



# Henry Kissinger and New Diplomacy 1969-1976

# Henry Kissinger (1923-2023)

Kissinger 1972



Nixon Foreign Affairs  
Advisor....runs US foreign  
Policy...with Nixon

Changes US Diplomacy  
From “Ideological crusade”  
To Balance of Power” Realpo

Also global celebrity  
....symbol of US to world

# Kissinger childhood

Henry and Walter 1937



Middle class German family  
...Jewish ...but secular  
...unexceptional student  
....integrated German life

Segregated by Nazi's 1930's  
...family impoverished  
....bullied/ beaten up  
...father takes family to USA 1938

German/ Jewish neighbourhood  
Learns English  
Attends college...accountancy  
US army 1943

# Kissinger....from soldier to academic

Kissinger US Army 1945



US army intelligence officer  
....integrated with American life  
....Battle of the Bulge  
....At concentration camps  
....extended family murdered

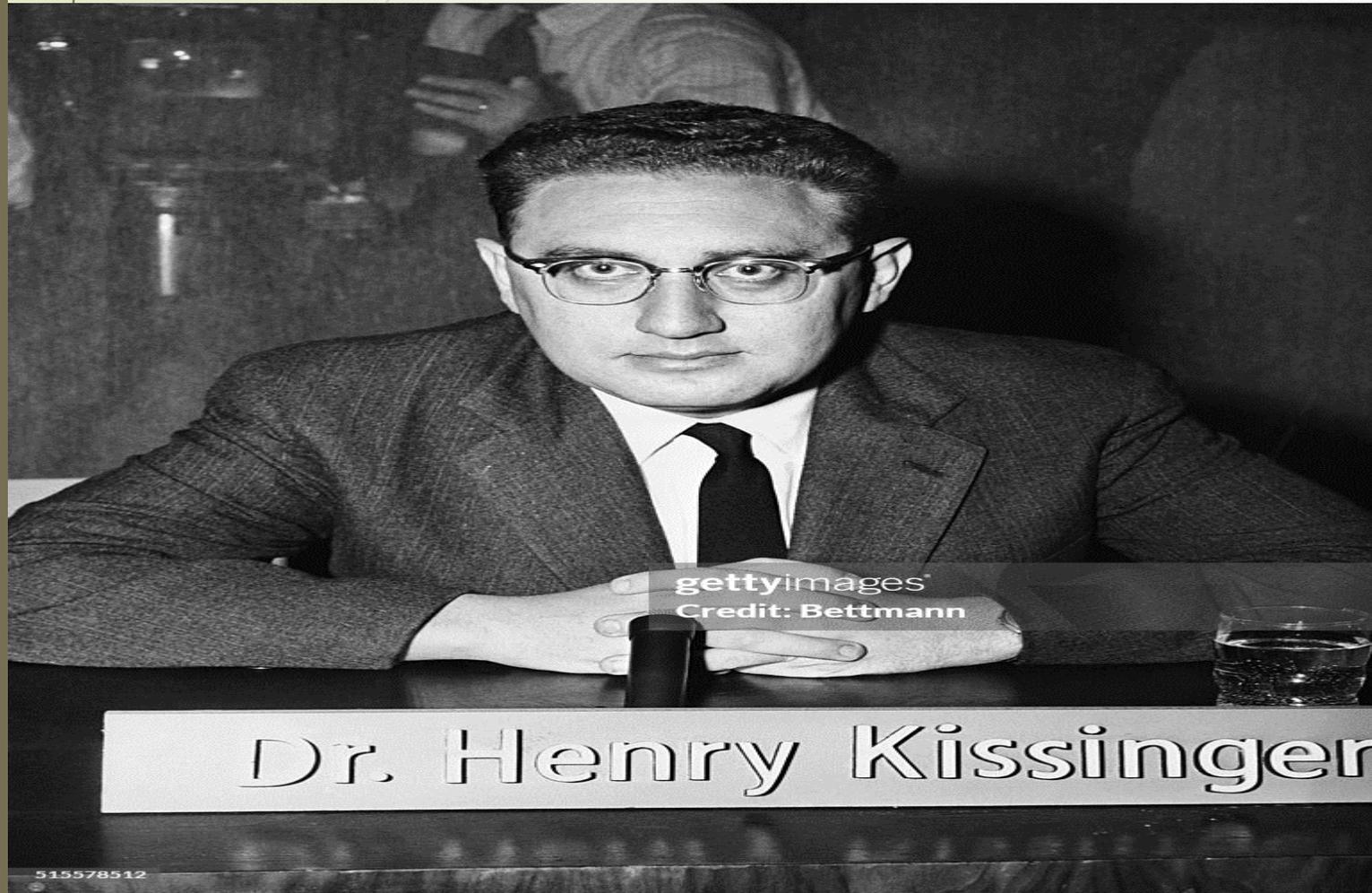
German occupation  
...administer German cities  
...interrogates Nazis/ collaboration

Returns to US 1947  
.....Harvard BA> PhD  
.....Treatise diplomacy 19<sup>th</sup> century

Peace achieved by achieving stable  
Balance of power....not justice, ideology

# From academia to centre of power

Kissinger 1957



Establishes committee of  
International affairs Harvard  
...network leading politicians  
...Republican/ Democrats

Publishes "Nuclear war and  
foreign policy 1956  
...use of tactical vs strategic  
nuclear weapons

Advisor to LBJ administration  
...at 1968 Paris Peace Talks

Leaks "deal" to Nixon  
...convinces S Vietnam leave  
& wait for new Administration

The partnership  
...based on mutual respect. Not affection





# Nixon and Kissinger

“They were a fascinating pair. In a way, they complemented each other perfectly. Kissinger was the charming and worldly Mr. Outside who provided the grace and intellectual-establishment respectability that Nixon lacked, disdained and aspired to.

Kissinger was an international citizen. Nixon very much a classic American. Kissinger had a worldview and a facility for adjusting it to meet the times, Nixon had pragmatism and a strategic vision that provided the foundations for their policies.... these self-made men were driven as much by their need for approval and their neuroses as by their strengths.” (David Rothkopf. Historian)



## Nixon- Kissinger US Diplomacy 1970's

- ➔ Balance of power: prevent USSR dominance & co-exist
- ➔ Prioritise stability over "justice". Ideologies irrelevant
- ➔ Diplomacy...the art of great men and best done in secret



First problem: Resolve “the past”  
.....Ending the Vietnam War

# Vietnam war 1969

Peace negotiations in Paris stalled

- Nixon goal: “Peace with honour” ..hires Kissinger as National Security Advisor
  - N Vietnamese & US to withdraw simultaneously ...future UN run elections
  - North Vietnam lacks “agency”: puppet state of Russians/ Chinese
- North Vietnamese: “War winnable ...if Americans gone
  - Vietnam one state/ US colonial power...USSR/ Chinese co-revolutionaries

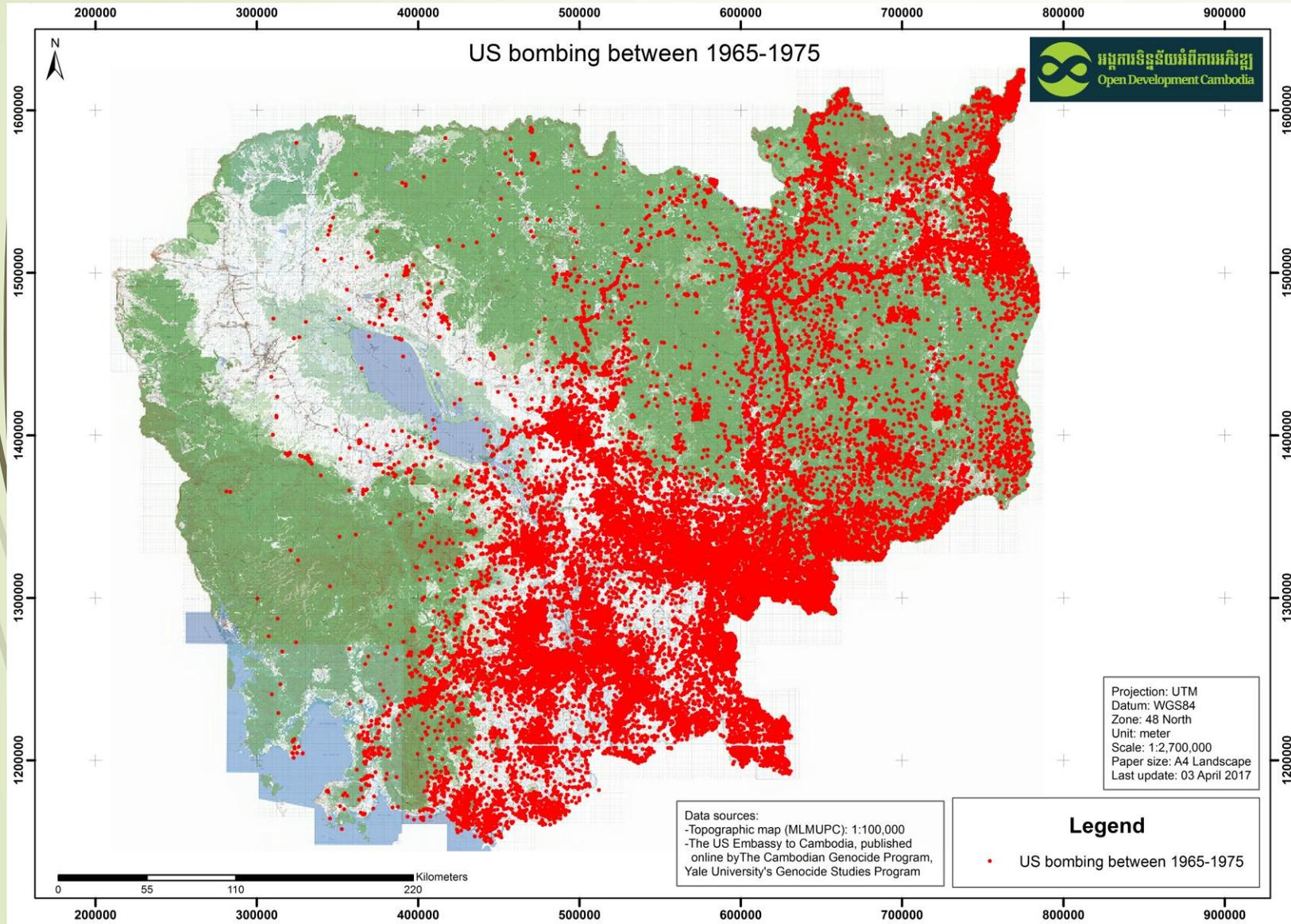
North resume offensives during negotiations....gain territory but held

Nixon/ Kissinger...North will only negotiate by force....cut off supplies



# Cambodian bombing March 1969-May 1970

Bombing Eastern Cambodia...all of it!



US drop 2m bombs

....100,000 Cambodians killed

....100 US aircraft shot down

...."Secret"...no Congress/ press

Bombing ineffective

...North intercept codes

...move bases north

Sianhouk regime destabilised

...coup/ Sianhouk to China

..pro US generals take control

..US supported

# Invasion of Cambodia 1970

Nixon on tv...announcing plan to end war



Pro US Cambodian coup  
General Lon Nol new leader  
supports Massacre of Vietnamese

Vietnam invades Cambodia  
.... US strategy wrecked  
....Sihanouk to China/support  
Cambodia communists Khmer Rouge.

Nixon: ..promise to end war in 69 failed  
...popularity decline/election due  
....obsesses with movie "Patton"  
... "spectacular victory" needed

Announces Vietnamization plan  
....invades Cambodia  
.... Withdraws 150,000 US troops  
....US army restricted to defense  
....US to continue aerial support only

# Vietnam War 1970-1972

## ▶ Vietnamization Campaign 1970-1972

- ▶ US troops removed from front line, reduced from 500,000 to 50,000
- ▶ South Vietnamese army takes on fighting
- ▶ Provide air, logistical and financial support to South Vietnamese

## ▶ Peace Negotiations

- ▶ US revised Goal: “Secure Decent Interval”
- ▶ Get Chinese/ Russians to force North to withdraw/delay
- ▶ Kissinger to negotiate directly with North Vietnamese...talks collapse

North ignores USSR & China, launches major offensive 1972  
...defeat in war & re-election imminent

# Operation "Line-Backer" 1972

Hanoi December 1972

North resume offensive  
...massive US air campaign  
...South army sustains fight

US decides to "Go North"  
...bomb Hanoi/ Mine harbours  
...accuses USSR of complicity

US revise goals...negotiations resume  
..."Cease fire in place"  
...North to return POWs (1,000 airmen)  
...excludes South from talks

Kissinger announces "Peace at hand"  
..October 25th (1 week prior to US election)  
...South Vietnam claims betrayal  
...North wants S Viet leader to resign

Talks collapse.....Nixon wins landslide  
...Xmas bombing campaign





China

# US and China pose

## ➤ China and USA 1949-1970

- US “lost China” to communists 1949
- China (Peoples Republic of China) client state of USSR.
- US policy support Taiwan = real China
- PRC to be isolated, kept from world stage

## ➤ Nixon and China

- Recognises Communist regime stable: PRC is China
- Studies Sino Soviet border dispute 1969
- Sees opportunity to divide USSR and China
- Use China to influence North Vietnamese to cooperate at Paris

Diplomacy to open relations to be kept secret

# Ping Pong Diplomacy 1971

US team at Great Wall...first visitors



World table tennis  
Championships China 1971

US team visits

...welcomed

....allowed to win 3 /7 games

...first time China on US TV

Kissinger despatched in secret

Opportunity for US and China

To work together has arisen

# US/ China: the first test:

Partition: 1947  
creation of Pakistan



..East.. “wealthy” Bengali merchants  
Sunni Muslim with strong Sufi influence

West Pakistan...”poor”... military castes  
.....Fundamentalist Sunni Muslim culture  
.....military elite, capital, East a “colony”

Cold War South Asia:

...India “non aligned”...pro USSR

1962 Border war with China.

...Pakistan pro US muslim petro states

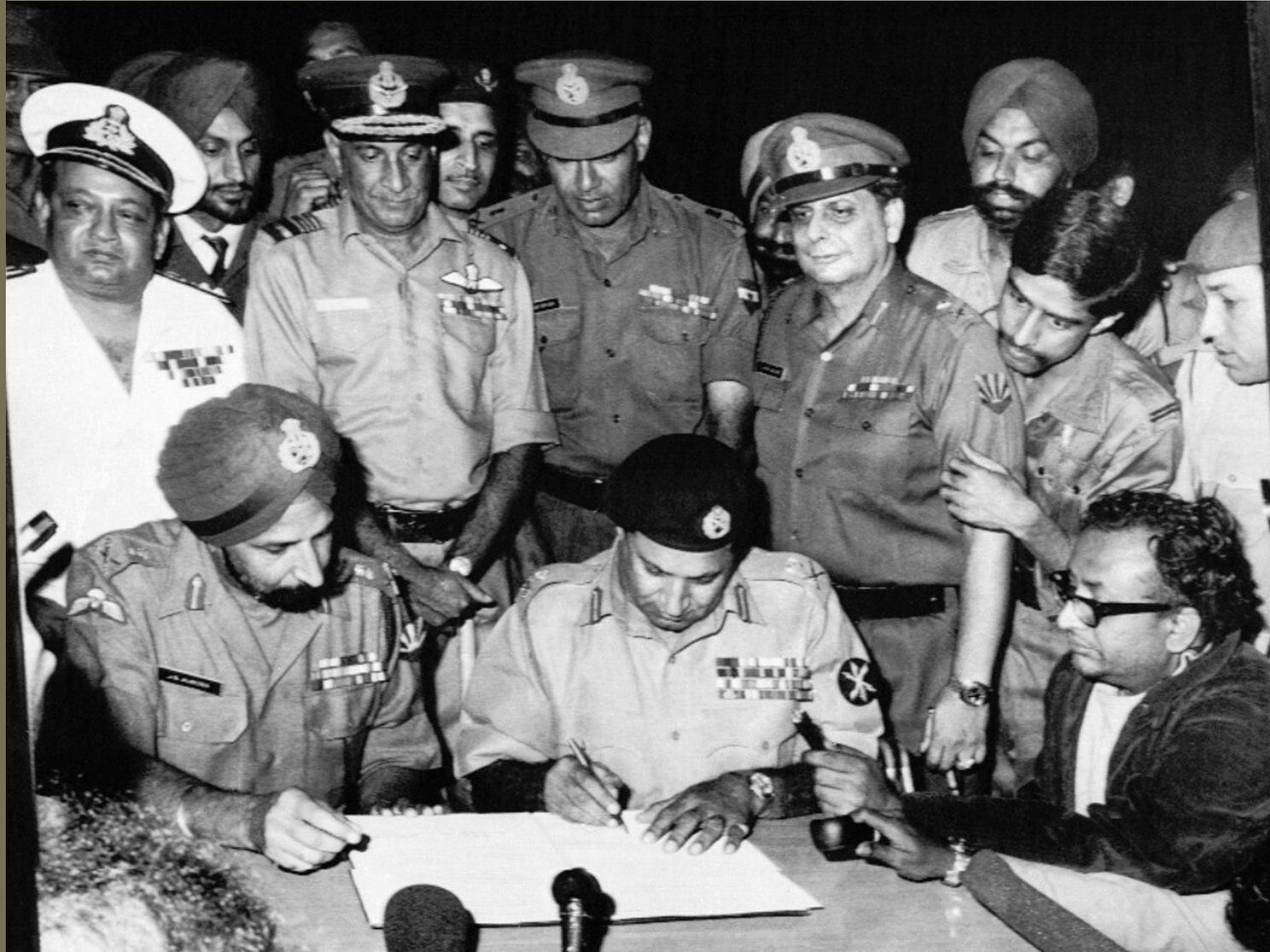
“Bangladesh” 1970 cyclone response

...East starts “War of Liberation”

West Pakistan launch “operation  
Searchlight”...to regain control

# Indo Pakistani war 1971

## West Pakistan army surrenders



Searchlight “Genocide”

1.0m + Hindus/ Suffis killed

...10m refugees to India

Nixon ignores “blood telegram”

USSR promises support to India

USA and China Pakistan

....provision of military/ finance/  
aircraft carrier position

Indo- Pak War breaks out Decemb

....US/China vs USSR India conflict

Indian army invades Pakistan arm

In West Surrender ...war ends

US and China “lose” but talking

# Nixon meet Zou en Lai February 1972



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Credit: -

# Zou Enlai, Mao, Nixon, Kissinger



# Kissinger and Zhou en Lai



# Nixon and Mao



# Impact of Nixon visit to China

- No impact on events in Vietnam
- US politics
  - Nixon communist baiter now world statesman
  - Formal diplomatic relations with China begins
- Impact on China
  - Reduced fear of invasion/ Cultural Revolution winds down
  - China joins Security Council (Taiwan evicted)
  - Begins modernization programme 1979



USA and USSR...creating Detente

# US and USSR: SALT 1 Negotiation

- Recognition Arms Race out of Control
- Anti Ballistic Missile Systems...encourages invulnerability
- MIRV system development. Increase risk of annihilation
- Nixon and Brezhnev aware of risk of war

Kissinger despatched ...negotiate “Cap” and reduce defence systems

# Nixon anti communist legacy

Nixon vs Khrushchev 1960 Moscow ...”kitchen debate”



Nixon life time “commie baiter” ...Hiss trial 1948

McCarthy supporter  
...1950-1958

Kitchen debate in Moscow

“Pink List” tactics when  
running for Senate 1962

Yet...sees need to end arms race  
...despatches Kissinger  
.....Secret trips  
...Arms control

# Kissinger...compelled to join "Boar Hunt"



# Nixon and Brezhnev Moscow Summit 1972



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Credit: Bettmann

# Brezhnev in California 1974



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Credit: Bettmann

# Brezhnev...avoiding distractions



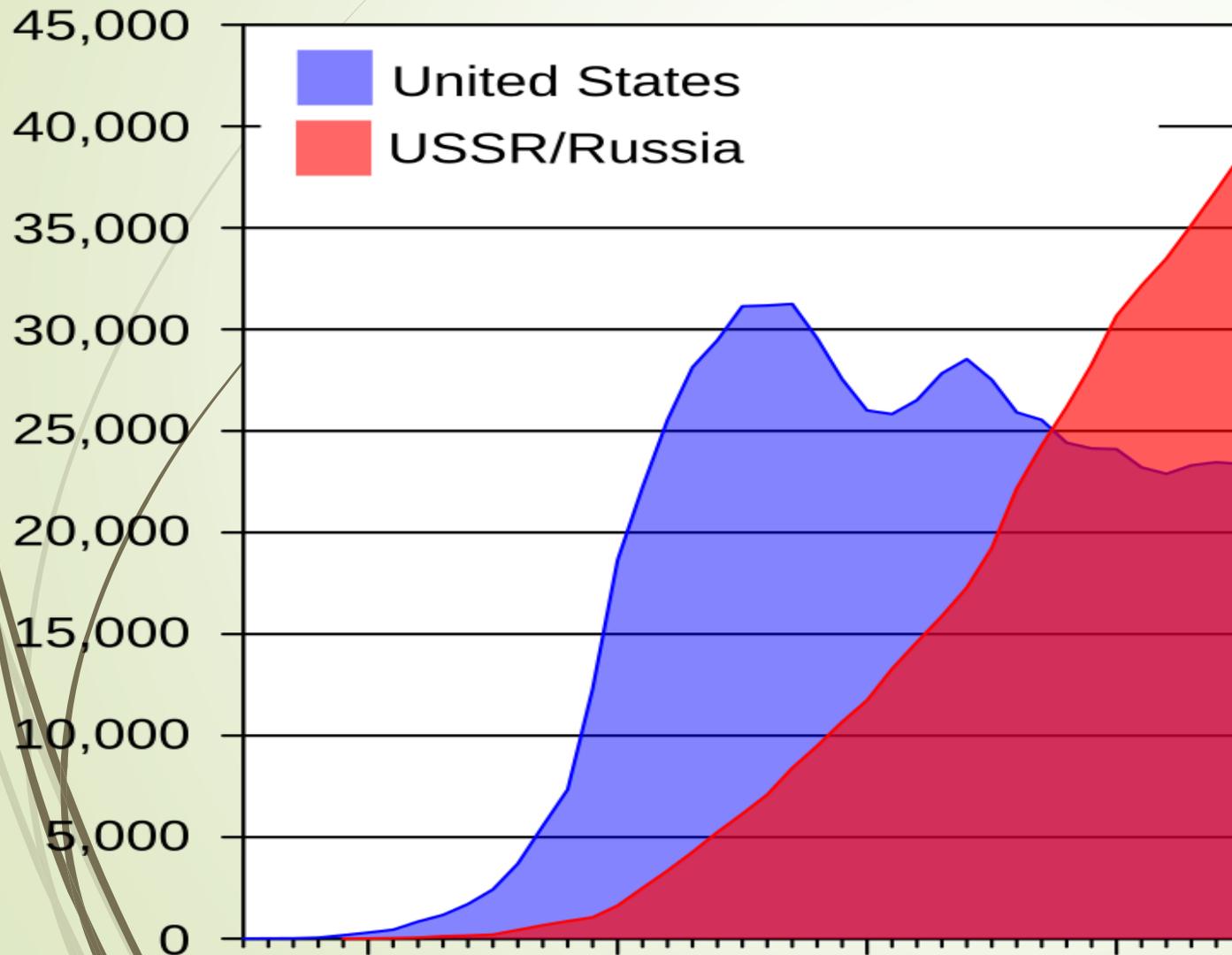
# SALT 1 Agreement 1972

- First formal agreement regarding missile production
- Limited to establishing a “Cap” on warhead numbers
  - USA already at CAP
  - USSR given licence to catch up
- Limits on Anti Ballistic System.
  - 1 system per nation
  - Defence impossible: “Mutual Assured Destruction”

No inspections, enforcement by “technical” (satellite)

# Impact SALT 1 ...arms raise continues

US vs USSR nuclear warheads



Both sides comply to ABM "rule"  
...USSR build more

....US focuses on technology

SALT 2 Talks t

..goal absolute reduction

...talks continue to 1979

Both

Agree "Helsinki Accords 1975 (Forc

...US accept Europe "Russian"

...USSR commits to "human rights"

...ridiculed by right (Reagan)

....not by new Polish Pope

...and Poles/ Czechs



# Securing US dominance in South America and Middle East

# Trouble in Chile



10m people, GPD \$1,000, 20% US  
....reformist middle class 1890-1925  
...US copper interests

Military dictators 1925—1931  
Peaceful handover to civil rule  
Coalition Middle Class/ Socialist  
...legal Marxist opposition  
...strong legal structures

Reform programmes 1960  
...pace considered too slow  
...Socialist win plurality 1970  
...Salvador Allende wins run off  
Vote by Congress

# Salvador Allende (1908-1973)

Salvador among the people 1971



Socialism in Chile program

Nationalises banks, minimum  
Wage, reform taxes,  
..land Reform  
..commit to non Alignment

Nationalises Copper  
..”Chile’s salary”

Economy booms 1970-1973

# US decision to intervene

➤ Avoid another Cuba: Allende “dangerous communist

➤ US Policy files release 1990's): CIA telegram to operatives

“it is firm and continuing policy that Allende be overthrown by a coup.. It is imperative that these actions be implemented clandestinely and securely so that ,,,,,American hand be well hidden.”

US funds industrial strikes, imposes trade embargo, blocks financial transfers

Chilean economy collapses...unemployment, inflation, unrest

# The Coup

## Chilean pro Allende demonstration



- Attempted coup 1971
  - US supported coup fails
  - “Democratic general vetoes”
  - “democrat” general killed
- Economic meltdown...1973
  - Inflation/ unemployment
  - US support Congress vs President
  - Allende appeals to public/non violence
- Military take-over
  - Allende killed/ Pinochet dictator
  - Pro US policy/nationalisation stop

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Credit: Sepia Times

# Chile secured

Augusto Pinochet and Kissinger 1976



Aftermath...5,000 “disappeared”  
...Pinochet commits to referendum 1988





# Operation Condor 1975-1983 (facts...information still restricted)

- Secret Organisation established by Pinochet
  - Joint operations Authoritarian/ Military regimes vs “revolutionaries”...Cuban
  - Supported by US: covert operations & \$50m funding
  - Many members graduates of “University of the Americas”
- Mission
  - Share intelligence across “Cone of South America”
  - Combine operations across borders
  - Assassinate “terrorist leaders” and associates

# The "Dirty War" in Argentina

Juan and Evita Peron 1950

Argentina: 4<sup>th</sup> most wealthy world 1900  
..authoritarian government

Juan/ Eva; Peron "populist"  
Presidents "fascist" protectionist, Welfare, state  
ownership... "elections" allowed

Military coup 1955, Peron exiled

Returns 1970... promise of  
Reform... dies... military coup ...revolts,  
some communists in government

General Videla. Condor support  
...bloodless coup  
...demonstrations  
...Videla decide to "purify" country



# Argentina “Dirty War” 1974-1983

Mothers campaigning for “lost children”  
1980



Vilela: “A terrorist is not just someone with a gun or a bomb, but also someone who spreads ideas that are contrary to Western Christian civilization”.

Seeks green light from Kissinger's  
.....”just clean it up”

Campaign of mass murder  
30,000 plus young “disappeared”  
.....Jews, homosexuals, journalists, students  
.....torture....death flights

Repression continues. Till 1983

# Death Flights 1979-1983



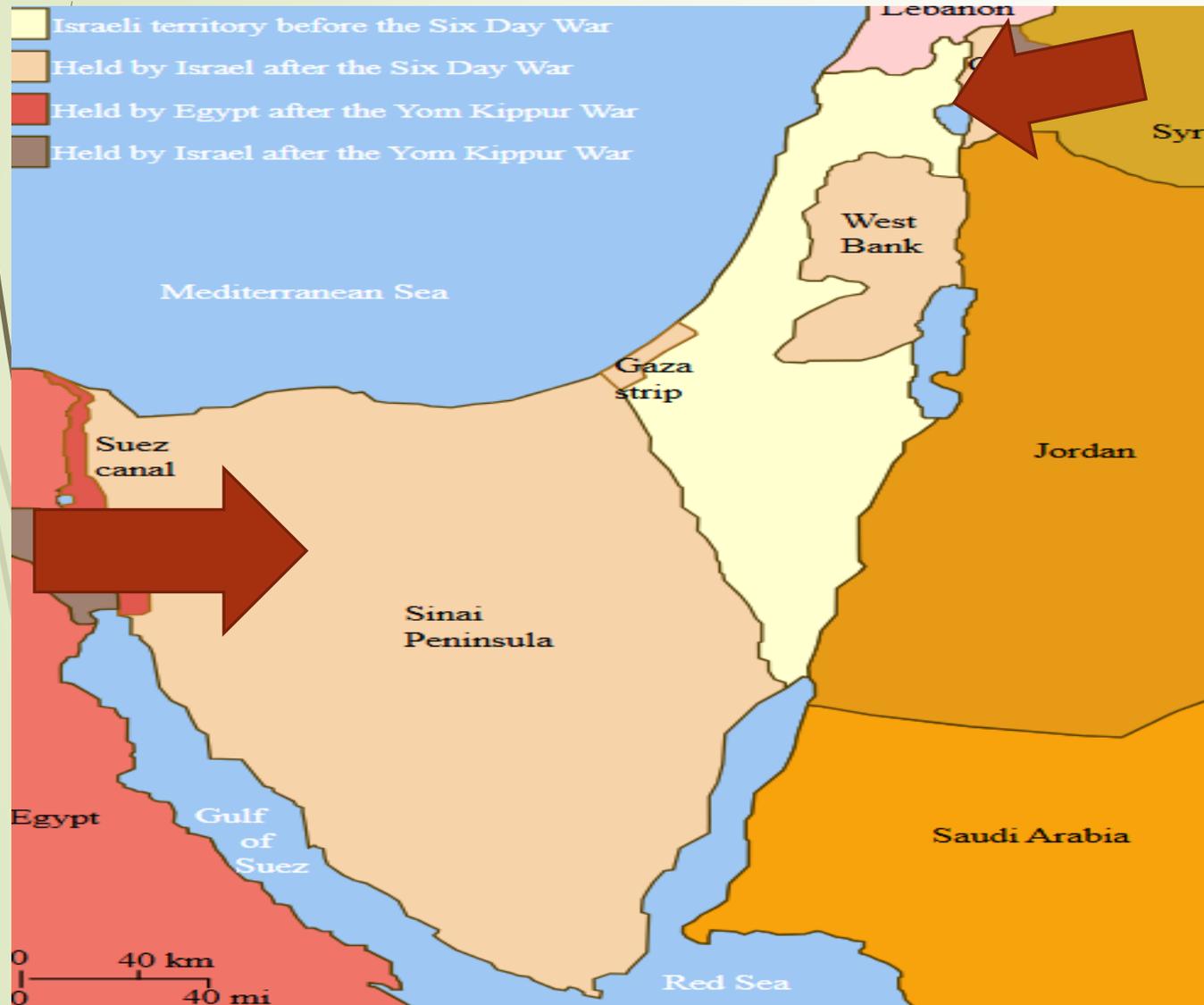
# Crisis in Middle East

## US policy 1967-1973

- Israel reliable pro Western Ally vs Arab “Socialist” states
- Military loans to Israel/ petro chemical import agreement Petro States
- Road to war
  - Arab want “revenge” vs 6 day war ...build arms....USSR support
  - Israel develops “tactical” nuclear capability
- Yom Kippur attack
  - Egypt President Arafat offers Israel “Land for Peace” 1972,,,reject
  - King of Jordan advises Israel to attack....US orders Israel to “stand down”

Egypt & Syria launch coordinated attack October 6th 1973

# Egyptian and Syrian attacks



Arab attacks successful

...at first

...Egyptian cross Suez Cana

....Syrian attack Golan heights

Israel facing extinction October 9th

....arms planes with nuclear bombs

US detects and intervenes

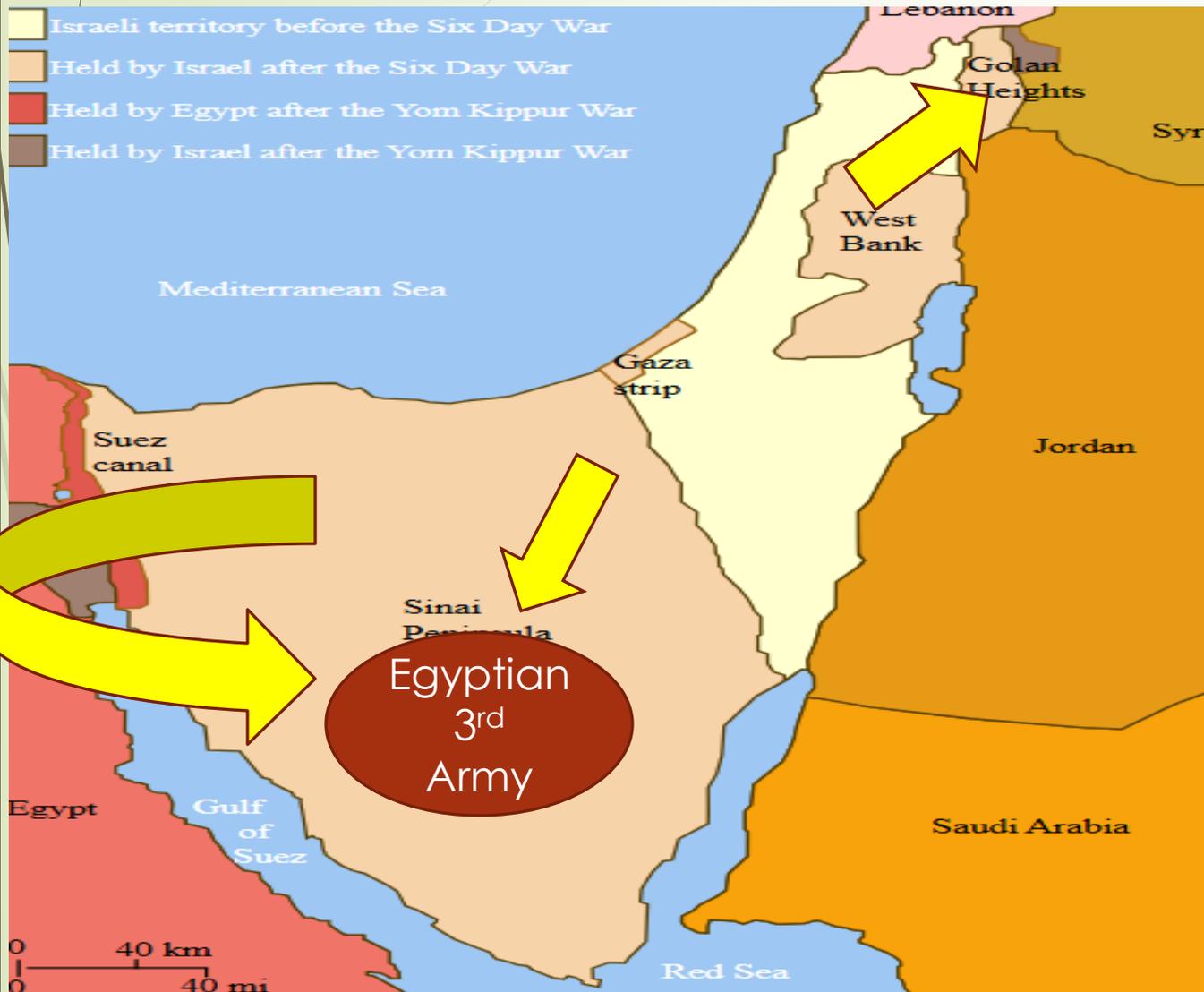
....Kissinger notifies USSR to avoid cat

....USSR tells Syrians/ Egypt's to limit a

....USA tells Israel to disarm & rushes m

October 12<sup>th</sup> Israel counterattacks

# Israeli Counter attack



- Israeli counter attack Oct 12-25
    - Destroy Syrian....advance on Damascus
    - Cross Sinai, invade Egypt
  - Egyptian 3<sup>rd</sup> Army surrounded
    - 50,000 men surrounded
    - No water destruction imminent
  - US/USSR intervenes.
    - Avoid Arab humiliation
    - Ceasefire agreed
- Kissinger despatched to negotiate

# Shuttle Diplomacy ....22 trips to Israel/ Egypt/ Syria



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Credit: Consolidated News Pictures

# Kissinger, President Ford, Egypt/ Mubarak



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Credit: Bettmann

# Impact Yom Kippur War

- USA/USSR “détente” working.. Escalation prevented
- US Israel relationship shifts from loans to direct aid
- Israel “militarised”...’near success of Arabs” traumatic
- Economic Impact
  - Arab Oil embargo October 1973- May 1974
  - 300% increase in price of oil....inflation/ low growth..”stagflation”
  - US economic vulnerability revealed

# USA mid 1970's

- International stability secured
  - Vietnam era over
  - Co-existence established USSR and China
  - US dominance secured South America/ Africa/ Middle East
- US “self image “ as just and invulnerable dissolved
  - 400% rise in oil price
  - Watergate scandal
  - Drip feed of news of “dirty tricks” at home...and abroad
  - New President Ford, unelected, comprised by use of pardon

“Something wrong with America”....time for a change



# Epilogue: Kissinger assessment



# Kissinger...the after story

- ➔ American and diplomat....Jewish identity not a factor (?)
- ➔ Creates Kissinger Associates on leaving office....diplomacy for hire
- ➔ Advisors to all US Presidents till death 2023
- ➔ Celebrity diplomat.

Kissinger ...the celebrity  
...always to dinner,, never at home



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Credit: Frank Edwards

# Remarries 1976...long happy marriage

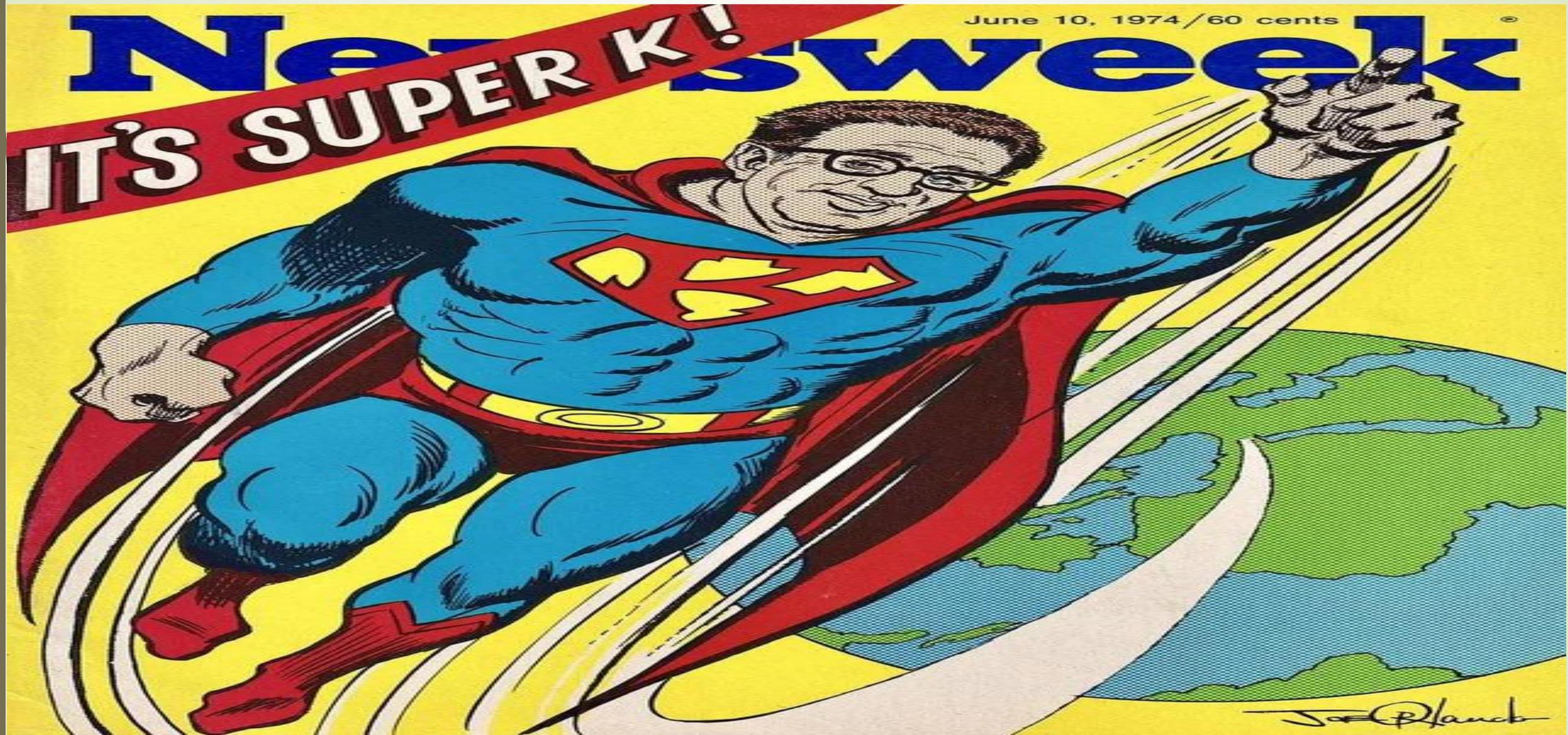


..Kissinger the “must have” guest of rich and famous  
..Elisabeth Taylor and Rupert Murdoch 1980



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Credit: TPLP

One Image: Superhero (Newsweek 1974)



# An alternative view: War criminal



# The final judgement 2023

EC504060





# Kissinger quotes

- “To be an enemy of America can be dangerous, but to be a friend is fatal”
- “Who controls the food supply controls the people; who controls the energy can control whole continents; who controls money can control the world.”
- “It is not a matter of what is true that counts, but a matter of what is perceived to be true.”



Next Talk “The Virtue Experiment” ...Jimmy Carter 1975-1980  
...September 29<sup>th</sup>, 10:00 am