

Henry Alfred Kissinger's Diplomacy: Sino-American Relations

By Yuxuan Yang

*"America has no permanent friends or enemies, only interests."*¹

In some recent news, we can often hear some contradictions between China and the United States, and the voice of conflict gradually spread to our ears.² Ninety-eight-year-old Henry Alfred Kissinger, after the newest president took office, expounded his lasting views on Sino-US relations³ during interviews with multiple media.⁴ And he exhorted those who succeeded him in the foreign ministry to continue making good relationships with China and try to create a win-win situation between the two great powers, just as it was fifty years ago.⁵

Fifty years from now, under the leadership of Henry Kissinger and then-President Nixon, the United States held its first-ever talks with senior Chinese government officials, including Chairman Mao⁶ and Premier Zhou.⁷ The two sides reached a basic consensus during this meeting, which not only laid out the foundation for Sino-US relations in the coming decades, but also gave China an opportunity to accelerate its development. Due to Kissinger's diplomatic

¹ "Henry Kissinger > Quotes." Good Reads.

² Appendix A

³ The relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States.

⁴ Kinling Lo. "Henry Kissinger Marks 50 Years since First China Visit with Call for Talks to Avoid 'Catastrophe.'" South China Morning Post, 9 June 2021.

⁵ "The Trip That Changed the World: Commemorating Kissinger's 1971 Secret Visit to China." *National Committee on U.S. China Relations*, 8 July 2021.

⁶ Mao Zedong (December 26, 1893 - September 9, 1976), the core of the first generation of the central leadership of the Communist Party of China, served as the supreme leader of the People's Republic of China at that time.

⁷ Zhou Enlai (March 5, 1898 - January 8, 1976), a statesman, diplomat, and an important member of the first generation of the party's central leadership with Mao Zedong as the core.

strategies and tactics as well as his understanding of China's situation and interest demands, he was able to analyze both sides. Restoring the relationship between the two countries based on common interests, Kissinger laid the foundation for China's entry into the WTO⁸ and the promotion of the global economy.

Early Years

Kissinger, born Heinz Alfred Kissinger on May 27, 1923, to a Jewish family in Germany. He immigrated to New York with his parents because of the continued persecution of Jews during the period when the Nazis were in control of Germany.⁹ Hitler led the Nazi Party to carry out the Holocaust,¹⁰ and many Jews were eliminated, including thirteen relatives of Kissinger. Almost all of Kissinger's philosophicalism, and his coexistence of confidence and insecurity, can be traced back to that historical catastrophe.¹¹

Rise in Diplomacy

After World War II, Kissinger gave up his original pursuit and changed his direction to the political world. He returned to the United States to study in the Department of Political Science at Harvard University.¹² Under the guidance of William Elliott,¹³ Kissinger's mentor, Kissinger studied a complete set of conservative political philosophy. Before graduation, he also

⁸ World Trade Organization (WTO), manages and facilitates international trade between countries.

⁹ Britannica. "Henry Kissinger." Edited by The Editors of Encyclopaedia. *Britannica*, 3 Nov. 2021.

¹⁰ The word comes from the Greek and means to burn sacrifices with fire. Refers to the ethnic cleansing of Nazis in World War II.

¹¹ Henry Kissinger. "'The Key Problem of Our Time': A Conversation with Henry Kissinger on Sino-U.S. Relations." Interview by J. Stapleton Roy. Wilson Center, 20 Sept. 2018.

¹² Appendix B

¹³ William Yandell Elliott, a teacher at Harvard during Kissinger's time, and an advisor to the U.S. State Department.

successfully completed a 377-page dissertation, *The Meaning of History - Reflections on Spengler, Toynbee and Kant*.¹⁴

After graduation, Kissinger went on to pursue a Ph.D. in government at Harvard, and in his 1954 work, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822*, he perfectly presented the efforts and contributions of former Austrian diplomat Clemens von Metternich reorganizing European countries and the international order after the Napoleonic Wars. As can be seen in Kissinger's career, Metternich had a profound influence on the foreign policy he later advocated. It convinced him that even a deeply flawed world order was more feasible than a chaotic revolutionary reform. After earning his Ph.D., Kissinger published *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* in 1957, a book that made Kissinger famous in academia.¹⁵

Seeking Common Interests

Kissinger served in a number of consultant roles, slowly rising into power when he was working in the U.S. government agencies during the next decade. In 1968, Kissinger was appointed national security adviser by then-President Richard M. Nixon. After a cooperative presidency, Nixon decided in 1973¹⁶ that Kissinger would serve as secretary of state for the next four years, the first American ever to serve as both secretary of state and national security adviser.¹⁷

After Nixon became president of the United States, he tried to be re-elected as the next president with remarkable moves and accomplishments. In 1971, China and the United States were still in a state of hostility. The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union

¹⁴ "Biographies of the Secretaries of State: Henry A. (Heinz Alfred) Kissinger." *Office of the Historian*.

¹⁵ Robert D. Kaplan. "Kissinger, Metternich, and Realism." *The Atlantic*, June 1999.

¹⁶ Appendix C

¹⁷ "Henry Kissinger - Sino-U.S. Relations: Facts and Figures." *China-U.S. Cooperation*.

continued for too long, and the large amount of capital and energy consumption forced the United States to find ways to end this hegemony.¹⁸ It was hoped that by reconciling with China, it would free itself from the situation of the Vietnam War¹⁹ and win the competition with the Soviet Union. However, due to the differences in ideology between China and the United States and the fact that they belong to two major social camps, the exchanges between China and the United States couldn't be carried out easily.²⁰ The retreat of Soviet experts from China in 1958, coupled with the famine during the Great Leap Forward, caused a huge disaster to the Chinese economy.²¹ China also realized that it needed to use diplomatic means to recover its economy and check and balance the huge military pressure that the Soviet Union had exerted on China's border.²² After the Zhenbao Island Incident²³ in 1969, President Nixon requested Kissinger to find a way "exploring the possibilities of rapprochement with the Chinese" and eased restrictions on Chinese personnel trade and exchanges before the trip.²⁴ Kissinger's objective was to discuss the date of Nixon's visit to China and preparations, and conducted preparatory talks for Nixon.²⁵

Kissinger was very supportive of Nixon's idea, though from a strategic point of view. Kissinger believed that the monopoly of international superpowers exacerbated the danger of nuclear weapons use, and envisaged the establishment of a global balance by establishing

¹⁸ Hal Brands. "How Kissinger's Secret Trip to China Transformed the Cold War." *Bloomberg Opinion*, 18 July 2021.

¹⁹ North Vietnam was at war with the United States and South Vietnam with the support of the Soviet Union and China.

²⁰ Alexander M. Haig, Jr. "Letter from Haig to Walters." National Security Archive, 27 Apr. 1971.

²¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia, editor. "Struggle for the Premiership." *Britannica*.

²² Henry A. Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President>Contact with the Chinese." National Security Archive, 12 Sept. 1970.

²³ "Timeline: U.S. Relations with China 1949–2021." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

²⁴ "Rapprochement with China, 1972." Office of the Historian.

²⁵ Appendix D

relations with Beijing.²⁶ As U.S. power declined relative to the Vietnam War, Soviet power rose due to nuclear construction. Kissinger wanted China's open up to increase U.S. diplomatic clout, forcing the Soviet Union to negotiate with the United States.²⁷

Secret Visit to China

With the assistance of Pakistani President Yahya Khan as an intermediary²⁸ to provide the United States with an olive branch to China, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai agreed but pointed out that the United States needed to send a special envoy to negotiate.²⁹ Soon after, Kissinger said that the United States accepted the invitation and was prepared to go to Beijing in person to hold talks to discuss issues between China and the United States, including the Taiwan issue. After careful arrangements, Kissinger began his operation on July 1, 1971. In order to divert people's attention, the White House press secretary announced at the regular meeting that President Nixon was about to send Dr. Kissinger to South Vietnam on a mission from July 2 to 5, and then to Paris to consult with David Bruce. Kissinger would also meet with Thai, Indian and Pakistani officials on his way to Paris. Kissinger believed this must be kept strictly confidential to ensure the results of his visit to China. If it was to be made public, it would require layers of approval within the U.S. government, and other countries would also require consultation. This

²⁶ President Nixon, and Henry Kissinger. "Record of Nixon-Kissinger Telephone Conversation Discussing Zhou's Message and Possible Envoys to China." National Security Archive, 27 Apr. 1971.

²⁷ Jussi Hanhimäki. "China and the United States: The Evolution of a Relationship." Global Challenges, Feb. 2017.

²⁸ Memcon. "Meeting between the President and Pakistan President Yahya." National Security Archive. 25 Oct. 1970.

²⁹ Enlai Zhou. "Message from Zhou Enlai to Nixon." *National Security Archive*, 21 Apr. 1971.

would affect the attitude of the Chinese side. In order to establish a world order, it was necessary to seize opportunities.³⁰

Kissinger spent three days in Saigon and one day in Bangkok, arriving in New Delhi on the 6th and Islamabad on the 8th. In order to visit China secretly, he pretended to have a stomach ache at the dinner party on the 8th. President Yahya Khan announced that the weather in Islamabad was too hot, affecting Kissinger's health, and asked him to go to the presidential villa in Nathiya Gali to recuperate to get rid of the reporters.³¹ On the 9th, Kissinger, accompanied by Zhang Wenjin and others, flew directly to Beijing on a Pakistan Civil Aviation 707 aircraft. Arriving at Beijing Nanyuan Airport at 12:15, Premier Zhou sent Ye Jianying, Huang Hua and other Chinese officials to greet him.³²

At 16:00 on the 9th, Premier Zhou went to Diaoyutai Building 5 for talks with Kissinger. Kissinger was a little nervous and restrained when he saw Premier Zhou. Premier Zhou shook hands with them one by one and sat down for talks.³³ Throughout the conversation, Premier Zhou replied naturally and formally, without obvious emotion.³⁴

Regarding the Taiwan issue, China had reiterated that it was the key issue hindering the normalization of relations between China and the United States. The government of the People's Republic of China was the sole legal government, and Taiwan was a province of it. The liberation of Taiwan was China's internal affairs, and no other country had the right to interfere. All U.S. armed forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese

³⁰ William Burr, editor. "Kissinger's Secret Trip to China." *The National Security Archive*, 27 Feb. 2002.

³¹ James Carter. "Kissinger's Secret Trip in 1971 That Paved the Way for U.S.-China Relations." *SupChina*, 9 July 2020.

³² USC US-China Institute, editor. "Getting to Beijing: Henry Kissinger's Secret 1971 Trip." *USC Annenberg*, 11 July 2011.

³³ Appendix E

³⁴ Appendix F

government opposed any activities aimed at creating “two Chinas”, “Taiwan independence” and advocating “the status of Taiwan is not settled”. Kissinger understood the crux of the issue. With this prospect in mind, he confirmed that the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces and military installations from Taiwan is China’s ultimate goal.³⁵

When Kissinger talked about the Taiwan issue during this meeting, he focused on the issue of troop withdrawal. He said the U.S. government was ready to withdraw two-thirds of the U.S. troops stationed in Taiwan after the end of the Indo-China War, and they were prepared to reduce the remaining military forces in Taiwan as their relations improved. The United States did not support “two Chinas” or “one China, one Taiwan”, but hoped that the Taiwan issue could be resolved peacefully. Taiwan was part of China and the U.S. did not dispute this position, they didn’t support Taiwan independence.³⁶ After that, the United States would no longer blame and isolate China. The United States would support the restoration of China’s seat in the United Nations, but not support the expulsion of Taiwan’s representative.³⁷ On the Indochina issue, he pledged to negotiate an end to the Vietnam War. They were ready to set a timetable for the withdrawal of armed forces from Vietnam and Indochina, but wanted a solution that preserved American decency and esteem. Then Kissinger also talked about Japan, Soviet-American relations, South Asian subcontinent and other issues.

Re-establish Relationship

The confrontation was not good for both sides, which is why they went to Beijing. Nixon was eager to divert Americans’ attention from Vietnam, and Mao Zedong was determined to

³⁵ Warren I. Cohen. "The United States, China, and the Kissinger Doctrine." *Dissent Magazine*, 11 Aug. 2011.

³⁶ "U.S.-China Relations since 1949." *Asia for Educators* | *Columbia University*.

³⁷ W. R. Smyser. "Letter from Your Friend in Paris, and Other Chinese Miscellanea." *National Security Archive*, 7 Nov. 1970.

force the Soviet Union to hesitate before attacking China. Both China and the United States understood that this meeting was at stake, and it could only succeed, not fail.³⁸

They both decided to spend most of their time learning about their views on the international order—a rare coincidence of analysis on both sides. Since the ultimate purpose of the visit was to decide whether the two countries' formerly hostile foreign policies should be adjusted, the final form of pragmatic diplomacy should be a discussion of concepts. Such discussions sometimes sounded like two international relations professors talking rather than a formal diplomatic conversation.

Kissinger's secret visit to China was successful and they initially reached an agreement. Since then, China and the United States gradually broke the ice and established a relationship of mutual respect, which had inspired the renewal of the ideological system in international politics, and promoted world peace and economic circulation. It could be called a milestone in the political history of the 20th century.³⁹

After clarifying their respective views and positions on major international issues, and acknowledging the essential differences in the social systems between China and the United States, the joint communiqué emphasized that the two sides agreed to deal with the relations between countries in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.⁴⁰ China and the United States solemnly declared that the normalization of Sino-US relations is in the interest of all countries, and both sides hoped to reduce the danger of international military conflicts. Neither side should seek dominance in the Asia-Pacific region, and each side opposed the establishment of hegemony by any other country or group of countries. The two sides also

³⁸ Minami, Kazushi. "Toward Strategic Alignment : Sino-American Relations from Rapprochement to Normalization." *Texas Scholar Work*, Dec. 2014.

³⁹ Appendix G

⁴⁰ Jiabao Wen. "Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the Promotion of Peace and Development." *The People's Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, 8 June 2004.

believed that it was against the interests of all countries for major powers to collude with each other or to divide the scope of interests in the world.

The two sides gradually carried out Sino-US trade and further development. They facilitated exchanges in the fields of science, technology and culture, and maintained contacts through different channels. These included sending senior U.S. representatives to Beijing from time to time to continue to exchange advice on issues of mutual concern.⁴¹

Conclusion

Kissinger's secret visit to China refers to that on July 9, 1971, Kissinger transferred from Pakistan to hold talks with Zhou Enlai in Beijing. A secret visit to exchange views on Nixon's visit to China and the normalization of Sino-US relations. Therefore, in order to open the door for Sino-US exchanges, Kissinger's secret visit was to prepare the prerequisites.

At the same time, the improvement of Sino-US relations was of great significance to China. This had strengthened the ties and improved relations between China and the world's major developed countries, creating a favorable external environment for the subsequent reform and opening up. At that time, China was no longer in a disadvantageous situation, ending the guidelines of determining foreign policy based on previous ideology. To a certain extent, the influence of the Soviet Union and Eastern European upheaval on China in the late 1980s had been weakened as well.⁴²

Kissinger emphasized that over the past 30 years, Sino-US relations became the most important element in world relations, and people were always talking about it. China was already one of the most important countries in the world and the world economy. He believed that China and the United States now faced common opportunities and could work together to elevate their

⁴¹ Appendix H

⁴² Appendix I

cooperation to a higher level in areas such as world economic development, climate change, etc. Having lived through four generations of Chinese leaders and eight U.S. presidents, Kissinger said that the friendly relationship between China and the United States would continue, and it had never been more open, friendly, and cooperative. Peng Keyu, Consul General of the People's Republic of China in New York, expressed his heartfelt thanks to those who had long supported China's development and the cause of Sino-US friendship at the National Day reception. He said that over the past 30 years of reform and opening up, China had made brilliant achievements in politics, economy and other undertakings.⁴³ China was willing to work with the United States to strengthen bilateral exchanges and cooperation in various fields, and to deepen communication and coordination on major international and regional issues: respect and take care of each other's core interests, and promote the sustained, healthy and stable development of the relations.

⁴³ "China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States." EveryCRSReport.com, 25 June 2019.

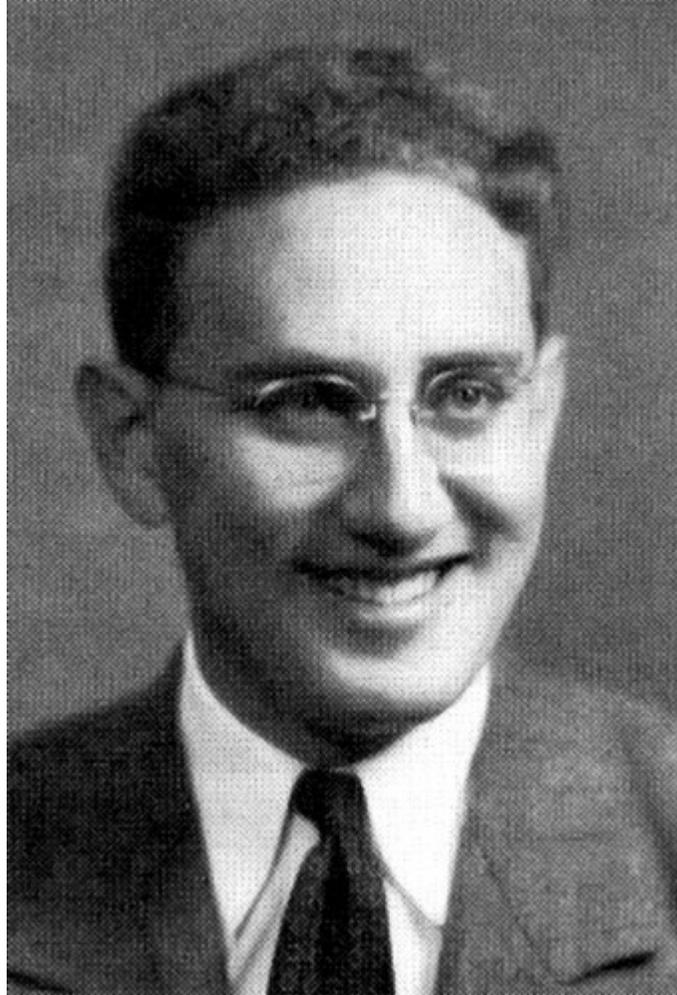
Appendix A



Kissinger, who is in his 90s recently, attended an interview.

Porter, Tom. "Henry Kissinger Has Warned of the Doomsday Potential of the Weapons US-China Possess as Relations between the 2 Superpowers Worsen." *Insider*, 2 May 2021, www.businessinsider.com/henry-kissinger-in-doomsday-warning-over-us-china-conflict-2021-5. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

Appendix B



Henry Kissinger's early years as a student at Harvard University.

Harvard University. "File:Henry Kissinger (1950 Harvard yearbook).jpg." *Wikimedia Commons*,

1950,

[commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_Kissinger_\(1950_Harvard_yearbook\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_Kissinger_(1950_Harvard_yearbook).jpg).

Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

Appendix C



A portrait of Kissinger as Secretary of State in 1973.

"Henry Kissinger." *Wikipedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Kissinger. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

Appendix D



Nixon and Kissinger discussed China as a potential strategic partner in 1970.

George, Harvey. "Stumbling toward Armageddon." *The New York Times*, 9 Oct. 2018,
www.nytimes.com/2018/10/09/opinion/stumbling-toward-armageddon.html. Accessed 6
Mar. 2022.

Appendix E



During Kissinger's secret visit to Beijing in 1971, Premier Zhou entertained him for dinner.

Rüesch, Andreas. "Geheimreise in ein rätselhaftes Land – wie Henry Kissinger vor 50 Jahren die Tür zu China aufstieß." *NZZ*, 7 July 2021, www.nzz.ch/international/kissinger-in-china-geheimreise-in-ein-raetselhaftes-land-ld.1634356?reduced=true. Accessed 7 Mar. 2022.

Appendix F



Meeting with Premier Zhou during his visit to Beijing in 1971 to discuss Sino-US relations.

USC US-China Institute, editor. "Getting to Beijing: Henry Kissinger's Secret 1971 Trip." *USC Annenberg*, 11 July 2011, china.usc.edu/getting-beijing-henry-kissingers-secret-1971-trip. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Appendix G



In 1972 Nixon and Kissinger came to Beijing for formal diplomacy.

The Kissinger Transcripts : Photographs.

nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nsa/publications/DOC_readers/kissinger/photos.htm. Accessed 6

Mar. 2022.

Appendix H



Shaking hands with Mao Zedong during Nixon's visit to China in 1972.

Spence, Jonathan D. "Kissinger and China." *China File*, 9 June 2011,

www.chinafile.com/library/nyrb-china-archive/kissinger-and-china. Accessed 6 Mar.

2022.

Appendix I



Kissinger shook hands with Mao Zedong during his visit to China in 1973.

Spence, Jonathan D. "Kissinger and China." *China File*, 9 June 2011,

www.chinafile.com/library/nyrb-china-archive/kissinger-and-china. Accessed 6 Mar.

2022.

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Dee, Liz. "Nixon Goes to China." *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, 15 Feb. 2013, adst.org/2013/02/nixon-goes-to-china/?gclid=Cj0KCCQiAmKiQBhClARIsAKtSj-m0eQ2v_osY4bAzMBQ6cRjAvJyFEbiP2Hrv0pDqyaBJ1PLr3wuHL2saAsKbEALw_wcB. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

This article, posted on the website of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, explained to me several reasons that drove Nixon and Kissinger to make diplomatic moves with China. And from the first point of view of Winston Lord, a planning staff of the National Security Council, he tells the whole process of Nixon's meeting with Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong.

George, Harvey. "Stumbling toward Armageddon." *The New York Times*, 9 Oct. 2018, www.nytimes.com/2018/10/09/opinion/stumbling-toward-armageddon.html. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

I used this photo in the appendix of the research paper.

Haig, Alexander M., Jr. "Letter from Haig to Walters." *National Security Archive*, 27 Apr. 1971, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-16.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

The fourth page of this scan mentioned that after learning about the ideological differences between the two sides, Kissinger's secret visit to China was known only to the then-president and Kissinger.

Harvard University. "File:Henry Kissinger (1950 Harvard yearbook).jpg." *Wikimedia Commons*, 1950,

[commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_Kissinger_\(1950_Harvard_yearbook\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_Kissinger_(1950_Harvard_yearbook).jpg).

Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

I cited this photo of him studying at Harvard in the U.S.

"Henry Kissinger." *Wikipedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Kissinger. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

That official photo of Kissinger was found on this site.

"Henry Kissinger: How Biden Should Handle China." *The Economist*, 21 July 2021,

www.economist.com/films/2021/07/20/henry-kissinger-how-biden-should-handle-china.

Accessed 14 Feb. 2022. Interview.

This interview with Henry Kissinger not only reiterated his critical attitude towards the increasing tension between China and the U.S. recently, but also gave the newly-appointed U.S. President Biden some diplomatic means with China.

Kissinger, Henry. "'The Key Problem of Our Time': A Conversation with Henry Kissinger on

Sino-U.S. Relations." Interview by J. Stapleton Roy. *Wilson Center*, 20 Sept. 2018,

www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-key-problem-our-time-conversation-henry-kissinger-sino-us-relations. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

In this interview, Kissinger expounded his previous views, that is, to see China as a potential partner in improving the world order, and to avoid conflicts between ethnic groups as much as possible.

Kissinger, Henry A. "Memorandum for the President _ Contact with the Chinese." *National*

Security Archive, 12 Sept. 1970, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-01.pdf.

Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

Kissinger mentioned the importance of raising diplomatic relations with China at this time, including attempts to liaise with China. And on the second page, it is

pointed out that China also has the intention of cooperating with the United States and having trade relations.

The Kissinger Transcripts : Photographs.

nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nsa/publications/DOC_readers/kissinger/photos.htm. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.'

I cited a picture from this website about the US visit to China in 1972 for official diplomacy.

Memcon. "Meeting between the President and Pakistan President Yahya." *National Security Archive*, 25 Oct. 1970, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-03.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

Former Pakistani President Yahya acted as an intermediary to pass on the willingness of the United States to establish diplomatic relations to the Chinese side. I understand that Yahya, as a very crucial part, helped Kissinger avoid the public and the media and go to Beijing in the secret operation of Kissinger's visit to China.

Porter, Tom. "Henry Kissinger Has Warned of the Doomsday Potential of the Weapons US-China Possess as Relations between the 2 Superpowers Worsen." *Insider*, 2 May 2021, www.businessinsider.com/henry-kissinger-in-doomsday-warning-over-us-china-conflict-2021-5. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

Photos of Kissinger in recent years are quoted from this website.

The President Nixon, and Henry Kissinger. "Record of Nixon-Kissinger Telephone Conversation Discussing Zhou's Message and Possible Envoys to China." *National Security Archive*,

27 Apr. 1971, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-18.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

This dossier, produced from a conversation between Nixon and Kissinger, tells how they contacted China through Yahya and learned that a successful diplomatic relationship with China would have a decisive impact on the situation of the Vietnam War.

Rüesch, Andreas. "Geheimreise in ein rätselhaftes Land – wie Henry Kissinger vor 50 Jahren die Tür zu China aufstieß." *NZZ*, 7 July 2021, www.nzz.ch/international/kissinger-in-china-geheimreise-in-ein-raetselhaftes-land-ld.1634356?reduced=true. Accessed 7 Mar. 2022.

The pictures of Kissinger eating with Zhou Enlai in my appendix are from here.

Smyser, W. R. "Letter from Your Friend in Paris, and Other Chinese Miscellanea." *National Security Archive*, 7 Nov. 1970, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-05.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

I learned about China's need to join the United Nations at the time, and I indicated in letters sent to Kissinger that they had taken this factor into account, which helped negotiate during their visit to China.

Spence, Jonathan D. "Kissinger and China." *China File*, 9 June 2011, www.chinafile.com/library/nyrb-china-archive/kissinger-and-china. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

I cited from this page a photo of Mao Zedong shaking hands with Nixon. The picture behind Kissinger shaking hands with Mao Zedong was also found on this website.

Zhou, Enlai. "Message from Zhou Enlai to Nixon." *National Security Archive*, 21 Apr. 1971, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-17.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

This article is about Zhou Enlai's reply to the US contacting China through Pakistan at that time. In the letter, Zhou Enlai expressed the hope that the United States could send senior officials such as Kissinger or the president to Beijing for face-to-face discussions.

Secondary Sources

Bagshaw, Eryk. "Kissinger: US and China Must Realize There Can Be No Victor without Destroying Humanity." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Nov. 2021, www.smh.com.au/world/asia/kissinger-us-and-china-must-realise-there-can-be-no-victor-without-destroying-humanity-20211117-p599oc.html. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

Here's an article from the Sydney Morning Herald. This is the first time Biden has negotiated with Chinese President Xi Jinping after he took the seat of president recently, and reached a consensus in preliminary discussions. It emphasized that Henry Kissinger, 98, expressed his sense of crisis in the previous tense relations between China and the United States, and hoped that the two sides could re-establish friendly relations.

"Biographies of the Secretaries of State: Henry A. (Heinz Alfred) Kissinger." *Office of the Historian*, history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/kissinger-henry-a. Accessed 4 Mar. 2022.

In this article from the Office of the Historian, I learned the most basic of Kissinger's life and early rise experience and made an abbreviated interpretation

of his rise in the diplomatic world and his influence on the history of American diplomacy.

Brands, Hal. "How Kissinger's Secret Trip to China Transformed the Cold War." *Bloomberg Opinion*, 18 July 2021, www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-07-18/how-kissinger-s-secret-trip-to-china-transformed-the-cold-war. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Through a secret meeting between Henry Kissinger and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1971, and Nixon's visit to China the following year, China and the United States dispelled hostility and became strategic partners, laying the foundation for the decades that followed. This article helped me to understand the end of the Cold War and the relationship between China and other countries also had a great impact based on this meeting. China broke away from the Soviet Union, and the situation of the Cold War fluctuated. At the same time, China was no longer economically isolated. With the help of Kissinger, China had been able to rise in many aspects.

Britannica. "Henry Kissinger." Edited by The Editors of Encyclopaedia. *Britannica*, 3 Nov. 2021, www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Kissinger. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

Henry Alfred Kissinger, a man who had a great influence on American foreign policy. This article is an introduction to Kissinger's life, which plays a key role in understanding his background. It not only introduces his contributions and achievements to the U.S. and foreign diplomacy over the decades, but also provides what he has done and experienced along the way.

Burr, William, editor. "Kissinger's Secret Trip to China." *The National Security Archive*, 27 Feb. 2002, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

Both Kissinger and President Nixon hoped to rebuild the Sino-American relationship that had been hostile for decades. Kissinger tried to establish contact with China in many ways, and in the follow-up information, it was also shown that many Chinese marshals also hoped for new changes in diplomacy at that time. Kissinger's answer on the Taiwan issue, "we are not advocating a `two Chinas' solution or a `one China, one Taiwan' solution." is a necessary condition for the first diplomatic consensus between the two countries (it is undeniable that twenty percent of the content discusses Taiwan issues).

Carter, James. "Kissinger's Secret Trip in 1971 That Paved the Way for U.S.-China Relations." *SupChina*, 9 July 2020, supchina.com/2020/07/09/kissingers-secret-trip-in-1971-that-paved-the-way-for-u-s-china-relations/. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

China and the United States did not have any exchanges, and the Korean War saw soldiers from both sides fight each other on the battlefield. I learned that around 1950, the identities of China and the Soviet Union as allies also gradually broke down, and Mao Zedong hoped to reduce the threat of the Soviet Union by improving Sino-US relations. Neither side wanted to communicate in a public and awkward way, so they didn't come forward until they were sure the other would accept them. The article also explained that Kissinger's illness in Pakistan was just a cover for a secret trip to Beijing, not to let others know.

"China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States." *EveryCRSReport.com*, 25 June 2019, www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL33534.html. Accessed 6 Mar. 2022.

This website provides an overview of China's development and progress over the past few decades. This is partly due to the cancellation of the isolation of China after the Sino-US diplomacy at that time, allowing it to rejoin the international trade market.

Cohen, Warren I. "The United States, China, and the Kissinger Doctrine." *Dissent Magazine*, 11 Aug. 2011, www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/the-united-states-china-and-the-kissinger-doctrine. Accessed 20 Feb. 2022.

After Taiwan was ruled by Chiang Kai-shek and the defeated remnants, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Taipei. I cited that Taiwan, which has been blessed by American values, has become a key point of Sino-US dialogue, and Kissinger's correct judgment on the situation in Taiwan.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia, editor. "Struggle for the Premiership." *Britannica*, www.britannica.com/place/China/Struggle-for-the-premiership. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

This document provides me with the context of China and what was happening internally when conducting diplomacy. After the start of the Cultural Revolution, China's supreme leadership began to falter. Sino-US diplomacy strengthened Zhou Enlai's main influence, re-merged the somewhat scattered layout, and resolved disputes within China. After Zhou Enlai benefited from the diplomatic process, also experiencing the Cultural Revolution, the relations between the Chinese people were turbulent. Zhou Enlai carried out a revival in all aspects and improved education standards, allowing China to re-establish trade relations with foreign countries, and gradually recover China's economy.

Hanhimäki, Jussi. "China and the United States: The Evolution of a Relationship." *Global Challenges*, Feb. 2017, globalchallenges.ch/issue/1/china-and-the-united-states-the-evolution-of-a-relationship/. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

The initial confrontation between China and the United States was mainly due to China's alliance with the Soviet Union, while the United States refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new China. and the Korean War that followed. The Vietnam War weakened and limited the U.S. economy, and Nixon and Kissinger made the right judgment on the situation and tapped China's potential. China's economy rose rapidly in the decades that followed.

"Henry Kissinger > Quotes." *Good Reads*,

www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/28442.Henry_Kissinger. Accessed 4 Mar. 2022.

The quotations from Kissinger himself quoted in the opening paragraph were found on this website.

"Henry Kissinger - Sino-U.S. Relations: Facts and Figures." *China-U.S. Cooperation*,

www.china.org.cn/world/china_us_facts_2011/2011-07/11/content_22967200.htm.

Accessed 20 Feb. 2022.

This document describes Kissinger's major achievements, and the positions and times he held in the U.S. government at the time.

Kaplan, Robert D. "Kissinger, Metternich, and Realism." *The Atlantic*, June 1999,

www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1999/06/kissinger-metternich-and-realism/377625/. Accessed 7 Mar. 2022.

Kissinger's first book was about the contribution of former Austrian diplomat Metternich to world restoration and peace after the Napoleonic Wars, which also

influenced Kissinger's political ideas to a certain extent. Kissinger saw peace and a stable economy as the most basic conditions, and in a world threatened by a nuclear catastrophe, avoiding war and emphasizing peace was the first choice. Kissinger's famous work "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy" is also learned from this article, he does not advocate large-scale nuclear retaliation against the Soviet Union.

Lo, Kinling. "Henry Kissinger Marks 50 Years since First China Visit with Call for Talks to Avoid 'Catastrophe.'" *South China Morning Post*, 9 June 2021, www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3140559/henry-kissinger-marks-50-years-first-china-visit-call-talks. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

As Kissinger celebrated his secret visit to China in 1971, he reminded again that Sino-US relations should not deteriorate, and that further confrontation would be an unspeakable disaster. Kissinger's influence on U.S. diplomacy has gradually diminished, and instead of the engagement policy is the strategic competition of the bipartisan consensus.

Minami, Kazushi. "Toward Strategic Alignment : Sino-American Relations from Rapprochement to Normalization." *Texas Scholar Work*, Dec. 2014, repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/28126. Accessed 5 Mar. 2022.

This article provided me with an analysis of the situation at that time, emphasized Kissinger's concerns about the use of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, and advocated for a balanced world.

"Rapprochement with China, 1972." *Office of the Historian*, history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/rapprochement-china. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

There were signs that relations between China and the Soviet Union were becoming increasingly tense. Nixon wanted Yahya to contact China as an intermediary. Kissinger's first visit to China was carried out under high secrecy. Before visiting China, Nixon expressed his friendship by easing travel and trade restrictions on China since the Korean War. China and the U.S. took a big step toward improving relations after years of hostility after U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China.

"Timeline: U.S. Relations with China 1949–2021." *Council on Foreign Relations*, www.cfr.org/timeline/us-relations-china. Accessed 19 Feb. 2022.

This is a timeline from the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to 2021. It covers the friction between China and the Soviet Union in 1969, ping pong diplomacy, and a series of events after Nixon's visit to China.

"The Trip That Changed the World: Commemorating Kissinger's 1971 Secret Visit to China." *National Committee on U.S. China Relations*, 8 July 2021, www.ncuscr.org/event/kissinger-1971-secret-visit-china. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Kissinger's secret visit was a win-win situation. The United States can balance security threats from the Soviet Union, and China can emerge from international isolation. And call on the current era to continue to learn from Kissinger's approach, to find common ground despite huge differences, and to change the current situation.

"U.S.-China Relations since 1949." *Asia for Educators | Columbia University*, afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1950_us_china.htm. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

A large part of the impact of Nixon's visit to China and the re-establishment of friendly relations with China was learned from this place. Whether it was Kissinger's views on the Taiwan issue in the diplomatic conference during his visit to China, or China's entry into the WTO will no longer be isolated. China's economic growth is accompanied by substantial development, and the United States and foreign countries have also obtained a lot of products and labor from China.

USC US-China Institute, editor. "Getting to Beijing: Henry Kissinger's Secret 1971 Trip." *USC Annenberg*, 11 July 2011, china.usc.edu/getting-beijing-henry-kissingers-secret-1971-trip. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

This article is a very detailed timeline of the restoration of relations between China and the United States, especially some things in the preparation stage of the secret visit in 1971. Including Pakistan's President Yahya as a third party to communicate with Beijing, and the summary of the report that Kissinger conveyed to Nixon.

Wen, Jiabao. "Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the Promotion of Peace and Development." *The People's Republican of China in the Republic of Turkey*, 8 June 2004, [www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cetur//eng/xwdt/t140777.htm#:~:text=These%20principles%20are%3A%20mutual%20respect,mutual%20benefit%20and%20peaceful%20coexistence](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cetur//eng/xwdt/t140777.htm#:~:text=These%20principles%20are%3A%20mutual%20respect,mutual%20benefit%20and%20peaceful%20coexistence.). Accessed 5 Mar. 2022.

This article explains one of the agreements reached during Sino-US diplomacy at that time, which is the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They are First,

firmly upholding the principle of sovereign equality; Second, respecting and maintaining the diversity of world's civilizations; Third, promoting common development of the world's economies based on equality and mutual benefit; Fourth, maintaining peace and security through dialog and cooperation; Fifth, giving full scope to the important role of the UN and other multilateral mechanisms.