and the End of the Great Sioux War." 94-115. & Bray, Kingsley M.. "'We Belong to the North': The Flights of the Northern Indians from the White River Agencies, 1877-1878." 28-47.

51   For a detailed historical work on the Nez Perces' resistance, see Elliott West's *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story*.

52   Garnett, William, Valentine McGillycuddy, Carroll Friswold, and Robert A. Clark. *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse: three eyewitness views*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Hinman, Eleanor. "Oglala Sources on the Life of Crazy Horse, Interviews Given to Eleanor H Hinman" *Nebraska History* 57 (1976): 1-52., & Pearson, Jeffrey. "Tragedy at Red Cloud Agency: The Surrender, Confinement, and Death of Crazy Horse." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 55.2 (2005): 14-27. Print.

53   Bray, Kingsley M.. "'We Belong to the North': The Flights of the Northern Indians from the White River Agencies, 1877-1878."

did not possess.[54] By controlling the Black Hills region, the Northern Lakȟótas had access to, as Sitting Bull remarked in an 1875 speech, "the food pack of the people." During times of poverty these Lakȟótas could turn to the Black Hills as a nineteenth-century food bank.[55]

In addition to the advantageous geographical location of the Northern Lakȟótas, their other main strength lay in their military prowess and leadership. The Northern Lakȟótas were able to strengthen their horse economy and military through frequent raids and battles against neighboring peoples such as the Crows and Shoshones.[56] While all Lakȟóta bands warred and raided neighboring peoples, the unusually high military success rate the Northern Lakȟótas experienced allowed them to develop into the strongest military group.[57] Therefore, by the time U.S. agents began attempting to control Lakȟóta territory, and consistently failed to adhere to treaty stipulations, a distinct Lakȟóta subculture had taken hold in the north, characterized by notions of military supremacy. This subculture espoused exceedingly nationalistic and militant doctrines, even by Lakȟóta standards.

The main constituents amongst this Northern Lakȟóta society were the Northern Oglala, primarily of the Hunkpatila band, closely allied with the Mnikȟówožus; while the Itázipčhos, Sihásapas, and O'ohe Nuŋpas remained more loosely aligned with the Hunkpatila Oglala. Of the more distant Lakȟóta bands, similar to the Oglala alliance with the Mnikȟówožus, the Húŋkpapȟas also frequently engaged in militarily and political pacts with the Hunkpatila. An increase in interactions with northernmost kin was also caused by the increasing necessity of non-agency Lakȟótas to range further north and west towards Canada and Yellowstone in the hunt for buffalo herds.[58] Additionally, the Lakȟótas' possession of indispensable territories, as well as their high military success rate, led to the development of a more fundamentalist national identity. This identity consistently emphasized isolationist policies, militant responses to threats against sovereignty, culture, and economy and minimal negotiation with the enemy.

By the mid-1850s, after the continued diffusion of militant-nationalistic ideology, the Northern Lakȟóta conglomerate had become even more prominent and influential. Support for this political stance among northern people was fueled by infrequent disinterest in interacting with American military personnel and Indian agents, suspicions towards treaty provisions, particularly how "annuities committed Lakotas to land cessions like those that marked the Eastern Dakota agreements in Minnesota," and the increased meddling of American representatives in intertribal disagreements.[59] Despite this militant view of the Americans, these Lakȟótas did not openly seek conflict. Rather, their previous military success and flourishing national identity simply produced a mindset that would not accept an invasion or purchase of their land and would respond to intrusion with the appropriate force.[60] At the core of this Northern Lakȟóta political-military ideology was Crazy Horse, whose emphasis on weapons improvement, shift in Lakȟóta military tactics, and distinct leadership in politics and on the battlefield was arguably the greatest asset to the Northern Lakȟótas, and helps explain their consistent victories against the American military.

While the Lakȟótas were certainly not intimidated by the military prowess of the American army, by 1857 they understood the limitations in their weaponry compared to the Americans. Warrior headmen therefore "recommended hit-and-run raids by small war parties, running off army horses and beef herds," and surprising and killing military personnel quickly and retreating when the numbers no longer favored them.[61] After multiple joint council meetings between the Oglalas and Húŋkpapȟas in the late 1850s further emphasized the importance of breaking the military stalemate in the Crow War, the first major alteration to the Lakȟóta military stratagem took shape, eventually becoming a major factor in the Lakȟóta battles against the whites. Inspired by his thunder spirit, this tactic was characterized by "fronting charges to act as the leading edge of an unpredictable lightning like strike."[62] With oblique lines of charging horsemen, and with Tašúŋke Witkó dangerously and inspirationally leading significantly ahead of the charge, the Lakȟóta military had a viable solution to their struggle with the Crows and eventual full-scale war with the American army.

By the early 1860s, Lakȟóta military tactics no longer focused solely on combat against Crows and American military personnel; wasicu (white) trading posts, ranches, and migrants passing through the region also became targets of raids and Lakȟóta guerilla tactics. Although the attacks were typically small scale, they had astonishing effects in driving out whites and discouraging American military retribution, as the United States did not possess the means to successfully execute search-and-destroy missions when the Northern Lakȟótas were at their peak of resistance participation.[63] The final phase of the Lakȟóta response, full scale warfare with the American military, like the guerilla tactics, would also need to be strategically altered in order to trans-

54   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 46.
55   Ibid., 187.
56   Bull, Amos Bad Heart , and Helen Heather Blish. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux.*.
57   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 20. & Walker, J. R., and Raymond J. DeMallie. *Lakota society*. 28-40.
58   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 152-156.

59   Ibid., 26-29.
60   Ibid., 116.
61   Ibid., 54. & "Crazy Horse's Treachery: How He Laid a Trap for General Crook - The Latter Has a Narrow Escape."
62   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 56-60.
63   Ibid., 96.

late to victory. Crazy Horse likely realized this after the stalemate at the Wagon Box Fight, August 2, 1867. In instances of larger scale battles, the traditional "fixed-position strategy" seen at the Fetterman and Wagon Box Fights, "reminiscent of woodland Indian warfare against colonial period troops" would no longer be effective given the further advancement of American military weaponry and the increasing willingness of the post Civil War American government to increase the number of deployed troops. [64]

In light of this, Crazy Horse and the Northern Lakȟótas turned to two responsive strategies. Firstly, the Lakȟótas made aggressive efforts to replace and increase the percentage of warriors equipped with guns. While the majority of Lakȟóta warriors at the time of the Wagon Box Fight were equipped with smoothbore flintlocks, at the Battles of Rosebud and Little Big Horn, Springfield breechloaders and Henry and Winchester repeating rifles were far more effective and prominent within the Northern Lakȟóta army. Through trade of buffalo robes and mules with the Canadian plains Métis and unlicensed itinerants, one-fifth of Lakȟóta warriors owned repeaters and one-half owned some kind of gun. The effects of Tašúŋke Witkó's weapons campaign, which began in 1866, were clearly felt by the American military at Rosebud and Little Big Horn.[65] Secondly, Crazy Horse emphasized a shift away from the sedentary, fixed-position, massed foot charges seen in previous years. The characteristically small party and at times highly disorganized surprise guerilla tactics that succeeded in raids and small scale military conflicts needed to be translated onto large scale warfare. [66]

Crazy Horse's military instincts stressed open action, in which the Lakȟótas forced rapidly deployed mounted warriors against a moving foe in open terrain. His kicamayan tactic emphasized attacking during the moment of maximum instability, keeping American soldiers on the run, and preventing them from securing a permanent defensive position. In the heat of battle, mounted Lakȟóta warriors could count on their superior riding skills as well as their "shock and rapid-response capabilities, to isolate troop units." [67] If the Northern Lakȟótas were able to isolate and attack disoriented army units, the United States command structure, its "chief asset," would be negated. Without the hierarchical command structure guiding its troops, American soldiers would likely panic.[68] While the more disciplined Lakȟóta warriors, possessing a far greater motivation to fight, would remain desperately composed no matter the circumstances.[69]

Shortly before the battles of Rosebud and Little Big Horn, Tašúŋke Witkó and Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake were elected head war chiefs of the Northern Lakȟóta military.[70] With the national-militant ranks reaching their climax in terms of cross-*ti-ospayepi* participation, the changes to the culture and military, spearheaded by Tašúŋke Witkó and other Northern Lakȟóta nationalists, would soon be on display in the successful full scale military victories at the Battles of Rosebud and Little Big Horn.[71] In both Rosebud and Little Big Horn, Crazy Horse's kicamnayan tactics and the significant upgrades in weapons proved to be key factors in ensuring the resounding defeat of the United States Army.[72]

In addition to the new military strategy improving the general effectiveness of Lakȟóta combat, the reassuring presence and reputation of Crazy Horse amongst his people, which translated to effective leadership on the battlefield, played a major role in future successful Lakȟóta campaigns. As Tašúŋke Witkó solidified his reputation among the Lakȟótas, he attracted an unprecedented number of followers from almost every Lakȟóta band. Those who joined the Hunkpatila war camp were not limited to Lakȟótas, by the 1870s, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho military headmen were also aligning themselves with the Northern Lakȟótas. Additionally, Crazy Horse's modest demeanor also likely accounts for such an immense following; although frequently chosen as a leader, he "had no ambition to be a chief," often more interested in servicing his people as a warrior, scout, hunter, and spiritual visionary than as a politician.[73]

64   Ibid., 112.
65   Ibid., 167.
66   Ibid., 108-115.
67   Ibid., 112.
68   Spring, Agnes Wright, and Caspar Weaver Collins. *Caspar Collins: the life and exploits of an Indian fighter of the sixties*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.
69   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life*. 211.
70   Vestal, Stanley. *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux: A Biography*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1932.
Vestal, Stanley. *Warpath, the true story of the fighting Sioux told in a biography of Chief White Bull*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
71   Neihardt, John, Black Elk, & DeMallie, Raymond. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's teachings given to John G. Neihardt*. 170. In the second week of May 1876, Little Big Man went south to the Red Cloud Agency and swayed the opinion of one hundred lodges of Oglala to join the war effort, numerous Brulé and other Lakȟóta bands would join them as well, leaving from the White River region.
72   "The Custer Fight ." *The Bismarck Tribune* 11 June 1877: 2. Print., Message from the President of the United States, transmitting, in compliance with a Senate resolution of July 7, 1876, information in relation to the hostile demonstrations of the Sioux Indians, and the disaster to the forces under General Custer. July 13, 1876. - Read, ordered to lie on the table, and be printed. Besides the general specifics from 199-234 in Bray's work, for more specific instances throughout both battles in *Crazy Horse*, see the dismantling of the Royall detachment (209), the psychological and militarily destructive effects of the weapons upgrades (211), and Crazy Horse's leadership in combat (220).
73   Garnett Interview, Tablet 2, Ricker, Eli Seavey, and Richard E. Jensen. *Voice of the American West, Volume 1*.

Crazy Horse's patience also frequently ensured the continued success of the Laкhóta military. According to He Dog, "He didn't like to start a battle, unless he had it all planned out in his head and knew he was going to win. He always used judgment and played safe." [74] Additionally, similar to Spotted Tail's political influence being limited by the emphases on individualism as well as total group consensus, Crazy Horse was certainly still limited by the dynamics of Laкhóta politics. If the headmen of the tribe came to a consensus on a given matter that opposed Crazy Horse, he had to honor the will and wishes of his people.[75]

In Laкhóta histories, as well as in the narratives written by historians, Crazy Horse has often been portrayed as lacking either the acumen or interest to participate in Laкhóta political leadership.[76] In reality, Crazy Horse's position as the most influential war leader of the Laкhótas made him a highly influential political representative whose opinion was sought out regardless of his political ambitions. Therefore, Crazy Horse's decision never to visit agencies, remain silent throughout the majority of Laкhóta political councils, disassociate himself from treaty negotiations, and ignore diplomatic advances by the American military and government was as much a political announcement to his people as a Red Cloud or Spotted Tail speech.[77] By not engaging in political debate or negotiation with whites, Crazy Horse's message was clear, whatever results negotiation with the Americans yielded, they would not benefit his people and therefore the Northern Laкhótas would not adhere to their stipulations.

This nationalistic stance effectively undermined the efforts and rhetoric the accommodationist leaders attempted to spread in the North. On the rare occasion that Crazy Horse did engage in Laкhóta political debates, his discussion centered on a marked increase in Laкhóta nationalism and militancy.[78] He denounced dependency on rations for food and clothing and American treaty violations, and emphasized protecting Laкhóta land at all costs, encouraging a return to traditional Laкhóta practices, and completely rejecting American influences. Individuals that went against

these emphases or tried to capitulate to the American agencies were threatened with having their horses killed, or in the case of large scale consideration of capitulation, open civil warfare.[79]

Crazy Horse's own individual recruitment of warriors in order to increase and strengthen the Northern Laкhótas also demonstrates his political leadership and acumen. In order to promote more widespread warrior solidarity, Crazy Horse called upon the Hoksi Hakata, or Last Born Child Society. These individuals were the fiercest and bravest warriors within the Northern Laкhótas, and their lack of a clear cut hierarchy and officers or flashy uniforms endeared them across many Laкhóta bands. They helped spread the anti-treaty and agency edict and provided a previously unseen, supremely talented, and disciplined group of warriors on the battlefield.[80]

Upon the conclusion of the Battle of Little Big Horn, the Northern Laкhóta nation was at a crossroads. After such a resounding victory, the momentum was clearly in the Laкhótas' favor. In order to maintain their stranglehold on the region and continue their military success, the Northern Laкhótas needed to depart from their systematic post-summer diffusion and remain more closely united than was typical for their society.

However, Laкhóta leaders were unable to reach a consensus on the appropriate future strategy. Not surprisingly, the decentralized nature of Laкhóta society won out, with bands carrying out operations from their own perspectives and motivations. Significant groups of political leaders and lodges elected to move south in search of buffalo and eventual agency refuge. While Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse reached a pact to maintain their military campaign against the United States, neither leader would budge on their subsequent strategies. Sitting Bull stressed the need to head north for more plentiful buffalo and a restocking of weap-

74   Hinman, Eleanor. "Oglala Sources on the Life of Crazy Horse, Interviews Given to Eleanor H Hinman," 14.

75   De Barthe, Joseph. *The life and adventures of Frank Grouard : chief of scouts, U. S. A.* Missouri: Combe Printing Company, 1894.

76   Garnett Interview, Tablet 2, Ricker, Eli Seavey, and Richard E. Jensen. *Voice of the American West, Volume 1.* Opinions on Crazy Horse such as Billy Garnett's exemplify this perspective. According to Garnett, Tašúŋke Witkó was "good for nothing but to be a warrior," and was disinterested in Laкhóta politics because of his frequent silence in non-military council meetings.

77   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life.* 84.

78   "General Crook Reviews Indian Warriors - "Crazy Horse" and other Chiefs Make Speeches." *San Francisco Bulletin* 26 May 1877: 1. Print.

79   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life.* 75. & Clark, Wissler. "Societies and ceremonial associations in the Oglala division of the Teton-Dakota." *Anthropological paper of the AMNH* 11.1 (1912):9.

80   Bray, Kingsley M.. *Crazy Horse: a Lakota life.* 177-178. Bray emphasizes that Crazy Horse was acutely aware of the dynamics of his own culture, and used it to his peoples' advantage: "Crazy Horse selected as members the younger sons of prominent families. Older sons, Crazy Horse was well aware, were typically favored with preferment and the family birthright, and therefore they were most amenable to the consensual compromises of the elders. With less to lose, the Last-Born were more likely to hold stubbornly to the principles of nontreaty status. Psychologically, too, Crazy Horse showed keen insight into warrior motivation. Society member Eagle Elk observed that younger sons were fiercely competitive. "If they did great deeds or something very brave, then they would have greater honor than the first child. They were always making themselves greater.""

ons and ammunition in trade with the Métis.[81] Tašúŋke Witkó, in contrast, was hesitant to abandon residence in the Black Hills region; he likely felt that to remove his people from their heartland, even if for only the fall and winter months would be disastrous.[82] Exposing the Black Hills to unresisted settlement by Anglos would effectively eliminate any chances at sustained military success or total societal independence.[83] After an American detachment surprised Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake's followers and forced them to flee into Canada, Tašúŋke Witkó remained the sole military headman left to defend the most crucial region of the Northern Lakȟóta territory.[84]

The sudden isolation of Crazy Horse's followers essentially sealed the fate of the Northern Lakȟótas. The continued dispersal, despite the acknowledged risks, of political and military leaders following the victory of Little Big Horn exposed Crazy Horse's band and followers to eventual engulfment by the American army. Despite numerous military engagements with the Americans, Crazy Horse managed to evade capture and heavy loss at the hands of the American military for about a year.[85] However, without the atypical unity seen in the months leading up to the Battle of Little Big Horn, Crazy Horse realized the futility in leading his dwindling followers into any further battles with the American army. As supplies ran low, and voices of agency capitulation heightened within even the most militant and national tipis, Crazy Horse became the last of the Lakȟótas to yield to the American agency in early May, 1877.[86]

The fluidity and decentralization that was a consistent characteristic of the Lakȟóta culture from the eighteenth to nineteenth-centuries proved to be a source of both their rapid expansion and their ultimate demise. Upon their crossing of the Missouri River at the turn of the eighteenth-century, the political flexibility and independent action around which Lakȟóta society and politics revolved allowed for all seven *ti-ospayepi* to benefit from economic expansion and newly established trade networks. Similarly, thanks to the increase in horse acquisition, as the Lakȟótas rapidly spread their empire from the Upper Platte and Black Hills

– north towards the Canadian border, south into Colorado, and west into Wyoming and Montana – all Lakȟótas reaped the benefits brought about by new hunting territories and the increased material wealth afford through trade. Yet as the regions into which the seven *ti-ospayepi* spread became increasingly geographically and culturally distinct, the Lakȟóta nation essentially contained a different small-scale society within each regional group. Consequently, political interests and policies became increasingly geared towards the specific needs of the regional bands.

As demonstrated in Parts II and III, the diversity of the Lakȟótas and the regions they inhabited eventually produced distinct and at times oppositional groups, who were so accustomed to making decisions independently of one another that the notion of concession and compromise in order to produce a more unified front against the United States was unachievable. By studying this feature of Lakȟóta culture, one can better understand how Lakȟóta society fostered such diverse actions as permanent agency residence by "Loafers" and "mixed-bloods;" the eventual surrender of Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, and their followers to Indian agencies; the formation of a nationalistic-militant northern society; and the separation of the Northern political and military leaders at the end of Little Big Horn, despite the obvious risk to the demise of their freedom in the North.

In conclusion, this paper argues that the decentralized nature of Lakȟóta society allowed for politically similar groups to make decisions without compromise to the needs of politically opposed groups. Shaped by their geopolitically based needs, this feature of the Lakȟóta political decision making process explains how the Northern Plains empire produced two dramatically different factions in the second half of the nineteenth century. These two groups primarily differed on their response to American encroachment into Lakȟóta land. The response to U.S. imperialism, heavily influenced by geopolitical features, led to the southern coalition engaging in political diplomacy and peace with Anglo-Americans, and the northern coalition employing fundamental nationalist policies and open warfare with Anglo-Americans. The Southern Lakȟótas' acceptance of treaties with the United States and transfers onto agencies, as well as the Northern Lakȟótas' nationalistic based military response to American encroachment both have their roots in the fundamental Lakȟóta political concept of decentralized decision making; this concept allowed for each individual within Lakȟóta society to choose between autonomy or agency.

81 Bray, Kingsley M.. "Crazy Horse and the End of the Great Sioux War." 94-115.
82 Military expedition against the Sioux Indians. July 15, 1876. -- Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. July 18, 1876. -- Recommitted to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.
83 Bray, Kingsley M.. "Crazy Horse and the End of the Great Sioux War."94-115.
84 Ibid.
85 Pearson, Jeffrey. "Nelson A. Miles, Crazy Horse, and the Battle of Wolf Mountains." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 51.4 (2001): 52-67. Print.
86 Pearson, Jeffrey. "Tragedy at Red Cloud Agency: The Surrender, Confinement, and Death of Crazy Horse." 14-27.

"Time Machine": The Westinghouse Time Capsule, the "World of Tomorrow" and the Changing Understanding of Time at the 1939 World's Fair

By Evan Stark, Washington University in St. Louis
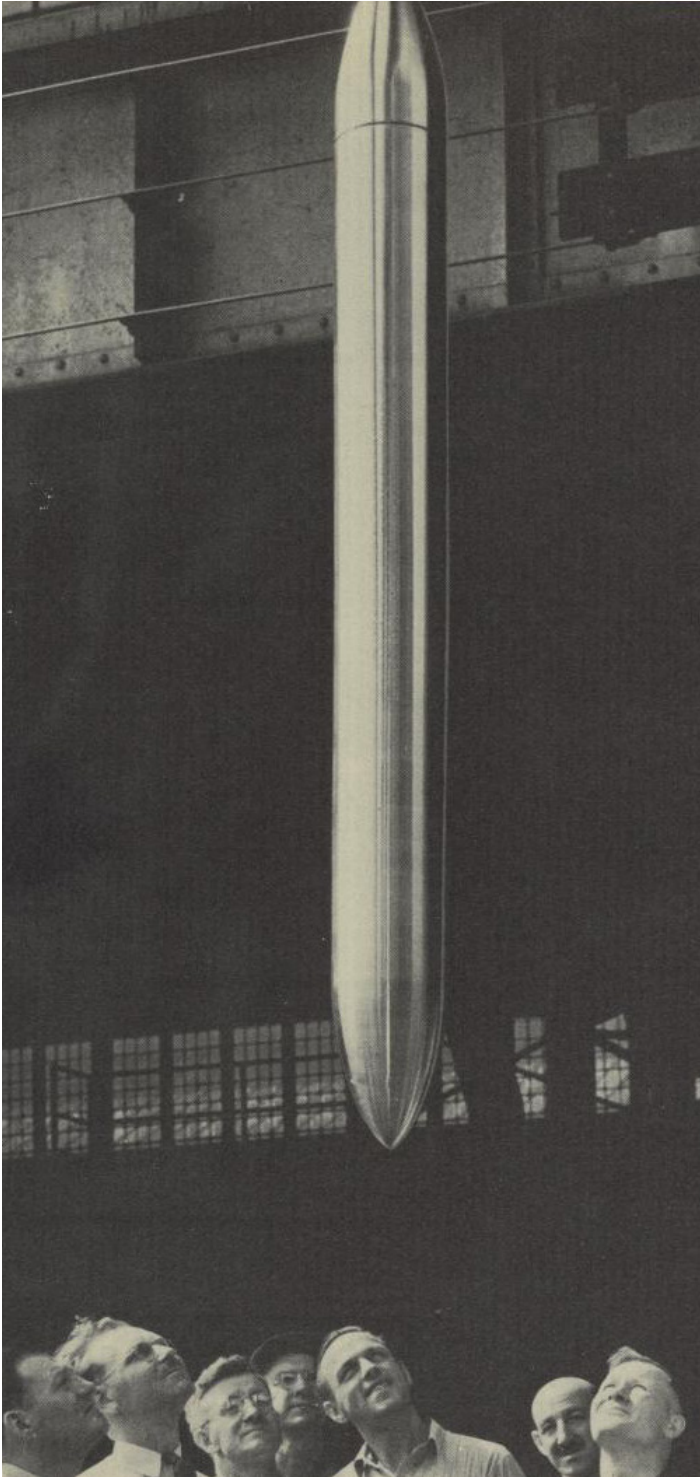
Courtesy of the New York Public Library

On September 23, 1938, months before the opening of the 1939 New York World's Fair, a crowd gathered at the fair's future site of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company exhibit. They gathered to bury a part of the fair that would not see the light of day for 5,000 years. At noon, Westinghouse's torpedo-shaped Time Capsule descended down a 50-foot-deep concrete-lined hole under what would become the Westinghouse exhibit[1]. The Time Capsule was designed to hold a plethora of objects that Westinghouse hoped, when uncovered in 6939, would give the future a glimpse of life in 1939.

The Westinghouse Time Capsule was the first so-called "time capsule" and it was, in many ways, a product of its time. At a fair whose theme was "The World of Tomorrow", Westinghouse was staking the foundation of its exhibit, both figuratively and literally, on a project that revolved around the present. Even amidst the economic challenges of the Great Depression, Westinghouse seemed driven by of a sense of duty to preserve the present for the future, rather than by its financial bottom line. Despite the contrast between the Time Capsule project with the fair's theme, and the economic pressures of the Great Depression, the Time Capsule was built precisely because of the social, political and economic circumstances of 1939. At this World's Fair, ideas of progress and science, competition between corporations and governments, fascination with past, and apprehension about the future were manifest in Westinghouse's Time Capsule project. Since it addressed fairgoers' aspirations and concerns in 1939, the Time Capsule was one of the

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1   "RECORD OF TODAY BURIED FOR 6939: 5,000-Year Time- Capsule Is Lowered Into Well on the World's Fair Grounds CONTAINS 1,000 PICTURES 10,000,000 Words Compressed Into 1,100 Feet of Microfilm Give Message to "Posterity Newsreel Is Included Headings of 15 Sequences 100 Solid Objects Enclosed Speculates on Posterity," *New York Times*, September 24, 1938.N.Y., United States","page ":"19","source":"ProQuest","event-place":"New York, N.Y., United States","abstract":"The 5,000-year Time Capsule, containing a condensed record of our present day civilization for the inhabitants of the earth in the year 6939, was deposited yesterday at high noon, the moment of the Autumnal Equinox, at the site of the Westinghouse","ISSN":"036243 31","shortTitle":"RECORD OF TODAY BURIED FOR 6939","issued":{"date-parts":[["1938",9,24]]}}}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

more successful and memorable exhibits at the Fair. By reconciling the varied conditions in which it was built and debuted, the Time Capsule redefined the conceptualization and physical manifestation of time in the twentieth century.

Construction and Contents

As Westinghouse hoped to show, the Time Capsule was an example of meticulous engineering. First and foremost, the Time Capsule was specially designed to protect an internal collection of items. As such, the Capsule was made of two larger parts: the Capsule and its contents. While Westinghouse employed similar scientific methodologies in designing the Capsule and selecting its contents, the two served distinct roles within the project itself.

Westinghouse's *The Story of the Time Capsule* meticulously chronicles the details of the Time Capsule's construction, underscoring the project's emphasis on science. The exterior of the over seven-foot-long capsule was built out of a new resilient alloy, Cupaloy, designed to have: "the hardness of steel, yet has a resistance to corrosion equal to pure copper… [such that] in the soil it becomes the anode and therefore will receive deposits rather than wasting away." Furthermore, the interior was "lined with an envelope of Pyrex glass, set in a water-repellent petroleum base wax… [and] washed, evacuated and filled with humid nitrogen, an inert, preservative gas."[2] By explaining the science and engineering behind the project, Westinghouse demonstrated that it was not only believable, but also feasible that the Time Capsule could withstand 5,000 years underground.

This emphasis on, and implicit faith in, science extended to the selection of the Time Capsule's contents. The contents of the Westinghouse Time Capsule were intended to provide a "cross-section of our time" to those living in 6939.[3] The capsule included 35 "objects of common use" and 75 samples "of common materials, ranging from fabrics of various kinds, metals, alloys, plastics, and synthetics to a lump of anthracite and a dozen kinds of common seeds".[4] Westinghouse provided a complete list of the contents in both the Time Capsule and *The Story of the Time Capsule*. On that list, items were grouped into five broad categories, with smaller subcategories ranging from "Contributing Convenience, Comfort, Health, Safety" to "Pertaining to the Grooming and Vanity of Women", that covered much of everyday life.[5] Ranging from a woman's hat to an electric lamp to a pack of cigarettes, the selection of items was eclectic, yet comprehensive. Aside from everyday items, the capsule's contents also included a guide to reconstructing the English language, along with personal notes from Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and Robert Millikan. Additionally, the Time Capsule contained a wide-ranging collection of microfilm that totaled nearly 22,000 pages of text covering religion, politics, public health, scientific inventions and major industries.[6] These items, taken together, were intended to cover almost every facet of daily life in 1939, from the physical to the philosophical.

Designed to help locate the Time Capsule in 6939, Westinghouse's *The Book of Record* was the only object manufactured explicitly for the Time Capsule.[7] *The Book of Record* contained not only a brief introduction to the project and the accomplishments of the twentieth century, but also detailed instructions to find the capsule using several different scientific techniques based on astronomy, geography and metallurgy. To further ensure the capsule would be found, 3,650 copies of *The Book of Record* were published and distributed to libraries around the world. Westinghouse was so sure that it had gathered sufficient information about the present that it asserted "no man living knows as much about us as those who study this Time Capsule will know".[8]

Westinghouse sought to demonstrate that the objects selected were inherently important to a scientific and scholarly understanding of 1939.[9] This responsibility fell to the Westinghouse Time Capsule Committee. This internal corporate committee drew upon the expertise of outside "archaeologists, historians and authorities in virtually every field of science, medicine and the arts" to help select the objects in the Time Capsule.[10] Westinghouse went so far as to disclose that "where several competitive items of equal archaeological value were available, but only one could be included, the item selected was chosen by lot."[11] While this disclaimer was intended to show that Westinghouse filled the Capsule fairly and methodically, the Time Capsule Committee had significant latitude to select the included items.

Despite Westinghouse's emphasis on the seemingly

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2   *The Story of the Westinghouse Time Capsule was* a special Westinghouse publication intended to explain the details of the project to the public of 1939.

The Capsule was no diminutive feat of engineering. The details of the Capsule's dimensions included its size (seven and a half feet long, eight and three-eighths inches in diameter) and its weight (when filled, weighed over 800 pounds).

Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, *The Story of the Westinghouse Time Capsule : What the Project Means, How the Time Capsule Was Constructed, What It Contains, How It Will Be Protected against Vandalism, How Word of Its Location Has Been Left for the Future* (East Pittsburgh, Pa. : Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., 1939), 10.

3   Ibid., 11.

4   Ibid., 14–15.

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5   Ibid., 24. These two categories were highlighted to illustrate the wide variety of items selected and to also demonstrate the distinctions Westinghouse in categorizing the contents of the Capsule. Some items from "Contributing Convenience, Comfort, Health, Safety" include an alarm clock and a toothbrush. Some items from "Pertaining to the Grooming and Vanity of Women" include make-up and a rhinestone clip.

6   Ibid., 13.

7   Ibid.

8   Ibid., 15.

9   Ibid., 14–16.

10   Ibid., 14.

11   Ibid., 24.

objective selection of the Time Capsule's contents, a closer look at the included items reveals a tendency to favor corporations and to ignore Westinghouse's competitors. Firstly, there was a tendency to select items manufactured by, or pertaining to, corporations. Items with explicit ties to corporations comprised 65% of the physical objects and 48% of the microfilmed material. Secondly, only four percent of physical objects and five percent of written materials were explicitly linked to governments.[12] Meanwhile, Westinghouse included its own products or references to itself thirty times, while its prime competitor, General Electric, was never mentioned.[13] These trends undermine the supposed objectivity of the Time Capsule Committee's selection process.

Furthermore, the selected objects do not focus on specific individuals. While the Time Capsule was intended to be experienced by individual fairgoers and rediscovered by individuals from 6939, there are scant references to specific people in the Time Capsule. Aside from the three letters written by Einstein, Mann, and Millikan, along with film footage of President Roosevelt, Fiorello LaGuardia and Grover Whalen, important individuals were not prominently featured. Thus, in the context of a project spanning millennia, Westinghouse made the case that the future would value *how* people lived in 1939, not *who* lived at that time. By minimizing the presence of individuals in the Time Capsule's contents, Westinghouse implied that in order to understand a society, the individual did not matter as much as the society's material culture.

"The World of Tomorrow" and the Business of the World's Fair

Westinghouse's rationale for producing the Time Capsule was explicitly connected to the fair's theme, "The World of Tomorrow", and to the fair as a business opportunity. The fair was designed to showcase how the future could be glimpsed in 1939. Additionally, the exhibiting companies' business strategies influenced the fair as both a business itself, and as an event at which companies publically promoted their products.

In *The Book of Record*, Westinghouse explained "there will rise again a civilization of even vaster promise standing upon our shoulders, as we have stood upon the shoulders of ancient Sumer, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The learned among that culture of the future may study with pleasure and profit things now in existence which are unique to our time, growing

out of our circumstances, needs, and desires."[14] Just as Western society owed much to the developments of past civilizations, so too would those living in 6939 depend on the twentieth century. Therefore, in order to better serve the future, Westinghouse had a special responsibility to intentionally preserve the accomplishments of the twentieth century. Thus, the contents detailed in *The Book of Record* and enclosed within the Time Capsule were not only noteworthy in their own time, but also inherently important to the future. As such, the Time Capsule likely resonated with fairgoers caught in the midst of the Great Depression, and the aftermath of one world war with the threat of yet another, making them receptive to the Time Capsule's aura of optimism.

On the other hand, the World's Fair was a commercial event where corporate exhibits competed for the fairgoers' patronage and attention. While the Time Capsule was not a product that could be sold to fairgoers, Westinghouse's substantial investment in the Time Capsule project reflected its view that the capsule was a prudent business decision. In 1953, the *New Yorker* countered *The Book of Record*'s idealistic narrative, exposing the Time Capsule as a brilliantly successful public relations stunt.[15] As recounted in the article, in the late 1930s, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co. was locked in a heated rivalry with General Electric (GE). While Westinghouse was profitable, GE was winning the hearts and minds of American consumers. Westinghouse executives worried that consumers did not have "true love" for their company and that "the public still thought of it [Westinghouse] as backward looking."[16] Therefore, G. Edward Pendray was hired to revamp Westinghouse's public relations.[17] Even with Pendray's help, in 1937 Westinghouse's gross income dropped five percent despite doubling its advertising budget. Westinghouse's business troubles set the stage for Pendray's idea for a radical project to transform Westinghouse's reputation.

Adding to Westinghouse's public relations troubles, *Fortune* ran a highly critical article in February 1938 compar-

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12   The lack of government-linked materials may be an attempt to further suggest that the project was free and independent of outside influence. However, this could also be the byproduct of intense competition between corporations and governments to fuel progress in the 1930s. See section *Competing Conceptions of Progress: The Corporation Versus the State* with regard to competing agents of "progress" at the World's Fair.

13   Statistical analysis of the contents of the Time Capsule was completed using the list of included items found in *The Story of the Time* Capsule. Direct linkages/references/ties to corporations rely on whether a specific company name is mentioned in the title of the item/written material's entry in *The Story of the Time Capsule.*

14   Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, *The Book of Record of the Time Capsule of Cupaloy: Deemed Capable of Resisting the Effects of Time for Five thousand Years: Preserving an Account of Universal Achievements, Embedded in the Grounds of the New York World's Fair, 1939* (New York: Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, 1938), 13.

15   S.E. Hyman and S.C. McLelway, "Onward and Upward with Business and Science," *New Yorker*, December 5, 1953, 194,196–206,209–16,219.

16   Ibid., 194.

17   G. Edward Pendray was well known as a proponent of space exploration and science. A graduate of the University of Wyoming and Columbia University, he was the science editor at the New York Herald Tribune. His eventual success at Westinghouse would lead him to later open his own public relations firm. His connection to the 1939 Time Capsule remains one of his well-known accomplishments. Elizabeth Neuffer, "G. E. PENDRAY, 86, ROCKET PROPONENT," *The New York Times*, September 20, 1987.

ing Westinghouse to its rival, GE. While Westinghouse was accused of "commercial ineptitude", GE was praised for investigating "the desires of the American public [and had] gone back to the laboratory to satisfy those desires."[18] By doing so, *Fortune* confirmed Westinghouse's fears that it was losing the battle for the American consumer. Pendray recognized that the fair's theme offered the opportunity to design an exhibit that could demonstrate the company's unprecedented innovation.[19] He pitched his idea for Westinghouse to build, as he called it, a "time capsule" for the fair. Some Westinghouse executives were hesitant to back the project but, as Pendray explained, the "time capsule" could link the struggling company "with science, the stars and so forth – the wonders of the universe," capturing the imagination and curiosity of the public in the process.[20]

Pendray's project was a success, reversing Westinghouse's negative press coverage leading up to the fair. When the Time Capsule was buried, press coverage was not only extensive, but overwhelmingly positive. The media, much like Pendray had hoped, linked Westinghouse to the wonders of science, and saw the company as an innovator.[21] As public perception of Westinghouse improved, so did the company's finances. In the years that followed the Time Capsule's debut, Westinghouse posted improvements in its annual sales. Pendray's idea for the Time Capsule not only helped to change Westinghouse's reputation, but also proved to be a prudent business decision.[22]

New York City, much like Westinghouse, also looked to the fair as a way to improve its reputation and finances. Initially, the 1939 World's Fair was conceived as a stimulus for Depression-era New York. In order to be successful, the Fair hoped to build upon the tradition of previous American World's Fairs, by using a unique architectural design and overall theme. While past fairs in Chicago, Buffalo and St. Louis had all embraced similar architectural styles, the New York fair's embrace of Art Deco and Bauhaus would further differentiate it from its predecessors.[23] Furthermore, while Chicago

"had dazzled the world" in 1893 and 1933 with its two World's Fairs, Philadelphia "had hallowed its past at the 1876 Centennial" and St. Louis had bewitched visitors with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, New York had yet to hold a fair that marked its place as a financial and cultural center.[24]

Constructing the fair was a tremendous undertaking, directed by The New York World's Fair, Inc.[25] Thus, the "World of Tomorrow", much like its predecessors, was fundamentally a business venture.[26] Financed through bonds, and fees from exhibitors, the fair consisted of over 375 buildings and 100 large exhibits. While many past fairs either explicitly referenced the past (Philadelphia's Centennial) or thematically stopped at the present (Chicago's 1933 "Century of Progress"), the 1939 World's Fair was unique in its emphasis on the future. Emphasizing the fair's thematic break with celebrations of the past, exhibitors were prohibited from using any previous architectural style.[27] Thus, Art Deco and Bauhaus architecture dominated the fair, giving the fair a unique appearance.[28] The 1939 World's Fair, therefore, became a venue where exhibitors not only could, but were forced to, discard traditional approaches to their exhibits. Pendray's Time Capsule succeeded at the fair in part because the project was innovative and visionary. Other exhibits, like General Motors' (GM) Futurama and even the Fair's iconic Trylon and Perisphere, attempted to bridge the gap between the known present and the uncertainties of the future.[29] In order to successfully bridge that gap, the fair and its exhibitors, including Westinghouse, had to communicate their understanding of progress to millions of fairgoers.

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18 Quoted in Hyman and McLelway, "Onward and Upward with Business and Science," 194.

19 Pendray was a science fiction fan, including the prospect of life on other planets. His interests translated well to a Fair that, thematically, was oriented to the possibilities of science and industry.

20 Hyman and McLelway, "Onward and Upward with Business and Science," 198,200.

Furthermore, Cupaloy, Westinghouse's newest alloy, had no practical commercial use. The Capsule was an opportunity to showcase the alloy and probably helped aid Westinghouse's decision to build the Capsule.

21 Ibid., 196.

22 Ibid., 197. Westinghouse's sales had increased annually up until the publication of the *New Yorker* article.

23 A. Joan Saab, *For the Millions: American Art and Culture between the Wars*, The Arts and Intellectual Life in Modern America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

2004), 130–135.; Rydell mentions the influence of past fairs on the design and style of their successors. The 1901 fair in Buffalo, while embracing color as opposed to the "White City" of 1893 Chicago, still relied on the City Beautiful movement for architectural inspiration at both Chicago and at Omaha in 1898. Therefore, fairs looked to each other for inspiration. However, the 1939 fair's ban on prior architectural styles was a fundamental ideological and visual break from the influence of past fairs. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 130–135.

24 Stanley Appelbaum and Richard Wurts, *The New York World's Fair, 1939/1940: In 155 Photographs by Richard Wurts and Others*, 1ST edition (Dover Publications, 1977), viii.

It should be noted that New York did hold an exposition in 1853 but was, when compared to other past Fairs, was, according to Appelbaum and Wurts, "low key" and not in the same echelon as the other American Fairs.

25 James Mauro, *Twilight at the World of Tomorrow: Genius, Madness, Murder, and the 1939 World's Fair on the Brink of War*, 1st ed (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010), 19. Mauro 19

26 For example, 1904 and 1907 fairs were constructed by the Louisianan Purchase Exposition Company. See

27 Saab, *For the Millions*, 130–135.

28 Ibid. See footnote 23.

29 Appelbaum and Wurts, *The New York World's Fair, 1939/1940*, 5, 19–21, 110–111.

Competing Conceptions of Progress:
The Corporation Versus the State

The understandings of progress presented at the 1939 World's Fair emphasized abstract goals driven by institutions, rather than the innovation and success of individuals. In contrast to past fairs in the United States, which embraced the American System of competitively awarding medals to individuals and exhibitors on account of their perceived merit, in 1939 there were few celebrations of individual accomplishment. Therefore, Westinghouse was not competing to win a prize for the Time Capsule itself. Instead, Westinghouse was competing for the public opinion and consumer loyalty. For companies like Westinghouse, connecting themselves to ideas of progress was the way to fairgoers' hearts.[30] At the 1939 fair, ideas of progress were dominated by collective entities that could not only afford to build elaborate testaments to "progress", but that were also perceived as agents of change: corporations and governments.

Corporate ideas of progress, "The Good Life" and the potential of technology were all incorporated into the 1939 World's Fair. The general corporate understanding of progress was illustrated by the idea of "The Good Life" in advertising. As later analyzed by Belk and Pollay, "The Good Life", is understood to be "an end rather than a means, and as focusing on the material rather than the spiritual world."[31] Religious and societal emphasis on the merits of hard work and humility prevented corporations from successfully promoting explicit consumerism. However, "The Good Life" suggested that the value of material possessions, such as appliances and automobiles, was not necessarily in the accumulation of possessions themselves, but rather in the experiences these products could provide.[32]

Westinghouse's 1937 advertisement for its Model X washing machine highlighted that the company understood the value of "The Good Life" and the modernization that made it possible. Juxtaposing crude stick-figure representations of the physical work of "Wash Day" with a clean-cut picture of the washing machine, Westinghouse demonstrated the usefulness and modernity of its appliances.[33] Even the name "Model X" evoked the unknown possibilities that came from using Westinghouse products. As such, Westinghouse implied that it saw unlimited possibilities for both its products and for its customers.

Westinghouse and other companies took explicit steps to emphasize "The Good Life" at the 1939 World's Fair. E.B. White, who wrote about his experience at the fair, remarked that at General Motor's popular Futurama exhibit he could hear "the soft electric assurance of a better life – the life that rests on wheels alone."[34] For its part, Westinghouse also sought to show fairgoers the positive potential of its technology. While the Time Capsule was the highlight of Westinghouse's exhibit, the exhibit also included Elektro, a talking robot, and the Tower of Light, all of which served as futuristic representations of what Westinghouse's innovation could accomplish.[35] The exhibit also included a film about the stereotypical Middleton family, which demonstrated that Westinghouse, through its embrace of science and development of technology, would provide a plethora of middle-class post-Depression jobs. For Westinghouse and other companies, corporate progress was dependent on a link between innovation and the consumer.

Corporate materialism, however, was not the only vision of progress in the 1930s. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, the state occupied a new place in shaping the course of social change and progress. In the United States, President Roosevelt's New Deal expanded the role of government in promoting ideas of progress. For example, the creation of the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) in 1935, and the W.P.A.'s involvement in The Federal Art Project, propelled

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30   The 1876 Centennial and the 1893 Columbian Exposition both featured competitions between individual exhibitors and companies that helped to define the industrial scientific progress featured at each Fair. Judges gave awards to individuals or companies based on their invention's perceived merit in fields as varied as farming machinery, beer and artillery. Medals, ranging from gold to bronze, or ribbons (in the case of Pabst's, a blue ribbon for its beer in 1893), were awarded on the basis of the invention, quality, utility and "fitness for the purposes intended", but notably not aesthetics or presentation. This particular process of judgment and recognition become known as the American System. In Britain and France, exhibits were not only evaluated on their function, but also on appearance. The 1933 "Century of Progress" Fair in Chicago attempted to do away with the American System. Declaring that "the competitive idea of other fairs is not in the modern spirit", organizers of the 1933 Fair sought to portray "industry for the comfort of man." As such, the focus of that fair shifted from exhibited inventions to less tangible aspirations. By 1939, the break with the American System was complete. See Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia*, Material Worlds (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 154–174.; "History," *Pabst Blue Ribbon*, accessed December 13, 2014, http://pabstblueribbon.com/pbr-history/.

31   Russell W. Belk and Richard W. Pollay, "Images of Ourselves: The Good Life in Twentieth Century Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Research* 11, no. 4 (March 1, 1985): 887.

32   For discussion and further reading on "The Good Life" see Belk and Pollay, "Images of Ourselves."

33   Michael Golec, "Graphic Visualization and Visuality in Lester Beall's Rural Electrification Posters 1937," *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 4 (2013): 401–15.

34   E.B. White was, and still is an acclaimed author and writer. Some of his more famous works include *Stuart Little* and *Charlotte's Web*. E. B White, *Essays of E.B. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 143.

35   Westinghouse's exhibit, like many at the Fair, was highly experiential. Westinghouse built an exact replica of the Capsule for its above –ground exhibit so that fairgoers could see for themselves the Capsule and its contents. Appelbaum and Wurts, *The New York World's Fair, 1939/1940*, 60–61.

art into the realm of both social and economic progress.[36] In doing so, the WPA harnessed ideas of artistic expression as a way to rally Americans around the state as a bastion of change and development.

The passage of New Deal legislation involved the government in the world of businesses.[37] For example, legislation like the Wagner Act implied that corporations could not be trusted to ensure the rights of their employees and consumers without regulation.[38] While the New Deal was initially popular, its continued expansion alienated certain voting demographics. Whether it was the financial burden of welfare programs, Social Security's perceived infringement of personal liberty or the unease with President Roosevelt running for a third term, wealthy voters were becoming increasingly skeptical of government's role in assuring progress.[39] This shift in demographic support for the New Deal underscored the opportunity for companies to effectively promote their ideas of progress at the World's Fair. Due to the effects of the Great Depression, fairgoers who could afford the price of admission tended to be relatively wealthy. As E.B. White observed, some people of modest means found attending the fair to be prohibitively expensive.[40] As such, fairgoers were more likely to be those with the means to buy futuristic products and would be more receptive to corporate, rather than government-sponsored, progress.

The specter of government interference in science compounded growing unease regarding the New Deal. Scientists feared that increases in federal funding for scientific research would inadvertently politicize their work. In the years leading up to the fair, some scientists grew concerned that the use (or misuse) of science's credibility in populist social agendas risked confusing science with politics. Among them was physicist Robert Millikan, who argued that corporations were the better benefactors of scientific research because of their support for a laissez faire social and economic system.[41] Corporations, since they had an implicit need for consumers to understand the products that they were buying, were best able to educate the public about science in everyday life.[42]

The Time Capsule's success was buttressed by its blend of art and technical innovation, suggesting that Westinghouse was a comprehensive source of progress, both corporate and otherwise. In keeping with the fair's aesthetics, exhibit designers, such as Norman Bel Gedes successfully convinced "large American corporations that beauty – of the Bauhaus and Art Deco persuasion – could help sell their products."[43] The Westinghouse Time Capsule, with its sleek torpedo-shaped design, mirrored the modern architecture of not only the Westinghouse building, but also of the fair overall.[44]

Additionally, the Time Capsule paired notions of corporate progress with an embrace of neutral science. Westinghouse relied upon scientists to make the Time Capsule project politically and economically neutral, appearing to demonstrate a genuine concern for the whole of humanity. The inclusion of Millikan's letter in the Time Capsule suggests that Westinghouse had sufficiently divorced itself from politics to his satisfaction. Together, Westinghouse's pairing of science with new artistic styles in its exhibit suggested corporations were capable of advocating for both materialism and immaterial culture.

At the Intersection of Past, Present, and Future

The Time Capsule's ability to channel popular fascination with the past further enhanced its resonance with fairgoers. Popular interest in archaeology in the early twentieth century was a source of inspiration for the Time Capsule project. For example, Howard Carter's 1922 discovery of King Tutankhamun's Tomb ignited the "'King Tut's Tomb' craze."[45] Carter's discovery not only captured the public's attention, but also raised the profile of archaeologists, who strove to learn about the past from its incidental remnants. Westinghouse capitalized on this interest in archeology and ancient Egypt with the Time Capsule. *The Book of Record* explained that the project's 5,000-year duration was inspired by Egypt. If Egypt had flourished 5,000 years before 1939, then people of 6939 would "think of us [1939] standing at history's midpoint."[46] Furthermore, Westinghouse contended "every age considers itself the pinnacle & final triumph above all eras that have gone before." As such, Westinghouse sought to display an inspirational optimism that 6939 would hold 1939 in the same esteem afforded ancient Egypt.[47]

36 Saab, *For the Millions*, 15–17. The W.P.A not only paid artists but also taught, as A. Joan Saab explains, "the American public how to appreciate as well as create art and… [recognize] the American artist as a legitimate worker.

37 Howell John Harris, *The Right to Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 178.

38 Ibid., 19–22,194.

39 As V.O. Key Jr. has argued, by the Presidential elections of 1936 and 1940, a large percentage of wealthy Democratic voters had abandoned Democratic President Roosevelt and instead voted Republican V. O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate; Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 7.

40 White, *Essays of E.B. White*, 144.

41 A personal note from Millikan was included in the Time Capsule. Peter J. Kuznick, "Losing the World of Tomorrow: The Battle Over the Presentation of Science at the 1939 New York World's Fair," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (September 1, 1994): 350, doi:10.2307/2713269.

42 Ibid., 360.

43 Quoted in Saab, *For the Millions*, 134.

44 Appelbaum and Wurts, *The New York World's Fair, 1939/1940*, 58–59.

45 William E. Jarvis, *Time Capsules: A Cultural History* (Jefferson, N.C. ; London: McFarland & Co, 2003), 141.

"Tomb of Tutankhamun," *British Museum*, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/past_exhibitions/1972/archive_tutankhamun/tomb_of_tutankhamun.aspx.

46 Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, *The Book of Record of the Time Capsule of Cupaloy*, 5–6.

47 Ibid., 4,18.

Therefore, it was crucial for Westinghouse to consult archaeologists when selecting the Time Capsule's contents. Despite its optimistic tone, *The Book of Record* also notes that if Egypt had disappeared only to be rediscovered again, then "history teaches us that every culture passes through definite cycles of development, climax, and decay. And so, we must recognize, ultimately may ours."[48] The acknowledgement that civilization as it was known in 1939 may not survive called into question the fair's futuristic optimism. This sense of foreboding was an ever-present element of life in 1939 that was eventually accepted and incorporated into both the Fair and the Time Capsule.

Despite incorporating the past and focusing on the future, both Westinghouse and the World's Fair could not ignore the present. At the 1939 World's Fair, the legacy of World War One, the present Great Depression, and the threat of another war in Europe loomed large. Following the precedent of earlier fairs, The Fair Corporation had aggressively courted nations to participate in the 1939 Fair. From the start, political rivalries influenced which nations chose to participate. For instance, the Soviet Union was the first to agree to build a pavilion and "Western Europe, thus challenged, could not lag behind." The Fair eventually counted 60 national participants and international organizations including the League of Nations. In order to underscore the Fair Corporation's goal of demonstrating "the interdependence of all states and countries in the twentieth-century world", most national exhibits were grouped together around the Lagoon of Nations. However, worrisomely absent was Germany, which opted to save the money it would have spent on its exhibit for the possibility of war.[49]

While the Westinghouse Time Capsule was buried before the outbreak of hostilities, the project addressed the general apprehension regarding the threat of another war in Europe. Given this looming threat, it is important to note that the name "Time Capsule" was not the original name of Pendray's project. Originally, the project was initially called the "Time Bomb" but Westinghouse feared public perception of the project would be clouded by memories of World War One and fears about future conflict.[50]

The time capsule also included three personal letters to the future—written by Robert Millikan, Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein—all incorporating a similarly fatalistic approach to the present, especially regarding war. Millikan wrote that, "[a]t this moment…the principles of representative ballot government...such as are represented by the governments of the Anglo-Saxon, French, and Scandinavian countries, are in deadly conflict with the principles of despotism... If the reactionary principles of despotism triumph now and in the future, the future history of mankind will repeat the sad story of war and oppression as in the past." Mann built upon this pessimistic sentiment by stating that "the hopes we center on you, citizens of the future, are in no way exaggerated." Finally, Einstein summarized the sense of inevitable doom by explaining "people living in different countries kill each other at irregular intervals, so that also for this reason anyone who thinks about the future must live in fear."[51] With this unparalleled opportunity to speak to the people of 6939, these men chose to reinforce the present threat of war. Einstein, however, ended by writing "I trust that posterity will read these statements with a feeling of proud and justified superiority." By ending with a line that chided the present, but that also represented an optimistic view of the future, the Time Capsule clung to the fair's idealistic interpretation of the future.

Westinghouse preemptively addressed this anxiety about the prospect of war by returning to archaeology. If the Earth could protect the remains of ancient Egypt, then the Time Capsule would also be safe underground. Thus, Westinghouse's decision to bury the capsule was rooted in an almost obsessive desire to protect the Time Capsule and, by extension, the present. One of Westinghouse's primary concerns was "thieves or persons whose curiosity is greater than their sense of obligation to the future."[52] This concern is evidenced by Westinghouse's belief that burying the Time Capsule 50 feet below ground in a sealed shaft would make removal prohibitively expensive and that this depth would protect it from anything on the surface.[53] The Time Capsule had been buried in order to protect it from 5,000 years of danger. Safely underground, the Time Capsule offered the hope and the assurance that life—particularly the American way of life—in 1939 would not disappear from the pages of history.

As the fair progressed, Westinghouse's precautions seemed not only reasonable, but also reassuring. As nations fell to Nazi Germany, their respective pavilions were draped in black cloth. The visual change to the exhibits brought the abstract idea of the European conflict directly to the Fair. Furthermore, the bombing of the British Pavilion on July 4, 1940—supposedly by Nazi sympathizers—shattered the fair's thematic separation from the present[54]. As such, the Time Capsule resonated with the public because its implicit importance was reinforced by current events. Furthermore, because governments seemed destined to fight yet another destructive war, Westinghouse, rather than national governments, became an institution that could be trusted to act responsibly in the best interests of the future.

48   Ibid., 5.
49   Appelbaum and Wurts, *The New York World's Fair, 1939/1940*, xii.
50   Hyman and McLelway, "Onward and Upward with Business and Science," 198–200.
51   Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, *The Book of Record of the Time Capsule of Cupaloy*, 46–49.
52   Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, *The Story of the Westinghouse Time Capsule*, 7.
53   Westinghouse also commissioned a study by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey to combat "the common notion" that the East Coast was sinking. The Time Capsule was found to not be at risk from rising sea levels.
54   Mauro, *Twilight at the World of Tomorrow*, 291.

The Time Capsule and Its Precedents

While the Time Capsule was innovative and intriguing for its contents, its duration and means of preservation, it was not the first modern attempt to preserve the present for the future. As William Jarvis explains, a time capsule can be loosely defined as any "effort to portray the contemporary present culture…to future recipients of that message carrying device."[55] A more strict definition (using the Time Capsule as the basis for its own categorical definition) would require time capsules to be "deliberate deposits targeted for future recipients" with the target date "set at the time of their initial deposit."[56] Given this definition, the 1876 Century Safe and the 1900 Detroit Century Box can be considered predecessors of the Time Capsule. However, the Time Capsule was so inherently different from these proto-capsules that it firmly established the general cultural interpretation of what constituted a "true" time capsule.

The Century Safe, which debuted at the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia, was the first proto-capsule. The Century Safe, directed and donated by Mrs. Charles Diehm, was dedicated to U.S. civil servants. Its target date was the 1976 U.S. Bicentennial at which it was to be opened by the Chief Justice of the United States. When the Safe was finally sealed in 1878, it contained a signature book, a book on temperance, a list of 300,000 government workers and the pens used to sign the enclosed autographs.[57] The focus of the Century Safe was on the individual. Its collection of written sources and its use of a secluded location set a precedent for the Detroit Century Box.

The Century Box was similar in style and scope to the Century Safe. Much like the 1876 Box, this deposit was the brainchild of one person, Detroit Mayor William Maybury. The Box featured letters from Detroit citizens and was sealed in December, 1900 to be opened in January, 2001. In his handwritten letter to the future mayor of Detroit, Maybury mentions the economic and technological progress of the nineteenth century. However, he emphasizes that the "the papers in this box will bring…a correct knowledge of present conditions, and possibly words more or less, prophetic of the future. How correct our prophecies may prove we know not, for we write them with hesitation and doubt, but yet with hopefulness."[58] The Century Box, much like the Century Safe, relied on written sources and was designed to last for 100 years. However, the Box's optimism for the future, as well as information about Detroit in 1900, was an important development that inspired future projects.

While the 1939 Time Capsule incorporated some elements of these two predecessors, its differences signaled a transition to a "new" way of defining a "time capsule". Though the Time Capsule contained written sources (on microfilm) and three personal letters, it emphasized a representative collection of artifacts that reflected almost all facets of life in 1939. The Time Capsule's scope was beyond that of either the Century Safe or Century Box, while also emphasizing institutions, not individuals. As such, the Time Capsule reflected a different set of priorities and resources. While Diehm's Safe sought to honor public service and the Detroit Box emphasized individual conceptions of the future, the Time Capsule was concerned with preserving the present and serving Westinghouse's business priorities. Lastly, the Time Capsule transcended a single lifetime, a single millennium and quite possibly a single civilization. The Time Capsule project's unprecedented nature called into question the function and representation of time in the twentieth century[59].

Understanding the Past, Present and Future through the Time Capsule

Situated in the present, the fair's "World of Tomorrow" bore the marks of the circumstances in which it was produced. It was nearly impossible to envision and demonstrate future change at a venue like the World's Fair, unless it was already feasible within the bounds of current technology and understanding. The future was potentially disconcerting because it had the potential to be completely alien to those living in 1939. Even the changes proposed at the fair were unsettling to fairgoers. When confronted with a display of apple trees growing underneath glass canopies, E.B. White proclaimed "The apple tree of Tomorrow, abloom under its inviolate hood, makes you stop and wonder. How will little boy climb it? Where will the little bird build its nest?"[60] The Time Capsule, with its collection of familiar items, allowed for a projection of the present into the future in such a way that the unknown became reassuring.

The Time Capsule's timespan and internal contents successfully altered the conceptualization of the future which consequently altered the conceptualization of the present.[61] Instead of focusing on potential experiences

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55   Jarvis, *Time Capsules*, 19.

56   Ibid., 13–16,46.

57   "Congress Warming To a Long-Held Gift Of 1876 Mementos," *New York Times*, October 18, 1974, http://search.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimesindex/docview/119968067/abstract/BD50F1AE4374460BPQ/2?accountid=15159.

58   William Maybury, "Letter from William Maybury, December 31, 1900," *Detroit Historical Society Digital Collection*, December 31, 1900, http://detroiths.pastperfect-online.com/33029cgi/mweb.exe?request=field;fldseq=67523.11,12]]}}}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

59   The Crypt of Civilization project, although started before the Time Capsule, is generally considered to come after the Time Capsule because the Time Capsule was sealed in 1938 while the Crypt was sealed in 1940. Jarvis, *Time Capsules*, 7,156.

60   White, *Essays of E.B. White*, 143.

61   For more information on the dichotomy of time and change,

of the future, the Time Capsule asked the present to reflect on itself. The very nature of the Time Capsule suggested that society would advance in a linear fashion, building upon the technological knowledge of the 1930s. However, because 6939 was five millennia removed from 1939, it was safe to suggest that whoever might discover the Time Capsule might live in a world so different from the present that it would not, could not, be comprehensible to the present. The explicit suggestion that the present civilization would collapse, and yet still survive through the Time Capsule, was reassuring in the face of a tumultuous twentieth century.

Thus, through its moderation of time, the Time Capsule redefined how time should be comprehended. Departing from an individually centered conception of time, the Time Capsule asserted that it did not truly matter, in 5,000 years, *who* lived but *how* they lived. If the past could be reconstructed using "things", then the present owed it to the future to demonstrate what life was like in 1939 through objects that could both carry meaning across time and inspire curiosity and fascination. Time was not an abstraction; it was manifest in the material present.

The Time Capsule's lasting effect on the modern understanding of time is demonstrated through the subsequent popular expectation that artifacts serve the role of "time capsules". In 1976, the Century Safe was opened to a muted reception. It provided few insights into how people lived in 1876. However, its opening set off a time capsule craze. As detailed by the *New York Times*, people began burying everything from cars to suits in the ground in the hope of leaving some trace of themselves in the Earth to be recovered at a future date. It is remarkable that, for individuals in 1976, the preservation of their own personal legacy was not their name in a signature book, but, in the case of one person, in their buried Chevrolet.[62]

Additionally, "time capsules" from the nineteenth century (and even the eighteenth) dominate twenty-first century headlines. For the press, it is irrelevant that the capsule discovered in the head of a lion statue at Boston's Old State House or the capsule supposedly left behind by Paul Revere in Boston, are not technically "time capsules". It is irrelevant that they lack a designated opening date or had no instructions on how or where to retrieve them. It is irrelevant that these deposits are probably just modern

examples of the ancient tradition of enclosing within the cornerstone of a building or statue some record of those who built it.[63] By defining a "time capsule", the Westinghouse Time Capsule did not just create a new category of items known as time capsules. Rather, the words "time capsule" became synonymous with a sense of connection to the past. The Time Capsule's lasting legacy was its ability to demonstrate that physical objects could manifest this connection to the past, regardless of the original intentions of their preservation.

The 1939 Westinghouse Time Capsule was the product of the World's Fair and the confluence of different motivations, desires, and concerns that dominated the late 1930s. In a fair that focused on the future, the Time Capsule merged the present and a fascination with the past into a project that went beyond an imagined view of the future and provided a tangible, intentional, contribution to the future itself. The intense competition between corporations in their drive for innovation and progress gave rise to the Time Capsule. Built as a supposedly scientific project designed to preserve life in 1939 for future generations, the Time Capsule was also a celebration of corporate ingenuity and technological innovation. The Time Capsule was designed as a public relation stunt, yet succeeded in ways Westinghouse never intended. Besides helping to reverse Westinghouse's fortunes, the Time Capsule resonated with the public, combining a fascination with archaeology with the worries of the immediate future. Despite the threat of war, the Time Capsule offered hope that not only would material remnants of present survive, but also that civilization might learn from the mistakes of the twentieth century. Thus, in a tumultuous period dominated by corporations and national governments, the nature of the original Time Capsule was the result of its own overarching circumstances. The Time Capsule's effect on the modern understanding of time, the past, and the present's responsibility to the future is still felt today whenever a new "time capsule" is buried in the ground.

and their respective cyclical and linear components see Stephen Jay Gould, *Questioning the Millennium: A Rationalist's Guide to a Precisely Arbitrary Countdown*, Rev. ed (New York: Harmony Books, 1999). As part of Gould's analysis, he explores the role of countdowns and millennia in Western conceptions of time.

62 Benjamin Franklin, "Bicentennial Opens Up New Interest in Time Capsules: Bicentennial Time Capsule a New Rage," *New York Times*, June 21, 1976, http://search.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimesindex/docview/122861797/abstract/CD3780C51E4C4AA3PQ/1?accountid=15159.

63 Jarvis, *Time Capsules*, 86–87.
Susanna Kim, "Why Baltimore Is Hesitant to Open 1915 Time Capsule," *ABC News*, October 30, 2014.
Kevin Conlon, "Paul Revere's 1795 Time Capsule Unearthed," *CNN*, December 12, 2014.
Kiera Blessing, "Old State House Time Capsule Opened; Contents in Fine Condition," *BostonGlobe.com*, October 15, 2014.
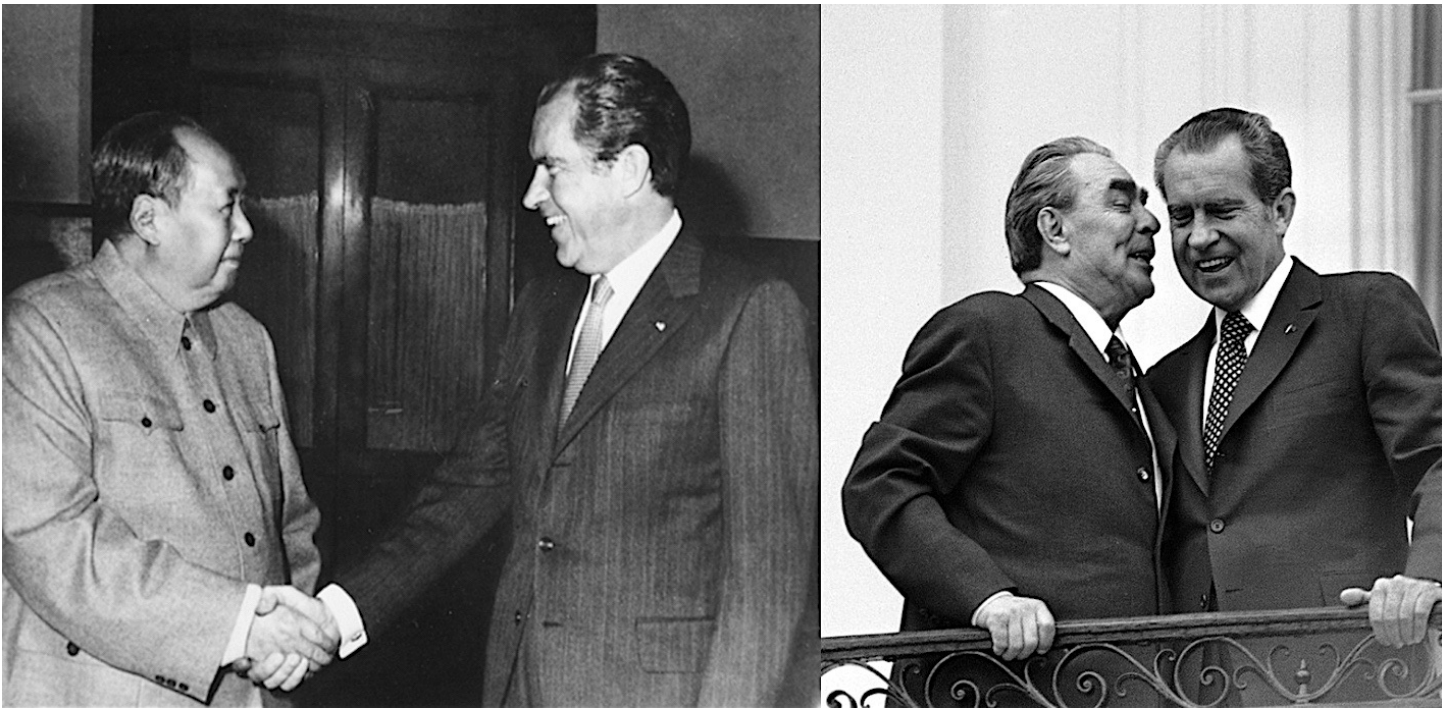
"Synergy in Paradox": Nixon's Policies toward China and the Soviet Union

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When President Richard Nixon announced on July 15, 1971 that he would visit the People's Republic of China (PRC), he staked both his political career and the international reputation of the United States on a belief that a friendship with China was not only desirable but necessary. Given Nixon's desire for détente with the Soviet Union and the depth of hostility between the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties, the very act of opening relations with China engendered a high-stakes diplomatic balancing act on the part of the Nixon administration. Publicly, the President contextualized the policy of rapprochement within the framework of a global peace-building effort. In launching the China initiative, he relied on the shrewdness of his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger. Ultimately, prolonged and frank conversations among Kissinger, Nixon, and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai laid bare the US's strategic rationale for rapprochement. Several predominant Asian security concerns—in particular, the Vietnam War and the issue of Taiwan—dominated talks during Kissinger's October 1971 visit to China and Nixon's February 1972 visit. Nixon indeed desired to move the world toward global peace and the resolution of Cold War tension. Nonetheless, a sense of urgency stemming from security concerns in Asia, which Nixon hoped to resolve as quickly as possible, drove him to embrace China. This will be one of my main contentions and the way in which I shall clarify the existing historiography's somewhat vague conception of the administration's strategic rationale.

Naturally, the broader conflict of the Cold War emerged many times during the talks, as did the two countries' mutual fear of Soviet expansionism. Each side viewed the other as a welcome counterbalance to the Soviet Union, and Nixon undoubtedly considered a Sino-American partnership conducive to an eventual resolution of Cold War tension. Indeed, the Americans actively encouraged China to view the Soviets as a threat. Scholars of rapprochement have thus focused extensively on the role of the USSR in driving the initiative. For them, Nixon and Kissinger wanted to gain leverage over the USSR. I shall not try to refute this claim, but try to argue instead that Nixon and Kissinger intended for the Sino-American partnership to function indirectly as a check on Soviet expansion. The partnership was not an outright balance of power gambit. My archival work suggests that both sides downplayed the Soviet problem in favor of working immediately toward a resolution of tension in Asia, which they believed would counteract Soviet expansionism in the long term.

Therefore, the Sino-American dialogue on the Asian security issues defined the course of rapprochement. Both sides shared the goal of relaxing tension, but they differed drastically on several questions. The American side sought to proceed cautiously, so as not to alienate their traditional allies in East Asia, while the Chinese side wanted more rapid change. In spite of disagreement between the two sides, the

Americans showed great flexibility, particularly with regard to the problem of Taiwan. Nixon and Kissinger, hungry for whatever leverage they could gain in East Asia via a PRC partnership, made bold promises on Taiwan, which they would be unable to deliver on. Amid the negotiations, there emerged a noticeable contrast between American flexibility and Chinese intransigence. The extent of American flexibility was symptomatic of the urgency underlying the initiative, which the current historiography does not emphasize sufficiently. While the moves of rapprochement may have been meticulously calculated, they occurred in an atmosphere of political exigency, given America's declining international status as well as the reelection bid that Nixon faced in 1972. Nixon and Kissinger had gambled far too much political capital on their China policy—and they placed too much hope in its benefits—to allow it to fail. Hence, they offered bold concessions on Taiwan and endured scathing Chinese rebukes of their policy in Indochina.

No analysis of rapprochement is complete if it does not take into account Nixon's other foreign policy initiative: détente. The administration undertook a formidable juggling act by trying to improve relations with China and the Soviet Union simultaneously. Nixon and Kissinger sought repeatedly to ameliorate Soviet suspicion vis-à-vis rapprochement by denying that the policy had military implications and by stressing its bilateral orientation. Nonetheless, while seeking to reassure their Soviet colleagues of their malice-free intentions, they plainly drew on the fledgling relationship with China to encourage diplomatic concessions from Moscow. In their minds, the incentive-based tactics of rapprochement and détente complemented rather than impeded one another. By cultivating better relations with each side than the two sides had with each another—in Kissinger's formulation—the US sought to strengthen its position with respect to both, hence his term "triangular diplomacy." They also weakened the Soviets' position in the US-PRC-USSR triangle by updating China on détente while withholding from the USSR information on rapprochement. Nixon tried, paradoxically, to advance détente by partnering with an enemy of the USSR. This objective factored into his overall rationale for rapprochement.

Ultimately, rapprochement and détente formed a unified whole, which produced unprecedented presidential visits to Beijing and Moscow. Further, these visits occurred within only three months of each other, and they produced concrete diplomatic results in addition to conciliatory rhetoric. The success of détente was, I shall argue, a product and benefit of the success of rapprochement; this important point is absent from the existing literature. Nixon's victory abroad translated into a formidable domestic victory in the 1972 presidential election. In evaluating rapprochement and détente, I shall argue that Nixon and Kissinger adapted their brand of realism—rooted in Kissinger's study of nineteenth-century Europe—to the Cold War with considerable, albeit short-lived, success.

In the years 1971 and 1972, Nixon, Kissinger, and their Chinese counterparts created something without historical precedent: a major diplomatic partnership between America and a Communist country situated in opposition to the Soviet bloc. The partnership entailed neither a formal alliance nor true normalized relations. Nonetheless, each of these things had become a genuine possibility when Nixon returned from his February 1972 negotiations in Beijing. During the course of rapprochement's rapid construction from July 1971 to February 1972, Sino-American discussions revolved around a simple yet profoundly vexing theme: tension in Asia stemming from the Cold War. The highly elastic term "tension," which both sides employed throughout the talks, could mean anything from the cold war between the Soviet Union and China to the very hot war between the US and North Vietnam. The Vietnam War was anathema to both the US's international status and Nixon's chances for reelection. Therefore, it—as I shall argue in the next section—served as the most important immediate stimulus to the administration's pivot toward China, while domestic political turmoil and Nixon's realist political philosophy provided the backdrop to the decision.

When the US and the PRC came together for talks, they faced formidable obstacles to rapprochement, such as Chinese condemnation of the Vietnam War and the US's refusal to end its alliance with Taiwan. However, the two sides shared a strong mutual interest in counteracting the overall state of affairs, no matter how much they differed on the issues. Fortunately, there was one issue on which their interests neatly aligned: the India-Pakistan conflict. Their ability to work together on South Asia allowed them to compromise on the polarizing security problems of Vietnam and Taiwan. Further, their commitment to compromising for the sake of reducing tension in Asia propelled them both toward a mutual long-term goal: the reversal of Soviet influence in Asia-Pacific. Thus, the partnership constituted what I call an indirect entente against Soviet expansion, deriving its strength from the US and China's mutual suspicion of the USSR.

This diplomatic gambit, bold as it was, grew out of political turmoil within the US and a gradual decline in the country's strategic position abroad. During the year leading up to President Nixon's inauguration, America found itself roiled by the stalemate in Indochina, the gold crisis, domestic racial and student unrest, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy.[1] In 1968, more American soldiers died in Vietnam than in any other year of the war.[2] As a result, the polarization between America's "hawks" and "doves" intensified, while Mao Zedong, Chair-

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1   Dominic Sandbrook, "Salesmanship and Substance: The Influence of Domestic Policy and Watergate," in *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977*, ed. Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 85.
2   Schaller, *The United States and China*, 164.

man of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) urged his comrade H Chí Minh, Chairman of the Vietnamese party, to reject President Johnson's request for peace talks. At the same time, the Chinese rebuffed Johnson's request to engage in Sino-American talks.[3] US-PRC rapprochement under Nixon cannot be considered apart from this background of domestic and international crises. Given the easily foreseeable backlash to the policy from the pro-Taiwan Republicans—as well as various Democrats who wanted to be the first to open relations with China—Nixon trod carefully.[4] Specifically, US-PRC relations during the first two years of his presidency consisted in subtle diplomatic overtures—largely through Pakistan—culminating eventually in Kissinger's secret trip to China in July 1971 and an invitation for Nixon to visit Beijing in order to engage in high-level talks with Mao and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai.[5] Nixon brought the same level of caution to the breakthrough's public revelation.

When Nixon informed the nation of his China initiative, he somewhat obscured his underlying motives. He depicted the policy as a step toward world peace rather than as a strategic gambit designed to contain armed conflict as well as Soviet influence in Asia-Pacific. At 7:31 p.m. on July 15, 1971, he appeared live on television and radio to announce his upcoming visit to the PRC. He called the visit "a major development in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the world."[6] From the outset, then, he depicted rapprochement as a farsighted policy designed to help minimize or eliminate Cold War tension and thereby move the world toward equilibrium. In an appeal to common sense, he claimed that, given the sheer size and population of China, the world could simply not hope to achieve a "stable and enduring peace" without China's participation.[7] Above all, he claimed, he and the CCP leaders planned "to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."[8] Therefore, he promised a genuine partnership with China without committing the US to a formal alliance or binding negotiations.

Nixon concluded his speech by delimiting the implications of rapprochement. He claimed that the US would not pursue a relationship with China "at the expense of our old friends" and that the relationship "is not directed against any other nation."[9] In this pair of statements, he anticipated both uproar from the conservative wing of the Republican Party and an intensification of Soviet suspicion and hostility. He concluded by sharing his conviction that "all nations will gain from a reduction of tensions and a better relationship between [the US and China]"; he ended on his hope that future generations would inherit peace as a legacy of rapprochement.[10] Overall, he combined pragmatism and idealism in his effort to sell rapprochement to ordinary Americans. The foreign policy initiative would, according to Nixon, constitute a major step toward the resolution of the Cold War.

If Nixon offered the American citizenry an idealistic, globally minded, and farsighted rationale for rapprochement, his rhetoric morphed from idealism to *Realpolitik* when he spoke privately with foreign leaders, White House bureaucrats, and congressmen. He narrowed the focus of the policy from long-term "peace in the world" to more immediate peace in Asia-Pacific, which he viewed as a necessary step to the eventual goal of world peace. In a January 1972 conversation with Dutch Prime Minister Barend Biesheuvel, US Ambassador to the Netherlands J. William Middendorf, and US Deputy National Security Advisor Alexander Haig, Nixon emphasized China's nuclear capacity and the danger of its becoming a superpower. In his words, "when they become…a nuclear superpower," the US will need "to be in a position that…we can discuss differences and not inevitably have a clash."[11] It is telling that Nixon used the conjunction "when" rather than "if" regarding China's becoming a superpower; for him, China's rise was not likely but inevitable. As he later argued to congressional leaders after his return from China, normalized relations "will reduce the possibility of miscalculation."[12] In his mind, the only alternative to normalized relations consisted in an "an inevitable road of suspicion and miscalculation, which could lead to war."[13]

In these private White House talks, Nixon spoke of his preoccupation with the current state of tension in Asia rather than tension on a global scale. He claimed that no policy of peace "in the Pacific" would succeed "without having the Chinese a part of it."[14] Significantly, this statement closely mirrored a similar one in the July 15 announcement, except he substituted "[peace] in the Pacific" for "peace in

3   Ibid.
4   Michael Schaller, "Détente and the Strategic Triangle Or, "Drinking Your Mao Tai and Having Your Vodka, Too"" in *Re-examining the Cold War: U.S.-China Diplomacy, 1954-1973*, ed. Robert S. Ross and Jiang Changbin (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 372.
5   S. M. Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration, 1971-1989*, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia (New York: Routledge, 2005), 17-41.
6   Richard M. Nixon, "Remarks to the Nation Announcing Acceptance of an Invitation To Visit the People's Republic of China." (address, NBC Studios, Burbank, July 15, 1971), accessed February 21, 2014, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=3079.
7   Ibid.
8   Ibid.

9   Ibid.
10   Ibid.
11   Richard M. Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 656-10 (excerpt 1)*, MP3, Yorba Linda: Nixon Presidential Library & Museum, August 20, 2013.
12   Richard M. Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 92-1 (excerpt 1)*, MP3, Yorba Linda: Nixon Presidential Library & Museum, August 20, 2013.
13   Ibid.
14   Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 656-10 (excerpt 1)*.

the world" and thereby revealed the East Asian rather than global focus of rapprochement. He envisioned not a swift and decisive blow against the international power of the USSR but rather a solid barrier to Soviet influence in Asia-Pacific. Containing Soviet influence there, by way of an entente with China, would, in turn, indirectly contain Soviet expansion elsewhere. This was a subtle form of *Realpolitik* and not—as historian William Bundy claimed— "balance of power diplomacy at its most naked and extreme."[15]

On a more basic level of international security, the entente was designed to prevent the US and the PRC from fighting each other again, as they had in the Korean War. Nixon's realist approach to international relations thoroughly informed this objective. He bluntly stated that, following a direct US encounter with China in Korea and an indirect one in Vietnam, he wanted no further confrontation between American and Chinese soldiers.[16] He even claimed, in his discussion with congressional leaders, that had normal Sino-American relations existed in 1950, the US could have avoided a military encounter with China on the Korean Peninsula.[17] Going into the visit to China, he hoped to discuss with his Chinese counterparts "their role in the Pacific and our role in the Pacific."[18] As he told the leaders of Congress, both the US and the PRC hoped "to build a structure of peace in the Pacific and, going beyond that, in the world."[19] In these White House discussions, Nixon echoed his article "Asia After Viet Nam," which was included in the October 1967 issue of *Foreign Affairs* and which articulated his brand of realism. As he argued at the time, the US "cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations… There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation."[20] Reportedly, Mao read the article in translation and told Zhou that if Nixon were to become president, he might reverse the US's belligerent policy toward China.[21]

If this hierarchy of objectives—that is, peace in Asia-Pacific before global peace—was explicit in Nixon's White House conversations, it was even more explicit in his talks with Zhou Enlai during his February 1972 visit to China. As he told the Chinese Premier, "peace in the Pacific is going to be the key to peace in the world, there being a relative

balance in Europe."[22] Zhou understood and agreed with this sentiment. As he replied to Nixon, since both the US and China "want to make some contribution to the relaxation of tensions in the world, then we should see to it first of all where there is a possibility for relaxation of tensions in the Far East."[23] As he explained, China "is not in the position to look into the possibility of other parts of the world; they are too far away from us."[24] In short, both sides engaged in talks with a view to mitigating Cold War tension in Asia-Pacific rather than in the whole world. As we will see, both sides were eager to gain a partner in their mutual struggle against the Soviet Union, but neither sought direct confrontation. Instead, they hoped to contain Soviet influence by working out among themselves a structure of equilibrium in Asia. Insofar as rapprochement constituted an anti-Soviet entente, it functioned as an indirect rather than direct weapon against Soviet expansion. This structure was a corollary to Nixon's Guam Doctrine, which called for a reduction of US troops in Asia and greater self-reliance on the part of America's allies. If the US were to retrench its military presence in Asia, China could serve as a guarantor against Soviet efforts to fill the void.[25]

Sino-American exchanges, both during Nixon's visit and during the preceding year, suggest that both sides viewed their fledgling partnership as an indirect entente. Early deliberations between the two sides centered on the India-Pakistan conflict, which produced the war of December 1971. As we will see, the Indian subcontinent became a prime example of the indirect entente in action. The conflict served as an important stimulus to the opening of diplomatic talks between the US and China. As mutual friends of Pakistan, the two countries communicated indirectly through Pakistani channels from 1969 to 1971.[26] The success of the Pakistani channel, and Pakistani President Yahya Khan's willingness to vouch for the US, enabled Kissinger to make his short, secret

15   Bundy, *A Tangled Web*, 290.

16   Ibid.

17   Richard M. Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 92-1 (excerpt 1)*.

18   Richard M. Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 656-10 (excerpt 2)*, MP3, Yorba Linda: Nixon Presidential Library & Museum, August 20, 2013.

19   Richard M. Nixon, *Nixon White House Tapes 92-1 (excerpt 2)*, MP3, Yorba Linda: Nixon Presidential Library & Museum, August 20, 2013.

20   Richard M. Nixon, "Asia After Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs* 46, no. 1 (October 1967): 121, accessed January 11, 2015, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/23927/richard-m-nixon/asia-after-viet-nam.

21   Schaller, *The United States and China*, 165.

22   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memorandum of Conversation, 22 February 1972, 2:10-6:10 PM*, ed. William Burr, Nixon's Trip to China (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2003), 30, accessed February 21, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/NZ-1.pdf.

23   Ibid., 20.

24   Ibid.

25   Vitaly Kozyrev, "Soviet Policy Toward the United States and China, 1969-1979," in *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, ed. William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 257-58. See also Robert S. Ross, "U.S. Policy Toward China: The Strategic Context and the Policy-making Process," in *China, the United States, and the Soviet Union: Tripolarity and Policy Making in the Cold War*, ed. Robert S. Ross, Studies on Contemporary China (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), 151.

26   Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 103.

visit to China in July 1971.[27] That visit served primarily as a means for Kissinger and Zhou to become acquainted. They quickly learned how difficult it would be to agree on security issues. For instance, in their first meeting, they spent a considerable amount of time discussing the status of Taiwan without reaching any agreement, beyond Kissinger's willingness to declare that the US "is not advocating a 'two Chinas solution' or a 'one China, one Taiwan' solution."[28] While this visit produced little in the way of consensus, it was nonetheless crucial in the consolidation of formal contact between the two countries. In August 1971, Kissinger secured a permanent and direct channel of communication with China, by way of Chinese ambassador Huang Zhen in Paris.[29]

Given that Pakistan had proved crucial in bringing the two countries together in the first place, Kissinger and Huang preoccupied themselves with the India-Pakistan conflict when they sat down in Paris. Kissinger assured Huang that, although the US would probably be unable to continue supplying military aid to Pakistan—due to the pro-Indian Democratic Party's control of the United States Congress—the US would nonetheless be able and willing to cut off economic aid to India in the event that it pursued military action against Pakistan.[30] He affirmed that the US would not be drawn by India into the political future of East Pakistan. On the contrary, it would allow the Pakistanis to resolve the issue for themselves. Moreover, the US would coordinate the supply of food and emergency aid to East Pakistan "so as to deprive India of any pretext for intervention."[31] Kissinger's brief exposé of US policy on the India-Pakistan conflict confirmed the US's commitment to Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The importance of a firm American commitment on Pakistan stemmed from China's overall isolation; in August 1971, Pakistan was the PRC's only friendly neighbor.[32] As Nixon wrote in his memoir, "If we failed to help Pakistan, then Iran or any other country within the reach of Soviet influence might begin to question the de-

pendability of American support."[33] Nixon quotes Kissinger as having said, "We don't really have any choice. We can't allow a friend of ours and China's to get screwed in a conflict with a friend of Russia's."[34]

Kissinger intimated to Huang that the US would not only tolerate but also support an active Chinese role in the resolution of the conflict. Specifically, he told Huang that, although the US could not supply Pakistan with military aid, "we understand if other friends of Pakistan will give them the equipment they need."[35] He also called for China to exert greater influence over Pakistani policy, because the Pakistani government was, by US reckoning, "honorable but…not very imaginative in psychology and in its political strategy."[36] He urged China to do anything in its power "to encourage [the Pakistani government] to be imaginative so as to make it possible for the return of the refugees to a maximum extent."[37] Implicitly, the US viewed the PRC as reasonably competent in regard to political strategy at the regional international level. In offering official US approval of a more active Chinese role on the Indian subcontinent, Kissinger shrewdly conveyed to the Chinese that the Americans would regard them as equal partners in the arena of international politics. One week after the Indo-Pakistani War broke out in December 1971, he bluntly called for Chinese military assistance to Pakistan.[38] In the process, he betrayed the US's desire for China to do what the US plainly could not. Overall, in advocating a greater Chinese role in the India-Pakistan conflict, Kissinger designated the Indian subcontinent as the first theater of the US and China's new indirect entente. Protecting Pakistan from the USSR's friend India was tantamount, in Nixon and Kissinger's mind, to averting a stronger Soviet foothold in Asia. The logic of the indirect entente had come forcefully into play.

The idea of an indirect coalition against Soviet expansionism was not merely implicit in the Sino-American exchanges. The two sides would discuss explicitly and at length the threat of the Soviet Union. Shortly before arriving in China, Nixon wrote himself a note asking, "How can we work together?" Under that heading, the first item he penned was: "Your opponents are ours."[39] In another note,

27 Ibid.

28 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, 9 July 1971, 4:35-11:20 PM, Top Secret / Sensitive / Exclusively Eyes Only, with Cover Memo by Lord, 29 July 1971*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 15, accessed February 22, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-34.pdf.

29 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memo from Lord to Kissinger, 19 August 1971, Enclosing Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Zhen Meeting, 16 August 1971, PRC Embassy Paris, 9:05-10:45 AM*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 7-8, accessed February 22, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc4.pdf.

30 Ibid., 8.

31 Ibid.

32 MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, xx.

33 Richard M. Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), 527.

34 Ibid.

35 *Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Zhen Meeting, 16 August 1971*, 7-8.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 8.

38 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Lord to Kissinger, 15 December 1971, Enclosing Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Hua Meeting, 10 December 1971, Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 15, accessed February 24, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc23.pdf.

39 Nixon Presidential Materials, White House Special Files,

he declared that the US and China needed to work together to "Maintain [a] balance of power" and "Restrain [Soviet] expansion."[40] Kissinger, to strengthen the Chinese leaders' impression of American confidence in them, informed Huang of the US's willingness to cooperate on the problem of Soviet expansion. He promised in Paris to keep Huang thoroughly informed of any and all developments in Soviet-American relations.[41] To prove his sincerity, he listed in detail the provisions of a recent Soviet-American agreement on protocols for the avoidance of accidental war and promised that the US would sign an identical agreement with the PRC if it so desired.[42] While he was committing himself to providing China with information on the Soviets, he had recently denied—or so he told Huang—a Soviet request for information on China.[43] When writing to President Nixon about the meeting with Huang, Kissinger explicitly stated his motivation in giving the Chinese information about the USSR. By "keeping the Chinese informed on all significant subjects of concern to them," the US was giving the PRC "an additional stake in nurturing our new relationship."[44] In other words, he sought to foster Chinese cooperation by rewarding China with intelligence on the Soviet Union. His willingness to do so gives some indication of the sense of urgency driving rapprochement. Kissinger presumably knew that sharing Soviet secrets with the Chinese could have sour repercussions for Soviet-American relations. However, those repercussions were outweighed in his mind by potential gains from the US's partnership with China, which he sought to consolidate as quickly as possible without upsetting traditional alliances held by the US in Asia.

Kissinger would persist in the tactic of sharing Soviet information throughout the course of rapprochement. By the time of Nixon's visit, he would in fact be delivering to high-ranking PRC military officials a detailed report of Soviet forces arrayed along the Sino-Soviet border.[45] His conversation with Huang embodied a more general strategy of fostering Chinese suspicion of the Soviet Union. As he declared to Huang, the Soviets wanted to convey to the world "that they can outmaneuver the People's Republic of China by seeming to come much closer to us because they can offer us much more"; he assured Huang that the US would not be fooled by the Soviets' advances.[46] Nonetheless, in depicting Soviet strategy in that manner, Kissinger plainly exploited the PRC's already great suspicion of the Soviet Union. As he told Zhou Enlai in October 1971, he believed that the USSR had come fairly easily to an agreement with the US, Britain, and France on Berlin in the preceding month because it "has a great desire to free itself in Europe so that it can concentrate on other areas."[47] The implication was clear: The Soviets were shifting their gaze eastward. When Nixon arrived in China, he assured Zhou that "the US would oppose any attempt by the Soviet Union to engage in an aggressive action against China."[48] Zhou, for his part, did not feign indifference to the threat of Soviet expansion in East Asia. For instance, he argued to Kissinger that China could not convey to the world a desire to lessen its role in Vietnam, for doing so would only invite the Soviets to "stick their hands into [Indochina]."[49]

Because Nixon and Kissinger sought to foster Chinese suspicion of the Soviet Union, one could infer that Nixon's rationale for rapprochement consisted primarily in constructing a Sino-American alliance directed against the USSR. However, subsequent talks between Kissinger and Zhou epitomized the true goal of the initiative: to work toward the resolution of security issues in Asia and thereby counteract Soviet expansionism indirectly. Implicit in Nixon's focus on peace in the Pacific was a notion that continued tension in Asia would allow the USSR to gain more and more influence in the Pacific and thus the world as a whole. The Chinese, for their part, also envisioned rapprochement

President's Personal Files, Box 7, Folder "China Notes," February 21, 1972, quoted in Goh, *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China*, 172.

40   "China Notes," February 22, 1972, quoted in Xia, *Negotiating with the Enemy*, 203.

41   *Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Zhen Meeting, 16 August 1971*, 4.

42   Ibid.

43   Ibid.

44   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Kissinger to Nixon, "My August 16 Meeting with the Chinese Ambassador in Paris," 16 August 1971*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 4, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc2.pdf.

45   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memorandum of Conversation, 23 February 1972, 9:35-12:34 PM* (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2003), 5, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/NZ-4.pdf.

46   *Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Zhen Meeting, 16 August 1971,* 6.

47   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Korea, Japan, South Asia, Soviet Union, Arms Control," 22 October 1971, 4:15-8:28 PM Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 33, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc13.pdf.

48   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memorandum of Conversation, 23 February 1972, 2:00-6:00 PM*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2003), 21, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/NZ-2.pdf.

49   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Communique, Prisoners, Announcements of Trips, Technical Matters," 26 October 1971, 5:30-8:10 PM Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 18, accessed February 24, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc19.pdf.

as a means of reducing tension in Asia-Pacific to counteract Soviet influence. As we saw earlier, Zhou bluntly told Nixon that the PRC was "not in the position to look into… other parts of the world."[50] Hence, the PRC did not seek to become the US's partner in resolving conflicts and tension throughout the whole world. Both sides wanted to focus on Asia and avert Soviet influence there via their partnership.

The Sino-American talks on East Asian security issues underscored the way in which Nixon and Kissinger envisioned the indirect entente operating as a guarantor of stability in Asia. Two issues came to the fore: Vietnam and Taiwan. Because the Vietnam War was undermining both America's international status and Nixon's political survival, the President came to China determined to receive Chinese help in negotiating an end to the war. The Chinese, on the other hand, wanted the war to cease because they viewed it as an opportunity for the Soviets to gain more influence in Asia. In return for Chinese help in Vietnam, Nixon was willing to offer significant concessions on Taiwan, which the PRC sought to incorporate into a political union with the Chinese mainland. Given the delicate situation stemming from the Taiwan lobby in US politics, Nixon knew that he could not go too far in his formal—that is, publically proclaimed—promises on this issue. He could not raise doubts over American commitment to the island's independence. Nonetheless, he strongly insinuated to Mao that he would reorient, in a covert manner, US policy toward reunification between Taiwan and the mainland.

Overall, Vietnam and Taiwan constituted the two most important issues at stake because they were, in the eyes of both parties, major sources of tension and major obstacles to their purpose of banding together to impose a check on Soviet expansion. The US's ongoing alliances with anticommunist countries in Asia-Pacific served to complicate the talks. In particular, China's fear of Japanese military expansion and its dissatisfaction with the status quo in Korea factored significantly into the negotiations. The Chinese, in occasionally rebuking their American interlocutors for past and present US policies in Taiwan, Vietnam, and elsewhere, revealed the more intransigent, dogmatic perspective that they brought to the negotiations. The Americans' toleration of these rebukes revealed their dogged determination to see the talks through to a successful end, even at the cost of indulging the CCP leaders' prides.

In October 1971, Kissinger visited China for the second time. In contrast to his previous visit, he and Zhou worked diligently to produce a list of security resolutions that the Chinese and Americans could agree upon; they drafted a preliminary version of what later became known as the Shanghai Communiqué. Scholars have depicted the drafting of the communiqué as the major crucible of rapprochement.[51] Both sides knew that they would never reach full agreement on the issues at hand, but each side needed to state its own position in words acceptable to the other side. If they failed in this task, they would fail to create a lasting partnership. The Kissinger-Zhou talks and the communiqué centered on six major security issues, which Zhou listed as the most important obstacles to stability in Asia: Taiwan's status, the ongoing war in Indochina, the potential for a renewed conflict on the Korean Peninsula, the revitalization of Japan, the India-Pakistan conflict, and the growth of the Soviet military threat.[52] Zhou described Taiwan's status as "the crucial issue with regard to the seeking of normalization [of relations] between…China and the US"; on the other hand, he called the war in Indochina "the most urgent issue to be resolved to relax tension in the Far East."[53] Here, Zhou laid out the trajectory for the exchanges.

This conversation of October 20, 1971—the first of Kissinger's second visit to China—did more than enumerate the issues. It also hinted at what the US feared regarding the international repercussions of rapprochement. As Kissinger stated, "it would be shortsighted if either side tried to use this normalization to end alliances on the other side"; he explained to Zhou that, if either side pursued such a policy, "everyone will…withdraw back into the rigidity that we are attempting to escape."[54] In short, he promised that the US would not disrupt China's relationships with its traditional allies, and he implicitly urged China not to disrupt the US's relationships with its allies. Zhou immediately discerned the underlying implication of Kissinger's statement. Although the American claimed that he was not speaking of Taiwan, Zhou bluntly replied, "I thought you were trying to bring in subtly the question of Taiwan."[55] This conversation embodied a general theme in the Sino-American dialogue: American cautiousness versus the Chinese desire for radical change. The US, as Nixon had suggested in his televised announcement from July 15, 1971, did not want to abandon its long held alliances with various anticommunist clients in Asia, among them Taiwan and South Vietnam. The Chinese,

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50   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memorandum of Conversation, 22 February 1972, 2:10-6:10 PM*, ed. William Burr, Nixon's Trip to China (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2003), 20, accessed February 21, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/NZ-1.pdf.

51   See, for example, MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, 303.

52   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Opening Statements, Agenda, and President's Visit," 20 October 1971, 4:40-7:10 PM Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 15-6, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc10.pdf.

53   Ibid., 15.

54   Ibid, 25.

55   Ibid., 26.

however, feared that the US, in maintaining those alliances, was avoiding a firm commitment to the new partnership. As Zhou insisted, in order for rapprochement to succeed, the Americans needed to accept changes in international politics. He asked Kissinger rhetorically, "If all of the old relations remained unchanged, how can we say we are welcoming in a new era?"[56] Implicitly, if the US wanted Chinese help in negotiating a settlement with North Vietnam, then the US had better be willing to help China reclaim Taiwan and avert the potential threat of Japan.

Zhou only grew more and more firm on this point as his conversations with Kissinger progressed. Tension stemming from old alliances reached its apogee on October 24, the day on which the two men began debating in greater detail the content of their communiqué. Zhou chastised Kissinger for clinging to anticommunist regimes in East Asia. As he said, "there will be no hope of easing tension" so long as the US supports such regimes because they "want to oppress the people where they are and expand to other regions."[57] Zhou then posed a question: "shall this generation of peace be based on hopes for the future or on [America's] old friends? This is a fundamental difference between us."[58] Kissinger, in responding to Zhou's criticism, spoke with greater firmness than was his custom. The tone of his response signaled that the urgency of the American initiative in China was tempered by the Americans' caution vis-à-vis the delicacy of traditional alliances. As Kissinger stated, "it is not acceptable for us to be told that we must give up immediately all old friends."[59] He clarified that the US "does not give [its clients] a veto over our policies, and we will not maintain them against the forces of history."[60] Here, Kissinger ironically drew on Marxist rhetoric in formulating a retort to Zhou. While the US would not "maintain [its clients] against the forces of history"—that is, it would not keep them in power if democratic forces overthrew them—it would also not abandon them at China's behest.

When the subject of old friends had arisen, Kissinger slipped in a request for help in dealing with North Vietnam and North Korea. In the process, he betrayed the exigency underlying the American initiative in China. He implored Zhou to provide the PRC's friends with "some personal advice…at least with respect to your judgment of our sincerity."[61] For Nixon, who faced an imminent bid for reelection as President, Chinese assistance in Vietnam dominated his diplomatic wish list. In a personal note to himself that echoed a conversation between Kissinger and Zhou, he listed the two issues upon which rapprochement would hinge: "1. Taiwan–most <u>crucial</u> 2. V. Nam–most <u>urgent</u>."[62] In another handwritten note, he clarified the implication of labeling Taiwan "most crucial" and Vietnam "most urgent":

> *Taiwan = Vietnam = trade off*
> 1. Your people expect action on Taiwan.
> 2. Our people expect action on Vietnam.
>   Neither can act immediately—But both are inevitable—Let us not embarrass each other.[63]

On the occasion of Kissinger's first visit to China in July 1971, he had introduced the idea of this bargain. As Kissinger told Zhou, "two-thirds of [American] forces in Taiwan [are] linked to the war [in Vietnam] and their removal would depend on an end of the conflict."[64] He also stated, "an end to the war would accelerate the improvement in our relationship."[65] Implicitly, the sooner China delivered assistance in Vietnam, the sooner the US would commit itself to averting Soviet aggression against China and to pursuing action on Taiwan. Nixon himself expressed to Zhou his wish for such assistance on the second day of his visit to China. Although he did not expect help from the PRC, he said, "we of course would welcome any moves, any influence to get negotiations [with North Vietnam]."[66] Prior to the meeting, Nixon had scrawled onto a memorandum from Kissinger four of his own reasons that he could supply to the Chinese as to why they should cooperate:

1. Helps on Taiwan troop removal
2. Reduces Soviet hand there
3. Reduces irritant to our relations
4. Gets us out–gives them [the Vietnamese Communists] a fair chance.[67]

The Americans' requests with respect to Vietnam betrayed

56   Ibid.
57   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "General Philosophy and Principles, Communique," 24 October 1971, 10:28-1:55 PM Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 8, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc15.pdf.
58   Ibid., 10.
59   Ibid, 15.
60   Ibid.
61   Ibid., 16.

62   "China Notes," February 15, 1972, quoted in MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, 262.
63   "China Notes," February 23, 1972, quoted in Xia, *Negotiating with the Enemy*, 198.
64   United States of America, White House, Executive Office of the President, *My Talks with Chou En-lai*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 14, accessed January 11, 2015, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-40.pdf.
65   Ibid.
66   *Memorandum of Conversation, 22 February 1972, 2:10-6:10 PM*, 27.
67   *Memorandum from Henry A. Kissinger to the President*, February 8, 1972, Indochina, p. 4: Briefing Papers for the China Trip, Briefing Book V, NPM, National Security Council Files, For the President's Files (Winston Lord) China/Vietnam Negotiations, Box 847, quoted in MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, 264.

the uncomfortable position in which they found themselves. They sought to maintain alliances with anticommunist clients, while persuading communist states in the region to accept a negotiated peace. Hence, they longed for the leverage over North Vietnam that a friendship with the PRC could provide, but they faced the obstacle of Chinese resentment of their traditional allies, above all Taiwan.

Firm though Kissinger may have been when Zhou brought up the problem of the US's "old friends," Kissinger and Nixon knew that they would not succeed without providing major concessions to the Chinese. Fully aware of China's fear of Japan, Kissinger promised that the US would oppose Japan's nuclear rearmament, limit its traditional rearmament, and "oppose the extension of Japanese military power to Taiwan, Korea, and elsewhere."[68] Nixon, en route to China, pondered the issue of Japan and how to explain to Zhou Japan's inclusion under the United States' nuclear umbrella. In his notes, he wrote:

Best to provide nuclear shield–
1. To keep Japan from building its own.
2. To have influence for U.S.
We oppose Japan "stretching out its hands" to Korea, Taiwan, Indochina.[69]

Nixon closely reproduced this line of argument in his actual conversation with Zhou.[70]

On the problem of Korea, Kissinger expressed a desire that the US and China work together to maintain stability on the peninsula. He stated that American recognition of North Korea could be adopted as "an objective but not as an immediate policy" and that the US government was "studying" the problem of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK).[71] Zhou bluntly told Nixon on February 23 that China wished to see UNCURK abolished.[72] Regarding the upcoming election of the United Nations Secretary General, Kissinger stated that, if China objected to any particular candidate and informed the US of its objection, "we will take it very seriously into account."[73] Though Nixon and Kissinger sought Chinese help in the failing Vietnam peace negotiations, they refused to step down in Indochina so long as North Vietnam remained obstinate. As Kissinger informed Zhou, "we have

made our last offer [to Hanoi]. We cannot go further than we have gone…it is they who owe us an answer."[74] Nonetheless, the fact of an American request for Chinese assistance marked a mild form of concession. In asking for whatever help the PRC was willing to provide, the Americans had acknowledged China's strong influence over Southeast Asia.

During both the Kissinger visit of October 1971 and the Nixon-Kissinger visit of February 1972, the issue of Taiwan pervaded discussions. Therefore, much of the remainder of this section will focus on how and why the US and China struggled to formulate mutually agreeable positions on Taiwan's status and America's military presence on the island. Failure to reach any concrete agreement would have resulted in rapprochement's collapse. All that the two sides had hoped to gain from the initiative would have rapidly disappeared, and the Soviets would thus have gained greater freedom—according to Nixon and Kissinger's reasoning—to intensify their presence in Asia. Therefore, the Americans did their utmost to satisfy the Chinese on Taiwan. Zhou regarded the island's status as the issue with the most serious implications for the normalization of Sino-American relations. Though he claimed that the PRC could wait a few years for a solution, he bluntly told Kissinger, "If it is not solved, there is no possibility of the normalization of relations [between the US and China]."[75] Recognizing the importance of satisfying the PRC on this issue, Nixon promised through Kissinger to withdraw a large contingent of American forces from Taiwan after the peaceful resolution of the Vietnam War. He also promised to reduce the remaining forces progressively over a longer period of time; withdrawal would accelerate, he claimed, if the improvement of Sino-American relations proceeded apace.[76] Thus, Nixon shrewdly encouraged Chinese help in negotiating a settlement with North Vietnam. Regarding the actual status of Taiwan, Kissinger told Zhou that the US would attempt "to encourage a solution within a framework of one China and by peaceful means."[77] Finally, because Zhou greatly feared a Taiwanese-Japanese military alliance directed against China, Kissinger assured him that the US would oppose Japanese military forces on Taiwan and Japanese support for Taiwanese independence.[78]

The trouble for Nixon and Kissinger lay in proving the sincerity of their promises. As both men told Zhou, they could not afford to alienate the staunchly pro-Taiwan conservative wing of the Republican Party, particularly when Nixon faced the challenge of a new presidential election

68 *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Korea, Japan, South Asia, Soviet Union, Arms Control," 22 October 1971, 4:15-8:28 PM*, 25.

69 "China Notes," February 16, 1972, quoted in Xia, *Negotiating with the Enemy*, 205.

70 *Memorandum of Conversation, 23 February 1972, 2:00-6:00*, 18.

71 *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Korea, Japan, South Asia, Soviet Union, Arms Control,"* 12-3.

72 *Memorandum of Conversation, 23 February 1972, 2:00-6:00*, 17.

73 *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Korea, Japan, South Asia, Soviet Union, Arms Control,"* 18.

74 Ibid., 14.

75 *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "General Philosophy and Principles, Communique," 24 October 1971, 10:28-1:55 PM*, 16.

76 *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "UN and Indochina," 4:42-7:17 PM*, 13, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc12.pdf.

77 Ibid., 28.

78 Ibid., 20.

the following autumn.[79] As Nixon told Zhou, "The problem here, Mr. Prime Minister, is not in what we are going to do…[but] what we are going to say about it...my record shows I always do more than I can say."[80] He expressed the same sentiment to Mao during their sit-down: "You will find I never say something I cannot do. And I will always do more than I can say."[81] Regarding the formulation of the Taiwan issue in the communiqué, Nixon warned Zhou, "what we say here may make it impossible for me to deliver on what I can do."[82] In short, Nixon staked the entire negotiation process on Zhou's willingness to believe in his sincerity.

The formulation that appeared in the final communiqué reflected Nixon's caution. The Americans went no further than acknowledging, "all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China"; the US, the authors continued, "does not challenge that position" and it "reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves."[83] The authors did in fact commit the US to the withdrawal plan outlined by Kissinger to Zhou.[84] Overall, without major concessions on Taiwan, Nixon could not have hoped to bring rapprochement to fruition. Unfortunately for the Chinese and in spite of Nixon's reassurances, the President had promised more than he could deliver on. He would be unable to achieve withdrawal, much less provide a plan for the reunification of China and Taiwan, before resigning from the presidency on August 9, 1974.[85] Given how much effort he invested in China during his first term, he likely would have done everything in his power to consolidate rapprochement had his second term been fulfilled.

Also, given how much political capital Nixon had invested in China, a deep sense of urgency and a genuine hope for the success of rapprochement impelled his promises. That same combination of urgency and hope led the Americans to endure the other side's insults and ambivalent attitude toward the negotiations. Throughout the course of the discussions, the Americans struggled against the ide-

ology and skepticism of the CCP leaders, who remained embroiled in the tension, uncertainty, and factional rivalries unleashed by Mao's Cultural Revolution.[86] In fact, two prominent cliques surrounding Vice Chairman Lin Biao and Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, actively sought to undermine Zhou's standing in the Party and oppose rapprochement; thanks to Mao's support for Zhou, these cliques failed to alter the course of rapprochement in any significant way.[87] Mao's strategic commitment to a "horizontal line" of defense against the Soviet Union—stretching from the Far East through Europe and to the United States—ultimately prevailed over opposition within the Party.[88] Nonetheless, the Americans still needed to overcome a fair amount of suspicion from Mao and Zhou themselves. As we have seen, Nixon and Kissinger both stressed that they would be able to do more about Taiwan than they could say in the Shanghai Communiqué, and Kissinger had promised that the US would not "maintain [its anticommunist allies] against the forces of history."[89]

While the Americans offered these subtle gestures of concession and withheld explicit criticism of Chinese policy in East Asia, the Chinese rebuked the Americans over Vietnam. Zhou refused to respond directly either way when Nixon and Kissinger asked for whatever aid China could provide in negotiating a peace with North Vietnam.[90] Additionally, Zhou severely berated the American Deputy National Security Advisor Alexander Haig—who had personally commanded an American battalion in Vietnam—when Haig visited China a month before Nixon's arrival. The recent intensification of US bombing in Vietnam had, Zhou said, "increased the Soviet influence and tension in this area."[91] Zhou grew even more confrontational on his second day of conversations with Haig: "The self-justification by the United States is utterly untenable…your excuses will not carry

79   *Memorandum of Conversation, 22 February 1972, 2:10-6:10 PM*, 6.

80   Ibid., 6.

81   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Richard Nixon and Mao Zedong "Memorandum of Conversation," February 21, 1972, 2:50-3:55 PM*, ed. Ada Tseng and Melody Yuan (Los Angeles: USC US-China Institute, 2012), 9, accessed February 27, 2014, US-China Relations.

82   Ibid.

83   United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Joint Statement Following Discussions With Leaders of the People's Republic of China* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2010), accessed February 23, 2014, http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v17/d203.

84   Ibid.

85   MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, 337.

86   Jie Li, "China's Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979," in *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, ed. William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 56.

87   Ibid., 61-63.

88   Zhongchun Wang, "The Soviet Factor in Sino-America Normalization, 1969-1979," in *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, ed. William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 156.

89   *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "General Philosophy and Principles, Communique,"* 15.

90   *Memorandum of Conversation, 22 February 1972, 2:10-6:10 PM*, 27.

91   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Haig and Zhou, 3 January 1972, Midnight, Great Hall of the People, Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 14, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc24.pdf.

over with the people of the world"; moreover, he explained to Haig that the PRC would be satisfied only by a complete American withdrawal from Indochina.[92] He had intimated this demand to Kissinger in a biting tone back in October: If the US failed to negotiate a final withdrawal date, he said, "It will be detrimental to the President's visit to China."[93] Zhou's sense of indignant self-righteousness would be compounded by his later threat regarding the Taiwan issue: "If it is not solved, there is no possibility of the normalization of relations."[94] Zhou openly expressed his ambivalence toward the negotiations when he stated to American reporters that everything would be fine whether or not rapprochement succeeded.[95] After hearing this statement, Kissinger told Zhou, "We do not agree fully because we think it is in the interest of humanity for [rapprochement] to succeed. But our interest must be mutual."[96] Zhou replied, "I did not say it would be good or fine if it failed… You have to be prepared for [failure]."[97] Overall, this brief exchange captured the conflict between the American leaders' ardent desire to realize the partnership and the Chinese leaders' skepticism of it. This skepticism likely intensified the Americans' effort to prove their sincerity, in part by tolerating harsh criticism.

No one exemplified Chinese ambivalence toward rapprochement more than Mao. His attitude indicated that rapprochement was hardly a foregone conclusion; rather, its success depended fully upon the lengths to which Nixon was willing to go in making promises on Taiwan. This was especially true given that Zhou, the major Chinese architect of rapprochement, was unwavering in his loyalty to Mao.[98] The Chairman expressed disdain for Nixon in his private discussions with Zhou. For him, the Americans needed the Sino-American partnership more badly than did the Chinese—presumably because of the declining American position amid the turmoil of Vietnam—and he thus exercised less diplomatic restraint than his Premier; Zhou was always the far more tactful diplomat. When Zhou relayed Nixon's concern about pro-Taiwan forces in the US Congress, Mao scoffed, "Nixon can't even be the leader of the US. How can

he talk about being a world leader?"[99] Further, Mao fully endorsed Zhou's verbal attack on Alexander Haig. After Zhou presented Mao with a draft of his response to Haig, Mao said, "Good. I think we can tell him this…the worst thing that could happen would be that the visit is cancelled… In my opinion, in a few years [Nixon] will come after all."[100]

In short, Mao simply did not care if the Americans, alienated by insults and remonstrations, terminated negotiations with the PRC. He viewed them as too vulnerable to abandon the negotiations. His attitude contradicted Kissinger's assessment, in a letter to Nixon, that the Chinese side "needs the visit as much as we do."[101] In general, Mao refused to yield on the PRC's commitment to world revolution. His influence on the Chinese statement in the final Shanghai Communiqué reflected this ideological rigidity. Zhou, in a meeting with Kissinger, had offered to temper the Marxist language of the Chinese section by changing the phrase "the people want revolution" to "the people want progress"; Kissinger instantly acceded to this revision, seemingly with relief.[102] Nonetheless, Mao later commanded Zhou to undo the revision: "Revolution is exactly what [the Americans] fear. The more they fear it, the more we need to mention it."[103] In the end, Mao's wish prevailed. The Chinese section of the final communiqué, which the US and the PRC jointly proclaimed to the world, declared, "Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance…the people want revolution."[104] The Americans, having gambled such an extraordinary amount of political capital on China, endured the Marxist dogma. They did their best to satisfy the Chinese on Taiwan and the language of the communiqué; in the process, they betrayed the urgency of their need for a diplomatic victory in China.

92   United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Haig and Zhou, 7 January 1972, 11:45 PM, Great Hall of the People, Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 3-10, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc25.pdf.

93   *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "UN and Indochina," 4:42-7:17 PM*, 11.

94   *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "General Philosophy and Principles, Communique," 24 October 1971, 10:28-1:55 PM*, 22.

95   Ibid., 20.

96   Ibid.

97   Ibid.

98   Li, "China's Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979," 61.

99   People's Republic of China, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic History Institute, *Haig's Preparatory Mission for Nixon's Visit to China in January 1972*, trans. Zhao Han, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 8, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc26.pdf.

100 Ibid.

101 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Kissinger to Nixon, "My October China Visit: Discussions of the Issues," 11 November [1971] Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, by Henry A. Kissinger, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 13, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc20.pdf.

102 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, "Communique," 25 October 1971, 9:50-11:40 PM, Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 8-9, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc18.pdf.

103 *Haig's Preparatory Mission for Nixon's Visit to China in January 1972*, 8.

104 *Joint Statement Following Discussions With Leaders of the People's Republic of China*, 2.

Overall, rapprochement emanated from hardheaded realism. The policy rested on Nixon's conviction that peace in the Pacific would be the necessary first step toward peace in the world. The PRC, as the world's most populous nation and a future nuclear power, played an indispensable role in this vision. The Sino-Soviet split and China's subsequent international isolation, as well as the mutual friendship with Pakistan, had laid the basis for contact. Nixon and Kissinger believed that they could convince the Chinese of rapprochement's potential benefit for the PRC, specifically a chance to gain concessions on Taiwan. For both the Americans and the Chinese, rapprochement provided a new partner in the global struggle against the Soviet Union, though neither side viewed the policy as an offensive gambit against the USSR. Instead of tackling the Soviet problem directly, the US and the PRC hoped to work immediately to resolve tension in Asia-Pacific. This resolution of tension would, they believed, contain Soviet expansionism in the long term. Further, the US sought with great urgency to establish Sino-American relations in order to gain an advantage in extricating itself from Vietnam. Hence, Nixon flew 7,000 miles to broker a deal with the CCP leadership.

Given the significance of the USSR in Sino-American discussions—as we have seen—and the significance of China in Soviet-American discussions—as we will see soon—neither rapprochement nor détente can be viewed in isolation from the other. On the contrary, détente factored indispensably into the strategic rationale for rapprochement; one could also say the reverse. Though Nixon and Kissinger intentionally aroused Soviet fear via their pivot toward China, they counted on that fear to accelerate the progress of Soviet-American talks on nuclear arms control and various other issues. Both rapprochement and détente were chock-full of paradoxes, as was the fact of their simultaneity. The former entailed the US's moving toward China while staying close to "old friends" whom China regarded as deadly enemies. Détente involved bilateral negotiations with a rival superpower that Nixon wished to contain. The US needed to convey to China that, although it was pursuing negotiations with the USSR, it was serious about the Sino-American partnership. It likewise needed to convey to the Soviet Union that, although it was pursuing a Sino-American partnership, it was serious about pursuing SALT and other bilateral negotiations. The remainder of this essay will explain how and why the Nixon administration walked this diplomatic tightrope as well as assess the efficacy of its performance.

Although the progress of rapprochement in 1971 and 1972—from Kissinger's visit in July to Nixon's visit the following February—represented a great diplomatic achievement for the administration, it also threatened the viability of détente. I shall argue that Nixon not only made rapprochement compatible with détente but also drew on the former to energize the latter. To this end, I shall discuss the American effort to assuage Soviet suspicion over rap-

prochement, which did not stop Nixon and Kissinger from occasionally playing the "China card" in their discussions with Soviet leaders.[105] They further undermined the USSR's bargaining position within the US-PRC-USSR triangle by creating an asymmetry of information between the PRC and the USSR. In short, they told the Chinese more about détente than they told the Soviets about rapprochement. Even so, they needed to continuously declare to the Chinese that they valued rapprochement over détente. When Nixon became president in 1969, he had already visited the USSR and spoken with Soviet leaders on three separate occasions, once as Vice President and twice as a private citizen. On the basis of this experience, he believed that—while the Soviet Union had largely closed the gap between the two superpowers' military arsenals—the US remained in a strong bargaining position vis-à-vis the Soviets, if only the two could be brought to negotiate with one another on major issues.[106]

After July 15, 1971—the date on which he announced his China trip—the difficulty for him consisted in reconciling Sino-American negotiations with Soviet-American ones. The announcement could have been fraught with fatal implications for détente. After all, hostility between the two Communist powers, rooted in their ideological dispute and diplomatic rupture in the early 1960s, ran deep. It started as a series of rhetorical attacks during the time of Nikita Khrushchev's leadership in Moscow. Each country considered the other to be "revisionist" or not truly Marxist-Leninist. What had begun as merely a rhetorical battle eventually became a physical one. Chinese and Soviet military units patrolling the border between the two countries sporadically attacked one another from March to September 1969 before the two sides negotiated a truce.[107] Lingering hostility nonetheless posed an obstacle to Nixon's effort to improve relations with both countries simultaneously.

Moreover, just as there was disagreement within the Chinese Politburo over the merits of rapprochement, there was also disagreement within the Soviet Politburo over détente. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), found himself defending the policy before his colleagues at the 24th Soviet Party Congress on March 30, 1971 and a CPSU Central Committee meeting on May 19, 1972. During the latter, he argued that détente was the best means for the USSR to circumvent the threat of Sino-American rapprochement.[108] This assertion by Brezhnev encapsulates the overall argument of this section: Nixon and Kissinger, in pursuing the China initiative,

105 Kissinger used the term "China card" as shorthand for the leverage that China conferred on the US in its dealings with the Soviet Union, and historians have adopted the term. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 763; MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao*, 338.

106 Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation*, 29.

107 Ibid., 228.

108 Vitaly Kozyrev, "Soviet Policy Toward the United States and China, 1969-1979," 264.

provided an enormous incentive for the Soviets to quicken the pace of détente. As we will see, the prospect of greater Soviet-American trade and of a European security conference, which would guarantee the USSR's hold on Eastern Europe, served as positive incentives or carrots that balanced out the prospective stick of a Sino-American alliance. The Soviets' response to this maneuvering proved to be one of the greatest political dividends of rapprochement. They did indeed quicken the pace of détente after Nixon announced his China trip, thereby playing directly into Nixon and Kissinger's game of *Realpolitik*. Though the Soviets were more or less following a path laid out for them by the Americans, the logic was sound on their end. After all, if mutual fear and suspicion between the US and USSR could be drastically reduced, the US would have much less of an incentive to develop its partnership with China. The Americans skillfully manipulated the Soviets into trying to manipulate US policy according to this logic. In short, the success of the Moscow summit in May 1972 constituted one of the major political victories of the Nixon administration and one of the most tangible payoffs of rapprochement, though not the only one. While the Soviets accelerated détente, the Chinese exerted some influence on North Vietnam to pursue peace negotiations with the US. This phenomenon will be included in my discussion of triangular diplomacy's successful results.

In order to for this whole ploy to work, the Nixon administration had to prevent Moscow from reading the China announcement as a call to arms. Given the depth of Soviet animus toward the PRC and its friends, Nixon defended rapprochement to the Soviet leadership almost two years before rapprochement had even begun in earnest. He informed the Soviet Ambassador to the US, Anatoly Dobrynin, in October 1969 that he was interested in reestablishing Sino-American relations. He insisted that this interest did not imply an anti-Soviet stratagem: "I can reaffirm that the U.S. Government is not trying to take advantage of Sino-Soviet differences and it will not do anything in this area that might be perceived in the Soviet Union as an attempt to cause it harm."[109] The rationale he offered Dobrynin reiterated the *Realpolitik* pragmatism of his 1967 *Foreign Affairs* article on China. As he told the ambassador, the Chinese would have nuclear weapons in 10 years and would thus "pose a serious threat to both of our countries."[110] Calling China "[t]he main beneficiary of Soviet-U.S. disagreements," Nixon urged the Soviets to work with America to create "the conditions for international peace, for peace on the Asian continent, after the Vietnam War—a peace in which China would also find a worthy place for itself."[111] If the Vietnam War ended, he

claimed, he would "be able to take dramatic steps to improve and develop Soviet-U.S. relations."[112] By linking China to the Vietnam issue and requesting Soviet help in Vietnam in such frank terms, Nixon had already begun to employ the "China card," even though rapprochement had not yet become a diplomatic reality. By introducing the possibility of a warming of relations between the US and China, he sought to offset a drastic Soviet response to the realization of that possibility in the future. In all likelihood, he also wanted to test the efficacy of triangular diplomacy before committing to it.

By tipping off Brezhnev and the Soviet Politburo about the China initiative, Nixon laid the foundation upon which Kissinger could effectively employ the "China card" in negotiations leading up to the Soviet-American summit in Moscow. Thanks to Nixon's move, Brezhnev and Dobrynin could not pretend to have been oblivious to the possibility of a Sino-American rapprochement. Further, given their record as fickle, querulous diplomats, they were also less likely to be able to fault the US for using China as leverage at the negotiation table.[113] At any rate, they still reacted to Nixon's announcement of his China trip with deep resentment and suspicion. Kissinger noted that, during his first meeting with Dobrynin afterward, he found the ambassador "at his oily best, and for the first time in my experience with him, totally insecure."[114] Kissinger, reminding Dobrynin that Nixon had desired a summit in Moscow long before he ever envisioned one in Beijing, criticized the Soviets' "grudging and petty" responses to American diplomatic overtures.[115] Had the USSR taken the summit request seriously, the Americans "would have stalled a Chinese summit until much later."[116] Dobrynin retorted that the Soviet leaders genuinely wanted a summit, but it may not be possible now that the President was going to Beijing. He asked if it might still be possible for Nixon to come to Moscow before Beijing, and Kissinger refused.[117] Later, I shall revisit the hard bargaining tactics that preceded the Moscow summit. Here, it is important to note that Kissinger had begun combining a conciliatory tone with his passive-aggressive employment of the China card.

Soviet government documents help to corroborate the success of Nixon and Kissinger's strategic game. In short, Dobrynin, Brezhnev, and the Politburo agonized over rapprochement every bit as much as the Americans wanted them

109 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - October 20, 1969*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 93.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid., 96.

113 Kissinger provides many concrete examples of discrepancies between Soviet diplomatic assurances and Soviet actions. See, for example, *White House Years*, 874.

114 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (U.S.) - July 19, 1971*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 404.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., 405.

117 Ibid., 404.

to. A few days after the China announcement, Dobrynin sent a telegram to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, analyzing the US's diplomatic gambit and how the USSR should respond. He wrote that Nixon "is evidently hoping that the Chinese will help him escape from this quagmire [the Vietnam War] 'with his dignity intact,' which can secure him a victory in the elections."[118] Dobrynin recommended passive resistance rather than an outright condemnation of rapprochement. The USSR, he argued, "should draw the attention of world public opinion to issues and facts that cast the motives and the actions of the two governments in a far from positive light."[119] Continuing with this theme of vague subversion, he also suggested that the Soviets "gradually highlight everything that continues to stand between the U.S. and the PRC and hinders their rapprochement, particularly those issues that are antagonistic to us."[120] The flaccidity of these prescriptions reveals the weakened position that the USSR found itself in. On the question of what could be done to counteract rapprochement by way of confrontation, the answer was clear in Dobrynin's telegram: nothing at all, short of a nuclear confrontation. Evidently, the Politburo leaders recognized their own state of impotence. It would lead them to embrace the only legitimate option: increase the pace of détente, and hope that more détente would translate for the US into a less urgent need of rapprochement.

The American side, while plainly drawing on the USSR's fear of the PRC, was careful to temper this tactic of intimidation. Nixon and Kissinger recognized the delicate nature of their game. The China card could incite the Soviets to accelerate détente, but it could also alienate the USSR if overplayed. As Kissinger later argued in one of his memoirs:

> Triangular diplomacy, to be effective, must rely on the natural incentives and propensities of the players. It must avoid the impression that one is "using" either of the contenders against the other; otherwise one becomes vulnerable to retaliation or blackmail. The hostility between China and the Soviet Union only served our purposes best if we maintained closer relations with each side than they did with each other.[121]

He and Nixon more or less followed this prescription of dealing minimal offense to both the Soviets and the Chinese. Kissinger, while criticizing Soviet behavior during his July 19 meeting with Dobrynin, also reassured Dobrynin that "he had no conversations, and was having none, with

the Chinese that affected the Soviet Union's interests in any way."[122] Nixon made his own effort to assuage Soviet suspicion. He wrote a letter to General Secretary Brezhnev, declaring that his maneuvers in China "[had] no hidden motives" and "[were] not aimed at any third country, including, specifically, the Soviet Union."[123] Rather, they were aimed at "end[ing] the hostility that has unfortunately existed between the United States and the mainland of China for over twenty years and to lay the basis for relations which will be mutually beneficial and contribute to peace and stability in Asia and the world as a whole…"[124]

This declaration paralleled Kissinger's reassurances to Dobrynin. Both emphasized the pragmatic design of rapprochement and denied the possibility of its being motivated by a desire to hurt the Soviet Union. Similar reassurances would be made following Kissinger's second trip to China in October 1971 and Nixon and Kissinger's famous trip in February 1972.[125] Nixon suggested to Brezhnev—as he had to Dobrynin—the capability of the USSR to offset the effects of rapprochement by helping the US in Vietnam: "I would hope that the Soviet Union would exercise its influence to achieve peace in that area of the world. Such an action would give great impetus to the policies of reconciliation that we intend to pursue."[126] An "impetus to the policies of reconciliation" likely included a check on Sino-American relations. In other words, the Americans would not move too close to China if the Soviets would be willing to use their influence over North Vietnam for the US's benefit. Helping the US with respect to Vietnam could serve—according to the subtext of Nixon's statement—as a way for the USSR to prove its sincere commitment to détente as a whole. In short, the administration's rhetorical use of the PRC inhered even in its reassurances to the Soviets.

Kissinger would in fact make far more direct use of the China card in his discussions with Dobrynin. The transcripts of their talks indicate that Kissinger knew how to do so without playing China too hard and too often. For exam-

118 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Telegram From Ambassador Dobrynin to the Soviet Foreign Ministry - July 22, 1971*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 413.

119 Ibid., 414.

120 Ibid.

121 Kissinger, *White House Years*, 712.

122 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - July 19, 1971*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 409.

123 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Letter from President Nixon to General Secretary Brezhnev - August 5, 1971*, by Richard M. Nixon (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 424.

124 Ibid.

125 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - October 31, 1971*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 508; United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (U.S.) - March 9, 1972*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 607.

126 *Nixon to Brezhnev*, 425.

ple, shortly after returning from his October trip to Beijing, he reassured Dobrynin that, if the Moscow summit proved to be a success, the US would limit its diplomatic and military agreements with China to matters impacting only the US and China.[127] This is perhaps the most overt example of the China card in play. After Nixon's PRC trip, Kissinger was careful to remind Dobrynin of the diplomatic concessions that might accrue to the Soviets if they simply stayed the course of détente. In particular, he mentioned two items that the Soviets wanted badly: increased trade with the US and the convening of a European security conference, which would reaffirm Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.[128] As Kissinger had told Dobrynin before Nixon's trip to China, "The danger now was the more intransigent the Soviet Union was, the more we would respond by compensating moves toward Communist China; it was therefore important that we get our relationships on a sensible basis."[129] This statement embodies the strategic interplay of rapprochement and détente. The Americans, by introducing the possibility—however remote—of a US-PRC alliance, amplified the importance of stable Soviet-American relations. A falling-out between the two superpowers would now entail a much greater risk of escalation. If Kissinger used trade and a European security conference as potential carrots, then he also sought to make the Soviets perceive the Sino-American relationship as a potential stick. He of course knew that the Sino-American partnership was far from a genuine alliance.

The success of triangular diplomacy derived in part from an asymmetry of information between the USSR and PRC, which resulted from the US's tendency to privilege the latter when it came to sharing information on the other Communist power. Kissinger initiated the US's double standard: its tendency to provide the Chinese with privileged intelligence on the Soviets while refusing to provide the Soviets with comparable intelligence on the Chinese.[130] As we have seen, he promised in a discussion with Huang Zhen to keep the Chinese thoroughly informed of any and all developments in Soviet-American relations.[131] The Soviets suspected this ploy to ingratiate the Chinese by offering intelligence on the USSR. Kissinger—in response to an accusation to this ef-

fect from Dobrynin—told the Soviet ambassador, "Anatoly, do you think I would be this amateurish, and do you think that the military dispositions along the Sino-Soviet border could be of any precise concern to us?"[132] As we have seen, during Nixon's China trip, Kissinger provided the Chinese military with an extensive report on the Soviet military presence along the border.[133] After the trip, Dobrynin reported to Kissinger that the Chinese had alerted the Soviet government to similar information sharing that had occurred in October 1971. Kissinger fervently denied that he had given PRC leaders a report on Soviet forces on the border, calling the accusation a "pure provocation" by the CCP.[134] If the Soviets did learn of the Americans' information-sharing proclivity from the Chinese, the latter were evidently putting the American commitment to rapprochement to the test.

To understand why the Chinese would take such an action, one must consider the shift of the Nixon administration's focus from the PRC to the USSR after the China trip. Rapprochement alarmed the Soviets, but the continued progress of détente alarmed the Chinese; suspicion ran in both directions along the triangle. To address China's fear of Soviet-American maneuvers, Kissinger cleverly introduced the notion of "formal symmetry" to his Chinese interlocutors. He did so presumably in order to avert Chinese suspicion regarding the increasing success of détente. As he told Huang Hua, Chinese Ambassador to the United Nations, in August 1972, "In order to have a plausible basis and in order to avoid giving the Soviet Union the pretense of claiming that they are being encircled, we want to do enough with the Soviet Union to maintain a formal symmetry."[135] In other words, the US needed to pursue détente with the USSR in order to avoid a direct confrontation between the Soviet bloc and the US-PRC partnership. Here, Kissinger employed his rhetorical skill so that he could in the future proceed with

127 *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - October 31, 1971*, 508. United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (U.S.) - March 9, 1972*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 607.

128 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - March 1, 1972*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 598. This conference would in fact take place in Helsinki, Finland during Gerald Ford's presidency.

129 *Memorandum of Conversation (U.S.) - January 21, 1972*, 561.

130 Bundy uses the term "double standard" in this connection. See *A Tangled Web*, 411.

131 *Memcon of Kissinger-Huang Zhen Meeting, 16 August 1971*, 4.

132 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memcon by Kissinger of Meeting with Dobrynin, 17 August 1971, Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only*, ed. William Burr, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2002), 2, accessed June 11, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc23.pdf.

133 United States of America, The White House, Executive Office of the President, *Memorandum of Conversation, 23 February 1972, 9:35-12:34 PM* (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 2003), 5, accessed February 23, 2014, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/NZ-4.pdf.

134 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - March 9, 1972*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 611.

135 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations, 1969-1976, Volume E-13, Documents on China, 1969-1972,* by Winston Lord, accessed November 25, 2014, http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e13/72605.htm.

constructive Soviet-American negotiations, without damaging the US-PRC entente.[136]

While triangular diplomacy may have been more fallible in reality than it was in the minds of Nixon and Kissinger, the policy did produce diplomatic advantages, which translated for the administration into domestic political gain. Kissinger visited China in February 1973 to ensure the continuing progression of Sino-American relations.[137] Given that Nixon had visited both Beijing and Moscow within the span of three months in 1972, triangular diplomacy could be said to have reached its zenith. On March 2, 1973, Kissinger wrote to the president:

> To date the Soviet factor has been the main leverage in our dealings with the PRC. At the same time… our opening to Peking has paid us substantial dividends with Moscow…Peking, after all, assuming continued hostility with the USSR, has no real alternative to us as a counterweight (despite its recent reaching out to Japan and Western Europe as insurance). And Moscow needs us in such areas as Europe and economics.[138]

Both relationships produced dividends. Significantly, the Chinese did exert some pressure on North Vietnam to pursue negotiations with Washington. Zhou Enlai traveled to Hanoi in March 1972 to discuss Sino-American relations with Lê Duẩn, who served as General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Zhou, noting that Mao had changed his position on the US-North Vietnam peace talks—that is, the Chairman now approved of such talks—told his Vietnamese comrade, "if the problem of Indochina is not solved, it will be impossible to realize the normalization of China-U.S. relations."[139] Given that the PRC had just hosted President Nixon and released a joint communiqué with the US, China had already committed itself to the path to normalized relations. Thus, Zhou's statement could be read as a tacit demand that his Vietnamese comrades engage

in genuine talks with the Americans, in order to prevent the Vietnam War from impeding the US-PRC partnership. Lê Duẩn recognized the implications of China's new relationship with the US. As he told Zhou, "Now that Nixon has talked with you, they will soon hit us even harder."[140] Overall, Zhou's decision to exert indirect pressure on the North Vietnamese indicated the efficacy of triangular diplomacy, especially given that Vietnam so greatly preoccupied Nixon when he visited Beijing.

On the Soviet-American side, the most tangible payoff of triangular diplomacy consisted in the Moscow summit of May 1972. Prior to the announcement of Nixon's China trip, the Soviets had met the president's request for a summit meeting with evasion and vacillation. For example, after Kissinger had urged Ambassador Dobrynin to respond to a summit invitation by no later than July 1, 1971, Dobrynin failed to deliver an official response before July 5. When Dobrynin did reply, he proposed a summit in November or December 1971. To Kissinger, this was "in effect a rejection" because he had already said that those months would be highly inconvenient for President Nixon's schedule.[141] However, the Soviets became drastically more accommodating after the China trip announcement, which is a crucial point in my overall argument that détente's successes derived heavily from rapprochement. As we have seen, Dobrynin asked—a few days after the announcement—that Nixon come to Moscow before going to Beijing, a request that Kissinger refused.[142] In spite of this rejection, Dobrynin quickly offered the more practical alternative of a summit that would take place in April or May 1972.[143] The actual summit would in fact occur on May 22-30, 1972. Nixon's China trip had happened only three months earlier: February 21-28. The productivity of the Sino-American trip undoubtedly motivated Brezhnev and the Politburo to do real business with the US when their opportunity arrived.[144] As we will see, they did work hard to ensure the productivity of their summit with Nixon. The President had successfully lured them to the bargaining table, and China helped ensure that they had actually come there to bargain and not to bicker.

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136 Here, I relied on Goh for context and the precise interpretation of the term "formal symmetry." See Goh, *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China*, 233.

137 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2010), accessed January 17, 2015, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v18/d18.

138 Ibid.

139 Yun Shui, *Chushi Qigou Jishi: Jiangjun Dashi Wang Youping (Diplomatic Missions to Seven Countries: The General-ambassador Wang Youping)* (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, 1996), 139, quoted in Li Danhui, "Vietnam and Chinese Policy Toward the United States," in *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, ed. William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 198.

140 Ibid., 138.

141 *Memorandum of Conversation (U.S.) - July 19, 1971*, 404.

142 Ibid.

143 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum of Conversation (USSR) - July 19, 1971*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 406.

144 Here, I am echoing Kissinger, who had written to the President on September 29, 1971: "There is no doubt that our China policy has provided an additional incentive for Brezhnev to demonstrate that he, too, can do business with the US, and that your visit to Peking is not, in fact, a setback to his policies." United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Memorandum From Presidential Assistant Kissinger to President Nixon*, by Henry A. Kissinger (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 455.

Indeed, even before the Beijing summit, substantive negotiations between the US and USSR became more fruitful. Within two months of the China trip announcement, the US and the USSR, along with France and the United Kingdom, signed the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.[145] Originally signed on September 3, 1971 and entering into effect on June 3, 1972, the agreement reaffirmed the postwar division of Berlin and contained a Soviet promise that the German Democratic Republic (GDR) would not disrupt traffic between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Berlin's Western Sectors.[146] Some scholars have linked this event to the advent of triangular diplomacy, although US officials including Ambassador Kenneth Rush considered FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt's policy of *Ostpolitik* to be the primary impetus to the agreement.[147] While *Ostpolitik* underlay the atmosphere of conciliation that made the agreement possible, the settlement must also be seen within the context of accelerating Soviet-American negotiations after Nixon's China announcement. In other words, *Ostpolitik* and Sino-American rapprochement were likely both important factors behind the settlement.

Though this was an extraordinary breakthrough, the Moscow summit produced the most important legacy of Soviet-American negotiations under Nixon. In March 1972, Dobrynin sent an urgent telegram to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, arguing that the summit "takes on special significance" in light of the US-PRC talks that had just occurred in Beijing.[148] In other words, the Soviet leadership needed to engage in productive negotiations with the Americans if they wanted to prevent the new Sino-American partnership from becoming a genuine threat to the USSR. As I noted at the outset of this section, Brezhnev made the same point to skeptics of détente within the Soviet Communist Party.[149] The actual results of the summit would demonstrate the earnestness of both sides to reach a concrete agreement on major bilateral issues. In particular, Nixon and Brezhnev signed

two separate agreements on the limitation of anti-ballistic missiles and other armaments, thereby concluding the process known as SALT I.[150]

Like Nixon's China trip, the Soviet-American summit also produced a joint statement of principles paralleling the Shanghai Communiqué. The "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" formalized both countries' commitment to avoiding war, limiting armaments, and maintaining commercial as well as cultural ties.[151] The document included a declaration that "The development of U.S.-Soviet relations is not directed against third countries and their interests."[152] This statement suggested that, while Nixon had striven to ameliorate Soviet suspicion before, during, and after his China trip, he was equally mindful of Chinese suspicion stemming from his USSR trip. Beyond the SALT agreements and the "Basic Principles" communiqué, the summit produced subordinate agreements on the avoidance of sea and airspace encounters and broader cooperation on science, technology, education, health, and the environment.[153] Unsurprisingly, scholars view the summit as the high point of détente under Nixon.[154]

These international successes had important domestic repercussions, which must be included in the dividends of triangular policy for the Nixon administration. Specifically, the Beijing and Moscow summits strengthened Nixon's position heading into the 1972 election. His Gallup poll ratings hardly rose above 50 percent at any time from May through December 1971. However, between January and March 1972—the months surrounding his China trip—the figure increased from 49 to 55 percent. In May, the month of the Moscow summit, it reached 62 percent and stood at

145 United Nations, Treaty Series, *German History in Documents and Images*, accessed January 19, 2015, http://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=77.

146 Ibid.

147 Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation*, 277; Jussi M. Hanhimäki, *The Rise and Fall of Détente: American Foreign Policy and the Transformation of the Cold War*, Issues in the History of American Foreign Relations (Dulles: Potomac Books, 2013), 53; Bundy, *A Tangled Web*, 251.

148 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Telegram From Ambassador Dobrynin to the Soviet Foreign Ministry - March 8, 1972*, by Anatoly Dobrynin (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2007), 604.

149 L. I. Brezhnev, "Report on the International Situation to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Apr. 26-27, 1973," Russian State Archive of Contemporary History, Fond, 2, Inventory 3, File no. 292, 33, quoted in Kozyrev, "Soviet Policy Toward the United States and China," 264.

150 United States of America, Department of State, Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation, *Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems,* section goes here, accessed January 19, 2015, http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/abm/abm2.html; United States of America, Department of State, Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation, *Interim Agreement Between The United States of America and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms,* accessed January 19, 2015, http://www.state.gov/t/isn/4795.htm.

151 United States of America, Department of State, Office of the Historian, *Text of the "Basic Principles of Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,"* accessed January 19, 2015, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=3438.

152 Ibid.

153 Bundy, *A Tangled Web*, 323.

154 Ibid., 327; Dallek, *Nixon and Kissinger*, 408; Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation,* 359; Hanhimäki, *The Rise and Fall of Détente,* 58.

58 percent immediately preceding the election.[155] In the election, Nixon scored a victory over his Democratic opponent George McGovern by a comfortable margin of 61 to 38 percent.[156] On the whole, the numbers indicate that Nixon's foreign policy initiatives helped him overcome domestic political troubles.

Ultimately, Nixon and Kissinger took two foreign policies initiatives that should have invalidated one another, and they managed to harmonize them. They were able to do so by declaring to Dobrynin, Brezhnev, and the Soviet Politburo that rapprochement was not in any way directed against the Soviet Union. As I argued in the first part of this essay, the US-PRC partnership was designed to contain the Soviet Union by resolving tension in Asia-Pacific and thereby indirectly checking Soviet expansion into that region. The Soviets, however, were ignorant of the precise form and substance of the Sino-American partnership. For all they knew, a formal alliance could emerge in the future. Nixon and Kissinger skillfully exploited this fear in order to create a synergy between rapprochement and détente. The Soviets played into their hand by accelerating détente after Nixon's China trip announcement. Overall, the success of the Moscow summit in 1972 was a product of Nixon's success in Beijing, and it helped him prevail over George McGovern in a landslide electoral victory.

One can easily draw a connection between Nixon's successes abroad and his domestic resurgence. In the long run, however, the effects of rapprochement and détente extended far beyond Nixon's reelection. They left a profound mark on the Cold War order and brought the age of bipolarity to a close. The US's move toward China constituted a de facto recognition of China as a third pole of world politics. The unprecedented catastrophe that was the Vietnam War motivated Nixon to fly to Beijing and offer dramatic concessions on Taiwan. Although the 1973 peace in Vietnam would soon collapse and Nixon would not deliver on his Taiwan promises, the US and China seemed in 1972 to have secured great diplomatic advantages by way of their partnership.[157] Rapprochement served as an attempt to both resolve violent conflict in Asia-Pacific and to check Soviet expansion into that region. The policy brought an end to over twenty years of open hostility between the US and the PRC and drastically reduced the chances that American and Chinese soldiers would ever meet again on the field of battle. At the same time, rapprochement helped to galvanize the progress of détente, which had produced little in the way of concrete results prior to the China trip announcement. Advancing détente, then, was yet another objective in the strategic rationale for rapprochement. The former encouraged the Chinese to move closer to the US, while the latter encouraged the Soviets to do the same.

Ultimately, whether Nixon and Kissinger were in conversation with Mao and Zhou on the one hand or Brezhnev and Dobrynin on the other, triangular diplomacy always involved reconciling seemingly incompatible incentives. Despite the ebbs and flows that would punctuate rapprochement and détente in subsequent years, particularly in the aftermath of Nixon's ignominious resignation, the Nixon administration had managed to harmonize the two policies in 1972. Today, China may be on a trajectory to become the world's largest economy in the 2030s, but—as Odd Arne Westad notes—the US will remain the world's leading military superpower. The role of a rising China in international affairs will thus depend, in large part, on how the US and others choose to interact with the new economic giant.[158] In the recent monograph *On China*, an 88-year-old Kissinger declared that Sino-American relations "need not—and should not—become a zero-sum game."[159] Over four decades ago, he and Nixon adapted *Realpolitik* to the twentieth century by paying scrupulous attention to the strategic desires as well as the fears of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union; they adjusted their triangular maneuvers accordingly. In other words, they combined Bismarckian intimidation with numerous positive incentives for both the PRC and the USSR. Future US leaders, in seeking to encourage cooperation from China and Vladimir Putin's intransigent regime in Russia, would do well to learn from the successes and limitations of triangular diplomacy. After all, no foreign policy game can succeed without taking into account the natural incentives and propensities of the players.

155 Frank Newport and Joseph Carroll, "Reflections on Presidential Job Approval and Re-election Odds," Gallup, June 10, 2003, Richard M. Nixon, accessed January 19, 2015, http://www.gallup.com/poll/8608/reflections-presidential-job-approval-reelection-odds.aspx.

156 Ibid.

157 Bundy provides a concise overview of the fall of South Vietnam. See *A Tangled Web,* 484-90, 494-97.

158 Odd A. Westad, *Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750* (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 462.

159 Henry A. Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 523.

"Conscience, Violence and History": Interview with Annette Becker

Interview conducted by Hansong Li, compiled and translated into English by Paige Pendarvis

Professor Annette Becker, during her public lecture on Raphael Lemkin at Temple d'Issy Moulineaux in Paris, Nov. 25th, 2015
Courtesy of *The Chicago Journal of History*

Dr. Annette Becker is a French historian, professor at the Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense and a senior member at the Institut universitaire de France. Born into a family of scholars in 1953, she was first introduced to history by her father Jean-Jacques Becker and her aunt Annie Kriegel, both prominent intellectuals of the time. Author of such influential works as *Retrouver la guerre* (2000) and *Guillaume Apollinaire: une biographie de guerre* (2009, prix de la biographie de l'Académie Française, 2010), Professor Becker is known for her pioneering research on the Two World Wars and the experiences of violence. In recent years, she has studied extensively the history of genocide. In November, she delivered a public lecture on Raphael Lemkin and the birth of the concept of genocide, in which occasion she sat down with *Chicago Journal of History* to discuss, both as a historian and as a citizen, her interests, methods, and personal beliefs.

*Chicago Journal of History (***CJH**): Let's begin with your career as a historian: have you always been interested in war-related violence in your work, or have you explored other subjects? How were you inspired to begin studying the perceptions and the experiences of war?

Annette Becker (**AB**): Actually, my dissertation was about American history—specifically about the eighteenth century. I worked on the preachers of the "Great Awakening." And as you know, during the "Great Awakening", there was a lot of violence. So, I've always been interested in violence, but it was a little by chance that I came to World War I. Because I've always been passionate about war memorials, and it was because I was interested in this subject that a publisher asked me if I could do a book about war memorials— and so I said, it's strange because I'm an eighteenth century specialist, and I couldn't do those two things at once. But eventually, the book seemed interesting to some historians who specialized in the history of war, and so they told me "alright you must work with us." And that's how I changed specialties.

CJH: You often analyze images as historical sources: paintings, posters, photographs, etc. in an attempt to shed light on the experiences of men and women during war, like in your book "Voire la Grande Guerre", for example. What role do visuals sources play in your research?

AB: I have always used images. I think that we live in a world surrounded by images, where they are present everywhere. And because at the moment they are reproduced, and can thus be seen, we must use them! I did this when I worked on eighteenth century American history—I was already using images for that topic. For the twentieth century, we certainly have many more images, which was the case for photography, and also for cinema, so there were many more images, but the idea is the same: that to understand the people of the past, we must understand the ways in which they expressed themselves. We still often use writing, but as soon as we have things other than writing, as soon as we have images, as soon as we have sounds—we must use them too, because sound is another means of expression, and all expressions allow us to better understand what has happened in the past.

CJH: We most think about images that have been constructed in an ideological way, like propaganda, for example. According to you, what are the main differences between using literary and pictorial sources?

AB: Literary and pictorial sources can both equally be propaganda—there isn't any difference. All types of sources have to be studied in-depth in order to see where they come from, how they were created, and how they were perceived in the time in which they were used. That which is a written text or an "image text" can simply be two different ways of speaking. But the historian's method is the same, except that we must assume that we are capable of working with images, and we often don't think we're trained adequately enough to do that. But I teach that to my students, and I'm sure that they are certainly capable of working with both images and texts.

CJH: If we return to today's wars, it seems that there is no more large-scale global war, but rather we're facing something one could call an asymmetrical war, like terrorists attacks. Do you think that we are in a period in which the violence of war has transformed into an entirely different category?

AB: Actually, we experienced an evolution in the art of war throughout the twentieth century. World War I was a war with military targets, above all. In other words, an army fought against another army—all the men were in uniform. Regardless of how we understand this war, it was a war of adults in uniform. World War II also targeted armies in uniforms, but along with an increasing number of civilians. And after World War II, what has happened militarily is that there are very few soldiers who are now targeted by war, but more and more civilians. For example, America's reason for intervening in Serbia was not at all about soldiers, but rather about civilian victims. Terrorism is the extreme end of that because soldiers are not those being attacked, but only civilians, either as a specific target (for example, Islamic extremist terrorists have targeted Jews) or taken the entirety of a population as their target. And so we are now in a war that is no longer a war, because war consists of adults in uniform, fighting against each other. And with the uniform, there were still rules; now we are outside all rules.

CJH: Like what we saw in Paris last week?

AB: Yes, like what we saw in Paris last week.

CJH: A few words about Lemikin—the Polish legal scholar who invented the term "genocide"—whom you were speaking about this evening. He devoted the majority of his time to studying international law as a way to combat war crimes like genocide. In your opinion, does the true solution depend on geopolitics, or do you have confidence that international law can provide a solution? It's a large question.

AB: I've presented both positions, but now this is not the opinion of myself as a historian who cannot predict the future, but my opinion as a citizen. I think that from an international perspective, we ought to be strong enough in creating objectives to prevent assassination—as we no longer have wars, but rather assassinations—so that they should be impossible. Sometimes, we're able to unite good wills, which should happen, but I'm not very optimistic.

CJH: Is that to say that you don't have a positive opinion about the role international law has played in history as a force against violence?

AB: I think that international law—or rather the work of legal scholars who study international law—is very important because it allows us to become morally aware. The problem is the reality in which the law is played out. The law is less strong than the will to assassinate. But that's not to say that we must throw up our arms and give up, I am fundamentally Churchillian in the sense that, "democracy is the worst form of government with the exception of all the others."

CJH: Concerning your research about World War I, do you think that there is a difference between the historical approaches of the United States and of Europe?

AB: There is a small difference, I believe. American soldiers entered the war much later, in 1917, and other than that, they lost fewer men. Even if they lost a large number, with respect to the extraordinary losses of other countries, it was less devastating. But certainly, that does not prevent us from saying that their role in the war was so important that it was won because of them. And certainly, their role in the war was extremely important, but the way that Americans fall into war as necessity is much less important than in European societies and colonies.

CJH: Lastly, do you have any advice for our students in the United States? Particularly for American students who are specializing in the history of war?

AB: I think that to study conflicts so horrendous, one must consider the human person in the broadest way possible. To do this type of history, which is not the same as traditional types of history—like diplomatic, political, and so on, where there are so few people. To study the history of these conflicts, one has to try to fully understand what it means to be a human being. We are in the society that we study: how did it prefer war, violence, massacre, and assassination of social life at one moment? To understand that, we must use all the sources possible, all the broadest possible sources from which we may be able to understand that. I believe it's our fate and one must try to do this for their vocation.