Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 3:27 pm - 5:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger; the recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.

Vietnam
- Support for bombing
  - Mayor of Alexandria, Louisiana [C. Edward Karst]
    - Change of political parties
    - Significance
      - Encouragement of hawkish sentiment
- Bombing
  - Negotiations
    - Conditions for cessation of bombing
    - Kissinger’s position
  - The President’s press conference
    - Announcement
      - Timing with Kissinger’s Moscow trip
        - Meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko

US-Soviet Union relations
- Kissinger’s Moscow trip
  - Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Gromyko
- Soviet summit
  - Possible cancellation
- Kissinger’s Moscow trip
  - Continuation of US bombing in Vietnam
    - Conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Escalation of attacks
      - Kissinger’s promise
        - Hanoi and Haiphong

Vietnam
- US bombing
  - Limits
  - Targets
    - Unknown port
-Purpose
-Timing of attacks
  -Signals to Soviet Union and North Vietnam
-Recommendations
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  -Melvin R. Laird
  -[David] Kenneth Rush

-Increase
  -Targets
  -Petroleum, oil, and lubricants [POL] dumps

-Negotiations
  -North Vietnamese military position
  -Blockade
    -Laird and Moorer
  -US strategy
    -Elements of success
      -The President’s previous success playing poker
  -North Vietnamese message
    -US response
  -The President’s forthcoming announcement
    -Timing
  -Kissinger’s Moscow trip
    -Possible cable
    -Communications with White House
      -Jacob D. Beam
    -The President’s announcement
      -Plenary session
      -Timing
      -Troop levels
        -Timing

-Troop level
  -The President’s announcement
    -Numbers
  -Reduction of ceiling
    -The President’s announcement
      -Timing
  -Kissinger’s trip to Moscow
    -Explanation for public
      -Soviet summit
      -Vietnam
      -Possible misinterpretation
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 7/07)

-Bombing
-Meeting with Le Duc Tho
-Vietnam as topic
-Timing with Le Duc Tho visit
-Negotiations
-Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
-Participation
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] position
-Participation
-Meetings with North Vietnam
-Bombing
-Protests
-Ivy League presidents
-Kissinger's acquaintance
-Derek C. Bok of Harvard
-Wife [Sissela (Myrdal) Bok]
-Political leanings
-Father [Gunnar K. Myrdal]
-Brother [Jan Myrdal]
-William J. McGill
-Kissinger’s view
-Kingman Brewster
-Bok
-Gerald L. Warren
-Visit to Columbia University
-Possible condemnation of North Vietnam’s invasion
-Criticism
-Opposition to the President
-Intransigence
-Kissinger’s view
-The President’s view
-Edward M. Kennedy
-Influence from students
-Forthcoming counterattack
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Kissinger’s meeting with Soviets
-Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
-Explanation to public
-Responsibility for calling the meeting
-Significance
-Compared with scenario involving Iran
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
Negotiations
- North Vietnamese concessions
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Release
  - US proposals
  - Humanitarian gestures
- Possible failure
Bombing
- Impact on North Vietnam
  - The President’s view
Necessity
- Other possible Presidents
  - John B. Connally
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  - Agnew
  - Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson
US policy
- Impact on North Vietnam
  - The President’s determination

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National security]
[Duration: 21s.]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Protests
- Ivy League presidents
  - Agnew’s forthcoming statement concerning North Vietnamese invasion

Kissinger’s call to Patrick J. Buchanan
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:27 and 4:41 pm.

[Conversation No. 713-1A]

[See Conversation No. 23-38]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

-Kissinger’s trip to Moscow

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 49s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Kissinger talked with Buchanan at an unknown time between 3:27 and 4:41 pm.

[Conversation No. 713-1B]

[See Conversation No. 23-39]

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm and conferred with Kissinger.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- US policy
- Conservatives
- 1972 election
-Timing
-Goals before election
- Soviet summit
- Political risks
- Goals
  -Avoidance of defeat
-North Vietnamese invasion
  -Pre-March 29, 1972
- Negotiations
  - Soviets
  - Terms
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
  - Relationship to bombing
    - Johnson
-North Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - PRC
  - Pressure from Soviet Union
- Invasion
  - American public opinion
    - The President’s announcement of Kissinger’s trip
-US bombing
  - Effectiveness
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      - Forthcoming meeting with the President
        - Sequoia
- Public opinion
  - Press
    - Hanoi and Haiphong

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

The President's schedule
  - Meeting with W. Kenneth Riland
  - Meeting with Haig
    - Time
      - Sequoia
    - Record of meeting
- Arrangements
  - Rush
  - Moorer
  - Laird
Bull left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

Kissinger's trip to Soviet Union
- Rogers
  - Handling
- Purpose of trip
  - Rogers's reaction
- Announcement
  - Possible leaks
    - Dobrynin
  - Timing
- Discussions with Soviets
- Possible leaks
  - Publicity
  - The President’s view
- Timing
- Arrangements
  - Trip to and from Camp David
    - Kissinger’s schedule
  - Return to US

Vietnam
- Settlement
  - Possible time
    - North Vietnamese invasion
- Kissinger’s Moscow trip
  - Benefits
    - Announcement
    - Timing
    - Plenary session on Vietnam
- Secret talks
  - Xuan Thuy
  - Le Duc Tho
- US bombing
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 7/07)

- Impact
  - Settlement
  - Likelihood
  - Impact of bombing
- US bombing
  - Kissinger’s Moscow trip
    - Significance
  - Appearance of US determination
- Soviet ships to Haiphong
  - Halt
    - Vladivostock
    - Mining
- Kissinger’s Moscow trip
  - Risks
    - Thanh Hua
    - Possible result
- Kissinger’s message to Dobrynin
  - Targets
    - Avoidance of Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Thanh Hua

US-Soviet Union relations
- Individual roles
  - Importance of superpowers
    - PRC and Japan
- Summit
  - Timing
    - US and Soviet Union compared
  - US policies
- Past relations
- The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
  - Meeting place
  - Possible results
    - Kissinger’s message to Soviet leaders
- Past relations
  - Meetings at Camp David, Vienna and Glassboro, New Jersey
    - The President’s view
  - Brezhnev’s view
    - Yalta
- Importance of meeting
  - The President’s view
- The President’s trip to the PRC
-Future importance
-Soviet power
-Soviet foreign policy
  -Brezhnev Doctrine
  -The President’s last visit in 1959
    -Problems
      -Nikita S. Khruschev
      -Captive Nations Resolution
-US policy on Eastern Europe
  -Soviet reciprocity
  -Non-Communist world
-The President’s visit to the Soviet Union
  -Importance
    -Kissinger’s view
    -Impact of agreements
    -The President’s PRC visit
-Contrast with Glassboro meeting between Johnson and Aleksei N. Kosygin in 1967
  -Importance
    -Message for Brezhnev
      -Mutual respect
      -Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung
      -Security of US and Soviet Union
-Agreements
  -Mutual benefits
  -Importance
  -Effectiveness
  -The President compared with Brezhnev
-Kissinger’s dealings with Soviets
  -The President
    -Contrast with John F. Kennedy and Johnson
      -Political risks
      -Vietnam
        -Advisors’ views
        -1972 election
        -Public opinion
-PRC
-Agreements
  -The President’s role
    -Liberals
    -Right-wing strength
      -Vietnam
An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with unknown person

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

Kissinger’s schedule
- Meeting with Riland
  - Arrangements
  - Forthcoming speech

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.
US-Soviet Union relations
- SALT
  - Gerard C. Smith
  - Negotiating stance
  - SLBM
  - Concessions
  - Anti-Ballistic Missiles [ABMs]
  - US proposals
  - Malmstrom Air Force Base
  - Defense system around Washington, DC
  - The President’s view
  - SLBM
  - Laird and Smith’s recommendation
  - Agreements
  - Formula of agreement
    - Problems
      - Laird
      - Missile sites
        - Washington and Grand Forks
        - Construction
          - Malmstrom
    - ABM
    - Domestic advantages
    - Domestic
    - Submarines
- European security
  - Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
    - Linkage
      - Desires of US allies
    - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      - Future
        - The President’s view
  - MBFR
  - Conference
    - Possible announcement at the Soviet summit
- Vietnam
  - Importance
    - Soviet understanding
  - US bombing
    - Continuation
  - Understandings of 1968
-Implementation
  -US casualties
  -Bombing
  -Negotiations
-North Vietnamese invasion
  -Soviet pressure to cease
-Possible settlement
  -Impact of summit
  -1972 election
    -North Vietnamese perceptions of outcome
      -Polls
-Negotiations
  -North Vietnamese willingness
    -Relation to 1972 election
      -Polls
  -Present period
    -Importance
-US domestic politics
  -North Vietnamese perceptions
    -1968 election
      -Johnson
        -W[illiam] Averell Harriman
        -Nguyen Van Thieu
        -The President’s possible position in polls

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 35s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Vietnam
  -The President’s handling
    -Kissinger’s view
    -South Vietnam
- Survival
  - US support
  - Thieu
- Laird
- Haig’s report
- Military Region Three
- North Vietnam

US-Soviet Union relations
- Kissinger’s meeting with Soviet leaders
  - Brezhnev
  - Thrust of talks

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Riland
  - Kissinger
  - Place
    - Executive Office Building [EOB]
  - Time
- Riland's meeting with Kissinger
- Barber
- Meeting at Camp David
  - Barber
  - Timing
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon and Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Arrangements

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

- Call to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Rogers

The President talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 3:27 and 4:41 pm.

[Conversation No. 713-1C]

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Haig
- Haldeman's schedule
  - Meeting with the President
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 7/07)

-Sequoia cruise
-Time

Kissinger's trip to Moscow
-Trip to Florida

[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

Manolo Sanchez
-Location

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:27 pm.

Briefcase
-Linear Sitting Room

Refreshment

The unknown man and Bull left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

Kissinger's secret trip to Moscow
-Plans to maintain secrecy
-Trip to Camp David
-Disadvantages
-Haldeman's opinion
-Trip to Florida
-Press
-Itinerary
-Problems

Haldeman entered at 4:41 pm.

-The President's schedule
-Mrs. Nixon's schedule

-Camp David
-Problems
-Compared with Florida
-Press coverage
-Arrangements
-314 House
- Telephone calls
  - Coleman Hicks
  - Secretary

- Florida
  - Problems
    - Telephone calls
      - Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler

- Camp David
  - Advantages
    - Security
    - Kissinger's presence
  - Kissinger's itinerary
    - Katharine L. Graham dinner
      - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Kissinger's staff

- Florida
  - Kissinger's presence
  - Press coverage
    - Investigation efforts

- Camp David
  - Telephone calls
    - Ziegler
    - Warren

- Kissinger
  - Cover trip
    - Florida
      - Press
        - Jerrold L. Schecter
    - Disadvantages
      - Telephone calls
        - Press
        - Compared to telephone calls received at Camp David

- Shultz and Connally
  - Presence
    - Ziegler's opinion

- Florida

- Camp David
  - Advantages

- Air strike
  - Publicity

- Secrecy of trip
- The President’s view
- Ziegler's handling of questions
- Camp David
  - Itinerary
    - American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE]
  - Explanation
    - Staff meetings
      - Kissinger, Ehrlichman and Haldeman
      - Helmut Sonnenfeldt
      - Peter W. Rodman

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 4:41 pm.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:58 pm.

Kissinger's secret trip to Moscow
  - Camp David trip
  - Scheduling
  - Kissinger's return trip
    - Meetings in Moscow
      - Forthcoming message
    - Visit to Camp David
      - Return to Washington
  - Press conference
    - Time
    - Necessity
      - The President’s view
        - Possible announcement by the Soviet Union
    - The President's announcement
    - Timing
    - Troop announcement
      - Press expectations
  - Announcement
    - Wording
      - Plenary session
    - Review of international situation
    - Preparations for summit
      - Rogers
        - Soviet announcement
    - Timing with primaries
      - Troop announcement
  - Secrecy of trip
-Credibility issue
  -Ehrlichman and Ziegler
    -The President’s [January] 25, 1972 speech
    -The President’s view
  -Motives
  -Press hostility
  -Motives
    -The President’s view
-Announcement
  -Ziegler
  -Warren
    -The President’s view
  -Handling
    -Warren and Ziegler’s knowledge of secret trip
  -Press officer
    -Ziegler
      -Haldeman’s plan
-Camp David trip
  -The President’s previous plans
-Announcement
  -Possible coordination with Soviets
    -Timing
  -Television coverage
    -Time of day
    -Primaries
  -Timing
    -Message to allies
-Press conference
-Troop announcement
  -Time
-Negotiations with Soviets
  -US posturing
    -Plenary session

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:41 pm.

Delivery to the residence

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:58 pm.

Kissinger’s trip to Moscow
  -Announcement
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:41 and 4:58 pm.

[Conversation No. 713-1D]

[See Conversation No. 23-40]

[End of telephone conversation]

Meeting with Riland
  - Scheduling

Kissinger left at 4:58 pm.

  Kissinger's secret trip to Moscow
    - Florida trip
    - Secrecy

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:58 pm.

  The President's schedule
    - Meeting with Riland
    - Riland's location

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:01 pm.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:58 and 5:01 pm.

[Conversation No. 713-1E]

[See Conversation No. 23-41]

[End of telephone conversation]
Kissinger's secret trip to Moscow
   -Maintaining secrecy
   -Itinerary
   -Florida trip
      -Disadvantages
      -Press questions
         -Kissinger's location
            -314 House
            -Staff
                -Sonnenfeldt
   -Camp David
      -Advantages
   -Dealings with press
      -Ziegler
         -The President’s view
         -Explanation
   -The President's meeting with Kissinger, Ehrlichman and Haldeman

Haldeman left at 5:01 pm.

Conversation No. 713-2

Date:  April 19, 1972
Time:  5:01 pm - 5:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 23-42; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation.]

Conversation No. 713-3

Date:  April 19, 1972
Time:  5:02 pm - 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.
Woods left at 5:03 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons [Secret Service agents] met.

Telephone call

The President’s schedule
   -The President’s location
   -Executive Office Building [EOB]

[Unintelligible]

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.