



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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  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

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5  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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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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

Tape Subject Log

(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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 35s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**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**

(rev. 7/07)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 59s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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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.