



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

Conversation No. 713-1

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- Purpose
- Timing of attacks
 - Signals to Soviet Union and North Vietnam
- Recommendations
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 7/07)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- Rush
- Moorer
- William P. Rogers
- Press coverage
- Arrangements
- Moorer
- Departure of *Sequoia*

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- Future importance
- Soviet power
- Soviet foreign policy
 - Brezhnev Doctrine
 - The President's last visit in 1959
 - Problems
 - Nikita S. Khrushchev
 - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- Soviets
 - Arms control
 - Joseph McCarthy
 - George C. Wallace
- Need for Vietnam agreements
- Trade
 - Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
 - Likelihood of passage by Congress
 - Soviet relations with North Vietnam
 - Other agreements
 - Credits
 - The President's talk with Andrei A. Gromyko
 - Likelihood of Congressional passage
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - Options
 - Submarines
 - Moorer
 - Concessions
 - Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles [SLBMs]
 - Negotiations
 - Conditions
 - Vietnam
 - Interceptors
 - SLBM
 - US defense budget
 - George P. Shultz

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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(rev. 7/07)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

- 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
-Lincoln 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- 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

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 7/07)*

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

- Time of day
 - The President's view
- Plenary session
 - Postponement
 - Conditions
 - End of North Vietnamese offensive

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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 7/07)

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 59s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Woods left at 5:03 pm.

Conversation No. 713-4

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.