

On China Study Guide

On China by Henry Kissinger

(c)2015 BookRags, Inc. All rights reserved.



Contents

On China Study Guide.....	1
Contents.....	2
Plot Summary.....	3
Prologue; Preface; Chapters 1-2.....	5
Chapters 3-5.....	10
Chapters 6-9.....	16
Chapters 10-14.....	20
Chapters 15-18; Epilogue.....	24
Characters.....	26
Objects/Places.....	29
Themes.....	31
Style.....	33
Quotes.....	36
Topics for Discussion.....	38



Plot Summary

On China by Henry A. Kissinger is a book of non-fiction that details the statesman's account of the history of China and the US-Sino relationship on a political level.

The preface to On China begins with an explanation of Henry Kissinger's role in the U.S. government and his relationship with the Chinese people and their government. Kissinger presents an insider's view into the occurrences that took place at that time. Kissinger also states that the primary focus of the book is to record the interaction between the Chinese and American governments since 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established. Kissinger has kept records of his conversations with high level Chinese officials and using those notes was able to create this book.

"Forty years ago almost to the day, President Richard Nixon did me the honor of sending me to Beijing to reestablish contact with a country central to the history of Asia with which America had had no high-level contact for over twenty years. The American motive for the opening was to put before our people a vision of peace transcending the travail of the Vietnam War and the ominous vistas of the Cold War." (Preface, p. 11)

Kissinger addresses the long and illustrious history of China, beginning with the prologue.

In 1962, there was a stand off between China and India regarding their common borders. Each seemed to have a valid argument over the rights. China's revolutionary leader Mao Zedong called his highest ranking military and political officers to meet with him in Beijing. Meanwhile, Chinese and Indian troops were engaged in a stalemate. Kissinger explains how and why Mao broke the stalemate. China attacked and conquered the Indians.

The author explains the basic history of Chinese government.

China is different from most other countries due to its spiritual and political philosophies.

"Societies and nations tend to think of themselves as eternal. They also cherish a tale of their origin." (Chap. 1, p. 20)

Kissinger believes that this statement represents China more than any other. China is one place that seems to have existed since the dawn of time. The supposed founder of China, the Yellow Emperor, is highly revered. However, myth suggests that the Yellow Emperor was responsible for re-establishing China, not creating it. China had fallen into chaos and required a new emperor, so the Yellow Emperor stepped forward to take control.

The majority of the text regarding the government centers around Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Mao sought to tear down the ancient culture and strengthen it politically. Deng sought to modernize the country after Mao left it in ruins.

Kissinger was part of an elite team that reestablished US-Sino relations. The author details the relationships between the US and China from the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to present day.



Prologue; Preface; Chapters 1-2

Prologue; Preface; Chapters 1-2 Summary and Analysis

Preface:

The preface to *On China* begins with an explanation of Henry Kissinger's role in the U.S. government and his relationship with the Chinese people and their government. Kissinger presents an insider's view into the occurrences that took place at that time. Kissinger also states that the primary focus of the book is to record the interaction between the Chinese and American governments since 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established. Kissinger has kept records of his conversations with high level Chinese officials and using those notes was able to create this book.

"Forty years ago almost to the day, President Richard Nixon did me the honor of sending me to Beijing to reestablish contact with a country central to the history of Asia with which America had had no high-level contact for over twenty years. The American motive for the opening was to put before our people a vision of peace transcending the travail of the Vietnam War and the ominous vistas of the Cold War." (Preface, p. 11)

Prologue:

In 1962, there was a stand off between China and India regarding their common borders. Each seemed to have a valid argument over the rights. China's revolutionary leader Mao Zedong called his highest ranking military and political officers to meet with him in Beijing. Meanwhile, Chinese and Indian troops were engaged in a stalemate. Kissinger explains how and why Mao broke the stalemate. China attacked and conquered the Indians.

The author explains the basic history of Chinese government.

Chapter 1: The Singularity of China

"Societies and nations tend to think of themselves as eternal. They also cherish a tale of their origin." (Chap. 1, p. 20)

Kissinger believes that this statement represents China more than any other. China is one place that seems to have existed since the dawn of time. The supposed founder of China, the Yellow Emperor, is highly revered. However, myth suggests that the Yellow Emperor was responsible for re-establishing China, not creating it. China had fallen into chaos and required a new emperor, so the Yellow Emperor stepped forward to take control.



Others credit Confucius for creating China but Confucius himself stated that he sought only to create harmony out of existing chaos.

It is clear when the first recorded written characters came into being. The first record of the written word in China came about during the Shang Dynasty. At that time, in the second millennium B.C., one of the great civilizations was ancient Egypt. Greece was not yet formed, nor was Rome. Unlike many languages, the Shang writing system is still in use today. More than one billion people are able to read the original texts of Confucius and other ancients.

Despite all of the chaos, conflicts and war, China has always managed to re-form itself into a strong nation.

The Era of Chinese Preeminence:

Throughout its long history, China never dealt with other civilizations that were in any way comparable to it.

The Chinese have a long and illustrious history of being nautical experts. The Chinese were the world leaders in nautical matters as early as 960, during the Song Dynasty. The Song Dynasty lasted until 1297. Regardless of the expertise of the sailors and merchants, there were few attempts to travel to or conquer other regions or countries. There were two attempts to invade Japan, both of which were thwarted by bad weather. The Japanese attribute these events to "divine wind" also known as "kamikaze."

The Ming Dynasty existed from 1405 - 1433. At that time China became involved in launching one of the most remarkable naval enterprises in history. Admiral Zheng sent technological marvels known as "treasure ships" to faraway lands including India, Java, the Horn of Africa, and the Strait of Hormuz. The purpose of the missions is still unclear and is often a source of debate amongst historians.

Despite these technological advancements, China tended to remain isolated.

"China's splendid isolation nurtured a particular Chinese self-perception. Chinese elites grew accustomed to the notion that China was unique—not just 'a great civilization' among others, but civilization itself." (Chap. 2, p. 26)

Although China remained isolated, it was the world's richest nation. Until 1820 and the Industrial Revolution, China was responsible for 30% of the world's GDP.

Confucianism:

"Almost all empires were created by force, but none can be sustained by it. Universal rule, to last, needs to translate force into obligation. Otherwise, the energies of the rulers will be exhausted in maintaining their dominance at the expense of their ability to shape the future, which is the ultimate task of statesmanship." (Chap. 2, p. 30)



Remarkably, China's actions and battles to maintain its culture and land were secular in nature. While other countries were deeply rooted to religious beliefs and sects, China was not. This changed when Confucius (Kong Fu-zi) began to teach his philosophies. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) lived during a time of political upheaval.

Kissinger compares Confucius to Machiavelli. Both men were itinerants with goals of being appointed to a royal court. Unlike Machiavelli, Confucius was less concerned with power and more concerned with social harmony. Unfortunately, Confucius' goals did not immediately serve princes and bring them the desired wealth and power so he was never successful. It was not until hundreds of years after Confucius died that his philosophies were adopted.

Concepts of International Relations: Impartiality or Equality?

Kissinger notes that China does not have Cathedrals or palaces like those found in Europe. When the countries and city-states of Europe were in the midst of developing their own governments, China held fast to its roots and continued to regulate every aspect of the economy and society.

The Chinese policies toward world order were also drastically different from the West. International relationships began to flourish in the 16th and 17th centuries when city-states and countries split and the Roman Catholic Church no longer held all the power in the religious sector.

"China, by contrast, was never engaged in sustained contact with another country on the basis of equality for the simple reason that it never encountered societies of comparable culture or magnitude." (Chap. 1, p. 34)

Therefore, China acknowledged Europe but treated it as a lesser power and maintained its distance.

"The founding Emperor of the Ming Dynasty expressed this view in 1372: 'Countries of the western ocean are rightly called distant regions. They come [to us] across the seas. And it is difficult for them to calculate the year and month [of arrival]. Regardless of their numbers, we treat them [on the principle of] 'those who come modestly are sent off generously.'" (Chap. 1, p. 34)

Despite its sense of power, China was in no position to ward off barbarian attacks. Most of the Chinese citizens were farmers or involved in artistic pursuits as opposed to military ones. China built the Great Wall of China to thwart its enemies and also convinced people on its borders to adopt the Chinese way of life. In the instances when this plan did not work, the Chinese resorted to bribes to protect the motherland.

Chinese Realpolitik and Sun Tzu's Art of War

The Chinese have long practiced Realpolitik and have employed a strategic doctrine that is distinctly different from system used in the West. The Chinese believe that there may not be a solution to every problem. Kissinger talks about various games in which



strategy is employed. Probably the most famous strategic game is "wei qi." Many westerners recognize the game as being similar to the Japanese game "go." Chess is another game in which strategy is king. The main difference between wei qi and chess is that in wei qi the winner is not always obvious. In a game of chess, the winner is clear when one declares checkmate.

These games coincide with Sun Tzu's Art of War and the strategy employed by the great military leader.

Chapter 2: The Kowtow Question and the Opium War

At the end of the 18th century, China was at the height of power. China's Qing Dynasty had fused Mongol and Manchu military prowess with the governmental and cultural prowess of the Han Chinese. This action allowed the country to undertake territorial expansion to the north and west, which established Chinese influence deep into Tibet, Mongolia, and Xinjiang.

The highest point of the Qing Dynasty also served as China's turning point. Western empires began to take notice of China's wealth and the untapped trade opportunities.

"For the first time in its history, China faced "barbarians" who no longer sought to displace the Chinese dynasty and claim the Mandate of Heaven for themselves; instead, they proposed to replace the Sinocentric system with an entirely new vision of world order—with free trade rather than tribute, resident embassies in the Chinese capital, and a system of diplomatic exchange that did not refer to non-Chinese heads of state as "honorable barbarians" pledging fealty to their Emperor in Beijing." (Chap. 2, p. 49)

The birth of the Industrial Revolution quickly took its toll on China's world position. New methods allowed western countries to overtake China's stronghold on world commerce.

The Macartney Mission

The ideal Chinese world order deeply offended the British, who were at times, referred to as the "red-haired barbarians."

The first major effort by the British to alter Sino-Western relations took place in 1793-94 when Lord George Macartney went on a mission to China. The mission was a complete failure.

The Clash of Two World Orders: The Opium War

The westerners continued to be offended by the Chinese government's attitude and references to "barbarians." The Chinese only wanted to let trade occur at one seasonal port, an idea that left the rest of the trading world incensed. The Chinese had agreed to make some concessions to trade but those concessions did not appease the westerners.



"To the modern eye, none of the Western envoys' initial proposals were particularly outrageous by the standards of the West: the goals of free trade, regular diplomatic contacts, and resident embassies offend few contemporary sensibilities and are treated as a standard way to conduct diplomacy. But the ultimate showdown occurred over one of the more shameful aspects of Western intrusion: the insistence on the unrestricted importation of opium into China." (Chap. 2, p. 61)

In the mid 1800s, opium was banned in China. It was tolerated in Britain. At the time, British India was the heart of the world's opium trade. Chinese smugglers worked with British and American merchants to create a significant and profitable trade.

The Qing Court had debated legalizing opium and using the trade to increase revenues but eventually decided to eradicate trade altogether. In 1839, Beijing ordered the trade to be shut down and planned to force Western merchants to comply. The merchants refused so Beijing ordered that all foreigners be blockaded in their factories. They would be released when the contraband was surrendered.

There was a great conflict between governments. China did not yet realize the power of Western forces. The Westerners agreed to comply if China agreed to certain concessions.

Qiyong's Diplomacy: Soothing the Barbarians

Qiyong was a Manchu prince who went to negotiate with Pottinger. Qiyong was the third person to be sent to try to reason with the "barbarians." Qiyong's assignment was given with the hopes that he would be able to wear down the barbarians after other methods had failed. Qiyong would approach the westerners with seeming compliance.



Chapters 3-5

Chapters 3-5 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 3: From Preeminence to Decline

"As the nineteenth century progressed, China experienced almost every imaginable shock to its historic image of itself. Before the Opium War, it conceived of diplomacy and international trade mainly as forms of recognition of China's preeminence. Now, even as it entered a period of domestic turmoil, it faced three foreign challenges, any one of which could be enough to overturn a dynasty."

Threats came from European nations. The Europeans did not mean to overtake China's beloved dynasty, they were seeking to impose world trade concepts on the country. Of course, this felt like a threat to Beijing. Other threats came from Russia who took issue with borders since it did not recognize boundaries.

In order combat these threats, China relied on two of its most traditional resources - the endurance of its people and the analytical abilities of its diplomats.

Wei Yuan's Blueprint: "Using Barbarians Against Barbarians," Learning Their Techniques

China continued to use its cultural cohesion and diplomatic skill to compete with Japan and Russia despite the fact that the Imperial Court chose to remain obtuse and uninformed. It was not until the mid 1800s that a few of the Chinese elite began to understand that China was not all powerful and that it would have to learn to be a part of the world order if it was going to survive.

Wei Yuan (1794-1856) was one of those elite. He was a mid-ranked Confucian mandarin and an associate of Lin Zexu. Lin Zexu was the Guangzhou governor who cracked down on the opium trade.

Wei Yuan saw what needed to be done. In 1842 Wei Yuan wrote "Plans for a Maritime Defense," a study of China's failures during the Opium War. In the treatise, Wei Yuan proposed various methods by which China could gain ways to maneuver against the barbarians.

The Erosion of Authority: Domestic Upheavals and the Challenge of Foreign Encroachments

Westerners had no intention of complying. The Qiyong-Pottinger negotiations had widened the gap of expectations between the Chinese and Westerners. The Chinese saw the treaties as a temporary concession to the barbarian forces while the West saw the treaties as part of a long-term process.



This gap in expectations caused China to refuse free trade and permanent diplomatic representation in Beijing. China saw concessions as being a threat to their moral, cultural and political existence. The dynasty felt that its Mandate of Heaven was being threatened.

One of the most devastating conflicts was the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). Missionaries in the south of China began to increase their presence dramatically and one faction became determined to replace Qing and the Mandate of Heaven with the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace." This new system would be led by a group of missionaries led by a Chinese mystic who believed and preached that he was Jesus' younger brother. The group presented bizarre interpretations of missionary texts. The Taiping Rebellion was brutal and is considered to be one of the most devastating conflicts in Chinese history with tens of millions of casualties.

Managing Decline

China did not survive for 4,000 years by being passive toward its enemies and would-be intruders. Those would-be conquerors were lulled into complacency until they adopted Chinese culture, usually through unparalleled patience.

The Nian Rebellion came about in 1861. After the Emperor and his court fled Beijing, Prince Gong, the Emperor's half brother, took on the role of de facto head of the Chinese government. Prince Gong negotiated the end to hostilities and then presented his ideal strategic choices. The strategies were, and are, viewed as being appalling in nature.

"Now the Nian rebellion is ablaze in the north and the Taiping in the south, our military supplies are exhausted and our troops are worn out. The barbarians take advantage of our weak position and try to control us. If we do not restrain our rage but continue the hostilities, we are liable to sudden catastrophe. On the other hand, if we overlook the way they have harmed us and do not make any preparations against them, then we shall be bequeathing a source of grief to our sons and grandsons." (Chap. 3, p. 86)

Prince Gong was not able to come up with a grand resolution to the problem. Prince Gong decided that the way to defeat the barbarians was by pitting them against the other barbarians. This is the same strategy that would be adopted by Mao nearly a century later.

The Challenge of Japan

Unlike the majority of China's neighbors, Japan continued to resist becoming a part of the Sinocentric world order. Like China, Japan had developed a unique culture in isolation and guarded that culture with a borderline religious reverence.

The Japanese believed that Japan, too, was born of Heaven. The Japanese Emperor was believed to have been spawned from the Sun Goddess and that all Emperors were deities. This was the same basic belief held by the Chinese. However, since the



Chinese believed that their Emperor was the only ruling deity, Japan's beliefs were in direct conflict with the Chinese way of life.

"If Chinese exceptionalism represented the claims of a universal empire, Japanese exceptionalism sprang from the insecurities of an island nation borrowing heavily from its neighbor, but fearful of being dominated by it. The Chinese sense of uniqueness asserted that China was the one true civilization, and invited barbarians to the Middle Kingdom to 'come and be transformed.' The Japanese attitude assumed a unique Japanese racial and cultural purity, and declined to extend its benefits or even explain itself to those born outside its sacred ancestral bonds." (Chap. 3, p. 94)

By 1863, Li Hongzhang had concluded that Japan was destined to become China's principal security threat. In 1874, Japan showed its strength when it launched a punitive expedition after there was an incident between Taiwanese tribes and a Ryukyu Islands crew that had been shipwrecked. Li Hongzhang began to realize that Japan had grand ambitions.

Japan began to make plans to supplant China as the world's predominant Asian world power. China and Japan eventually came to a head in Korea.

Korea

The Chinese Empire's power was far reaching but yet was not seen as being intrusive. It demanded that others pay tribute and recognize the Emperor's suzerainty. However, the tribute was more symbolic than anything and the suzerainty was exercised in such a way that permitted autonomy to the point that it seemed like complete independence. The Koreans were fiercely independent although they did pay tribute to Beijing.

The Boxer Uprising and the New Era of Warring States

By the late 1800s, the Chinese world order was in total disarray. The court in Beijing was no longer functioning as a meaningful entity when it came to protecting Chinese culture or autonomy. The frustration of the people came to a head in 1898 with the advent of the Boxer Uprising. The Boxers were a group that practiced a form of ancient mysticism and claimed to have "magical immunity to foreign bullets." (Chap. 3, p. 104) The Boxers launched a campaign of violence against foreigners and their symbols imposed on behalf of a new order. Among those attacked were the Chinese Christians, diplomats, railroads, Western schools, and telegraph lines. To ward off an attack, the Empress Dowager praised and embraced the attacks by the Boxers.

Chapter 4: Mao's Continuous Revolution

China's new dynasty developed a new and distinct rhythm. The old dynasty was seen as being a failure in its mission to protect China and to preserve its aspirations. The new dynasty seemed to secure the Mandate of Heaven, strengthening the country on all levels. There was no single ruler who proposed or caused the loss of the Mandate of Heaven or China's value system.



"At the head of the new dynasty that, in 1949, poured out of the countryside to take over the cities stood a colossus: Mao Zedong. Domineering and overwhelming in his influence, ruthless and aloof, poet and warrior, prophet and scourge, he unified China and launched it on a journey that nearly wrecked its civil society. By the end of this searing process, China stood as one of the world's major powers and the only Communist country except Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam whose political structure survived the collapse of Communism everywhere else." (Chap. 4, p. 109)

Mao and the Great Harmony

"Revolutionaries are, by their nature, powerful and single-minded personalities. Almost invariably they start from a position of weakness vis-à-vis the political environment and rely for their success on charisma and on an ability to mobilize resentment and to capitalize on the psychological weakness of adversaries in decline." (Chap. 4, p. 110)

Unlike many revolutions, Mao's revolution had no pre-determined end. Mao's ultimate goal was "Great Harmony," a goal that was vague at best and seemed to represent spiritual exaltation rather than political reconstruction.

Mao's hero was Emperor Qin Shihuang, the man who ended the Period of the Warring States and unified China in 221 B.C.

Mao's plan was to create a country in permanent crisis and therefore, he released wave after wave of conflict and struggle. Mao believed that the people should purify society through virtuous exertion. Mao also became the first to dismantle Chinese traditions through state policy. Mao believed that he could revive China by taking apart the country's ancient heritage.

Mao and International Relations: The Empty City Stratagem, Chinese Deterrence, and the Quest for Psychological Advantage

Mao spoke to the People's Political Consultative Conference where he summarized China's attitude toward the world order, saying, "The Chinese people have stood up."

"We have a common feeling that our work will be recorded in the history of mankind, and that it will clearly demonstrate that the Chinese, who comprise one quarter of humanity, have begun to stand up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious people. It was only in modern times that they have fallen behind, and this was due solely to the oppression and exploitation of foreign imperialism and the domestic reactionary government." (Chap. 4, p. 117)

However, "standing up" was not an easy task for China in 1949. The country lacked military presence and was largely underdeveloped. It also lacked the technology commonly used by the world's super powers, namely the United States and Russia.

The Continuous Revolution and the Chinese People



Mao's decision to open China to the United States was seen as being a major ideological and strategic decision. However, Mao clung fast to his commitment to support and promote continuous revolution in his country. That commitment did not waver, even when, in 1972, President Richard Nixon made his first visit to China.

CHAPTER 5: Triangular Diplomacy and the Korean War

Mao Zedong embarked on the road to foreign policy in 1949 when he traveled to Moscow. This trip came only two months after Mao introduced the People's Republic of China. It was also Mao's first trip out of the country. Mao's purpose was to meet with the Russian government with the hopes of forming an alliance with the Soviet Union, the world's dominant super power. The meeting took a turn and in the end, China became part of a triumvirate that included the US and Russia. From that point forward, the three entities would work as an alliance in which each would try to outmaneuver the other.

Kim Il-sung and the Outbreak of War

North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, who had been ridiculed by Stalin at the meeting with Mao in 1949, entered the geopolitical arena.

In their Moscow meeting, Stalin had fended off a military alliance between China and the Soviet Union by mockingly suggesting that the only threat to peace would come from North Korea, if "Kim Il Sung decides to invade China."

Kim Il-sung decided to invade South Korea instead. The move brought major countries to the brink of a major war.

American Intervention: Resisting Aggression

Kissinger talks about the problems with policy planning and how its analyses cannot predict the mood during which such decisions must be made.

Acheson, Truman and MacArthur had correctly relayed the thoughts of America when the decisions regarding China were made. America was committed to international security. NATO had not yet been completely formed. When the moment came for American policymakers to face a possible Communist invasion, they ignored their previously decided policies.

Chinese Reactions: Another Approach to Deterrence

It was a shock to many strategists when the People's Liberation Army decided to take on a modern army that was complete with nuclear weapons. But Mao was by no means a conventional military strategist. The actions Mao took against Korea require an understanding of Mao's concept of deterrence. In Chinese thinking, deterrence combines strategic, long-range, and psychological elements.

Sino-American Confrontation



The United States maintained a passive attitude when it came to the internal Communist machinations. It avoided any middle ground when it came to halting at the 38th parallel and the expected unification of Korea. The US also ignored China's repeated warnings regarding crossing that line.

Kissinger states that the only opportunity to avoid Sino-American confrontation and combat lay in instructions sent by Mao to Zhou, who was still in Moscow.

Mao wrote: "Our troops will continue improving [their] defense works if they have enough time. If the enemy tenaciously defends Pyongyang and Wonsan and does not advance [north] in the next six months, our troops will not attack Pyongyang and Wonsan. Our troops will attack Pyongyang and Wonsan only when they are well equipped and trained, and have clear superiority over the enemy in both air and ground forces. In short, we will not talk about waging offensives for six months." (Chap. 5, p. 163)



Chapters 6-9

Chapters 6-9 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 6: China Confronts Both Superpowers

Kissinger refers to Otto von Bismarck, one of the greatest diplomats of the 19th century. Von Bismarck said that when one is a part of a world order of five states, it is the most desirable to be a part of a group of three of those powers. Using that logic, Kissinger says that if there is a group of three countries, it would follow that one country would choose to be part of a group of two.

Bismarck's logic failed to capture the attention of the China-Soviet-U.S. triangle for nearly fifteen years - due in part to the unprecedented maneuvers of Mao.

"In foreign policy, statesmen often serve their objectives by bringing about a confluence of interests. Mao's policy was based on the opposite. He learned to exploit overlapping hostilities. The conflict between Moscow and Washington was the strategic essence of the Cold War; the hostility between Washington and Beijing dominated Asian diplomacy. But the two Communist states could never merge their respective hostility toward the United States—except briefly and incompletely in the Korean War—because of Mao's evolving rivalry with Moscow over ideological primacy and geostrategic analysis." (Chap. 6, p. 168)

It did not seem to matter to Mao that he was the weakest member of the triumvirate. He played on the hostility between the Soviets and Americans with the intention of pitting one against the other.

The First Taiwan Strait Crisis

China and Taiwan agreed on many things, including the fact that they belonged to the same political entity. However, Beijing thought that its ruler was the ultimate authority while Taipei believed that their ruler, in exile from China, would once again assume the seat of power.

Diplomatic Interlude with the United States

Dialogue between China and the US resumed. The first meeting was held at the Geneva Conference of 1954. A formal meeting was held with the aim of settling the first Vietnam War between the Communists and France.

Mao, Khrushchev, and the Sino-Soviet Split

Much changed in Russia after Stalin died in 1953. Nikita Khrushchev became the new ruler of the Soviet Union. The new Premier would have his hands full dealing with the



marks left on Russia after 30 years of Stalin's rule. When it came to relations with China, Khrushchev treated the country and its government with condescension.

"Ideology had brought Beijing and Moscow together, and ideology drove them apart again. There was too much shared history raising question marks. Chinese leaders could not forget the territorial exactions of the Czars nor Stalin's willingness, during the Second World War, to settle with Chiang Kai-shek at the expense of the Chinese Communist Party." (Chap. 6, p. 182)

The Second Taiwan Strait Crisis

The People's Liberation Army launched another campaign against the offshore islands on August 23, 1958. The shelling lasted off and on for nearly two months.

Chapter 7: A Decade of Crises

During the first ten years of the existence of the People's Republic of China, the country's leaders managed to take a decrepit empire and rejuvenate it so that it became a major world power. The second decade was controlled by Mao and his attempt to maintain a continuous revolution.

The Great Leap Forward

After hearing Khrushchev's 1956 Secret Speech, China's leaders were prompted to confront the core of Communist policy. The government was determined to make itself more transparent and to delete obvious worship and reverence to Mao in its Communist Party constitution. This approach immediately conflicted with Mao's vision.

Mao quickly proposed an alternative path to political rectification. Mao determined that the Chinese Communist Party would invite criticism and debate of its methods. It would also open up China's artistic and intellectual life to allow one hundred flowers to bloom. Mao's real purpose for launching the Hundred Flowers Campaign is still under debate. However, at the end of the conflict, Mao stood up once again as China's unchallenged leader. Mao used his stature to return to eminence and to accelerate the continuous revolution, creating what is known as the Great Leap Forward.

The Himalayan Border Dispute and the 1962 Sino-Indian War

In 1962 China engaged in two military confrontations and fought a war with the United States in Korea.

The Cultural Revolution

This was the time when Mao chose to break apart the Chinese state and the Communist Party. Mao intended to destroy the Chinese culture and in its place erect a new, ideological culture and generation.

Was There a Lost Opportunity?



"In retrospect, one wonders whether the United States was in a position to start a dialogue with China perhaps a decade earlier than it did. Could the turmoil in China have become the starting point for a serious dialogue? In other words, were the 1960s a lost opportunity for Sino-American rapprochement? Could the opening to China have occurred earlier?" (Chap. 7, p. 218)

Chapter 8: The Road to Reconciliation

When Nixon and Mao decided to finally come together, both countries were experiencing upheaval. China was deeply embroiled in the Cultural Revolution and America was embroiled in the controversial Vietnam War.

The Chinese Strategy

By 1965, it became clear that Mao was beginning to change his tone toward America.

"This from the leader who, for a decade and a half, had proclaimed his readiness for nuclear war with the United States in so graphic a manner that he scared both the Soviet Union and its European allies into dissociation from China. But with the Soviet Union in a menacing posture, Mao was more ready than anyone realized at the time to consider applying the maxim of moving closer to his distant adversary, the United States." (Chap. 8, p. 225)

The American Strategy

When Richard Nixon was inaugurated, his main concerns were focused on the Vietnam War and troubles at home. It was not immediately obvious that he would have strategic opportunities when it came to China.

Last Steps—Clashes at the Ussuri River

Kissinger discusses the birth of strategic dialogue between the US and China.

Chapter 9: Resumption of Relations: First Encounters with Mao and Zhou

Nixon decided that in order for the resumption of relations to be successful, they would have to take place in secret. A great deal of subterfuge took place so that Kissinger and his team could get to Beijing to meet with Mao and Zhou.

Zhou Enlai

Kissinger describes Zhou Enlai as the most compelling figure he has ever met. Kissinger obviously has some admiration for Zhou and compares him to Mao:

"The difference between the leaders was reflected in their personalities. Mao dominated any gathering; Zhou suffused it. Mao's passion strove to overwhelm opposition; Zhou's intellect would seek to persuade or outmaneuver it. Mao was sardonic; Zhou penetrating. Mao thought of himself as a philosopher; Zhou saw his role as an



administrator or a negotiator. Mao was eager to accelerate history; Zhou was content to exploit its currents. A saying he often repeated was, "The helmsman must ride with the waves." When they were together, there was no question of the hierarchy, not simply in the formal sense but in the deeper aspect of Zhou's extraordinarily deferential conduct. (Chap. 9, p. 260)

Nixon in China: The Meeting with Mao

In 1972, Nixon returned to Beijing for his second meeting with Mao.

The Nixon-Zhou Dialogue

Nixon and Zhou met for three hours every afternoon. Kissinger was present. The issues had been divided into three categories.

Shanghai Communiqué

Kissinger examines the contents and ideas behind the Shanghai Communiqué.

The Aftermath

Kissinger explains the aftermath and how protocol had changed when it came to hospitality between nations.



Chapters 10-14

Chapters 10-14 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 10: The Quasi-Alliance: Conversations with Mao

The secret trip to China was successful in revitalizing the relationship between the US and China. The alliance that was formed brought with it promises of mutual assistance and strength. Despite this alliance, Mao still refused to admit that China may not be as strong as it wished to appear.

The "Horizontal Line": Chinese Approaches to Containment

Kissinger talks about Mao's warmth toward the US, particularly in front of the media.

"In February he noted that the United States and China had once been 'two enemies,' but that [n]ow we call the relationship between ourselves a friendship." Having proclaimed the new relationship as friendship Mao proceeded to give it an operational definition. Since he liked to speak in parables, he chose a subject that we were least worried about, possible Chinese intelligence operations against American officials visiting China. It was an indirect way of proclaiming a kind of partnership without making a request for reciprocity: "But let us not speak false words or engage in trickery. We don't steal your documents. You can deliberately leave them somewhere and try us out. Nor do we engage in eavesdropping and bugging. There is no use in those small tricks." (Chap. 10, p. 293)

Mao's theory of containment was global. He explained to Kissinger how they should draw a horizontal line through the countries that were threatened by Soviet expansion.

The Impact of Watergate

Kissinger discusses how Richard Nixon's resignation threatened to derail the relationship between the US and China.

Chapter 11: The End of the Mao Era

At virtually every point during Mao's reign, the man was torn between revolutionary fervor and Sinocentrist pragmatism. Mao was prone to choose pragmatism, even though it never seemed to make him happy. Kissinger talks about his first meeting with Mao.

"When we first met Mao in 1972, he was already ill and speaking—with some irony for an avowed atheist—about having received an 'invitation from God.' He had destroyed or radicalized most of the country's institutions, including even the Communist Party, increasingly ruling by personal magnetism and the manipulation of opposing factions.



Now, as his rule was nearing its end, Mao's grip on power—and his capacity to manipulate—were both slipping away." (Chap. 11, p. 311)

The Succession Crisis

China was in grave danger of being left without a ruler. Mao's successor had been destroyed. Mao would have to choose a new successor before he died or leave China completely without a clear direction for its future. Mao chose to pit the two opposing political parties against each other to see which side would prove to be dominant.

One party was led by Zhou, who would be succeeded by Deng. The second party was a group of purists which gathered around Jiang Qing and a faction of radicals. Mao would later refer to the second party as the Gang of Four.

Kissinger details how each side went about convincing Mao of its dominant status and worthiness to succeed him as the ruler of one of the world's largest and most powerful nations.

The Fall of Zhou Enlai

The battle between Zhou and the Gang of Four was at a crisis point. Zhou learned that he was stricken with cancer and almost immediately began to withdraw from political life.

Final Meetings with Mao: The Swallows and the Coming of the Storm

After Zhou removed himself from political life, Deng Xiaoping stepped in to become the interlocutor with Kissinger and Nixon. Deng was soon named Executive Vice Premier.

CHAPTER 12

In "The Indestructible Deng" and "Deng's First Return to Power," Kissinger discusses the transformations that occurred in China under Deng Xiaoping. Mao had destroyed traditional China. Deng took what was left of the rubble and moved forward to modernize the country.

The Death of Leaders—Hua Guofeng

Deng was prepared to launch his program of modernization when he was ousted from power. In 1976, Zhou succumbed to his battle with cancer. The public was swelled with grief for their former statesman. Deng stepped forward and delivered a warmhearted eulogy. Five months later, the inimitable Chairman Mao died.

Kissinger discusses the rise of Hua Guofeng, Chairman and director of the Central Military Commission.

Deng's Ascendance—"Reform and Opening Up"



Deng Xiaoping returned from a second exile in 1977 and immediately began to push his vision of a modernized China. Deng voiced his plans at a 1979 banquet. Over the next ten years, Deng would make good on his promise.

Chapter 13: "Touching the Tiger's Buttocks," The Third Vietnam War

ICchapter 13, including "Vietnam: Confounder of Great Powers," Kissinger sums up the third Vietnam War. China had invaded Vietnam and withdrew after six weeks.

Kissinger states that the third Vietnam War was a high point in cooperation between the US and China during the Cold War.

Deng's Foreign Policy—Dialogue with America and Normalization; Deng's Journeys; Deng's Visit to America and the New Definition of Alliance

Deng has great plans to modernize China but decided to leave Mao's foreign policy in place. The author describes how both men agreed on foreign policy but differed greatly on domestic policy.

Deng began to implement his plans. Unlike Mao, who commanded that foreign leaders should come to Beijing, Deng began to tour the US, Japan and Southeast Asia whenever possible.

The Third Vietnam War

China launched a multipronged invasion of northern Vietnam from China's southern Guangxi and Yunnan provinces. The goal of the Chinese military was to preserve "the strategic equilibrium in Asia, as China saw it." (Chap. 13, p. 386)

Chapter 14: Reagan and the Advent of Normalcy

One of the most difficult issues with foreign policy was that there were changes in government personnel. Nixon brought Governor Ronald Reagan into the picture when he sent him to Taiwan to strengthen the US-Taiwan relationship. Reagan embraced the challenge and began to promote this relationship. During Reagan's presidential campaign, he referred to this strategy.

"One of Reagan's themes was to advocate 'official relations' with Taiwan, though he never explained publicly exactly what this meant." (Chap. 14, p. 398)

Taiwan Arms Sales and the Third Communiqué

Kissinger relates Reagan's attempt to resolve seemingly incompatible issues with Taiwan.

That scheme foundered on both sides. Reagan would not agree to formal arms sales to China, and Beijing would not consider a deal that implied a trade of principle for military hardware. Matters threatened to get out of hand. Haig, conducting arduous negotiations



both within the U.S. government and with his counterparts in Beijing, achieved an agreement that permitted both sides to postpone a final resolution, while establishing a roadmap for the future." (Chap. 14, p. 400)

China and the Superpowers—The New Equilibrium

Yet another shift occurred in the 1980s when the relationship between China, the US and Russia began to change.

Deng's Reform Program

Deng continued with his program which was not only political in nature but spiritual as well.



Chapters 15-18; Epilogue

Chapters 15-18; Epilogue Summary and Analysis

Chapter 15: Tiananmen; American Dilemmas

1989 was a turbulent year. The Soviet Union showed signs of dissolution which led to the destruction of the Berlin Wall. China seemed to remain stable until the riots broke out in Tiananmen Square. Americans were shocked at the blatant violation of human rights. Newly elected President George H.W. Bush was faced with some very difficult decisions.

The Fang Lizhi Controversy

Physicist Fang Lizhi had become an icon of the symbol of the division between the US and China.

The 12- and 24-Character Statements

In 1990, Deng began to withdraw from public life - the first Chinese leader to do so in many years.

Chapter 16: What Kind of Reform? Deng's Southern Tour

After Deng's retirement, it became clear that no one had a clear plan on how to reform China.

Chapter 17: A Roller Coaster Ride Toward Another Reconciliation The Jiang Zemin Era; China and the Disintegrating Soviet Union; The Clinton Administration and China Policy; Third Taiwan Strait Crisis; China's Resurgence and Jiang's Reflections

After the uprising in Tiananmen, the relationship between the US and China seemed to revert to its starting point in 1971. Kissinger details what steps were necessary to reestablish a relationship and alliance with China that would be mutually beneficial. The involvement of the new Russia is also discussed.

After the uprising in Tiananmen, the relationship between the US and China seemed to revert to its starting point in 1971. Kissinger details what steps were necessary to reestablish a relationship and alliance with China that would be mutually beneficial. The involvement of the new Russia is also discussed.

Chapter 18: The New Millennium; How to Define Strategic Opportunity; The National Destiny Debate—The Triumphantist View; Dai Bingguo—A Reaffirmation of Peaceful Rise



A new turning point emerged at the end of Jiang Zemin's presidency. Jiang was to be the last President with whom the Sino-American dialogue represented the relationship itself. New parties and differing opinions rose. China continued to change rapidly and to gain strength in a new world order, which challenged its relationship with the US.

Epilogue: Does History Repeat Itself? The Crowe Memorandum; Toward a Pacific Community?

Comparisons continue to be made between the US-Sino rivalry with the 20th century Anglo-German rivalry. Kissinger discusses the comparisons. Kissinger questions the future of US-Sino relationships as China continues to grow and exerts more power.



Characters

Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger (1923 -) is the author of *On China*, a work of non-fiction detailing more than forty years of involvement with foreign policy on China. Kissinger was the forerunner in establishing a modern relationship with China in the 1970s under then President Richard Nixon. Kissinger was born in Germany and raised in Manhattan, in a Jewish immigrant neighborhood. After attending Harvard University, Kissinger, a Republican, became involved in politics.

Kissinger was a major player in foreign policy between 1969 and 1977. He reopened a US-Sino dialogue and subsequent relationship and also played an important role in the talks with the Soviets before the fall of Russia.

Kissinger's political roles included acting as the National Security advisor and then the Secretary of State under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

Kissinger is a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The author states that the primary purpose of *On China* is to explore US-Sino relations since China became a free entity in 1949. Much of the information in the book comes from Kissinger's own notes from that time as well as declassified government documents.

Kissinger gives objective views and historical facts about many of the occurrences in China and the US during this time. He also reveals personal insights and opinions about various leaders and events.

Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong (1893 - 1976) was the controversial leader of China from its emancipation in 1949 to 1976 when he died. Mao's main focus was to unify China through constant controversy and conflict. He wished to destroy China's cultural system while at the same time relying on it to defeat her enemies.

Kissinger writes: "At the head of the new dynasty that, in 1949, poured out of the countryside to take over the cities stood a colossus: Mao Zedong. Domineering and overwhelming in his influence, ruthless and aloof, poet and warrior, prophet and scourge, he unified China and launched it on a journey that nearly wrecked its civil society. By the end of this searing process, China stood as one of the world's major powers and the only Communist country except Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam whose political structure survived the collapse of Communism everywhere else." (Chap. 4, p. 109)



China became a major power under Chairman Mao's rule. However, it also suffered greatly. While the Chinese population doubled and thrived, Mao's policies and continuous conflicts were also responsible for the deaths of nearly 70 million people.

Zhou Enlai

Zhou Enlai (1898 - 1976) was Mao's second in command. Kissinger describes Zhou Enlai as the most compelling figure he has ever met. Kissinger obviously has some admiration for Zhou and compares him to Mao:

"The difference between the leaders was reflected in their personalities. Mao dominated any gathering; Zhou suffused it. Mao's passion strove to overwhelm opposition; Zhou's intellect would seek to persuade or outmaneuver it. Mao was sardonic; Zhou penetrating. Mao thought of himself as a philosopher; Zhou saw his role as an administrator or a negotiator. Mao was eager to accelerate history; Zhou was content to exploit its currents. A saying he often repeated was 'The helmsman must ride with the waves.' When they were together, there was no question of the hierarchy, not simply in the formal sense but in the deeper aspect of Zhou's extraordinarily deferential conduct." (Chap. 9, p. 260)

Richard Milhous Nixon

Richard Milhous Nixon (1913 - 1994) was a Republican and the 37th President of the United States. Henry Kissinger worked under Nixon as National Security Advisor and Secretary of State. It was Nixon who made the first moves toward reestablishing US-Sino dialogue.

Deng Xiaoping

Deng Xiaoping (1904 - 1997) was considered to be one of China's most influential leaders and reformers after Mao. Deng served in office from 1978-1992.

The Yellow Emperor

The Yellow Emperor is said to be the legendary founding ruler of China.

Confucius

Confucius (551-479 B.C.) is considered to be the most revered of all Chinese philosophers. Despite the political dynamics surrounding him, Confucius' main goal was to promote social harmony.



The Red-haired Barbarians

The "red-haired barbarians" are how the Chinese referred to the British. Later, it was simply shortened to barbarians.

Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan (1911 - 2004), a Republican, was the 40th President of the United States.

Gerald Ford, Jr.

Gerald Ford, Jr. (1913 - 2006), a Republican, was the 38th President of the United States. Ford served as Vice President under Richard Nixon and then assumed the presidency after Nixon's resignation.



Objects/Places

United States

The United States is one of the world's foremost superpowers. Henry Kissinger, the author, served for many years as a member of the United States government of which there are three branches - Executive, Judicial and Legislative. Kissinger served under Presidents Nixon and Ford, first as the National Security Advisor and then as Secretary of State. Both positions are high level and vital to the operation of the government, particularly in the area of foreign policy.

For the majority of the time period during which the book is set, the United States served as one of the predominant super powers. The relationship with China and, in turn, the Soviet Union - and later Russia - was crucial to developing international relationships, a new world order and free trade.

Despite the conflicts launched by China, the United States saw a need to keep positive relations with China so that it could continue to be a super power as well as one of the richest nations in the world.

China

China is a unique and ancient society located in Asia. Its capital city and seat of government is Beijing. It is unknown exactly when China was formed. The first recorded history of China takes place in the second millennium B.C. As such, China has always considered itself to be eternal, a gift from Heaven. In fact, the entire premise of the Chinese culture is that the country has received a Mandate from Heaven, or the right to govern.

Kissinger states:

"A special feature of Chinese civilization is that it seems to have no beginning. It appears in history less as a conventional nation-state than a permanent natural phenomenon. In the tale of the Yellow Emperor, revered by many Chinese as the legendary founding ruler, China seems already to exist. When the Yellow Emperor appears in myth, Chinese civilization has fallen into chaos. Competing princes harass each other and the people, yet an enfeebled ruler fails to maintain order. Levying an army, the new hero pacifies the realm and is acclaimed as emperor." (Chap. 1, p. 20)

The first people in Chinese history to have any presence are the Yellow Emperor and Confucius. Confucius was a little-realized prophet, poet and philosopher during his time. Posthumously, Confucius' words would help to form a nation that would become one of the world's superpowers.



Since the People's Republic of China claimed its independence in 1949, China has continued to maintain its link to its ancient heritage while becoming a modernized and powerful country.

Japan

Like China, Japan is a unique and powerful country located in Asia. It believes that its culture was created by God.

Russia

Russia is part of the former Soviet Union and one of the major global superpowers.

Taiwan

Taiwan is a former part of China that practiced near-autonomy.

Beijing

Beijing is the capital city of China and the seat of its government.

Britain

Britain is one of the world's superpowers. It was the first to establish foreign policy with China.

Korea

Korea is an Asian country that came between Russia and China during the 1972 talks. Instead of attacking China, which is what was referenced, even jokingly, Korea attacked North Korea which began another conflict.

Vietnam

Kissinger talks about three Vietnam wars and how they affected China, the US and foreign policy.

Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C. is the capital of the United States and the seat of its government.



Themes

Kissinger's Role as Politician

Henry A. Kissinger (1923 -) is the author of *On China*, a work of non-fiction detailing more than forty years of involvement with foreign policy on China. Kissinger was the forerunner in establishing a modern relationship with China in the 1970s under President Richard Nixon. Kissinger was born in Germany and raised in Manhattan, in a Jewish immigrant neighborhood. After attending Harvard University, Kissinger, a Republican, became involved in politics.

Kissinger was a major player in foreign policy between 1969 and 1977. He reopened a US-Sino dialogue and subsequent relationship and also played an important role in the talks with the Soviets before the fall of Russia.

Kissinger's political roles included acting as the National Security advisor and then the Secretary of State under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

Kissinger is a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The author states that the primary purpose of *On China* is to explore US-Sino relations since China became a free entity in 1949. Much of the information in the book comes from Kissinger's own notes from that time as well as declassified government documents.

Kissinger gives objective views and historical facts about many of the occurrences in China and the US during this time. He also reveals personal insights and opinions about various leaders and events.

China

China is a unique and ancient society located in Asia. Its capital city and seat of government is Beijing. It is unknown exactly when China was formed. The first recorded history of China takes place in the second millennium B.C. As such, China has always considered itself to be eternal, a gift from Heaven. In fact, the entire premise of the Chinese culture is that has received a Mandate from Heaven, or the right to govern.

Kissinger states:

"A special feature of Chinese civilization is that it seems to have no beginning. It appears in history less as a conventional nation-state than a permanent natural phenomenon. In the tale of the Yellow Emperor, revered by many Chinese as the legendary founding ruler, China seems already to exist. When the Yellow Emperor appears in myth, Chinese civilization has fallen into chaos. Competing princes harass



each other and the people, yet an enfeebled ruler fails to maintain order. Levying an army, the new hero pacifies the realm and is acclaimed as emperor." (Chap. 1, p. 20)

The first people in Chinese history to have any presence are the Yellow Emperor and Confucius. Confucius was a little-realized prophet, poet and philosopher during his time. Posthumously, Confucius' words would help to form a nation that would become one of the world's superpowers.

Since the People's Republic of China claimed its independence in 1949, China has continued to maintain its link to its ancient heritage while becoming a modernized and powerful country.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is one of the major themes in Henry Kissinger's *On China*. Kissinger worked as the National Security Advisor and Secretary of State under Richard Nixon and his successor, Gerald Ford. It was Kissinger that was sent to China in 1972 to establish a dialogue between the US and China, which would be the beginning of turbulent but relatively successful US-Sino relationships.

The basic concept of foreign policy is that a country must be able to develop a dialogue with other countries in order to have the world succeed as a unit. This is even more important in this time of globalization as countries are expected to work together to strengthen a world economy. At the time Kissinger was sent to Beijing for the first time, China had little to no interest in foreign policy of any kind and, in fact, resented that foreigners would want to make their presence known in their country without strict rules for conduct. The Chinese put strict limits on trade and refused to allow the US to have a permanent presence on Chinese soil.

Kissinger writes:

"This book is an effort, based in part on conversations with Chinese leaders, to explain the conceptual way the Chinese think about problems of peace and war and international order, and its relationship to the more pragmatic, case-by-case American approach. Different histories and cultures produce occasionally divergent conclusions. I do not always agree with the Chinese perspective, nor will every reader. But it is necessary to understand it, since China will play such a big role in the world that is emerging in the twenty-first century." (Preface, p. 11)



Style

Perspective

Henry A. Kissinger (1923 -) is the author of *On China*, a work of non-fiction detailing more than forty years of involvement with foreign policy on China. Kissinger was the forerunner in establishing a modern relationship with China in the 1970s under President Richard Nixon. Kissinger was born in Germany and raised in Manhattan, in a Jewish immigrant neighborhood. After attending Harvard University, Kissinger, a Republican, became involved in politics.

Kissinger was a major player in foreign policy between 1969 and 1977. He reopened a US-Sino dialogue and subsequent relationship and also played an important role in the talks with the Soviets before the fall of Russia.

Kissinger's political roles included acting as the National Security advisor and then the Secretary of State under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

Kissinger is a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The author states that the primary purpose of "On China" is to explore US-Sino relations since China became a free entity in 1949. Much of the information in the book comes from Kissinger's own notes from that time as well as declassified government documents.

Kissinger gives objective views and historical facts about many of the occurrences in China and the US during this time. He also reveals personal insights and opinions about various leaders and events.

Tone

On China by Henry A. Kissinger is a work of non-fiction. The tone of the book is typically non-partisan. This is a particularly difficult tone to achieve considering the personal experiences and controversial material in the text.

Kissinger gives objective views and historical facts about many of the occurrences in China and the US during this time. He also reveals personal insights and opinions about various leaders and events. For example, it is clear that Kissinger greatly admired Zhou Enlai. However, he refrained from making comments on other important leaders although it is clear that those opinions exist. In discussing Mao, for example, Kissinger tended to stray from personal opinion and instead focus on his attributes and work as a politician rather than focus on his strengths and weaknesses as a human being.

Kissinger also sticks to the facts when it comes to the execution of foreign policy after he left office.



Structure

On China by Henry A. Kissinger is a work of non-fiction. It is 655 pages in length. It contains a preface, prologue, 18 chapters, epilogue, notes and an index.

Without the notes and index, the total length of the work is 552 pages. The shortest chapter is 7 pages in length; the longest chapter is 38 pages in length. The average length of the chapters is 26 pages. The notes section is 68 pages in length; the index is 35 pages in length.

Each chapter is separated into sections with subheadings. The work is chronological in nature.

Chapter 1: The Singularity of China includes The Era of Chinese Preeminence; Confucianism; Concepts of International Relations: Impartiality or Equality?; and Chinese Realpolitik and Sun Tzu's Art of War.

Chapter 2: The Kowtow Question and the Opium War includes The Macartney Mission.

Chapter 3: From Preeminence to Decline includes Wei Yuan's Blueprint: "Using Barbarians Against Barbarians," Learning Their Techniques; The Erosion of Authority: Domestic Upheavals and the Challenge of Foreign Encroachments; Managing Decline; The Challenge of Japan; Korea; and The Boxer Uprising and the New Era of Warring States.

Chapter 4: Mao's Continuous Revolution includes Mao and the Great Harmony; Mao and International Relations: The Empty City Stratagem, Chinese Deterrence, and the Quest for Psychological Advantage; and The Continuous Revolution and the Chinese People.

Chapter 5: Triangular Diplomacy and the Korean War includes Kim Il-sung and the Outbreak of War; American Intervention: Resisting Aggression; Chinese Reactions: Another Approach to Deterrence; and Sino-American Confrontation.

Chapter 6: China Confronts Both Superpowers includes The First Taiwan Strait Crisis; Diplomatic Interlude with the United States; and Mao, Khrushchev, and the Sino-Soviet Split.

Chapter 7: A Decade of Crises includes The Great Leap Forward; The Himalayan Border Dispute and the 1962 Sino-Indian War; The Cultural Revolution; and Was There a Lost Opportunity?

Chapter 8: The Road to Reconciliation includes The Chinese Strategy; The American Strategy; and Last Steps—Clashes at the Ussuri River.



Chapter 9: Resumption of Relations: First Encounters with Mao and Zhou includes Zhou Enlai; Nixon in China: The Meeting with Mao; The Nixon-Zhou Dialogue; Shanghai Communiqué; and The Aftermath.

Chapter 10: The Quasi-Alliance: Conversations with Mao includes The "Horizontal Line": Chinese Approaches to Containment and The Impact of Watergate.

Chapter 11: The End of the Mao Era includes The Succession Crisis; The Fall of Zhou Enlai; and Final Meetings with Mao: The Swallows and the Coming of the Storm

Chapter 12: The Indestructible Deng includes Deng's First Return to Power; The Death of Leaders—Hua Guofeng; and Deng's Ascendance—"Reform and Opening Up."

Chapter 13: "Touching the Tiger's Buttocks" The Third Vietnam War includes Vietnam: Confounder of Great Powers; Deng's Foreign Policy—Dialogue with America and Normalization; Deng's Journeys; Deng's Visit to America and the New Definition of Alliance; and The Third Vietnam War.

Chapter 14: Reagan and the Advent of Normalcy includes Taiwan Arms Sales and the Third Communiqué; China and the Superpowers—The New Equilibrium; and Deng's Reform Program.

Chapter 15: Tiananmen includes American Dilemmas; The Fang Lizhi Controversy; and The 12- and 24-Character Statements.

Chapter 16: What Kind of Reform? Deng's Southern Tour

Chapter 17: A Roller Coaster Ride Toward Another Reconciliation includes The Jiang Zemin Era; China and the Disintegrating Soviet Union; The Clinton Administration and China Policy; Third Taiwan Strait Crisis; China's Resurgence and Jiang's Reflections.

Chapter 18: The New Millennium includes How to Define Strategic Opportunity; The National Destiny Debate—The Triumphalist View; and Dai Bingguo—A Reaffirmation of Peaceful Rise

Epilogue: Does History Repeat Itself? The Crowe Memorandum includes Toward a Pacific Community?



Quotes

"A special feature of Chinese civilization is that it seems to have no beginning. It appears in history less as a conventional nation-state than a permanent natural phenomenon." (Chap. 1, p. 20)

"Through many millennia of Chinese civilization, China was never obliged to deal with other countries or civilizations that were comparable to it in scale and sophistication." (Chap. 2, p. 24)

"China knew, of course, of different societies around its periphery in Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma; but in the Chinese perception, China was considered the center of the world, the "Middle Kingdom," and other societies were assessed as gradations from it." (Chap. 2, p. 27)

"Revolutionaries are, by their nature, powerful and single-minded personalities." (Chap. 4, p. 111)

"Mao was too much of a realist, however, to pursue world revolution as a practical goal. As a result, the tangible impact of China on world revolution was largely ideological and consisted of intelligence support for local Communist parties." (Chap. 4, p. 124)

"Mao destroyed traditional China and left its rubble as building blocks for ultimate modernization. Deng had the courage to base modernization on the initiative and resilience of the individual Chinese." (Chap. 12, p. 338)

"One of the obstacles to continuity in America's foreign policy is the sweeping nature of its periodic changes of government." (chap. 14, p. 395)

"Cracks in the Soviet monolith began to emerge in Eastern Europe at the start of 1989, leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall in November and the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union itself." (Chap. 15, p. 425)

"Uprisings generally develop their own momentum as developments slide out of the control of the principal actors, who become characters in a play whose script they no longer know." (Chap. 15, p. 427)

"There are instances of violations of human rights so egregious that it is impossible to conceive of benefit in a continuing relationship; for example the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and the genocide in Rwanda." (Chap. 15, p. 431)

"In the wake of Tiananmen, Sino-U.S. relations found themselves practically back to their starting point." (Chap. 17, p. 461)

"A number of commentators, including some in China, have revisited the example of the twentieth-century Anglo-German rivalry as an augury of what may await the United States and China in the twenty-first century. There are surely strategic comparisons to

be made. At the most superficial level, China is, as was imperial Germany, a resurgent continental power; the United States, like Britain, is primarily a naval power with deep political and economic ties to the continent." (Epilogue, p. 526)



Topics for Discussion

What is your opinion of the history of China as presented by Henry Kissinger? Do you feel that Kissinger was able to be objective in his presentation of the historical and cultural facts about China? Explain.

How might the Sino-American relationship have developed or changed if Richard Nixon had not been forced to resign? What was Kissinger's role in Sino-American relations after Nixon left office?

Who do you think was the most effective leader in Chinese history? Which was the best? Which was the worst? How might a leader like Qing fare in the modern world?

If a world order had not been introduced into China in the mid 1800s, how long do you think it would have taken for it to be introduced? What reservations did the Emperor have about forming relationships with the outside world? Do you think it is possible to run an isolated country in today's world?

Discuss the long and illustrious career of Henry Kissinger. How effective was Kissinger as Secretary of State? What are the man's opinions about the modern state of affairs between the US and China?

Discuss Mao. Why is Mao a controversial figure? What was Kissinger's opinion of Mao? Were Kissinger's personal feelings different from his professional view of Mao? What was the relationship between Kissinger and Mao? Answer the same questions regarding Kissinger and Zhou.

How might the world order have changed if Japan and China had formed into one super power? What is the current relationship between China and Japan? Which is currently the strongest country? Explain.