

# *The Week that Changed the World: Nixon's Groundbreaking Visit to China*

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Process Paper: 500 Words

Group Documentary

Senior Division

## ***Process Paper***

Although Sino-American relations are currently an ever-present topic in American media, foreign policy, and trade, we realized that we didn't know how this significant relationship was established. It was through our research into the establishment of this relationship that we discovered the groundbreaking impact of Nixon's 1972 visit to China. We found that this topic portrayed Nixon in a light separate from the controversies that he is often known for, and that understanding this event was essential to understanding the two nations' evolving modern-day relationship. Recognizing the importance of this event, and how applicable it was to modern politics and everyday life, we decided to choose Nixon's 1972 visit to China as our subject.

We began our research by looking into primary sources from prominent figures involved in the 1972 visit. We found the writings of significant figures from the event, particularly Henry Kissinger whose books *Diplomacy* and *On China* provided us with useful first-hand information. Additionally, we found newspaper articles, editorials, and memos from the time of the visit; the most useful of which were the documented memorandums of private conversations and negotiations during Nixon's first term in office and during the visit to China, which revealed the foreign policy at play during the visit, and offered insight beyond what was revealed to the people at the time. The utilization of databases such as JSTOR and GALE also ensured that our group obtained an in-depth understanding of this event. Knowing that it would be beneficial to attain additional points of view from historians, we conducted interviews with Boston College professors Seth Jacobs and Robert Ross, and spoke with Shirong Yang, a Beijing citizen at the time of Nixon's visit, provided his recollection of this event's impact on domestic life in China.

When we started to research the topic we realized that there was a large amount of high-quality footage available; when Nixon went to China a large group of American reporters went with him. Therefore, we felt that the documentary format was best suited for this event's presentation. Additionally, we felt that the documentary format would most effectively convey the contextual information necessary to understand the event and immerse the viewer in the event itself; fully conveying the importance of the 1972 visit and its legacy.

Earlier in the twentieth century, ideological and political conflicts constructed a barrier of ignorance and distrust between China and the US. This barrier isolated China not only from the United States, but also from the U.S.'s many global allies. However, despite these barriers, Nixon and Mao agreed that a change was required to ensure the safety and development of their two nations. Motivated by goals of securing prosperity and stability for their countries, the two leaders decided to seek rapprochement with one another, resulting in Nixon's 1972 visit to China, a visit that would break the historical barrier that had long held the two nations apart, and result in new political and economic relationships that helped change the world's perspective of China.

# Annotated Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### *Books*

Kissinger, Henry A. *Diplomacy*. New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.

*Diplomacy*, by Henry Kissinger, is a book that provides context for the event and discusses the diplomatic significance of Nixon's visit to China. Kissinger's *Diplomacy* provided accurate information, significance, and details regarding America's visits to China, especially considering the substantial role Kissinger played in this event. Being the Advisor of National Security to Nixon, and the man who organized and participated in almost all of the meetings during the visit, Kissinger provides key insight and information on the foreign policy strategies involved in the visit. His well-known role in politics and status as an author of many political books provides outstanding credibility to his writing.

Kissinger, Henry A. *On China*. London, England: Penguin Books, 2012.

*On China* gave insight into Henry Kissinger's perspective of Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to China. Moreover, the book provided a detailed overview of the events that lead up to the historic visit and the effects it had on China and the world according to Kissinger. The book is a reliable source as Kissinger wrote it of his own accord, and about his own experiences and memories. Kissinger being Nixon's Advisor of National Security and close personal advisor as well, allowed him to push for his own vision of an international relationship with China. Both he and Nixon were motivated to reach out to China, but Kissinger's role in pushing forward the visit and the negotiations and preparations necessary to make it a success cannot be understated. Furthermore, *On China* does not pretend to be a comprehensive guide of the 1972 visit, rather it is clear that the book's intent is to present Kissinger's perspective on both the meeting and on China as a whole.

As such, *On China* is a trustworthy source because it announces its intent and discusses events that the author was present for.

### *Interviews*

Koppel, Ted, "When Nixon went to China, Cameras Went Along," Interview, February 21, 2004, audio file, 4:17, National Public Radio.

Ted Koppel was a reporter who went with Nixon to China in order to document the visit to show the American people. This interview is a primary source in which Ted Koppel explains the state of China before the talks as he saw it when he arrived, including the attitudes of the Chinese citizens and leaders. He also gave background information in the interview about the relations between China and the United States before Nixon's talks, which provided helpful information for the background section of the documentary. The article also introduced the idea that China really put on an act when America arrived, to make sure that the visit was portrayed exactly as they wanted it to be.

Yang, Shirong. Chinese Citizen in 1972. Email Interview. November 10th, 2019

Shirong was born a Chinese citizen and grew up during Mao Zedong's rise to power as the leader of communist China. Shirong was in his early 30's during the time of the visit, so his memories of the event and its effects on the nation were clear and vivid. His account of Nixon's visit helped provide some contextual and factual information, but at the same time, it gave us a deeper understanding of what this event meant for the nation of China, and the culture's perspective of the meeting itself. Shirong informed us that the Chinese people viewed Mao Zedong as godly figure, and that they viewed the visit as a sign that American leaders were finally learning to respect Mao as a leader, a perspective that greatly elevated the status of the United States in the eyes of the Chinese people. Furthermore he noted the cultural changes in the Chinese view of American people, because of the gradual opening of the Chinese borders to foreign nations. Eventually leading to the larger economic reforms of the 80's.

## *Newspapers*

The Associated Press, "Editorial Opinions in U.S. on Nixon Trip." *New York Times*, February 25, 1972.

This source is an archived article from The New York Times that provides excerpts from various American Newspapers' opinion editorial sections, specifically their views on Nixon's trip to China. The article provides both points of view: negative and positive through the chosen quotes from the other newspapers. This source was insightful regarding the legacy of Nixon's trip to China, providing a better understanding of the United States' reaction to the visit, and how this event changed peoples' perceptions of him.

Berbers, John. "Nixon Will Visit China Before Next May To Seek A 'Normalization Of Relations'" Kissinger Met Chou In Peking". *New York Times*, July 16, 1971.

This New York Times article is an archived article from 1972 in which Nixon's plans to go to China are explained, and his announcement for the trip is broken down for the reader. This primary source article proved useful because it provided information about Nixon's intentions regarding the trip, and helped to aid further understanding of how the American nation perceived his proposed plan to visit China in 1972 given the deteriorating situation in Vietnam at the time. Much of the information within this article contains a view on the American stance on the visit, how they held value in Nixon being The first american president to visit China personally. And a review of all the actions Nixon was taking in preparation for the event.

Durbin, Tillman. "Kissinger Assures Japan On Chinese." *The New York Times*, June 12, 1972.

*Kissinger Assures Japan on Chinese* illustrates how foreign powers, specifically Japan, viewed Nixon's planned visit to China in 1972 and provides a global context for the event. Furthermore, the article displays that foreign nations helped to maintain the communications barrier between the United States and China, which it highlights through Emperor Hirohito's displeasure with Nixon's plan to visit China. This source is reliable as it was created by a trusted organization, The New York Times, and it was created while the events it is discussing were occurring.

Frankel, Max. "Historic Handshake: President Nixon being welcomed by Premier Chou En-lai. At the left is Mrs. Nixon." *New York Times*, Feb 21, 1972.

This is another helpful 'New York Times Archive' source that was beneficial in the research of Nixon's trip to China for a few different reasons; the source gave many details about the first actual meeting between Nixon and Zhou En-lai, and what proceeded. The article also went into detail about the gravity of the meeting itself, and the effects that the trip would surely have on history afterward. Not only did this source supply helpful information about the visit itself and the intent behind the visit, but it gave insight into the seriousness and anticipation with which the meeting was perceived back in America at the time, giving perspective to the domestic reaction in America.

Kleiman, Robert. 1972. "Taiwan Without Tears." *The New York Times*, May 8, 1972.

*Taiwan Without Tears* provided insight into how foreign nations and U.S. congressmen viewed Nixon's visit to China after the event had occurred. The article also discusses the immediate effects that the historic visit had on Taiwan, providing information about the short term changes caused that were the result of the visit. Primarily the Chinese government revoking more violent force attempting to regain Taiwan, and allowing them to remain an independent island. This source is reliable as it was produced by The New York Times, which is a highly regarded source of reliable information, and it discusses events that were occurring at the time it was published.

Szulc, Tad. "U.S. Lifts Ban On China Travel." *The New York Times*, March 16, 1971.

*U.S. Lifts Ban On China Travel* provided information about some of the specific ways that the American government attempted to isolate and contain China. As such, the article helped establish the barriers that existed between America and China during the 1960s. Also, the article mentions the end of America's ban on travel to China, providing context for both Nixon's trip to China and the famous trip of Glenn Cowen, the American Ping Pong player, to China, as neither of these events could have happened if the travel ban had not been repealed. This source is reliable as it was produced by The New York

Times, which is a highly regarded source of reliable information, and it discusses events that were occurring when it was published.

### *Memorandums, Letters & Documents*

Kissinger, Henry A. Memorandum to Richard Nixon. "My Talks with Chou En-Lai" Memorandum, July 14, 1971. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/ch-40.pdf>. Accessed November 11, 2019.

This source is a Memorandum written by Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon. It contains valuable information that Kissinger obtained from his secret visit with Zhou En-Lai. Primarily their intentions for the main visit and what their intentions are in the normalization of relations. The descriptions of events are specific, containing day to day activities. It also contains Kissinger's opinion of the Chinese diplomats based on his experiences during the visit. This memorandum also gives unique insight into Zhou En-Lai's concerns and priorities for the visit, especially his interest in gaining economic and military stability. This article contains valuable primary sources of the events of the secret visit, as well as what is to come in the main summit. The reliability of this source is very important due to it being a primary source.

Kissinger, Henry A. Memorandum to Richard Nixon, "Your Encounter with the Chinese" Memorandum, February 5, 1972. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB70/doc27.pdf>. Accessed November 11, 2019

This source is a Memorandum written by Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon. It contains Kissinger's plans on the visits to China and how it will affect each piece of their goal. It additionally provides Kissinger's point of view on multiple related topics including, the Chinese government, Premier Zhou En-Lai, and Chairman Mao Zedong. Included is information that Kissinger received through his negotiations between the Chinese leaders. The source's main goal is to inform Nixon about each significant piece of his visit, but it also provides information on the tensions between the US and China, as well as Henry Kissinger's stance on the topic and what his intended goals are for Nixon to achieve with the visit. Some important information provided was in Chinese diplomats intentions in the visit. Zhou Enlai intending for all the public negotiations to be peaceful, but additionally how Mao had ultimate power, even over Zhou, and that he likely would stand his ground over topics such as Sino-Soviet relations as well as control



over Taiwan. This first hand source from Henry Kissinger offers an important viewpoint on the stances of the prominent diplomats involved in the visit.

President Richard Nixon to Prime Minister Chou En-Lai, February 23 1972 2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m., The President's Guest House, Peking, Memorandum of Conversation, National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials Project, White House Special Files, President's Office Files, Memoranda for the President Beginning February 20, 1972, box 87.

Both of these memorandums are transcripts of the conversations between President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger and many prominent members of the PRC such as Prime Minister Zhou Enlai while on their 1972 visit to China. These records were not made public until 1999 as they contained sensitive and important information regarding the topics discussed and the foundation for an early national relationship laid between China and America. Among the topics discussed, the Taiwan situation and the establishment of some kind of geopolitical relationship between the two nations were especially present. These documents provided both valuable information and important context to whom the main figures were in this event and what each side was motivated by.

Richard Nixon, "Remarks to the Nation Announcing Acceptance of an Invitation To Visit the People's Republic of China," July 15, 1971. Available online via *The American Presidency Project*

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/ushistory2os/chapter/primary-source-nixon-announcement-of-china-visit-1971/>

In this Presidential announcement, Nixon addresses America that he will be going to China to grow and expand relations with the country. This is the first live television broadcast of Nixon announcing the visit to the world on July 15th, 1971. He establishes that Henry Kissinger has already been talking to the premier leader of China, and his overall intentions in developing closer relations with China, from a peaceful matter different from any other prior conflicts. This source emphasizes Nixon's overall goal with the unprecedented visit, while also being the first major source surrounding the overall topic.

*Websites*

Branch, Foreign Trade Data Dissemination. "Foreign Trade: Data." U.S. Trade with China, April 21, 2009. <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html>.

This source provided economic data of the trade relationship between the United States and China, as well as the United States and Canada. (Canada and China being the two dominant trade partners with the United States.) This historical data allowed for a comparison between the two nations, and established the economic importance of China to the US economy, effectively demonstrating how Nixon's visit helped to evolve the two nations' economic relationship as the opening of China created larger economic opportunity for future Chinese leaders such as Deng Xiaoping, who made great economic reforms in the mid 80's

### *Footage*

Nixon, Richard. "President Nixon Announces China Trip " Richard Nixon Foundation." Richard Nixon Foundation, September 29, 2016. <https://www.nixonfoundation.org/1971/07/president-nixon-announces-china-trip/>.

The national Broadcast of Nixon's announcement that he will be visiting China marks the beginning of the breaking of barriers. After this point, the public was fully aware of Nixon's visit to China and his intentions in visiting. An excerpt from this speech was used in the documentary itself, as well as extracted and analyzed information stated within the broadcast. His intentions were clear, unlike previous presidents before him, he would not be taking an aggressive approach towards communist nations, instead he would take advantage of the failure of Vietnam, and China's need for a powerful ally to turn away the Soviet union. Working towards peaceful relations and negotiations that could benefit both nations greatly. This footage is a primary source as it includes unedited footage of Richard Nixon's inauguration speech.

Nixon, Richard. "Richard Nixon on Communism and Khrushchev " JFK Library." JFK Library, Nov 2, 2016.

This short advertisement for Nixon's campaign highlights his strict stance on communism and shows that his intentions were to contain communism and continue to promote freedom for all people around the world, a freedom that he believed was only

possible after the destruction of communism. This provided key insight into Nixon's general stance towards communism when he was elected, illustrating the dramatic changes that had to occur for his opinion on China to change as much as it did. This advertisement was a primary source as it is a digital image of Nixon's original advertisements at the time.

## Secondary Sources

### *Books*

Brinkley, Douglas, and Luke Nichter, ed., *The Nixon Tapes*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014.

The book *The Nixon Tapes* contains the declassified tapes of Nixon's time as president. Many of the manuscripts contain the transcripts of conversations between himself and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, another prominent figure in Nixon's visit to China. Throughout the entire book, there are annotations from editors Brinkley and Nichter providing context for the information. Many of these conversations cover Cold War-related topics, specifically discussions about China. These conversations helped provide information about America's intentions for the visit, as well as the attitudes of the main figures on the American side of the historic event. The information provided in the manuscripts in the book also helped to corroborate information from other sources focused on Nixon's attitude towards the event.

Farrell, John A. *Richard Nixon: The Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 2018.

This book gave an in-depth overview of President Richard Nixon's beliefs, aspirations, and goals that he went into the historic 1972 visit to China. This information was very helpful as it discussed and conveyed Nixon's motivations for breaking the barrier of containment and gave a more complete profile of him as an American leader and as a somewhat flawed individual. This resource also provided key quotes from Nixon prior to and during the visit that was very useful in conveying his stance in the documentary itself.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Nixon and Mao: The Week That Changed the World*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2008.

*Nixon and Mao: The Week That Changed the World* is a book by Margaret MacMillan that goes in-depth into Nixon's trip to China in 1971. She explains the achievements of this historical visit, and the complex figures involved in the talks, and their roles such as the essential roles of Chou En-lai and Henry Kissinger. This book was helpful in creating a timeline of events for the understanding of the visit itself. It also gave insight into the characters of Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon, which proved helpful when creating the background section of the documentary.

Mann, Jim. *About Face: a History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*. New York: Vintage Books, 2000.

James Mann summarizes Nixon's trip to China and its overall impact on the entire world after the monumental presidential meeting. After serving as a correspondent to the Supreme Court, and as a Beijing bureau chief, he was a good primary source on the period after the initial trip to its overall impacts. One of the best things this book has to offer is it showing how the meeting changed America and China, and giving people a different perspective on the peace it created between both countries.

*Markets Over Mao: The Rise of the Private Sector in China*. Washington: Institute for International Economics, U.S., 2015.

This book explains the economy under the rule of Mao Zedong, a crucial figure in Nixon's visit to China. It detailed the growth of China's economy after the '70s as a result of the historic visit, providing evidence of the significance of Nixon's actions in China. This source also allowed for the creation of charts to help outline the growth in China's markets that are used to explain the legacy of Nixon's visit.

Romberg, Alan D. *Rein at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations*. Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003.

This book detailed both the meeting between America and China in 1972, how the event related to the strained historical relationship between America and the PRC, and the historical consequences and legacy that came as a result of the groundbreaking event. This source was also a recommended reading on the topic from the Nixon Presidential Library, the largest compiler of research of Nixon's Presidency.

Tyler, Patrick. *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China: An Investigative History*. PublicAffairs, 2000.

This book by Tyler Patrick explains the history of America-China relations from 1949-2000. Patrick personally being a journalist in China during the time of Nixon's trip, helps give a primary perspective on the overall visit. The book contains personal interviews with Presidents and important Chinese officials discussing the relations between both countries. This source gave new perspectives of Chinese officials and American society during the time of the trip.

### *Articles & Journals*

Bostdorff, Denise M. "The Evolution of a Diplomatic Surprise: Richard M. Nixon's Rhetoric on China, 1952—July 15, 1971." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 5, no. 1 (2002): 31-56.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41939716>.

The journal article *The Evolution of a Diplomatic Surprise* focuses on how Nixon's visit to China was a well-timed diplomatic meeting that no one expected. It speaks about how Nixon's main goal in taking the trip was to seek normalization in US-Sino relations and how his decisions to do so shocked the entire world. Including the impact of the event afterward, with nations directly involved with the event such as Taiwan, Vietnam, and The Soviet Union. The article also provides Nixon's reasoning behind the visit, specifically how he planned the visit in response to the failure in Vietnam. Bostdorff gives key details about relations before the visit and the specific actions and reasoning behind each diplomatic move. This source helps provide insight into the intentions of the visit.

Davin, Delia. "OBO ." Mao Zedong - Chinese Studies. Oxford Bibliographies, August 20, 2019. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199920082/obo-9780199920082-0037.xml>.

This short scholarly source from Delia Davin gives more insight into Mao Zedong and his influence on China's government and political status during the rise of Communist China. It discusses his overall impact on the formation of the PRC, and his importance to the Chinese people. Mao's role in the Chinese government was almost that of ultimate power, he would exercise extreme power upon other Chinese politician. This source also stated his most important beliefs that influenced decisions that he made in connection to allowing the visit to go forward.

Domes, Jurgen. "Some Results of the Cultural Revolution in China." *Asian Survey* Vol. 11, No. 9 (September 1971): pp. 932-940. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2642782>

This source, written just before Nixon's actual trip to China gives information on what the cultural revolution in China really was. It helped inform the background information included for the subject, and why China drew so far apart from the United States as a result of their lack of communication, as well as the political ideologies being so different from one another. Mao's intentions for the development of China slowly turned the United States against them, an example of the extremities of the Capitalist, Communist conflict. It also gave some important information on Mao's rule and influence on China as a nation.

Goh, Evelyn. "Nixon, Kissinger, and the "Soviet card" in the U.S. opening to China, 1971-1974." *Diplomatic History Roundtable* Vol. 29, No. 3 (June 2005): pp. 475-502. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24915131>

This source helped provide an understanding of Henry Kissinger's integral role in the talks with China, specifically regarding his idea of "Triangular relations." The idea of triangular relations, in which both the U.S. and China used normalization of relations to gain leverage over the Soviet Union, is a particularly important topic in the documentary, and this source delved into the diplomacy that worked to establish these relations.

Li, Chenghong. "Re-examining Lin Biao's role in Sino-U.S. initial rapprochement." *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 17, no. 2 (2010): 119+. *Gale In Context: World History* (accessed

September 26, 2019).

[https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A345883193/WHIC?u=mlyn\\_n\\_hware&sid=WHIC&xid=f88a3de](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A345883193/WHIC?u=mlyn_n_hware&sid=WHIC&xid=f88a3de)

The article *Re-examining Lin Biao's role in Sino-U.S. initial rapprochement* is a significant source of information regarding the political climate of the People's Republic of China prior to and during the 1972 meeting between Richard Nixon and Mao Zedong. Specifically, the article focuses on the role of Lin Biao in the Chinese government and the degradation of relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. As such, this article helped provide context behind China's decision to move away from the Soviet Union in order to improve relations with the United States. This article is reliable as it was published by the American Journal of Chinese Studies, which is a well regarded peer-reviewed academic journal, and the author has no personal connection to the topic that would cause him to be biased in any way.

MacFarquhar, Roderick. "*Nixon's China Pilgrimage*." *The World Today* 28, no. 4 (1972): 153-62. Accessed November 11, 2019. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40394616>.

This article touches on the motivations of Nixon and his administration in establishing a relationship with China, and also focused on the media arrangements made by Nixon to best publicize the event and normalize the countries new relationship to the American public. This article was essential in understanding how meticulously planned and televised this event was, and how those factors contributed to its lasting impact.

Mirsky, Jonathan. "*China after Nixon*." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 402 (1972): 83-96. Accessed November 11, 2019. [www.jstor.org/stable/1039207](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1039207).

This article focuses on the lasting impacts of the historic event in China, both in the development of its culture and its economy. These changes were primarily focused on economic and political changes in China. How the triangular relationship between the two nations and the Soviet Union shifted drastically due to the new geopolitical relations that were developed. As well as the change in foreign investment in China that would come within the next couple decades following the initial visit. Much of the information provided gives insight on the idea that Nixon was the start of peaceful Sino-American relations, and how they were set up to develop even further as a result of the visit itself.

Overholt, William H. "President Nixon's Trip to China and Its Consequences." *Asian Survey* 13, no. 7 (July 1973): 707–21. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2642707>.

*President Nixon's Trip to China and Its Consequences* is a scholarly article that discusses the immediate and long-term effects that Nixon's 1972 visit to China had on Asia and the rest of the world. Therefore, this article was a vital source to draw from when discussing the local and global legacy of Nixon's visit. Moreover, the article also briefly discussed the factors that lead to the occurrence of the visit, providing a brief overview of how the visit came to happen. This article is reliable as its author, William Overholt is both an expert on U.S. Asian relations and the president of the Fung Global Institute, an institute dedicated to innovative thinking on global issues.

Shambaugh, David. "Anti-Americanism in China" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* no. 497 (1988): 142-156. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1045767>.

*Anti-Americanism in China* Provides context for the Chinese view of the American government and its people, and the conflict between Mao's ideologies and Imperialist America. The highlight of the article demonstrates that Mao continuously issued propaganda campaigns against America, especially during the Korean War and conflict with Taiwan. This helped contribute to the idea that China's isolation was not only from the outside but as well as self-isolation. Additionally highlighting the severity of the ideological differences between the United States and China and the lasting effect of the conflicts leading up until the visit. It provides some information about the change of opinions after the visit as well. This article was useful for the context piece of the project as it gives information for China's attitude towards America.

Terrill, Ross. "US-China Relations." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 3 (1980): 99-111. [www.jstor.org/stable/2159014](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2159014).

This scholarly article is from a book by Ross Terrill. The book explains the relations between the U.S and China after 1949, and before 1970. Providing information about the relationship between China and the United States in the years leading up to the visit itself. Containing mostly political connections that had taken place, as well as the tensions that developed in the events of the Chinese Civil War, World War Two and other smaller events. These tensions were what held the two nations apart, especially from a political standpoint. The book most importantly provided important context for the tensions within China before the visit itself.



Tucker, Nancy. "Taiwan Expendable? Nixon and Kissinger Go to China" *The Journal of American History*, no. 92 (2005): 109-135. [www.jstor.org/stable/3660527](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3660527).

This article focuses on the US-China and US-Taiwan relations and how the visit affected each party. It details how the visit would force the United States to pick a side and acknowledge that Taiwan is a piece of China. It also highlights that with the visit, the relationship between the United States and Taiwan was put under risk, and losing the support of the US would severely hurt Taiwan's economy. The primary problem highlighted in this journal is that America wanted to keep Taiwan under their control, while China wanted Taiwan back, and how that developed a stalemate at the time of Nixon's visit.

### *Websites*

Evans, Michael. "Nixon's Trip to China Records Now Completely Declassified, Including Kissinger Intelligence Briefing and Assurances on Taiwan." *Nixon's Trip to China*. The National Security Archive, December 11, 2003. Accessed January 21th, 2020, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/>.

This website contained a synopsis of and links to the four key memorandums that detail the conversations between prominent figures such as Nixon and Kissinger, from the time leading up to and during the trip itself. These memorandums were key in understanding the motivations of both governments and what they sought to gain from the meeting and possible geopolitical relationship. This synopsis provided an especially useful summary of the public and private conversations the governments had concerning the Taiwan situation and illustrated the difference between the public front both nations showed and the private negotiations occurring at the same time.

Evans, Michael. "The Beijing to Washington Back-Channel and Henry Kissinger's Secret Trip to China." Edited by William Burr. *Kissinger's Secret Trip to China*, February 27, 2002. Accessed November 10th, 2019, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/>.

This website contains a complete list of all the transcripts between the Nixon Administration and prominent global figures involved in the arrangement and execution

of the meeting and the events leading up to it. The topic of this source places more importance in the role of Henry Kissinger in the visit, as he was the one who made the secret diplomatic trips, as well as many of the talks involved with the Shanghai Communique. As well as the trust that Nixon held in Kissinger to be a prominent decision maker in the visit, this comprehensive compilation of primary sources was useful in obtaining direct and unbiased historical information on this topic.

### *Personal Interviews*

Jacobs, Seth. Boston College Professor. Personal Interview. October 21, 2019

Seth Jacobs is a Boston College Professor of Domestic Culture and Foreign Policy. He is also the author of *Cold War Mandarin*. Jacobs had shared his domestic view of Nixon, and the domestic political views of China and Vietnam during the time of the visit. In addition, he spoke about how Americans were tired of the Vietnam War and wanted to look for a way to get out of the War. This interview was a helpful addition to the project, providing valuable information on Americans' perspectives of Nixon's trip, and the short term impacts of the visit.

Ross, Robert. Boston College Professor. Personal Interview. November 6, 2019

Boston College Professor of Political Science Robert S. Ross helped provide general information for the visit. This interview communicated that the isolation of China came primarily from their Communist ideologies, only increasing America's disliking of their government system. Because of this, the Soviet Union became a primary threat to their safety, resulting in their call for support from the United States. Other issues that contributed to included Vietnam and Taiwan. The information provided in the interview helped with corroborating the information from other sources, as well as providing a more in-depth way of looking at the decisions made by Nixon and Mao regarding the visit.

### **Photos**

*A border guard unit on Damansky island. 1969.* Photograph. 1969. Russian News Agency TASS  
[http should ://www.rbth.com/history/330058-china-ussr-world-war-three.](http://www.rbth.com/history/330058-china-ussr-world-war-three)

This is a picture of Chinese troops located on Zhenbao or Damansky Island, the island itself was a prominent location of the border conflict between the Soviets and the People's Republic of China in 1969. Both sides of the conflict felt they had a claim to the island and the conflict raised concerns that it could ignite a potential war or larger-scale conflict if tensions on the border continued to escalate. This picture of the Chinese guard illustrated the high tensions present for the soldiers on both sides of this conflict.

*Accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to the ROC Leonard Unger (left,) Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher (center) calls on Taiwan officials following President Carter's announcement of derecognition.* Photograph. December 15, 1978. AmCham Taipei.

This was useful in the documentary, as it showed U.S Ambassador to the ROC Leonard Unger leaving a call in which he told the leaders of Taiwan that America is pulling military support from the island.

*Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon in 1960. After Goldwater's loss, four years later, Nixon strategists looked for ways to win by recovering the American center.* Photograph. 1960. The New Yorker.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-ideological-operational-divide-in-the-g-o-p>

This image was pictured in our documentary in order to portray how representatives of the Republican party including Barry Goldwater did not protest against the escalation of tensions from the Vietnam War.

Byron E. Schumaker. *Air Force One landing in Beijing.* Photograph. February 21, 1972. U.S National Archives and Records Administration.

<https://search.archives.gov/search/docs?affiliate=national-archives&dc=8233&query=Byron+E.+Schumaker>

This photograph depicts an American Airplane behind lines of Chinese soldiers, a representation of the two nations coming together in this historic moment.

Chen Xiaoxi. *Imperialism and all reactionaries are all paper tigers*. 1965. Propaganda Poster. 1965. Sichuan renmin chubanshe. <https://chinese posters.net/posters/e15-615.php>

This photo is an example of Chinese propaganda that helped to isolate the two nations from one another. The poster depicts a Chinese soldier holding a bayonet with the helmet of a US soldier impaled on it, and a row of orderly Chinese citizens behind him. The poster represents China's assumed superiority over the United States, and their dislike of the capitalist nation.

*Former U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) visits Taiwan on June 18, 1960, becoming the only sitting U.S. president to visit Taiwan*. Photograph. June 18th, 1960. Taiwan Government Information Office. <https://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/retracingoursteps/>

This photograph depicts then-president Dwight D. Eisenhower visiting Taiwan on June 18th of 1960, riding to the left of Chiang Kai-shek in a convertible out of the Songshan airport and into the city of Taipei. This photo comes as a result of America's attempts to maintain a relationship with the Chinese nationalist party and its leader Chiang-Kaishek after the resolution of the Chinese civil war. This image is particularly relevant to Nixon's 1972 visit as it illustrates just how close the governments of America and Taiwan were and the importance of the geopolitical relationship to both nations, with Taiwan being a key issue between Mao and Nixon.

*Glenn Cowan breezes through a Peking practice session in April 1971*. Photograph. 1971. The Globe and Mail. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/community/inside-the-globe/journalism-unplugged-it-took-resourcefulness-to-cover-ping-pong-diplomacy/article26545890/>

This is a photo showing competition between a Chinese and American Ping-Pong player during the Ping Pong tournament in China that America was invited to. A step in the right direction as far as improving relations with China.

*Henry Kissinger and the Press*. Photograph. Keystone/Getty Images.

Henry Kissinger was the National Security advisor at the time of Nixon's Presidency. He was one of the contributors behind the planning and execution of the visit, becoming a prominent figure in the event as he was the primary diplomat that organized behind the curtains while Nixon acted as the figure everyone would see.

Li Binghong. *The Sino-Soviet Alliance for Friendship and Mutual Assistance promotes enduring world peace*. Propaganda Poster. 1950. Dazhong Meishu Chubanshe.

<https://chinese posters.net/posters/pc-1950-s-002.php>

This piece depicts Mao and Stalin, the leaders of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union respectively, standing side by side in the background with a group of dancers and performers forming a parade in the foreground. The piece also displays a band of doves, the bird of peace, and a border comprised of a bounty of fruits

*Mao in Yanan*. Photograph. November, 1944. Everett Collection

<https://www.agefotostock.com/age/en/Stock-Images/Rights-Managed/ERE-HISL038-EC715-H/1>

This photo depicts Mao Zedong giving a speech to his followers as the leader of the Chinese Communist party in 1944. This picture demonstrates the presence and authority that Mao held in his own party and eventually over the entirety of the People's Republic of China once the Communist Party took control. Mao's authority would be crucial in the arrangements of the Nixon-China visit in 1972, although his presence there would be greatly diminished due to sickness.

*Mao Zedong Declaring The Birth Of The People's Republic Of China*. Photograph. October 1, 1949. Mondadori Portfolio.

<https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/the-chinese-communist-party-leader-mao-zedong-declaring-the-news-photo/141551605>

On October 1st, 1949. Mao Zedong declared the birth of the People's republic of China. This photograph shows Mao's speech, informing the people of China about this event. Marking the beginning of a new era in China, where the government is more heavily focused on Marxist-Maoist ideologies. This also marks the beginning of the Chinese Cultural revolution. At this time imperialist America would be viewed from a negative light in China. As well as from America, the prominent communist power in China would

immediately mark the nation as a threat and a target of the Containment policy. This mutual dislike of one another would contribute to the isolation of China.

*Nixon and Kissinger.* Photograph. Getty Images.

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2014/07/new-nixon-tape-transcripts-thoughts-on-gays-jews-and-more.html>

This photo depicts then-President Nixon Secretary of State and Security Advisor Henry Kissinger. The two were known to work well together, and Kissinger was a man deeply respected by Richard Nixon, who relied on his skills in diplomacy for the execution of his trip to China.

“Now the Great Debate” *Time*, May 21, 1979.

<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,920353,00.html>

A Time magazine cover that helps display the significance of the SALT II treaties. As well as a powerful image that helps convey the developing relations between the US and the Soviet Union.

*President Richard M. Nixon and Chou En-lai at the Great Hall of the People in Peking in 1972.*

Photograph. February 25, 1972. New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/arts/music/13nixon.html>

This photo depicts Chou Enlai and President Richard Nixon at the Great Hall of the People in 1972. This was one of the events that took place while Nixon was in China. It was all a part of the closet choreographed events that would be displayed to both Chinese and American people, to emphasize the peaceful relations that both nations sought.

*President Donald Trump, right, with China's President Xi Jinping, left during their bilateral meeting at the G20 summit.* Photograph. December 1, 2018. AP News.

<https://www.voanews.com/east-asia/china-hopes-trump-xi-meeting-will-help-ease-escalating-trade-war>

This photo depicts President Trump left of Chinese President Xi Jinping at the bilateral meeting at the G20 summit in 2018. Symbolizing the still strong relations between the two nations, as well as their large roles in international relations.

*Richard Nixon eating with Zhou Enlai in Shanghai.* Photograph. February 26, 1972. Bettmann Archives

This is a photo of Nixon and Zhou Enlai dining together at a dinner during Nixon's visit to China. These kinds of photos were taken to be proof of the two countries' strengthening relations.

*Soviet troops flying the red flag atop the train station at Harbin, Songjiang, China.* Photograph. August 20th, 1944. Sputnik News Agency [https://ww2db.com/image.php?image\\_id=17963](https://ww2db.com/image.php?image_id=17963)

This photograph depicts Russian and Chinese troops atop the Harbin Songjiang train station, after defending the city from an offensive from the Imperial Japanese Army. The Japanese had attempted to take the city but were repelled by the combined force of the Russians and Chinese. This picture demonstrates the military partnership that existed between the Russians and the Chinese Communist Party before the ideological split, and how crucial it was to China's geopolitical standing.

*Taiwan Chiang Kai-Shek Nixon, Taipei, Taiwan.* Photograph. November 8, 1953. Associated Press.

This photo depicts President Nixon and the Leader of the Republic of China in Taiwan, Chiang Kaishek. This photo is significant because it depicts the two leaders together, representative of the shaky relationship that the US had with Taiwan that they were risking through their visit to China.

*Taiwan's Foreign Minister Chow Shu-kai, foreground, and Ambassador Lui Chieh, center.* Photograph. October 25th, 1971. Associated Press  
<https://timelines.latimes.com/la-fg-china-taiwan-relations-timeline/>

This picture of Taiwan's Foreign Minister and Ambassador at the General Assembly of the United Nations shows the two individuals watching a U.N. vote regarding Mainland China's admittance into the United Nations. The United States had pushed for Taiwan to be allowed to take China's seat in the United Nations, not the PRC, and America had succeeded in this goal with Chaing Kai Shek keeping the seat. The concern of the

officials demonstrates Taiwan's deep convictions that they deserve to represent China on a global stage, not the PRC.

*The 1969 Soviet-Chinese border conflict. Chinese soldiers trying to enter Damansky Island.*

Photograph. 1969. Sputnik Radio Network.

<https://www.rbth.com/history/330058-china-ussr-world-war-three>.

This picture shows Chinese soldiers of an infantry division trying to enter Russian territory on Damansky Island in order to provoke the Soviet border guards. This was the first attempt made by the Chinese army to breach Russia's military control of the island but was only to provoke the Soviet troops and was only fought with fists. Two weeks later on March 15th, 1969, the People's Republic of China sent a full infantry force to take the island, the force initially succeeded in pushing back the Russians but the troops were quickly decimated by missile fire from a bank off of the island that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of Chinese troops and ended the fighting. This picture shows how quickly the border conflict between the two powers escalated and the lengths that each side was willing to go to in order to protect their territory and especially relevant factor in Mao's decision to work with America.

*U.S. Marines in Tsingtao: "Buddies".* Photograph. 1945. Thats Qingdao.

<https://www.thatsqingdao.com/us-marines-tsingtao-china-1945/>

This photograph shows American soldiers standing beside each other in the Chinese port city of Qingdao. This was during operation Beleaguer, an operation conducted by the American military in order to protect Japanese, Korean, and Chinese Nationalist Forces in the City. Many soldiers were left behind after World War Two and were forced to defend themselves against the Chinese communist army. The American involvement in these conflicts is an example of the tension between Communist China and the American army, which would develop a hatred between the two powers, contributing to the barrier that had developed between the two nations.

*U.S. President Barack Obama (L) shows the way to President of China Hu Jintao (R) at the Nuclear Security Summit April 12, 2010 in Washington, DC. President Obama hosted leaders of the 47 nations for the two-day Nuclear Security Summit to discuss solutions to cut down nuclear weapons around the world.* Photograph. April 12, 2010. Getty Images.



[http://www.zimbio.com/photos/Barack+Obama/Hu+Jintao/President+Obama+Hosts+World+Leaders+Nuclear/g8-\\_\\_m32NPG](http://www.zimbio.com/photos/Barack+Obama/Hu+Jintao/President+Obama+Hosts+World+Leaders+Nuclear/g8-__m32NPG)

This photo depicts President Obama with the then-President of China, Hu Jintao, at the Washington Nuclear Security Summit in 2010. A display of the continued relations between the US and China.

*U.S. President Gerald Ford (L) speaks with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (R) during the European Summit focused on Security and Cooperation on August 7, 1975 in Helsinki.*

Photograph. August 7, 1975. Foreign Policy.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/11/once-upon-a-time-helsinki-meant-human-rights-trump-putin-summit/>

This photo was used in the documentary to emphasize the idea that the talks between Leonid Brezhnev continued after Nixon's presidency.

*U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev.* Photograph. June 18, 1979. U.S. Department of State.

This is an image of the U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev signing the SALT II treaty. Which was an important leap forward in US Soviet relations following the visit.

*United States President Richard M. Nixon (left) meets with Doctor Henry A. Kissinger (right) and General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (center) in the Oval Office in the White House in Washington, D.C.* Photograph. December 14, 1972. White House.

Henry Kissinger and President Nixon meeting casually. A display of the close relationship between the two men; a relationship that benefited the planning of the event.

*William Waldegrave shaking hands with Chairman Mao Zedong.* Photograph. The Telegraph.  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/communism/11604929/Mao-Tse-tung-Im-not-sure-Mao-approved-of-my-unruly-hair-any-more-than-Heath-did.html>

This photo showing the British ambassador to China shaking hands with Mao displays the worldwide effects of the visit, and how China opened up to the rest of the world, making relations with other nations possible.

Xu Ling *The Korean War (1950-1953)*. Propaganda Poster. 1950. Dazhong Meishu Chubanshe. <https://chinese posters.net/gallery/e27-169.php>

This image is an example of the kind of anti-American sentiments present in China at the time leading up to Nixon's visit to China in 1972. The poster is representative of the kinds of barriers that had been built up between the nations through propaganda from both sides.

Zhou Enlai, left, and Henry Kissinger in Beijing in 1971. Picture. 1971. Library of Congress. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/10/books/on-china-by-henry-kissinger-review.html>

This photo portrays Head of Security and advisor to Nixon, Henry Kissinger, meeting with Premier Zhou Enlai of China. The two played arguably the most integral role in the diplomacy of Nixon's visit to China, orchestrating communication between their two nations, and conducted the important diplomatic decision-making behind the scenes while Nixon toured China.

毛泽东主席会见尼克松总统, *人民日报*, February 22, 1972. <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/19/20020220/670805.html>

This photo shows a Chinese public newspaper from the time, the photos in the paper display Nixon and Mao shaking hands. The printing of this paper with such photo depicts China's new willingness to expose their people to these developments.

## *Videos & Film*

ABC News. "President Trump meets with Chinese President Xi Jinping". YouTube Video, 2:41. Posted April 6, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6BY1qoDMduU>

This footage of President Trump's meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping is yet another example of how the relations between China and the US have improved as a result of Nixon's trip to China. The video depicts President Trump and First Lady Melania standing to the left of the Chinese President and his wife.

*Early 1970's China Heavy Industry, Factories, Workers.* Video Recording. Kinolibrary. <http://kinolibrary.com/#/showreels>

This footage shows factory workers in a Chinese factory in the early 1970s before Nixon's visit. Establishing an accurate image of China's economy prior to the reforms that followed the groundbreaking visit.

Jim Laurie "China 1979: Deng Xiaoping visits Texas February 2nd, 1979". YouTube Video, 2:46. Posted December 31, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DNKhhvixdV4o>

This is footage of Deng Xiaoping's visit to Texas in February of 1979. This footage represents the results of Nixon's trip to China, and highlights the improvements in relations between China and the US because of the rapprochement sought by Nixon and Mao in 1972.

Nixon, Richard. "President Nixon 1969 Inauguration". January 20, 1969. C-SPAN. C-Span Video Library : a Digital Archive of C-SPAN Video, Created by Cable, Offered as a Public Service. National Cable Satellite Corporation. <https://www.c-span.org/video/?5798-1/president-nixon-1969-inauguration>

This is footage from President Nixon's inauguration, which was used to back information about the President's intentions once he entered office. The footage provided information from Nixon's policies, as well as footage that helped convey Nixon's popularity among the American people.

“Nixon in China(The Film).” Video file, 45:46. Youtube. Posted by Richard Nixon Presidential Library, February 22, 2012.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cfsI4ZjTbU>

The film “Nixon in China” is a compilation of a lot of the footage taken during the President’s trip to China. It contains footage of both the significant diplomatic talks between politicians of both countries as well as some of the sight-seeing that Nixon did while in China. This footage proved very helpful to the project, as it provided relatively high-quality imagery for some of the most crucial parts of this historic event.

torawashi, “Animated Communism Map”. YouTube Video, 00:21. Posted March 26, 2009.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oWALXrWeDQA>

This video was useful as it depicted the spread of Communism across the world in a manner that was easy for the viewer to quickly understand. As such, with this graphic, the spread of communism could be depicted in a visual way that would be more impactful to the viewer than a voiceover.

*Остров Даманский. 1969 год.* Directed by Andrea Semenov. Moscow: Студия Галакон, 2004. DVD.

This source is a Russian documentary detailing the events at Damansky island in 1969, at the height of the Sino-Soviet conflict. This documentary provided us with valuable and relatively high quality footage of this event which was to play a significant role in encouraging China to seek rapprochement with the United States.

### *Music*

Glass, Philip. *Raising the Sail*. Los Angeles, Paramount Pictures. 1998.

Glass, Philip. *Poets Act*. Los Angeles, Paramount Pictures. 2002.

*Two Pieces For Strings: Passacaglia: The Death Of Falstaff (Edited Performance)*. London, Southbank Centre, recorded April 8th 2017.

*Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman (Edited Performance)*. Beijing, Great Hall of People, recorded May 6th, 2016.