

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

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. 2/24)*

- 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. 2/24)*

- 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. 2/24)

- 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 (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-035. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(6) on 05/29/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[713-001-w003]

[Duration: 21s]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Vietnam

- Bombing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

- 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

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/12/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[713-001-w005]

[Duration: 49s]

1972 election

- Presidency
  - The President's run for re-election
  - Other potential Republican presidential candidates
    - The President's opinion
      - Capabilities
      - Nelson A. Rockefeller
        - Difficulty being nominated
      - Ronald W. Reagan
        - Difficulty in a general election
      - Warren E. Burger
        - Age
      - John B. Connally

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

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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
    - 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

- 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
    - 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

- 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
    - 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



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- 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. 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- 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
        - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 2/24)*

- 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.

- 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

-The President's possible position in polls

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/12/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[713-001-w010]

[Duration: 35s]

1972 election

- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy presidential candidacy
  - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
    - Strengths
    - Weaknesses
    - Lack of support
    - Comparison to Gregory Peck

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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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 2/24)

- 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
- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

-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
  - 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

- Kissinger's presence
  - Press coverage
  - Investigation efforts
- Camp David
  - Telephone calls
    - Ziegler
    - Warren
  - Kissinger
    - Cover trip
      - Florida
        - Press
          - Jerrold L. Schechter
      - 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



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 2/24)*

- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 2/24)*

- 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
    - 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 2/24)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

-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.

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/12/2022.  
1m 26s segment cleared for release with two segments of 7s and 2s remaining closed as 713-002-w001 and 713-002-w002 respectively.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[713-002-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 26s]

[See Conversation No. 023-042]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal Returnable]  
[713-002-w001]  
[Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2  
[Personal Returnable]  
[713-002-w002]  
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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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.

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/12/2022. 49s segment cleared for release. 10s remain closed as 713-003-w001.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[713-003-w001]  
[Duration: 49s]

- The President's schedule
- Telephone call to Tricia Nixon Cox
- Meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Camp David trip
- Arrangements

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 2/24)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal Returnable]  
[713-003-w001]  
[Duration: 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- The President's schedule
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
    - Trip to New Bern, North Carolina
    - April 19, 1972 return
      - Timing
  - Conversation with Tricia Nixon Cox
    - The President's telephone call
  - Telephone call from Rose Mary Woods

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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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 2/24)

- The President's location
- Executive Office Building [EOB]

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*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/12/2022.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[713-004-w001]  
[Duration: 19s]

Greetings

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