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Primary Sources

1972 Annual Report of the U.S. Tariff Commission, FY Ended June 30. Congressional Document, 1972. https://search.proquest.com/congressional/view/app-gis/serialset/13042-2_h.doc.26.

This particular commission covered all tariffs for the 1972 session and addressed the new U.S.-China relations. Discussion about China included the allocation of materials and manufacturing to China. There was also discussion about the new trade agreements and what the impact would be on U.S. interaction with Communism. While this source did not contain information on every aspect of the 1972 Nixon visit, it did indicate what the political attitudes were in regards to China.

Impressions of the New China. Congressional Document, 1972.
https://search.proquest.com/congressional/view/app-gis/serialset/12986-2_h.doc.337.

House Majority Leader Hale Boggs and Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford give a report of their visit to China on July 7, 1972. Much of their report highlighted the differences between the U.S. and China as well as the potential that both countries had to form a mutually beneficial relationship. From a research standpoint, this report dissected the cultural and political strengths and of both countries and how they could benefit by cooperating.

In China, Nixon Focuses on Trade Deals, Not Tax Credits. St. Louis Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, MO). Tribune Content Agency, 2011.

Although newspapers have to be approached with skepticism because of their inherent bias, I chose to use this particular article because of the information that it contained regarding the public reception of Nixon's visit to China. Much of the article describes the 1972 China visit as a distraction to avoid tax issues. It also addressed the issue of domestic vs foreign investment and the effect on the economy. However, I found this to be valuable because it provided contrast to other government documents which because of their own bias are aimed at stoking public support.

Keefer, Edward C., and Nickles, David P. China, 1973-1976 Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 2007.

This volume contains several sources of information regarding the diplomatic aspect of Nixon's visit and the actions of the Nixon administration as a whole. Most importantly, it discusses the challenges that the new relationship presented and what areas of the U.S. economy truly benefitted from it. Crucial to my research are the political challenges that this renewed interaction with China presented to U.S. government at a time when it was so critical of Communism.

Kissinger, Henry, and William Burr. 1999. *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow*. New York: New Press.

Henry Kissinger and William Burr detail the issues surrounding diplomacy during the Nixon years. Using declassified documents, they describe Henry Kissinger's role in reaching out to China and even the USSR it also describes what aspects of that relationship were not made public. For my research this was important in understanding the difference between what the American public was aware of and what the administration was actually trying to achieve.

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

This collection of Nixon's conversations in various locations at the White House provides a plethora of Nixon's comments on China. Pages 200 and 404 were especially useful in gaining insight to Nixon's beliefs about China's willingness to work with U.S. and even assist in countering Soviet actions in Asia.

People's Republic of China. Congressional Hearing, 1997-09-18, 1997.
<https://search.proquest.com/congressional/view/app-gis/hearing/hrg-1997-iss-0003>.

Similar to the 1972 report to the U.S. Tariff Commission, this congressional hearing was an update on the state of affairs between the U.S. and China. Though it happened long after Nixon's presidency, I found it to be helpful in tracking the progress of Nixon-era agreements and to estimate their effectiveness.

U.S. Vice-President Nixon's state visit to Free China: a collection of Mr. Nixon's speeches and remarks on Free China

This particular source is a collection of Richard Nixon's speeches regarding his trip to China and what his observations were regarding the potential for U.S.-China relations. Most of these are merely opinion and very difficult to use for substantiation of evidence. However, when examined through the lens of more concrete facts, it proved to be valuable in comparing what was actually happening and what the American public was made aware of.

Secondary Sources- Books

Barnett, A. Doak. 2019. *The Making of Foreign Policy in China: Structure and Process*. Sais Papers in International Affairs, No. 9. London: Routledge.

Dr. Barnett provides evidence on China's foreign policy using research and interviews conducted in 1984 with several Chinese officials, scholars, and journalists. The book describes the changes in the power structure that occurred in the post-Mao period. Chapter 2 was particularly helpful in understanding the shift in Chinese policymaking before and after Mao. This book was vital in understanding China's side of the story and balancing some of the bias that comes from consulting mostly U.S. sources.

Buss, Claude Albert. 1974. *China: The People's Republic of China and Richard Nixon*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

Buss extensively covers the relationship between the U.S. and China but discusses the relations that developed in the time of the Vietnam War. Buss suggests that Nixon's China visit was intended to remove China from the dynamics of the Vietnam War since they were more amicable than the Soviet Union to U.S. interests. Chapter 4 was the most helpful in providing insight to scholarship and primary sources.

Chang, Gordon H. 2015. *Fateful Ties: A History of America's Preoccupation with China*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Dallek, Robert. 2007. *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*. 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins Pub.

Goh, Evelyn. 2005. *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974: From "Red Menace" to "Tacit Ally"*

Griffin, Nicholas. 2015. *Ping-Pong Diplomacy: Ivor Montagu and the Astonishing Story Behind the Game That Changed the World*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Humes, James C, and Jarvis D Ryals. 2009. *Only Nixon: His Trip to China Revisited and Restudied*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

James Humes and Ryals Jarvis give an account of their visit to China in an attempt to retrace President Richard Nixon's steps. The book contains several interviews with Chinese officials that had planned the itinerary for Nixon and Mao. The authors share their thoughts on the political climate in China and why Mao was willing to establish relations with the U.S. This book is especially important to my topic because it addresses my main question regarding the effect of Nixon's trip on the relationship between the U.S. and communism.

Kaufman, Scott. 2001. *Confronting Communism: U.S. and British Policies Toward China*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

This book talks about the attitudes that the U.S. and U.K. had toward China. The books began with the original implementation of communism during the Bolshevik Revolution and expands into the Cold War. What is pertinent to my research is the portion of the book that discusses the renewed relationship between the U.S. and China, ultimately cutting out the U.K. entirely. Most of the information that I required was found in chapter 9 which talks about Nixon as an ideal president to establish relations with a communist country.

Kissinger, Henry. 2011. *On China*. New York: Penguin Press.

This book talks about Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China in July 1971 and how that visit affected U.S.-China relations. Most of it involves the correspondence between officials in

Washington and Beijing. There were several aspects of this source that were helpful in understanding some of the policies and deals made between the two governments. Due to the secretive nature of the visit, this book can shed light on certain aspects of the relationship that other sources cannot.

Logevall, Fredrik, and Andrew Preston. 2008. *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Much of the focus in this book is on the U.S. policies that were aimed at finding a balance between liberal interventionism and conservative isolationism. Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford are all discussed at length. Most importantly for my topic is the book's detailed description of the political climate in the U.S. and how the Nixon administration was able to create a connection with an ideology it openly opposed.

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

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

Pomfret, John. 2017. *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom: America and China, 1776 to the Present* First Picador ed. New York, N.Y.: Picador.

Ross, Robert S. *Negotiating Cooperation: The U.S. and China, 1969-89*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. 2001. *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996* New York: Columbia University Press.

Tudda, Chris. 2012. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969-1972*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

China Confidential provided the most insight to Sino-Soviet tensions in the mid 20th century. Much of the information I found regarding the erosion of relations between China and the Soviet Union was from this book.

Wu, Fu-mei Chiu. 1978. *Richard M. Nixon, Communism and China*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

While this book is an overview of all interaction between the Nixon Administration and China, Chapter 5 gives an overview of Chinese suspicions about the U.S. motives for establishing relations. This book did not have any primary sources that I have consulted so far but it was very helpful in structuring my research question.