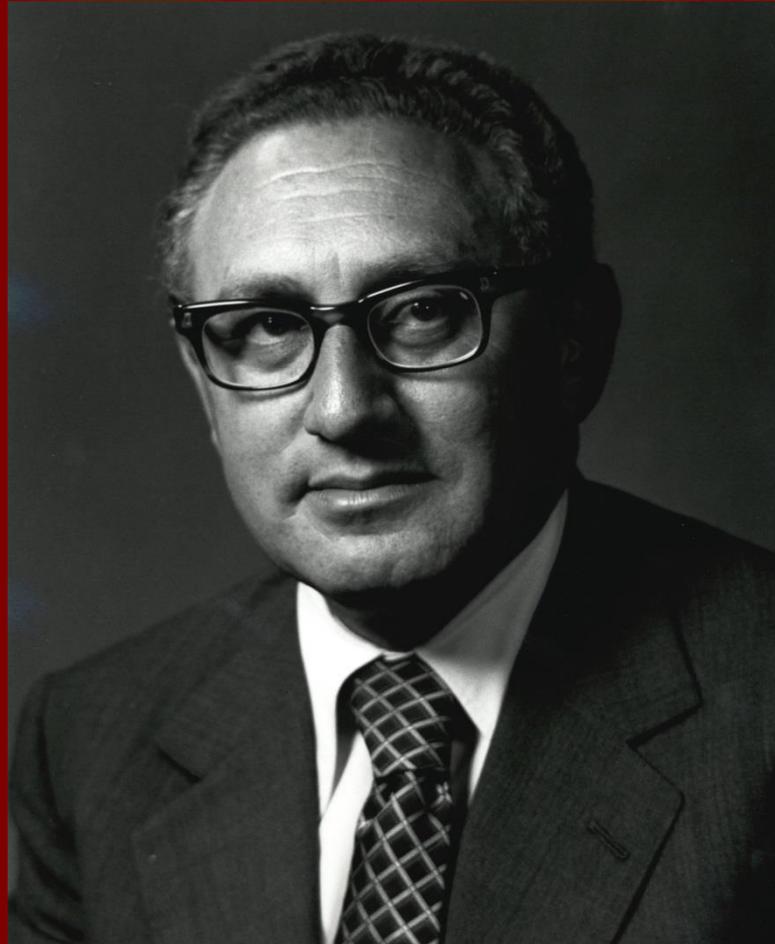


Celebrity Diplomat

Henry Kissinger and the Dilemmas
of American Power

Osher Lifelong Learning 2015

Henry A. Kissinger



LBJ on Vietnam/Kissinger

- <http://millercenter.org/presidentialclassroom/exhibits/assessing-the-war>

Kissinger and LBJ

- 1.) Part-time adviser (despite continuing ties to Rockefeller)
- 2.) Active in attempting to get secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese – “Pennsylvania”
- 3.) Thought Moscow might be an intermediary
- 4.) Develops ties to both Republicans and Democrats

1968 election

- 1.) Kissinger works for Rockefeller – deeply disappointed with his defeat
- 2.) But stays involved in Paris negotiations – warns Nixon of bombing halt – “October Surprise”
- 3.) Nixon tells South Vietnamese to not come to the negotiating table – Johnson considers this treason
- 4.) Criticized in “Trials of Henry Kissinger” by Christopher Hitchens

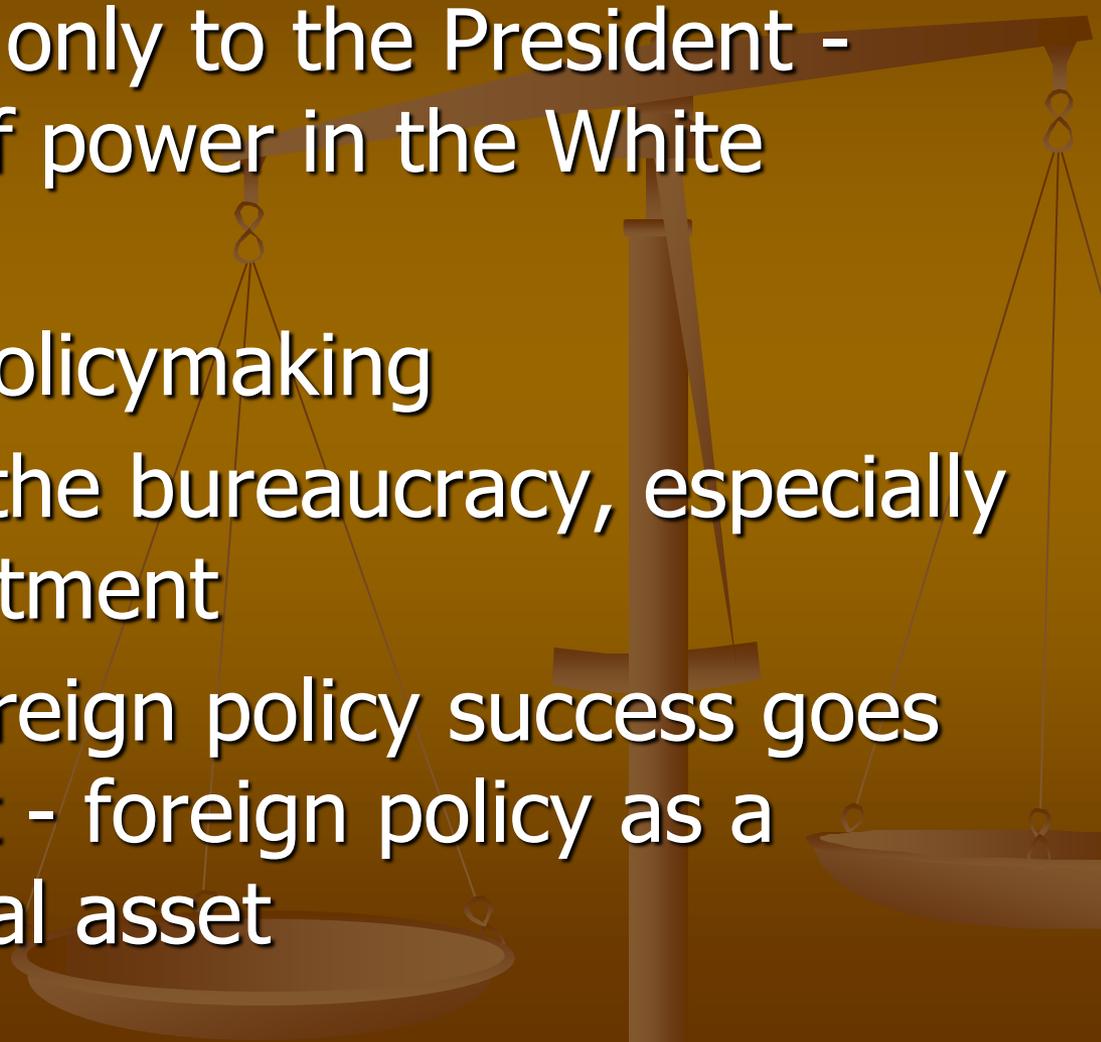
Nixon and Kissinger



America in the late 1960s

- 1.) Half a million men in Vietnam – no strategy for victory
- 2.) Serious racial conflict and violent polarization at home
- 3.) Perceived over-extension in foreign policy commitments and defense spending – country turning inward, public support for foreign commitments waning

Kissinger as National Security Adviser

- 1.) Responsible only to the President - Centralization of power in the White House
 - 2.) Secrecy in policymaking
 - 3.) Cutting out the bureaucracy, especially the State Department
 - 4.) Credit for foreign policy success goes to the President - foreign policy as a domestic political asset
- 

Nixon's goal: "Peacemaker"

- 1.) Nixon talked about an era negotiation replacing the era of confrontation – compared himself to Woodrow Wilson, - a peacemaker
- 2.) TV Archive: Jan. 29, 1969;
- Feb.6, 1969



The Frustrations of Vietnam, 1969-1970

- 1.) Failure of linkage with Soviets, slow progress with China – the Korea parallel
- 2.) Secret bombing of Cambodia – “madman theory”
- 3.) Failure of negotiations with Hanoi
 - Midway conference, Nixon Doctrine, Vietnamization, beginning of troop withdrawals
- 4.) Plans for Operation Duck Hook – “savage, punishing blows”

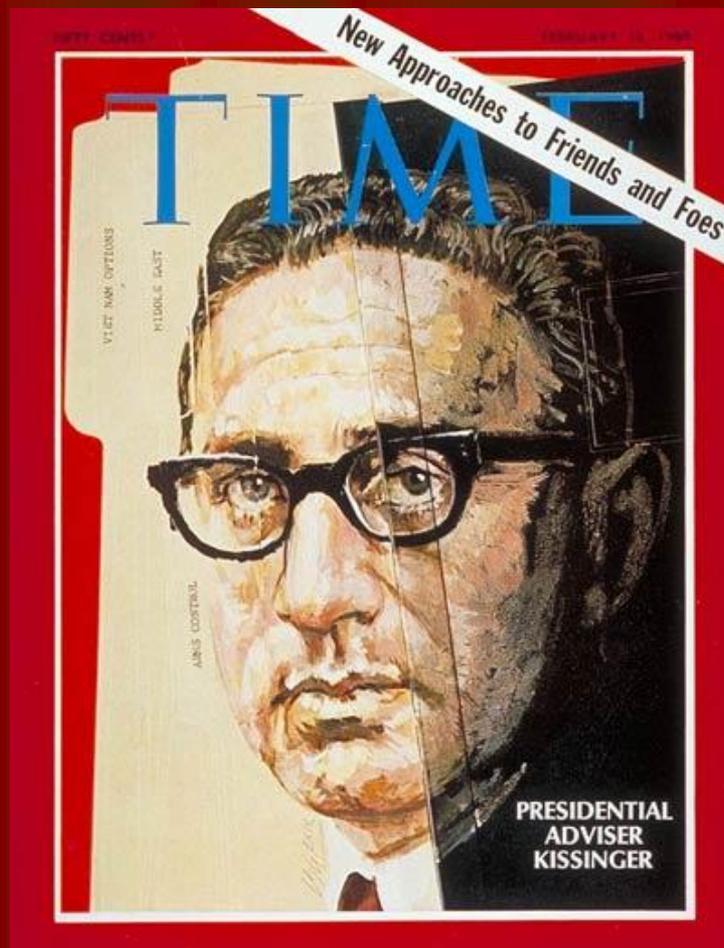
Kissinger and Vietnam

- 1.) Hope for “linkage” – Soviet help in securing a settlement
- 2.) Planning for Operation Duck Hook, escalation of the war
- 3.) Opposition to Vietnamization – the “salted peanuts” memo
- <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20061001/peanuts.pdf>

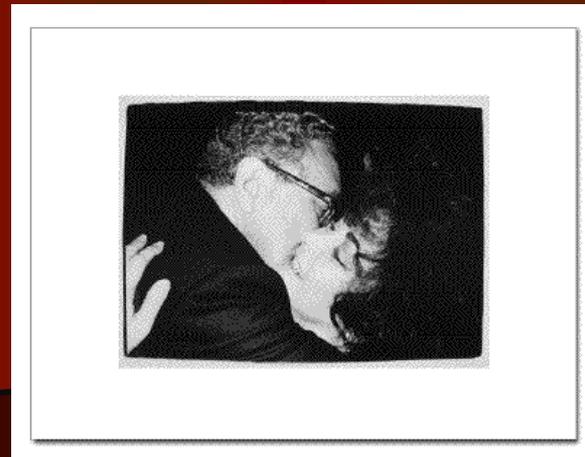
The Frustrations of Vietnam, 1969

- 5.) Growth in antiwar sentiment – moratoriums of October and November 1969 – radicalization of part of the movement (Weather Underground, “Bring the War Home”) – Government response – COINTELPRO – covert efforts to infiltrate and discredit the movement
- 6.) Nixon’s - Silent Majority Speech -
- 7.) Revelations of My Lai massacre – Nov. 1969
- 8.) First draft lottery – December 1969

Kissinger Crafts an Image, 1969-1970 – President's top adviser



Kissinger as "secret swinger"



1970 - Vietnam

- 1.) continued withdrawals – 150,000 – secret negotiations conducted by Kissinger in Paris
- 2.) invasion of Cambodia – May 1970 – domestic reaction – Kent State
- 3.) China – no progress – Mao reverses view after Cambodia

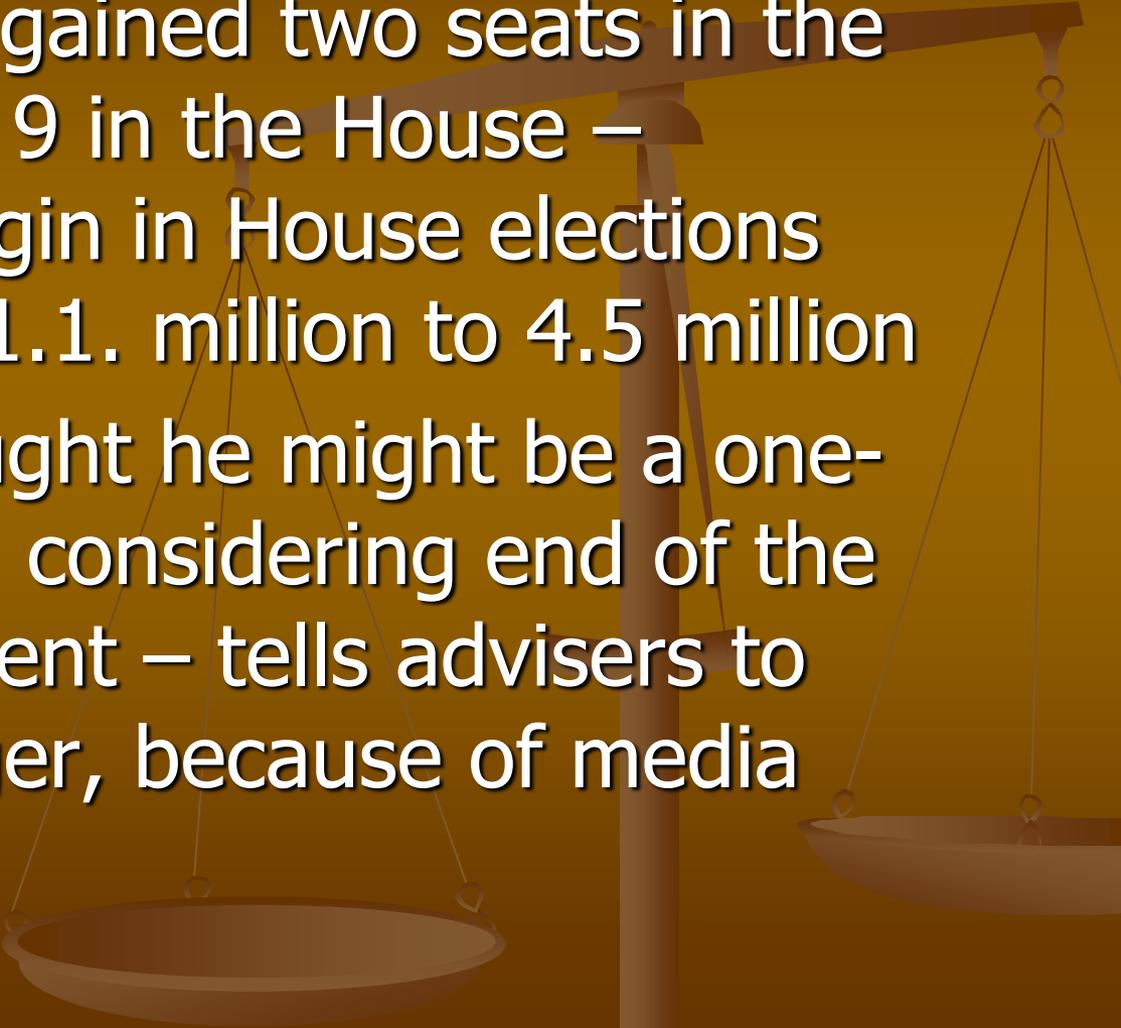
Kent State – May 4, 1970



Other Foreign Policy Frustrations and Achievements

- 1.) Middle East – Continuing Violence, Jordanian Crisis September 1970
- (Kissinger – ““You can’t lose them all.”
- 2.) Chile – Allende’s Victory
- 3.) Increasing European Assertiveness, German Ostpolitik
- 4.) Lack of Agreement with Soviets on Arms Control – no summit

Midterm elections – Republican losses

- 1.) Republicans gained two seats in the Senate, but lost 9 in the House – Democratic margin in House elections increased from 1.1 million to 4.5 million
 - 2.) Nixon – thought he might be a one-term president; considering end of the war announcement – tells advisers to highlight Kissinger, because of media favoritism
- 

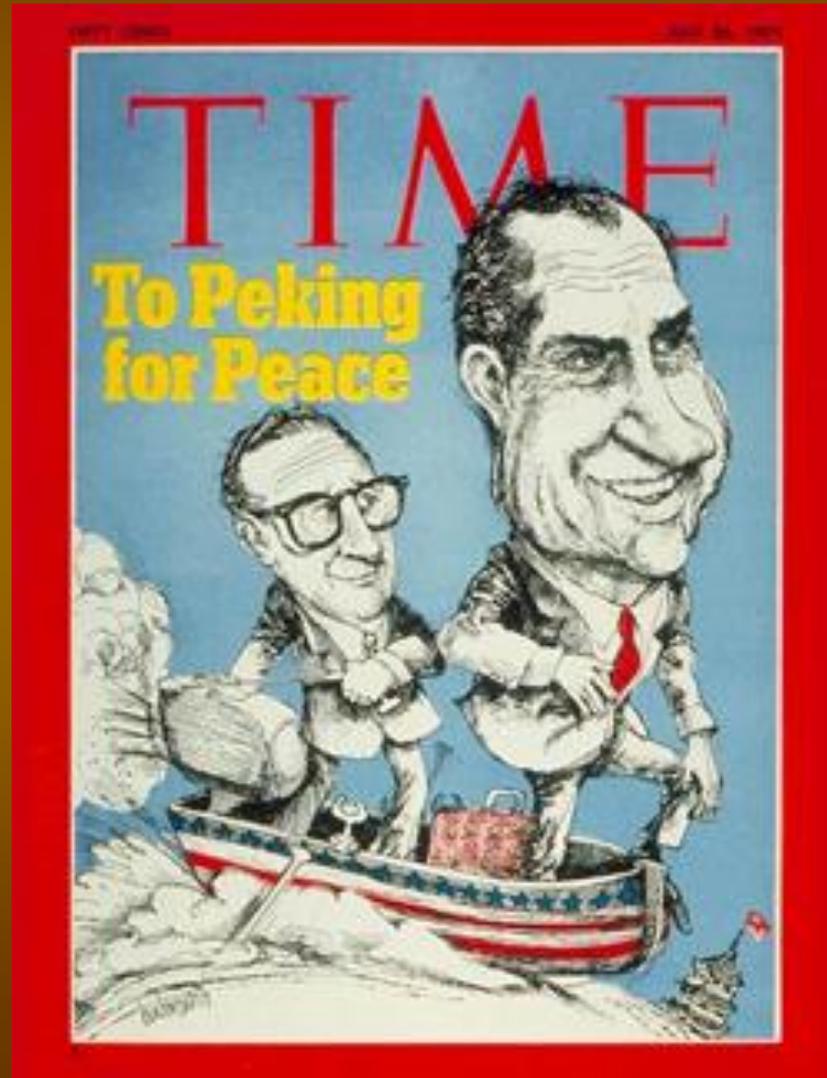
Nixon and Elvis – December 1970



Nixon's Frustrations, Kissinger's Reassurance

- Low point in the Nixon presidency, Laos invasion had gone badly, Republican congressional leaders wanted to set a date to get out of Vietnam, Nixon resented their pressure
- <http://millercenter.org/presidentialrecordings/rm-n-001-0101>
- Shortly after this speech, things began to break for Nixon – the Chinese approved a trip, the Russians wanted talks

Opening to China



India-Pakistan

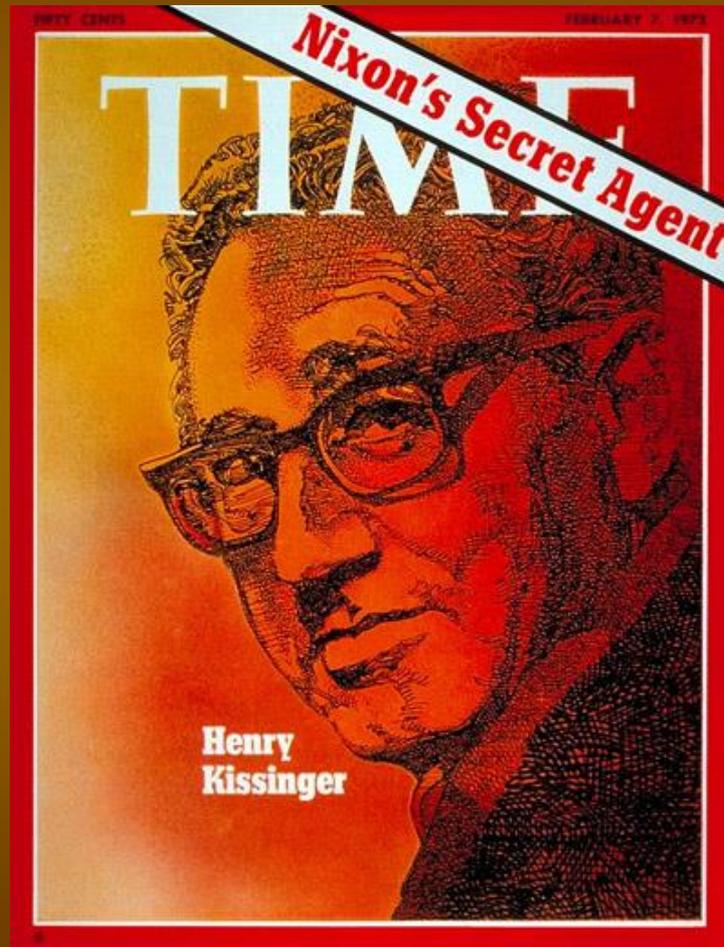
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OrhVsuZY1c&list=PLrISWmDC_QZ86fhY1weUQ2iobozmWhwHp&index=4
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2QLCKkMvz8w>



The Soviet Summit

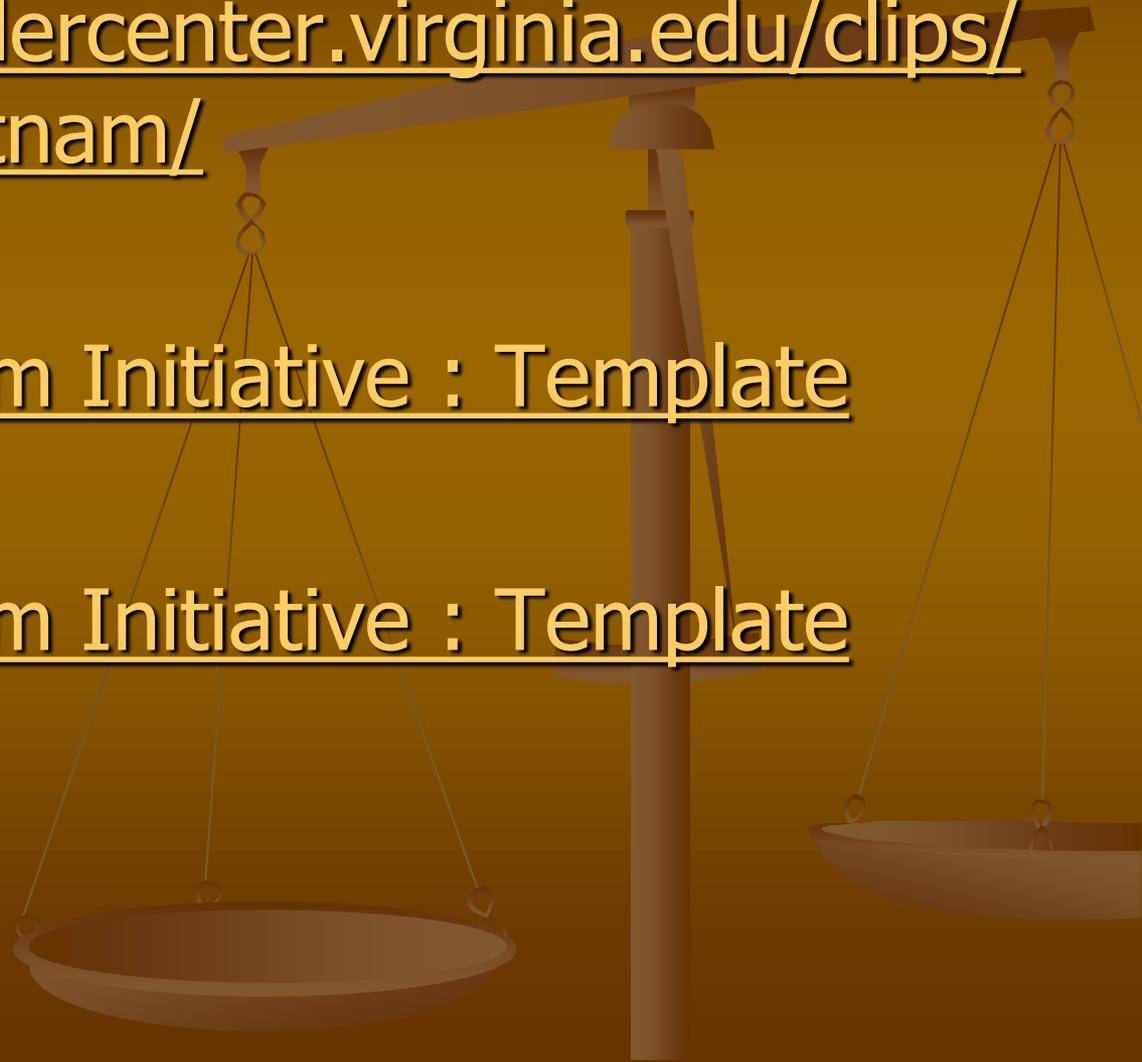


Kissinger as Nixon's "Secret Agent" – TV coverage

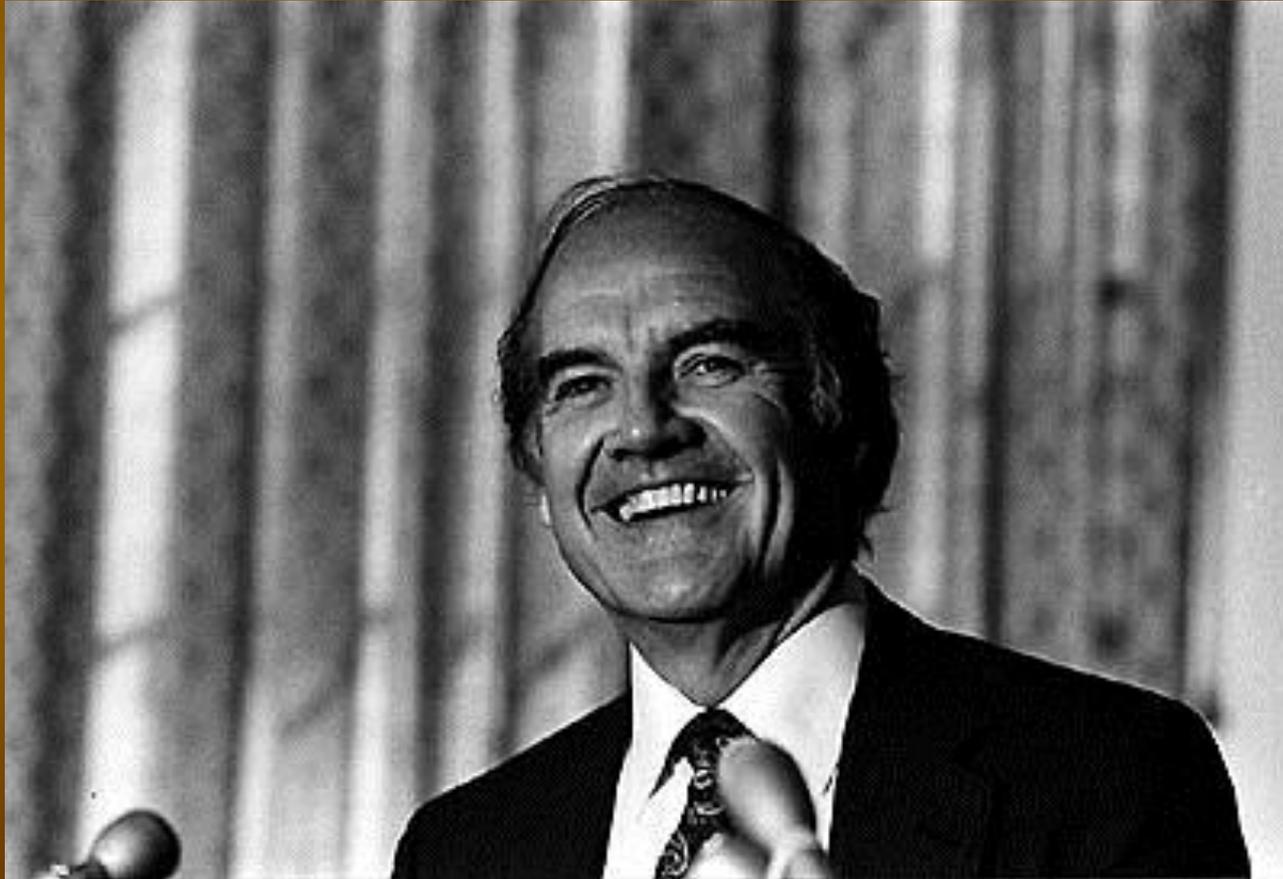


Vietnam and the Decent Interval

- http://tapes.millercenter.virginia.edu/clips/1972_0803_vietnam/
- Digital Classroom Initiative : Template
- Digital Classroom Initiative : Template



McGovern's Campaign – Come Home, America

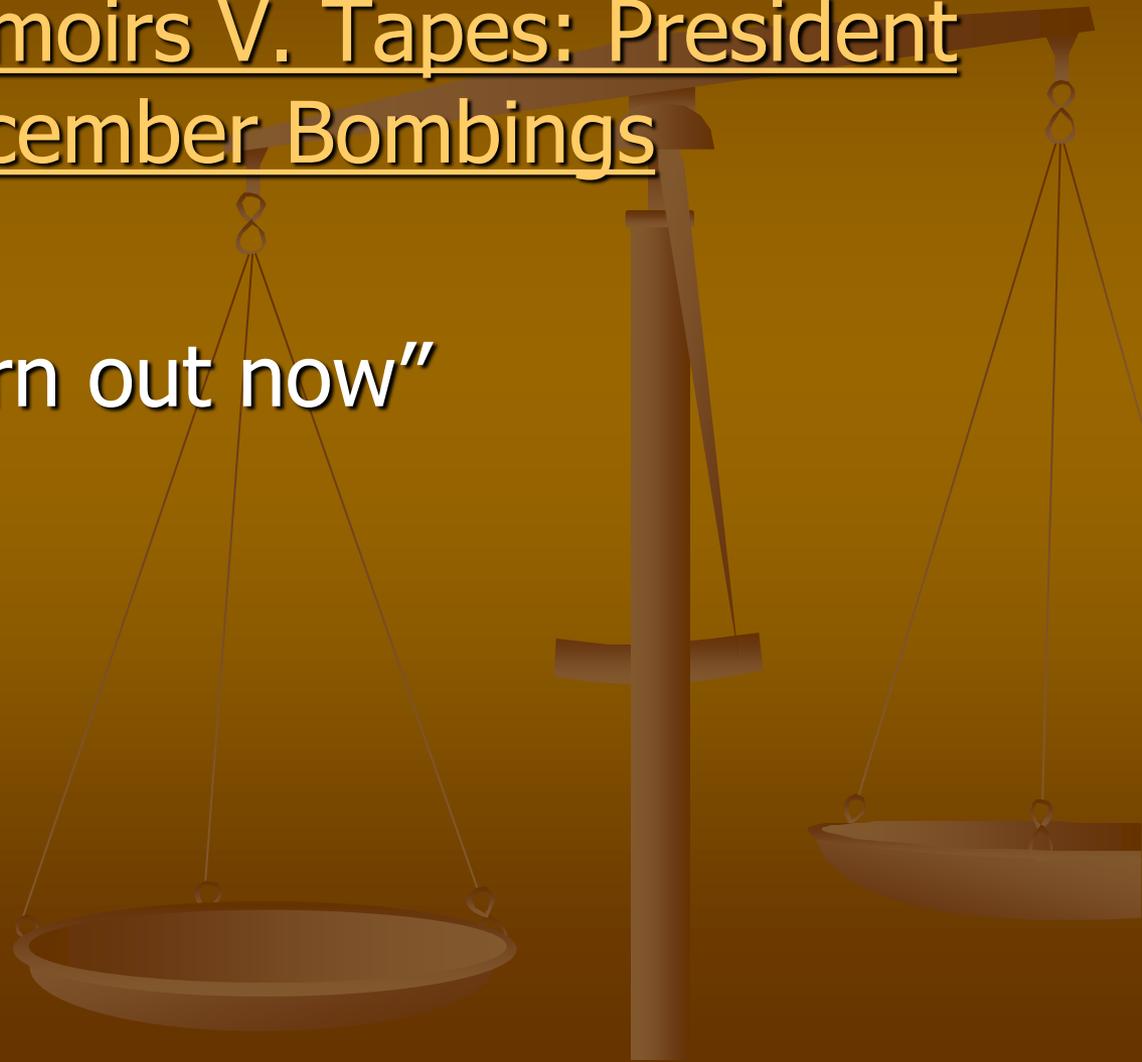


Kissinger's – "Peace is at Hand" Press conference, Oct. 26, 1972

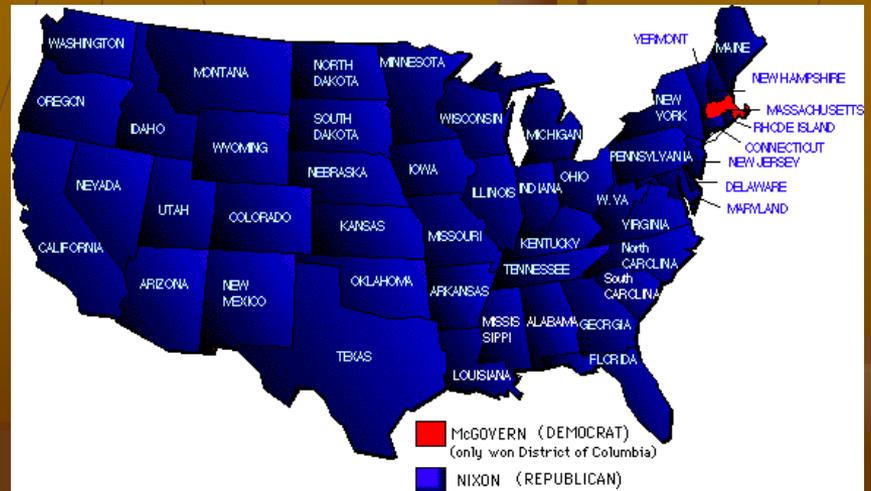


Impact on the election

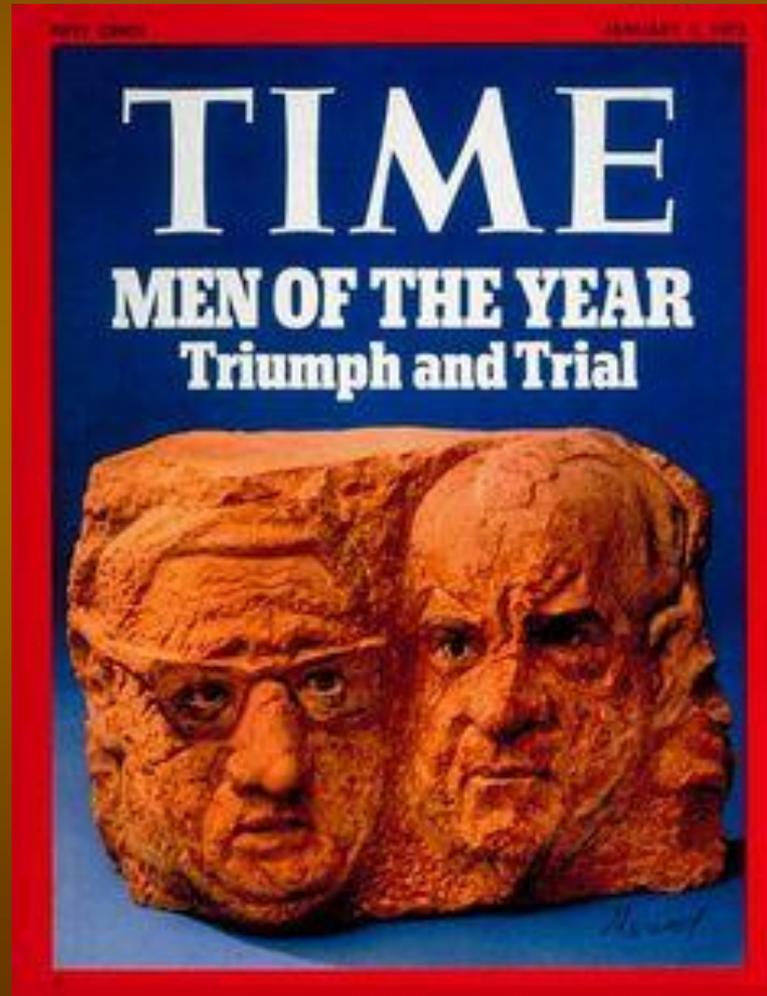
- Chapter II - Memoirs V. Tapes: President Nixon & the December Bombings
- “wiped McGovern out now”



Nixon Landslide – 1968 vs. 1972



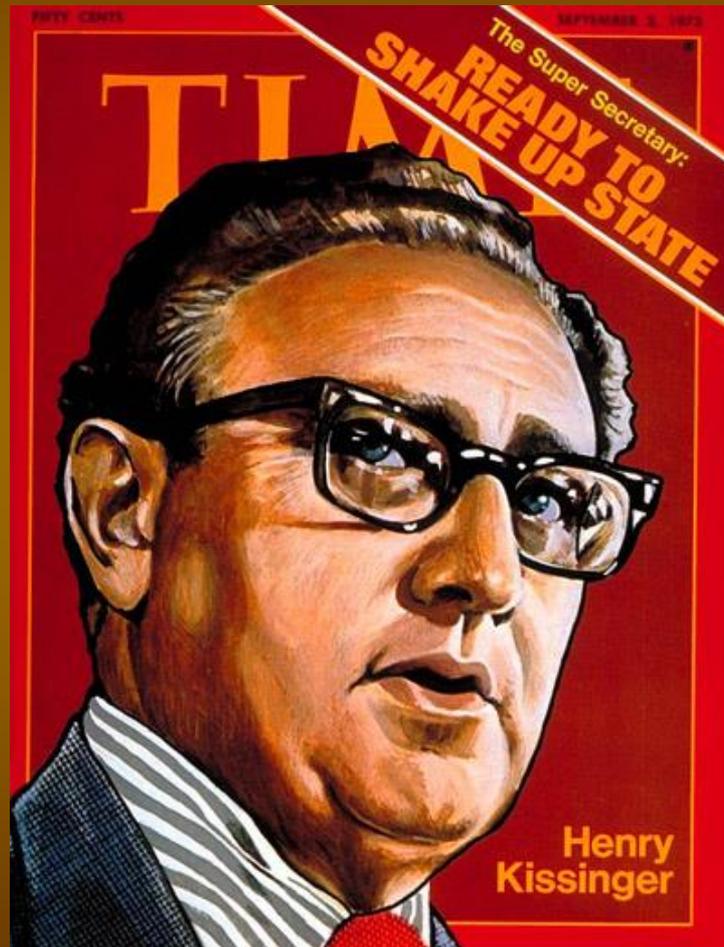
Time “Men of the Year” 1972



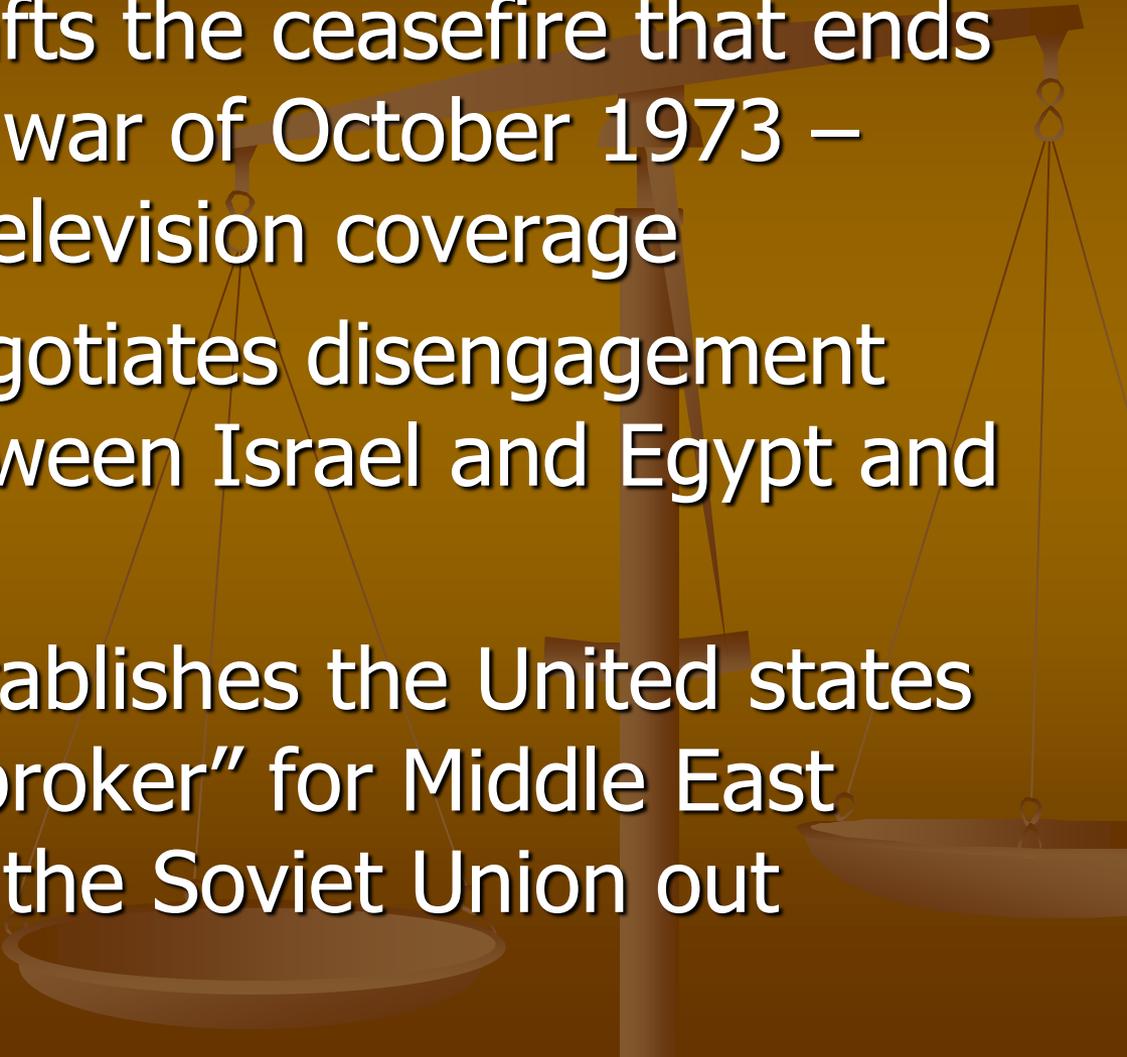
Watergate Scandal



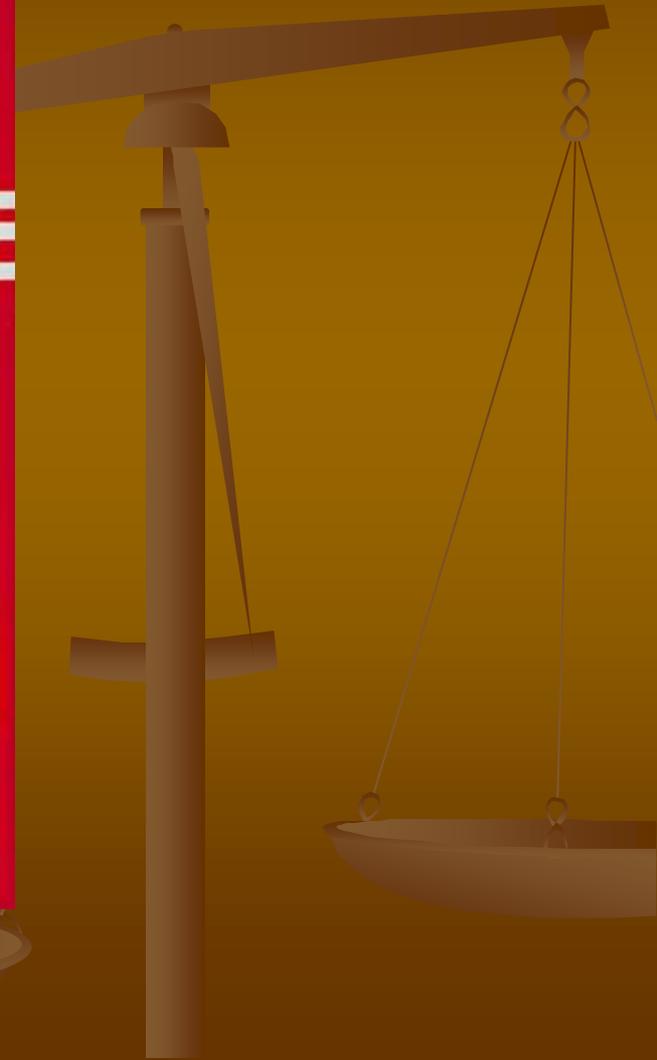
Secretary of State, August 1973



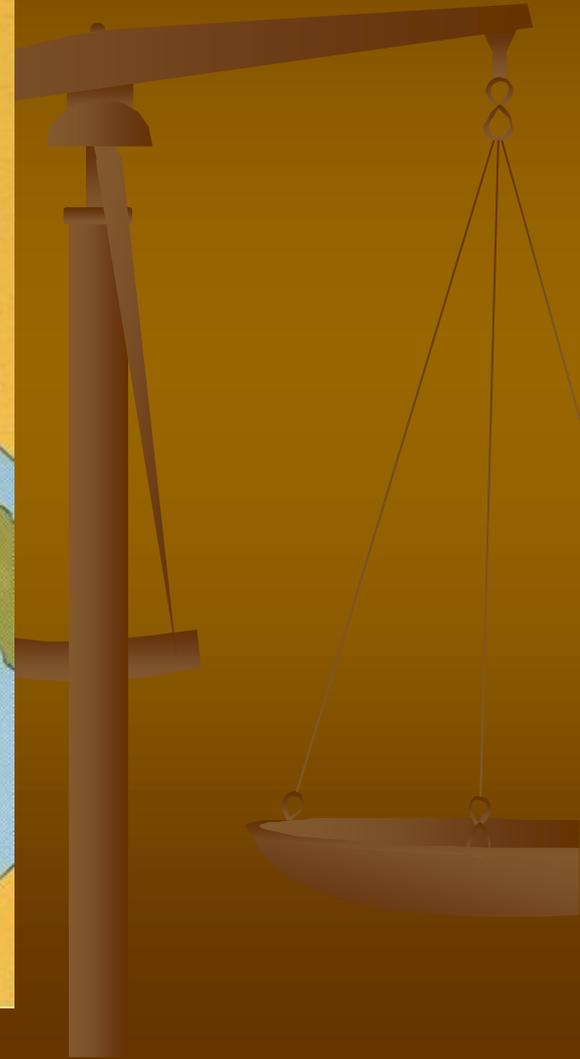
Kissinger in the Middle East, 1973-1976

- 1.) Kissinger crafts the ceasefire that ends the Yom Kippur war of October 1973 – very favorable television coverage
 - 2.) Kissinger negotiates disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt and Israel and Syria
 - 3.) Kissinger establishes the United States as the “honest broker” for Middle East peace – pushes the Soviet Union out
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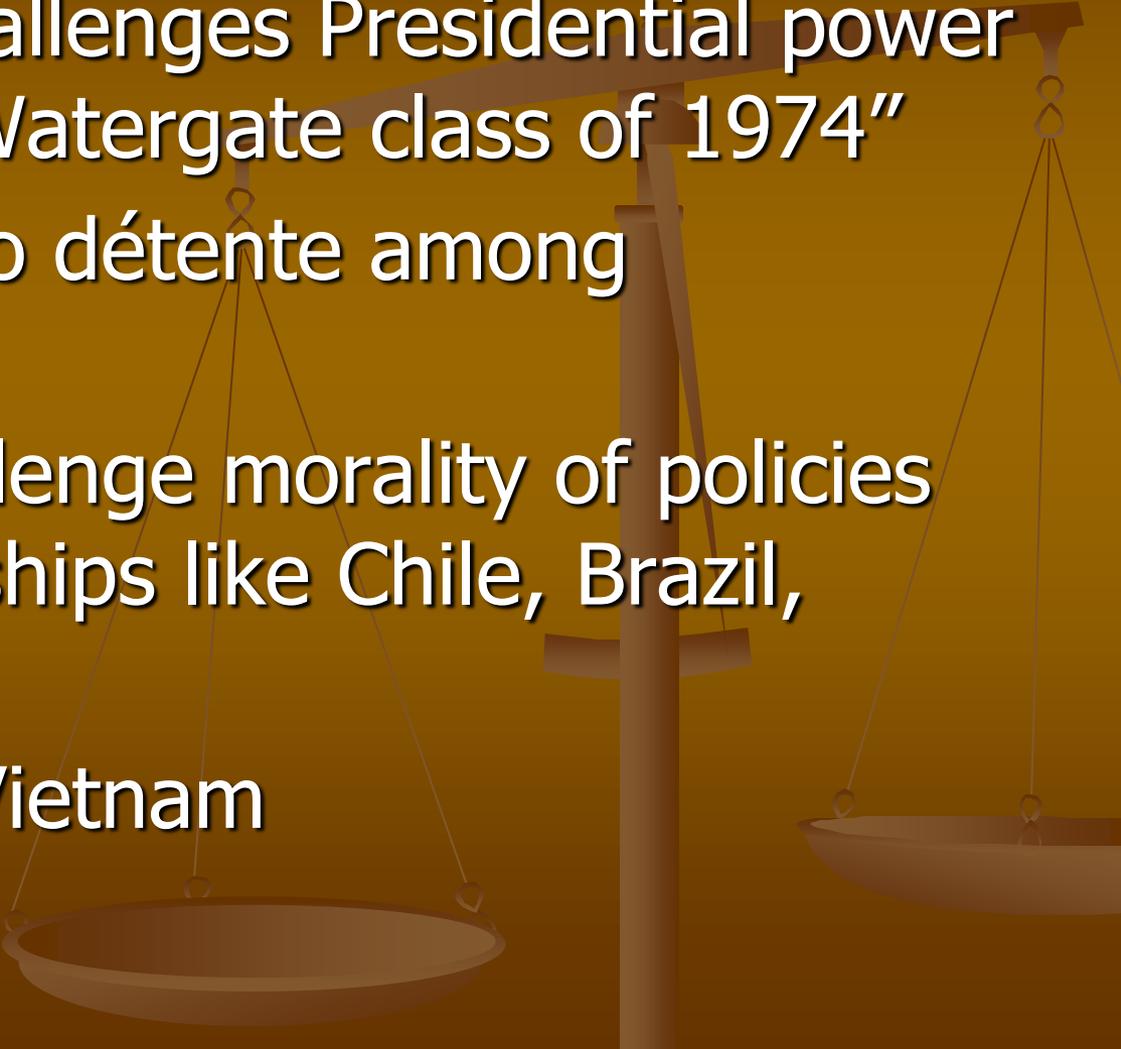
The Celebrity Diplomat – Dr. Kissinger



Superman Kissinger



Kissinger under attack

- 1.) Congress challenges Presidential power
– Democratic “Watergate class of 1974”
 - 2.) Opposition to détente among conservatives
 - 3.) Liberals challenge morality of policies toward dictatorships like Chile, Brazil, Argentina
 - 4.) Collapse in Vietnam
- 

Fall of Saigon, April 1975



Controversy over Solzhenitsyn and detente

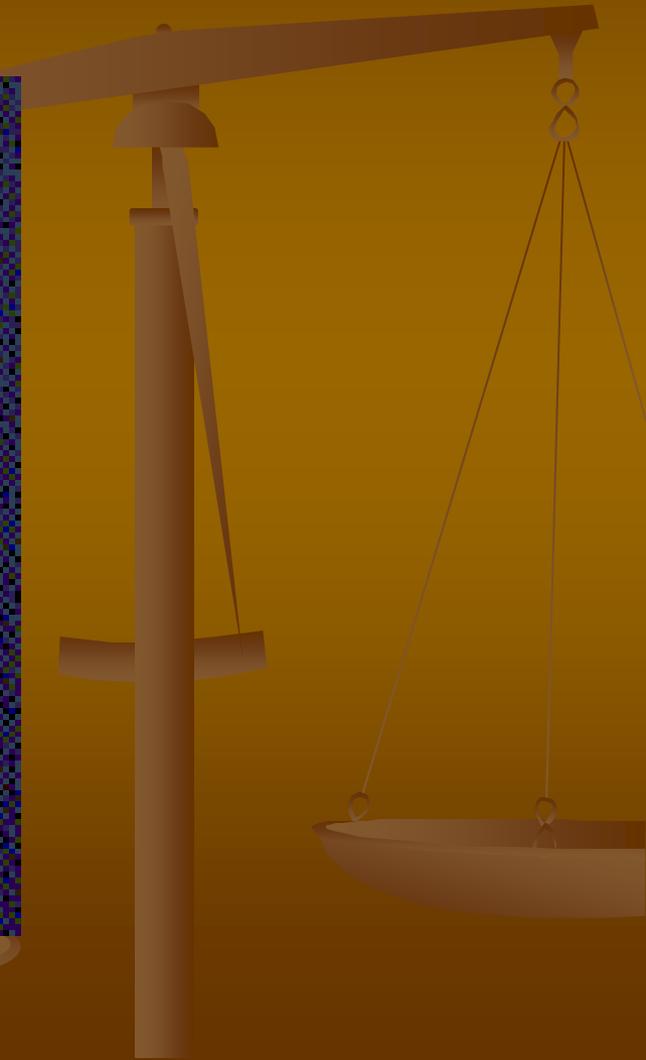


Helsinki Accords



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-P0801-028
Foto: Sturm, Horst | 1. August 1975

Opposition to Angola policy, December 1975



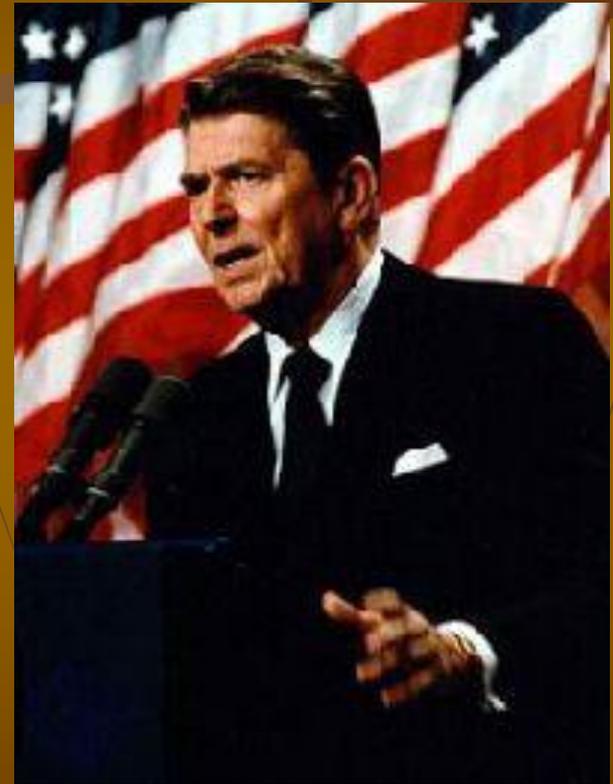
Criticism over human rights and Chile: Kissinger and Pinochet



Kissinger under attack



Attacked from both sides of political spectrum



Irony of a Celebrity Diplomat

- 1.) Kissinger came to preach the limits of American power – the need for caution – the need to avoid crusades to bring democracy or save other peoples from tyranny
- 2. But at the same time in promoting his own role as superstar diplomat, he promoted the idea of the importance of American power in settling disputes and in steering the international system. There was a tension between the lesson the professor taught about limits and his own role as a diplomat embodying American power.

