

THE VIETNAM WAR FILES



UNCOVERING THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF NIXON-ERA
STRATEGY

JEFFREY KIMBALL

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of Nixon-Era Strategy

Jeffrey Kimball



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{6.21} CIA Intelligence Memorandum, August 11, 1972, enclosed in
Memorandum, David Young to Haldeman, September 18, 1972

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

11 August 1972

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

IMPACT OF THE U.S. BOMBING AND MINING PROGRAM
ON NORTH VIETNAM

Summary and Conclusions

We have examined all available data regarding the present and potential effect of the U.S. interdiction program in order to assess its probable overall impact on North Vietnam's economic, logistics, and manpower situation as of early August 1972, 1 October 1972, and 1 January 1973. This examination and analysis has produced the following general conclusions.

- a. The data available support only the most tenuous estimate of the volume of overland imports now being received by North Vietnam. Our estimate—based on extremely limited information—is that such imports have totaled on the order of 3,000 metric tons per day during June and July 1972. This is less than one-half the daily rate of North Vietnam's combined sea and overland imports in 1971. It is, however, more than the daily level of imports (2,700 metric tons . . .), which we estimate that Hanoi must receive to meet its minimum economic needs and to provide sufficient supplies for its military forces in the South to continue the war with periodic high levels of activity.
- b. Given no significant increase in the impact of the U.S. interdiction program, it seems likely that North Vietnam can sustain this level of resupply. Over the coming months, as North Vietnam continues to work out countermeasures to the U.S. program (including the completion of multiple pipelines from China), it is likely that Hanoi will be able to increase its imports above the 3,000-ton-per-day level.
- c. Therefore, the evidence available suggests that over the next few months a lack of supplies alone—with the possible exception of important items such as tanks and heavy artillery pieces—will not materially diminish the capabilities of enemy main force combat units, at least in northern South Vietnam. Near the DMZ and in general in GVN MR 1, the enemy's ammunition and weapons requirements for this period, including requirements for occasional (not sustained) peaks of offensive activity, can probably be met out of current stocks, augmented by imports included in the 3,000-ton-per-day level cited above. Similarly,

inside North Vietnam, current equipment and ammunition stocks, with some import augmentation, will probably be sufficient to sustain North Vietnam's air defense activities at about current levels over the period considered. (An exception may be surface-to-air missiles, whose rate of fire has perceptibly diminished since late May.)

- d. In the areas of South Vietnam to the south of MR 1, we do not have sufficient information to judge whether the enemy's level of stocks is adequate—this late in the rainy season and after the enemy's high rates of expenditure from April through June—to carry out new rounds of heavy offensive action. In these areas from now at least until October, when the next dry season begins, the enemy will have to depend largely on stocks brought in during the last dry season.
- e. The Communists' combat losses in the South (especially among their experienced cadres), the pounding they have taken on the ground and from the air and the degradation of morale, in at least some line units, will play a more important part than supply stock levels in determining the fighting effectiveness of Communist forces. This is true now and—assuming no increase in the impact of the interdiction program—it will also be true on 1 October 1972 and 1 January 1973.
- f. Hanoi has had to divert large amounts of manpower to repair bomb damage and to keep its transportation network in operation. Despite the disruption of daily life and other difficulties this has caused, North Vietnam has sufficient able-bodied manpower to keep essential activities functioning both now and for the duration of the period dealt with in this memorandum.
- g. Petroleum and food are the only two resources we can specifically identify for which potentially critical shortages might emerge in the North Vietnamese economy between now and early 1973. Petroleum stocks at present are probably at their lowest point of the war. If the North Vietnamese failed to achieve a sustained flow of supplies (either through the new pipelines or by using tank cars and truck transports), severe shortages would probably develop at least by 1 October. On food, if the forthcoming autumn crop should fail—that is, fall to the 1971 level or below—and if Hanoi should be unable to import enough rice to counterbalance such a failure, serious food shortages could develop by 1 January 1973.
- h. While the combination of reduced imports and continued bombing of North Vietnam's economy and transportation system is unlikely to cripple Hanoi's ability to provide the logistic support necessary to its military

forces, the economy itself will face increasingly difficult problems in the months ahead. Most of North Vietnam's fledgling modern industry, rebuilt since the 1965-68 bombing campaign, has now been destroyed again. Consumers have had to tighten their belts and may have to do so again by early 1973. The damage to North Vietnam's transportation network has further disrupted economic activity. In the coming months, problems will almost certainly arise—shortages of spare parts, certain types of industrial raw materials, etc.—which we cannot now identify but which, cumulatively, may become increasingly troublesome to the regime. Such stresses will certainly have an adverse impact on the morale of the North Vietnamese people, but the general population is sufficiently patient and resilient—and overall discipline reinforced by Party control sufficiently effective—to minimize the likelihood of morale considerations exerting a major influence on Hanoi's political decisions during the next several months.

- i. On balance, our view is that barring major agricultural failure or greater disruption to the logistic system than the United States has been able to impose in the past three months, the bombing and mining program probably will not, of itself, pose unmanageable difficulties to the North Vietnamese regime—either now or through early 1973. It should be recognized, however, that this memorandum neither considers nor passes judgment on the question of whether a combination of pressures brought to bear by other factors in addition to the U.S. interdiction program might create unmanageable difficulties for the regime in Hanoi and induce that regime to change its present policies.

THE JULY 19—SEPTEMBER 26, 1972 ROUND OF SECRET NEGOTIATIONS AND BACKSTAGE STRATEGIZING BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE

On June 11, Washington proposed the resumption of plenary and private talks. By June 26, both sides had agreed to resume the Kléber sessions on July 13 and the private sessions on July 19.

Political Bureau members understood by midsummer that the situation on the battlefield, which was the most important factor in their calculations, had improved but was not likely to continue improving dramatically. At the same time, domestic factors in the United States presented them with an opportunity to achieve a diplomatic solution before the American presidential election. Therefore, they should now shift their strategy to diplomacy, while preparing for a prolonged struggle after a cease-fire agreement (doc. 6.22).

Appendix: Documents with Source Data

GRAND POLICY GOALS AND INITIAL STRATEGY OPTIONS

- 2.1 John McNaughton, "Action for South Vietnam," November 6, 1964, and "Annex—Plan for Action for South Vietnam," March 24, 1965, *The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decision-Making on Vietnam, The Senator Gravel Edition* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 3:601, 695.
- 2.2 Briefing paper [n.d., ca. 1969], folder: Vietnam-Rostow, box 16, White House Special Files (WHSF): President's Personal File, 1969-74, Nixon Presidential Materials Project (NPMP), National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).
- 2.3 Journal/Diary entry, October 9, 1969, Journals and Diaries of Harry Robbins Haldeman (JDHRH), NPMP.
- 2.4 Memorandum of Conversation, Richard Nixon, Robert Thompson, and Henry Kissinger, October 17, 1969, folder: MemCon—The President, Sir Robert Thompson, et al., October 17, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, National Security Council Files (NSCF), NPMP.
- 2.5 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, September 18, 1971, subj: Vietnam, box 872, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 2.6 Memorandum of Conversation, National Security Council Meeting, May 8, 1972, box 998, Haig Memcons [January–December 1972], Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 2.7 Journal/Diary notes on Nixon's remarks to Cabinet Meeting, September 24, 1971, JDHRH, NPMP. See also Journal/Diary entries, July 31, August 16, and September 13, 1971, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 2.8 "Vietnam Policy Alternatives" [ca. December 27, 1968], folder 10: Vietnam—RAND, box 3, HAK Administrative and Staff Files (HAKAFSF)—Transition, Henry A. Kissinger Office Files (HAKOF), NPMP.

INITIAL PLANS AND MAD SCHEMES

- 3.1 "Vietnam Policy Alternatives," July 1969, encl. in Memorandum, Morton H. Halperin and Winston Lord to Kissinger, August 5, 1969, folder: Misc. Materials—Selected Lord Memos, box 335, Director's Files (Winston Lord), 1969-77, Policy Planning Council (S/PC), Policy Planning Staff (S/P), General Records of the Department of State (GRDOS), Record Group 59 (RG59), NARA.

- 3.2 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, September 10, 1969, subj: Our Present Course on Vietnam, folder 2: Tony Lake Chron File (Jun. 1969–May 1970) (5 of 6), box 1048, Staff Files—Lake Chron, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.3 H. R. Haldeman, with Joseph DiMona, *The Ends of Power* (New York: Times Books, 1978), 82–83, 97–98.
- 3.4 Nixon interview, paraphrased in Joan Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 177.
- 3.5 Memorandum of Telephone Conversation, Kissinger and Elliot Richardson, April 16, 1973, folder: Telecons April 1973, box 190, Elliot L. Richardson Papers, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress (MDLC).
- 3.6 Oval Office Conversation no. 460–23, Nixon and Henry Brandon, 4:01–5:08 P.M., February 26, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
- 3.7 Henry Brandon, *The Retreat of American Power* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 134.
- 3.8 Personal notes, Thomas L. Hughes's on Peter Lisagor's story in the *Chicago Sun-Times*.
- 3.9 Memorandum, Laird to Kissinger, February 21, 1969, attached to Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, March 2, 1969, subj: Memorandum from Secretary Laird Enclosing Preliminary Draft of Potential Military Actions re Vietnam, folder: Haig's Vietnam File—Vol. 1 (January–March 1969), box 1007, Alexander M. Haig Special Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.10 Joint Staff Preliminary Draft, [n.d.], attached to Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, March 2, 1969, subj: Memorandum from Secretary Laird Enclosing Preliminary Draft of Potential Military Actions re Vietnam, folder: Haig's Vietnam File—Vol. 1 (January–March 1969), box 1007, Alexander M. Haig Special Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.11 Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, March 2, 1969, subj: Memorandum from Secretary Laird Enclosing Preliminary Draft of Potential Military Actions re Vietnam, folder: Haig's Vietnam File—Vol. 1 (January–March 1969), box 1007, Alexander M. Haig Special Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.12 Tape transcription, "What Dick Nixon Told Southern Delegates," *Miami Herald*, August 7, 1968, 1, 22A.
- 3.13 Telegram, Department of State to AnEmbassy Moscow, February 17, 1969, subj: Summary of Conversation (drafted by Malcolm Toon), Nixon and Dobrynin (Kissinger and Toon present), folder: USSR vol. 1, box 709, Country Files—Europe, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.14 Memorandum of Conversation, W. Averell Harriman and Anatoly Dobrynin, February 23, 1969, folder: Anatoly Dobrynin, box 455, Special Files: Public Service, Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, 1958–71, Subject File, W. Averell Harriman Papers, MDLC.
- 3.15 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Charles de Gaulle, February 28, 1969, folder: MemCons—The President and General de Gaulle 2/28–3/2/69, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.16 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and de Gaulle, March 1, 1969, *ibid.*
- 3.17 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, April 15, 1969, subj: Memcon with Dobrynin, April 14, 1969, folder: Dobrynin/Kissinger 1969 [part 1], box 489, President's Trip

Files, NSCF, NPMP. The set of documents from which this excerpt is taken contains additional memcons and telecons in which Kissinger uses the linkage strategy against Dobrynin.

- 3.18 Memorandum of Conversation, Dobrynin and Kissinger, June 12, 1969, fond 5, opis' 61, delo 558, li. 20-105, Storage Center for Contemporary Documentation (SCCD; former Communist Party Soviet Union Central Committee Archive), Moscow, reprinted in *Cold War International History Project*, no. 3 (fall 1993): 63-67 (translated by Mark H. Doctoroff).
- 3.19 National Security Study Memorandum 1 (January 21, 1969) and Revised Summary of Responses to NSSM 1 (March 22, 1969), NSC, NPMP.
- 3.20 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Nguyen Van Thieu, July 30, 1969, folder: MemCons—The President and President Thieu, July 30, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.21 "Vietnamizing the War," National Security Study Memorandum 36, April 10, 1969, NSC, NPMP.
- 3.22 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Thieu, July 30, 1969, folder: MemCons—The President and President Thieu, July 30, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 3.23 William Beecher, "Raids in Cambodia by U.S. Un-protested," *New York Times*, May 9, 1969.
- 3.24 Journal/Diary entry, April 19, 1969, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 3.25 Memorandum, Winston Lord (via Robert E. Osgood) to Kissinger, January 23, 1970, subj: Issues Raised by the Nixon Doctrine for Asia, folder 2: Misc. Materials—Selected Lord Memos, box 335, Subject-Numeric Files, 1970-73, Department of State Central Files, GRDOS, RG59, NARA.
- 3.26 COSVN Resolution no. 9, July 1969, *Vietnam Documents and Research Notes Series: Translation and Analysis of Significant Viet Cong/North Vietnamese Documents* (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1991), 12-14.

BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN OPTIONS

- 4.1 Journal/Diary entry, July 7, 1969, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 4.2 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, July 7, 1969, subj: Sequoia NSC Meeting on Vietnam, folder: Vietnam Papers, box 338, Director's Files (Winston Lord), 1969-77, Policy Planning Council (S/PC), Policy Planning Staff (S/P), GRDOS, RG59, NARA.
- 4.3 "Vietnam Policy Alternatives," July 1969, encl. in Memorandum, Morton H. Halperin and Winston Lord to Kissinger, August 5, 1969, folder: Misc. Materials—Selected Lord Memos, box 335, Director's Files (Winston Lord), 1969-77, S/PC, S/P, GRDOS, RG59, NARA.
- 4.4 Note, Jean Sainteny to Nixon, July 16, 1969, folder: Mister "S," vol. 1 (1 of 2), box 106, Country Files—Far East—Vietnam Negotiations, HAKOE, NPMP.
- 4.5 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Thieu, July 30, 1969, folder: MemCons—The President and President Thieu, July 30, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.6 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Nicolae Ceaușescu, August 3, 1969,

- folder: MemCons—The President and President Ceaușescu, August 2–August 3, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.7 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Xuan Thuy, August 4, 1969, folder: Mister “S,” vol. 1 (1 of 2), box 106, Country Files—Far East—Vietnam Negotiations, HAKOF, NPMP.
- 4.8 Leonard Garment, *Crazy Rhythm* (New York: Times Books, 1997), 174, 176–177.
- 4.9 “Chronology of U.S.–DRV Negotiations, 1969–1973 (Private Meetings),” from *The Foreign Ministry Internal Circulation Chronology on Diplomatic Struggle and International Mobilization in the Anti-American War, 1954–1975* (Hanoi: Ban Tông Kêt, 1987).
- 4.10 Journal/Diary entry, September 27, 1969, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 4.11 Briefing Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, October 1, 1969, subj: Conversation with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin, folder: Dobrynin/Kissinger 1969 [part 1], box 489, President’s Trip Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.12 Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, September 9, 1969, subj: Items to Discuss with the President, box 334, Subject Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.13 Cable, PRUNING KNIFE Status Report No. 1, September 15, 1969, attachment to Cable, MACV to CINCPAC, September 23, 1969, subj: PRUNING KNIFE, box 1969–1970, Creighton Abrams Papers, U.S. Army Military History Research Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. This collection contains many other papers on PRUNING KNIFE, planning for which—or permutations of which—continued past the year 1969. See also, e.g., Haig to Lake to Kissinger, November 8, 1969, subj: Talking Paper for the President with Gen. Goodpaster, folder: Goodpaster, A. J., box 816, Name Files, NSCF, NPMP; and Laird to Kissinger, November 26, 1969, subj: Pruning Knife Alpha, folder: Haig’s Vietnam File—Vol. 3 (November–December 1969) [2 of 2], box 1008, Alexander M. Haig Special Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.14 Memorandum, Tony Lake to Kissinger, September 17, 1969, subj: Initial Comments on Concept of Operations, with attachment, “Vietnam Contingency Planning,” September 16, 1969, folder 2: Tony Lake Chron File (June 1969–May 1970) (5 of 6), box 1048, Staff Files—Lake Chron Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.15 “Vietnam Policy Alternatives” [ca. December 27, 1968], folder 10: Vietnam—RAND, box 3, HAKASF—Transition, HAKOF, NPMP. These excerpts are from the following sections of the document: “Some Relevant Issues Now in Systematic Dispute”; and “Military Escalation Aimed at Communist ‘Fade-Away’ or Negotiated Victory.”
- 4.16 “Draft of a Presidential Speech,” 2nd Draft, September 27, 1969, folder: Vietnamese War—Secret Peace Talks (“Mr. S File”) (5), 9/1/69–9/30/69, box 34, National Security Advisor—Kissinger–Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, 1969–1977, Gerald R. Ford Library (GRFL). My thanks to John Prados for helping to locate this draft.
- 4.17 Journal/Diary entries, October 3, 8, and 9, 1969, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 4.18 Memorandum of Telephone Conversation, Nixon and Kissinger, September 27, 1969, folder: Dobrynin/Kissinger 1969 [part 1], box 489, President’s Trip Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.19 “Special JCS Readiness Test,” *History of the Strategic Air Command*, FY 1970, Historical Study No. 117, vol. I, April 20, 1971, Office of the Historian, Headquarters, U.S. Strategic Air Command, p. 151, copy held by National Security Archive.

- 4.20 Journal/Diary entry, October 17, 1969, JDHRH.
- 4.21 Melvin Laird, telephone interviews by William Burr, Washington, D.C., June 18 and September 6, 2001.
- 4.22 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, October 18, 1969, subj: Your Meeting with Ambassador Dobrynin, Monday, October 20, 1969, folder: Dobrynin/Kissinger 1969 [part 2], box 489, President's Trip Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.23 Briefing Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, October 18, 1969, subj: Your Meeting with Ambassador Dobrynin, Monday, October 20, 1969, *ibid*.
- 4.24 Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, October 22, 1969, subj: Your Meeting with the Vice President, folder: Haig Chron October 16–October 31, 1969 [1 of 2], box 959, Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.25 Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, October 9, 1969, subj: Items to Discuss with the President, folder: Items to Discuss with the President, 8/13/69–12/30/69, box 334, Subject Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.26 Memorandum, Haig to Kissinger, October 14, 1969, subj: Significant Military Actions, folder: Haig Chron October 1–October 15, 1969 [1 of 2], box 958, Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 4.27 Memorandum, Robert Pursley to Haig, October 8, 1969, subj: Significant Military Actions, attachment to Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, October 9, 1969, subj: Military Alerts, folder: Schedule of Significant Military Exercises, vol. I, box 352, Subject Files, NSCF, NPMP.

TOWARD A DECENT, HEALTHY INTERVAL

- 5.1 Journal/Diary entry, October 9, 1969, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 5.2 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon, Thompson, and Kissinger, October 17, 1969, folder: MemCon—The President, Sir Robert Thompson, et al., October 17, 1969, box 1023, Presidential/HAK MemCons, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.3 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Dobrynin, January 20, 1970, folder 8: T. Lake Chron—January 1970, box 1046, Staff Files—Lake Chron, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.4 Memorandum of Conversation, Le Duc Tho and Kissinger, February 21, 1970 (afternoon session), folder: Tony Lake Chron File (Jun 1969–May 1970) (1 of 6), box 1048, Staff Files—Lake Chron, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.5 Note, April 20, 1970, Folder: H. Notes April–June '70 [April 1–May 5, 1970] Part I, box 41, Notes of White House Meetings, White House Special Files/Staff Member and Office Files (WHSE/SMOF): H. R. Haldeman, NPMP.
- 5.6 Journal/Diary entries, April 23, 24, and 27, 1970, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 5.7 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Thuy, September 7, 1970, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. V, box 853, Vietnam Negotiations, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.8 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Dobrynin, as reported by Soviet Ambassador Ilya S. Shcherbakov to Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, January [n.d.], 1971, quoted in Luu Van Loi and Nguyen Anh Vu, *Le Duc Tho–Kissinger Negotiations in Paris* (Hanoi: Thê'Giô Publishers, 1996), 165–166. The meeting between Kissinger and Dobrynin may have taken place on December 22, 1970.

- but references to his own comments to Dobrynin in the memo he sent to Nixon—while not inconsistent with Shcherbakov's report—are cryptic; Memo, Kissinger to Nixon, December 22, 1970, subj: Conversation with Ambassador Dobrynin, folder: Dobrynin/Kissinger 1970: vol. 3, box 490, President's Trip Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.9 Journal/Diary entries, November 20 and December 18 and 21, 1970, and February 3, 1971, JDHRH, NPMP.
 - 5.10 Oval Office Conversation no. 451-23, Nixon and Kissinger, 9:56-10:09 A.M., February 18, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.11 Oval Office Conversation no. 466-12, Nixon and Kissinger, after 4:00 P.M., March 11, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.12 Oval Office Conversation no. 471-2, Nixon and Kissinger, 7:03-7:27 P.M., March 19, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.13 Oval Office Conversation no. 474-1, Nixon and Kissinger, 9:40-9:55 A.M., March 26, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.14 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon, Laird, John Connally, David Packard, Thomas Moorer, Kissinger, and Haig, beginning at 4:00 P.M., March 26, 1971, folder: Beginning March 21, 1971, box 84: Memoranda for the President, WHSF: President's Office File, NPMP.
 - 5.15 Oval Office Conversation no. 474-8, Nixon, Laird, Connally, Packard, Moorer, Kissinger, and Haig, after 4:25 P.M., March 26, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by Ken Hughes).
 - 5.16 Oval Office Conversation no. 489-5, Nixon and Kissinger, between 11:46 A.M. and 12:07 P.M., April 26, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.17 Oval Office Conversation no. 489-17, Nixon and Kissinger, 2:47-4:12 P.M., April 26, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.18 Oval Office Conversation no. 488-15, Nixon and Kissinger (Haldeman present), 10:19-11:43 A.M., April 27, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.19 Oval Office Conversation no. 508-13, Nixon and Kissinger, 9:45 A.M.-12:04 P.M., June 2, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.20 Oval Office Conversation no. 527-16, Nixon, Haldeman, Kissinger, and John Ehrlichman, 9:14-10:12 A.M., June 23, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.21 Oval Office Conversation no. 528-1, Nixon and Haldeman, 11:04 A.M.-12:45 P.M., June 23, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.22 Letter, Secretary General Le Duan to COSVN, June 29, 1971, in Le Duan, *Thư vào Nam [Letters to the South]* (Hanoi: Su That Publishing House, 1985), 271-272.
 - 5.23 Oval Office Conversation no. 534-2, Nixon, Kissinger, and Haig, 8:45-9:52 A.M., July 1, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.24 Oval Office Conversation no. 534-3, Nixon, Kissinger, and Haig, 9:54-10:26 A.M., July 1, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
 - 5.25 Excerpt from the Indochina section of the briefing book for Kissinger's July 1971 trip, POLO I [part I], box 850, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.

- 5.26 Cover Memorandum, Lord to Kissinger, July 29, 1971, subj: Memcon of Your Conversations with Zhou Enlai, July 9, 1971, folder: China—HAK Memcons July 1971, box 1033, For the President's Files—China/Vietnam Negotiations, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.27 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Zhou, July 9, 1971, folder: China—HAK Memcons July 1971, box 1033, For the President's Files—China/Vietnam Negotiations, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.28 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Zhou, July 10, 1971, folder: China—HAK Memcons July 1971, box 1033, For the President's Files—China/Vietnam Negotiations, NSCF, NPMP.
- 5.29 Oval Office Conversation no. 574-3, Nixon and Kissinger (Haldeman present), 9:52-10:03 A.M., September 17, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author). Haldeman's journal entry for this date paraphrases this conversation.
- 5.30 Oval Office Conversation no. 574-5, Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Corneliu Bogdan, approx. 11:21-11:29 A.M., September 17, 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
- 5.31 Memorandum, Kissinger to Nixon, September 18, 1971, folder: Vietnam Elections, box 872, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.

GOING OUT WITH A BANG AND AN ARMISTICE

- 6.1 Message, Hanoi Political Bureau to Vietnamese Delegation in Paris, November 17, 1971, quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 212.
- 6.2 Notes, February 15 and 18, 1972, folder: China Notes, box 7, WHSF: President's Personal File 1969-74, NPMP.
- 6.3 Memorandum of Conversation, Nixon and Zhou, February 24, 1972, folder: Beginning February 20, 1972, box 87, Memoranda for the President, WHSF: President's Office File, NPMP.
- 6.4 Memorandum, Nixon to Kissinger, March 11, 1972, box 230, WHSF/SMOE: Haldeman, NPMP.
- 6.5 White House Telephone Conversation no. 22-53, Nixon and Kissinger, 12:45-12:47 P.M., March 30, 1972, White House Tapes, NPMP (courtesy of John Powers).
- 6.6 Memorandum, Nixon to Kissinger, April 20, 1972, folder: Apr. 1972 Kissinger Trip to Moscow, box 74, WHSF: President's Personal File, NPMP.
- 6.7 Message WTE 016, Kissinger to Haig, April 24, 1972, folder: Secret Moscow Trip Apr. 1972 TOHAK/HAKTO FILE, box 21, HAK Trip Files, HAKOF, NPMP. This memo, with Nixon's marginal marks, can also be found in folder: Apr. 1972 Kissinger Trip to Moscow, box 74, WHSF: PPE, NPMP.
- 6.8 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Leonid Brezhnev, 11:15 A.M.-1:45 P.M., April 24, 1972, folder: HAK Moscow Trip—April 1972 MemCons, box 72, Country Files—Europe—U.S.S.R., HAKOF, NPMP. The accompanying memorandum of the conversation between Kissinger and Gromyko from 1:50 to 3:00 P.M. reveals a similarly cordial meeting.
- 6.9 Executive Office Building Conversation no. 332-35, Nixon and Kissinger, between 12:00 and 12:28 P.M., April 25, 1972, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).

- 6.10 Memorandum of Conversation, National Security Council Meeting, May 8, 1972, box 998, Haig Memcons [Jan.-Dec. 1972], Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files, NSCF, NPMP.
- 6.11 Executive Office Building Conversation no. 334-44, Nixon, Kissinger, Haldeman, Connally, and Haig, 3:04 to approx. 5:35 P.M., May 4, 1972, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
- 6.12 Oval Office Conversation no. 721-11, Nixon, Kissinger, and Connally, sometime between 12:13-1:15 P.M., May 8, 1972, White House Tapes, NPMP (transcribed by the author).
- 6.13 Memorandum of Conversation, Konstantin Katushev and Pham Van Dong, April 27, 1972, quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 226.
- 6.14 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Gromyko, May 27, 1972, folder 3: Mr. Kissinger's Conversations in Moscow, May 1972, box 73, country Files—Europe—USSR, HAKOF, NPMP.
- 6.15 Kissinger's remarks to Soviets at Moscow summit, excerpt from Soviet document, quoted in Ilya Gaiduk, *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 240.
- 6.16 Memorandum of Conversation, Erich Honecker and Nguyen Song Tung, July 18, 1972, "Berlin, den 18.7.1972. Vermerk." Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) Bz/20/168, German Federal Archive, Berlin.
- 6.17 Memorandum of Conversation, Zhou and Tho, July 12, 1972, in *77 Conversations between Chinese and Foreign Leaders on the Wars in Indochina, 1964-1977*, ed. Odd Arne Westad et al., Working Paper No. 22, Cold War International History Project (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1998), 182-184. This excerpt from *77 Conversations* was taken from the record of a longer memcon prepared by Chinese archivists for official Chinese archives; Chinese authorities, however, did not permit the editors of *77 Conversations* to specify the filing location of the original memcon.
- 6.18 Nguyen Co Thach, interview by the author, Hanoi, September 24, 1994.
- 6.19 Tho, *The Main Ideas about the Paris Negotiations*, November 14, 1988, quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 242. See also excerpt of a letter, Secretary General Le Duan to COSVN [ca. June-July 1972], quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 241, from the unexpurgated Vietnamese-language edition of Le Duan, *Thư vào Nam [Letters to the South]*, 359-362.
- 6.20 Political Bureau analysis [ca. June-July], quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 279.
- 6.21 CIA Intelligence Memorandum, August 11, 1972, enclosed in Memorandum, David Young to Haldeman, September 18, 1972, subj: Followup Analysis of Rather/Szulec Stories Assessing Mining and Bombing of North Vietnam, box 191, WHSF/SMOF: Haldeman, NPMP.
- 6.22 Letter, Nguyen Duy Trinh to Pham Van Dong [ca. July 1972], quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 240-241. See also Political Bureau to Tho, July 22, 1972, quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 254-255.
- 6.23 Analysis, Le Duc Tho and Xuan Thuy to Political Bureau, Hanoi [between August

- 14 and September 11, 1972], quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 276-277.
- 6.24 Conversation, Tho and Kissinger, September 15, 1972, paraphrased and quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 287-289.
- 6.25 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Tho, September 15, 1972, folder: Camp David—Memcons Sensitive, May-Oct. 1972 [3 of 5], box 864, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 6.26 Cable, Political Bureau to Paris Delegation, October 4, 1972, quoted in Loi and Vu, *Le Duc Tho-Kissinger Negotiations in Paris*, 302-303.
- 6.27 Cable, Situation Room to Col. Brown for Haig, September 30, 1972, subj: Responses to Questions, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. XIX, box 856, Vietnam Negotiations, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPM.
- 6.28 Letter, Nixon to Thieu c/o Ellsworth Bunker, October 6, 1972, reprinted in Nguyen Tien Hung and Jerrold L. Schecter, *The Palace File* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), App. A.
- 6.29 Journal/Diary entry, October 12, 1972, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 6.30 Memorandum, Laird to Kissinger, October 19, 1972, subj: Additional Military Assistance for South Vietnam, attached to Cable, Haig to Kissinger, October 19, 1972, folder: 16-23 Oct. 1972 TOHAK [2 of 2], box 25, HAK Paris/Saigon Trip, HAK Trip Files, HAKOF, NPMP.
- 6.31 Cable, Haig to Kissinger (TOHAK 84), October 22, 1972, Key Cables Initiated by General Haig, folder: NSC Top Secret, box 180, WHSF/SMOF: Haldeman, NPMP.
- 6.32 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Tho, November 24, 1972, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. XXI Minutes of Meetings, Nov. 20-Nov. 25, 1972, box 858, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 6.33 Cable, Nixon to Kissinger, November 24, 1972, folder: HAK Paris Trip 18-25 Nov. 1972 TOHAK [2 of 2], box 26, HAK Trip Files, HAKOF, NPMP.
- 6.34 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Tho, December 13, 1972, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. XXII Minutes of Meetings, Paris, Dec. 4-Dec. 13, 1972, box 859, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 6.35 Cable, Kissinger to Nixon (via Haig), December 13, 1972, folder: HAK Paris Trip 3-13 Dec. 1972 HAKTO & Memos to the Pres., etc. [2 of 2], box 27, HAK Trip Files, HAKOF, NPMP.
- 6.36 Memorandum, Laird to Nixon [December 13, 1972], subj: Cease-Fire Agreement, folder: Cease-Fire 1972, box 7, White House/National Security Council: POW/MIA, NPMP.
- 6.37 Journal/Diary entry, December 15, 1972, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 6.38 Journal/Diary entry, December 18, 1972, JDHRH, NPMP.
- 6.39 Richard Wilson, "The Unbelievable Scene," *Washington Star-News*, August 12, 1974. See also "Instinctive Feeling for Years That Nixon Was Doomed," *Des Moines Register*, August 12, 1974.
- 6.40 Letter, Nixon to Thieu, December 17, 1972, folder: Nguyen Van Thieu, box 16:

- Telephone . . . [Christmas 1969–1970] to Watergate Special, Name/Subject File 1969–74, WHSF: President's Personal File, NPMP.
- 6.41 Memorandum of Conversation, Dong and Ilya Shcherbakov, December 23, 1972, fond 5, opis' 66, delo 782, 11.1–6, SCCD, Moscow.
- 6.42 "Bombing of North Vietnam," *Hearings before Subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations House of Representatives*, 93d Congress, 1st sess., January 9, 1973 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973).
- 6.43 Winston Lord, interview by the author, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1994.
- 6.44 Memorandum of Conversation, Kissinger and Tho, December 4, 1972, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. XXII Minutes of Meetings, Paris Dec. 4–Dec. 13, box 859, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, 1972, NSCF, NPMP.
- 6.45 Nguyen Co Thach, interview by the author, Hanoi, September 24, 1994.

TALES OF THE FALL

- 7.1 Cable, Haig to Kissinger (prepared by Negroponte), October 4, 1972, subj: Some Thoughts on Where We Stand on Negotiations, folder: Sensitive Camp David—Vol. XIX, box 856, For the President's Files (Winston Lord)—China Trip/Vietnam, NSCF, NPMP.
- 7.2 Memorandum, Dwight Chapin to Haldeman, January 18, 1973, folder: Vietnam, box 178, Alpha Subject Files, WHSF/SMOF: Haldeman, NPMP.
- 7.3 Memorandum of Conversation, Gerald Ford, Kissinger, and Congressional Delegation, March 5, 1975, box 9, Memoranda of Conversations—Ford Administration, January 30, 1975—Ford . . . Callaghan, National Security Advisor: Memorandum of Conversations, 1975–1977, GRFL.
- 7.4 Memorandum, John Marsh to Donald Rumsfeld, April 3, 1975, folder: Vietnam—Supplemental Military Assistance (2), box 43, Counselors to the President, John Marsh Files, 1974–77, General Subject File: Vietnam, GRFL.
- 7.5 Memorandum, Ron Nessen to Rumsfeld, April 8, 1975, subj: Thursday Night Speech, folder: Vietnam—General, March 25, 1975–April 8, 1975, box 13, White House Operations, Richard Cheney, 1974–77, General Subject File: Vietnam—Correspondence from Richard Nixon to Nguyen Van Thieu, 10/72–12/72, GRFL.
- 7.6 Memorandum, W. R. Smyser to Kissinger, July 15, 1975, subj: The Situation in Asia, folder: Southeast Asia (3), box 1, Country File, Ambassador Kintner's Study . . . Area, National Security Advisor: Presidential Country Files for East Asia and the Pacific, 1974–1977, GRFL.

