## Contents

Preface ix

Introduction: Henry Kissinger and American Power in a Multipolar World 1


- Memcons of Nixon and Pompidou, 13 December 1971, 9:00 AM and 4:00 PM, The Azores 33
- Memcon of Kissinger and Dobrynin, 17 August 1971, The White House 43
- Memcon of Kissinger and Huang, 10 December 1971, CIA “Safehouse” Manhattan 48
- Statements Made by PRC Leaders to Secretary Kissinger or President Nixon Regarding the Peaceful Liberation of Taiwan, 22–25 February 1972, Beijing 66
- Memcon of Kissinger and Huang, 4 August 1972, CIA Safehouse Manhattan 70


- Memcon of Kissinger and Mao, 17 February 1973, Mao’s Residence 86
- Memcon of Kissinger and Zhou, 16 February 1973, Villa Number 3 103
- Memcon of Kissinger and Zhou, 18 February 1973, The Great Hall of the People 109
- Kissinger to Nixon, “My Trip to China,” 2 March 1973 112

Chapter 3. From Cambodia to the October War: Beijing-Washington, March-October 1973 124

- Memcon, Kissinger and Han, 15 May 1973, The White House 128
- Memcon, Kissinger and Huang, 6 July 1973, Western White House, San Clemente 138
vi—Contents

Chapter 4. In Search of Strategic Alliance: Kissinger in Beijing, November 1973
—Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, 10 November 1973, The Great Hall of the People 166
—Memcon, Kissinger and Mao, 12 November 1973, Mao’s Residence 170
—Memcon, Kissinger and Zhou, 13 November 1973, The Great Hall of the People 179
—Memcons, Kissinger and Zhou, 14 November 1973, Guest House 203

Chapter 5. “What’s 3,000 MIRVs Among Friends?”: Kissinger in Moscow, March 1974
—Memcon, Kissinger and Staff Soviet Experts, 18 March 1974, Department of State 217
—Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 25 March 1974, The Kremlin 222
—Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 27 March 1974, The Kremlin 229

—Memcon, Kissinger and Deng, 14 April 1974, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Manhattan 265
—Memcons, Kissinger and Deng, 26 November 1974, Great Hall of the People, Beijing 270
—Memcon, Kissinger and Deng, 27 November 1974, Guest House, Beijing 289

Chapter 7. Trials of Detente, Washington-Moscow, 1974–75
—Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 24 October 1974, The Kremlin 322
—Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 26 October 1974, The Kremlin 327
—Memcon, Kissinger and Gromyko, 11 July 1975, Geneva 345

Chapter 8. "We Have Some Problems with the Chinese,"
1975-1976
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Staff China Experts, 6 July 1975, Department of State 371
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Mao, 21 October 1975, Chairman Mao's Residence 377
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Staff China Experts, 29 October 1976, State Department 406

Chapter 9. "But 8,000 Cubans Running Around . . .":
Kissinger in Moscow, January 1976
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 21 January 1976, 11:00 AM-1:50 PM, The Kremlin 426
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 21 January 1976, 5:02-6:30 PM, The Kremlin 432
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Brezhnev, 22 January 1976, The Kremlin 445
   — Memcon, Kissinger and Gromyko, 23 January 1976, Soviet Foreign Ministry 448

Epilogue: "I Would Like to Be Chairman of Something,"
January 1977
   — Memcon, Kissinger, Vance, and Huang, 8 January 1977, Department of State 476

Glossary 486
Who's Who 491
A Note on Sources 504
Acknowledgments 505
Index 507