The Nixon Administration and Foreign Affairs, 1969-1974

Part 2: National Security Files

Section 1: For the President's Files China and Vietnam Negotiations



Primary Source Media



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Guide Compiled by Daniel Piper

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The Nixon Administration and Foreign Affairs, 1969-1974 Part 2: National Security Files, Section 1: For the President's Files —China and Vietnam Negotiations

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

This microfilm series details the worldview of foreign policy during the administration of Richard M. Nixon. This series chronicles the realism that both President Nixon and his policy advisers used in mentally ordering the world and in formulating policy. It highlights the diplomacy that the Nixon administration employed to achieve Vietnamization, détente, and other objectives. It reveals worries about U.S. power and American credibility, while tracing the construction of the Nixon Doctrine to meet perceived challenges.

This collection provides the intellectual and practical foundations for Nixon's policy formulation. Realism, triangular diplomacy, and linkage-making provided President Nixon with an understanding of world strategy and a negotiating approach that fueled his pursuit of détente and accommodation. Common wisdom within the administration held that the Sino- Soviet split, Soviet-American strategic parity, and certain challenges facing the Kremlin within its own sphere of influence had combined to create a situation in which a lessening of Cold War tensions was in the interest of both nations.

Part 2, National Security Files, Section 1: For the President's Files—China/Vietnam Negotiations

This series contains memoranda, reports, memoranda of conversation, background papers, and talking points prepared for use by the President and Henry A. Kissinger. The China materials relate primarily to Henry A. Kissinger's trips to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in July and October 1971. Included are exchanges through intermediaries between the US and the PRC prior to Kissinger's secret trip in July 1971. There is also material relating to the drafting of the Shanghai Communiqué, signed at the conclusion of the President's trip in February 1972. There are background materials for use by General Alexander Haig, Senators Mansfield and Scott, and Representatives Boggs and Ford for their respective trips to the PRC in 1972.

The Vietnam materials are primarily memoranda of conversation concerning the secret negotiations Henry A. Kissinger conducted with the North Vietnamese in Paris from 1969 to 1973. Also included are memoranda of conversations from Kissinger's Saigon trip in 1972. Of particular interest are letters from President Thieu to President Nixon during the final phases of the Paris negotiations, November 1972-January 1973.

SOURCE AND EDITORIAL NOTE

The documents reproduced in this publication are records of Richard M. Nixon in the custody of the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library. This publication consists of the open and declassified documents from the National Security Council Files, "For the President's Files—China/Vietnam negotiations," boxes 1031-1041.

REEL INDEX

The following index is a guide to the folders and contents of the microfilm publication entitled *The Nixon Administration and Foreign Affairs*, 1969-1974, Part 2: National Security Files, Section 1: For the President's Files— China and Vietnam Negotiations. The Reel Index includes the folder number, folder title, and a listing of the major subjects. The documents within each folder have been filmed as they are arranged at the Library.

REEL 1

Folder#

[1] Exchanges Leading Up to Henry A. Kissinger's Trip to [People's Republic of] China, December 1969-July 1971

Major subjects: Pakistan; Bangladesh (East Pakistan); Taiwan; Warsaw talks between People's Republic of China and U.S.; Indochina; USSR; U.S. presence in East Asia; Vietnam War; China, People's Republic of; Chiang Kai-shek meeting with Robert Murphy; Arms control.

- [2] China-Public and Private Moves toward a Presidential Visit, 1970-1971 *Major subjects:* China, People's Republic of; Pakistan; Taiwan.
- [3] Material concerning Preparations for Henry A. Kissinger's First [People's Republic of] China Trip, July 1971

Major subjects: China, People's Republic of; American Society of Newspaper Editors; Diplomatic relations between U.S. and People's Republic of China; Cambodia; News media/press; Snow, Edgar; Chou En-lai press statements.

[4] POLO I [Briefing Book for the President], July 1971

Major subjects: Trade, PRC-U.S.; POLO I and II; Travel; Taiwan; Korea; State Department and Nixon PRC trip; South Asia; Indochina; Nuclear war prevention; Taiwan; Japan; USSR.

[5] COOKIES II [Chronology of exchanges with PRC], February 1969-April 1971 *Major subjects:* China, People's Republic of; Cookies II; Pakistan; Romania; Vietnam War peace negotiations; Taiwan.

REEL 2

Folder#

[6] POLO Peking memcons (by Subject), July 9-11, 1971

Major subjects: Chou En-lai conversations with Henry Kissinger; POLO I and II; War on communism; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Taiwan; Vietnam War; Communism; Indochina; Japan; East Asia; South Asia; USSR; Arms control.

[7] POLO I Record HAK visit to PRC, July 1971

Major subjects: Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; POLO I and II; Taiwan; Indochina; Japan; Korea; South Asia; Arms control; Vietnam War.

[8] China memcons & memos-originals, July 1971

Major subjects: Taiwan; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Indochina; Vietnam War; Japan; USSR; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; Korea.

[9] China-Communiqués & memorabilia HAK visit, July 1971

Major subject: Indochina policy, U.S.

[10] China-HAK memcons, July 1971

Major subjects: Chou En-lai; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Taiwan; Indochina; Japan; Korea; South Asia; Arms control; Vietnam War; Intervention policy.

[11] [Miscellaneous memoranda relating to HAK trip to PRC], July 1971

Major subjects: Indochina policy, U.S.; Ceausescu, Nicolae; Romania; South Asia; Pakistan; Khan, Yahya; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China.

[12] China-HAK July 1971 trip (selected cables), July 1971

Major subjects: Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Taiwan; Indochina; Japan; Korea; South Asia; Arms control.

[13] Bogdan, Ambassador [memcons]

Major subjects: Romania; Bogdan, Corneliu; China, People's Republic of; Indochina; Taiwan.

[14] Bruce, Ambassador [memcons]

Major subjects: Bruce, David K.E.; Vietnam.

REEL 3

Folder#

[15] POLO II Briefing Book Issues and statements HAK PRC Visit [Part I], October 1971

Major subjects: Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; POLO I and II; joint communique drafts; State Department; Kissinger trip to People's Reupublic of China; Taiwan; USSR; Indochina; USSR.

[16] POLO II Briefing Book Issues and statements HAK PRC Visit [Part II], October 1971

Major subjects: Kissinger trip to People's Reupublic of China; POLO I and II; State Department; Korea; China, People's Republic of; South Asia; Japan; Arms control; Mao Tse-tung interview with Edgar Snow.

- [17] POLO II-HAK China trip transcripts of meetings [Part I], October 1971 [1 of 2] *Major subjects:* Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; POLO I and II; China, People's Republic of; Taiwan; Central Intelligence Agency; Japan; Indochina; Korea; South Asia; Arms control.
- [18] POLO II HAK China trip transcripts of meetings [Part I], October 1971 [2 of 2] [Empty]
- [19] POLO II-HAK China trip transcripts of meetings [Part II], October 1971 [1 of 2] [Empty]
- [20] POLO II-HAK China trip transcripts of meetings [Part II], October 1971 [2 of 2] *Major subjects:* Kissinger trip to People's Reupublic of China; POLO I and II; Joint communique drafts.
- [21] Communiqué drafting, working papers & drafts, October 1971 *Major subject:* Joint communique drafts.

REEL 4

Folder#

[22] China-HAK October 1971 visit [Part 1], October 1971

Major subjects: China, People's Republic of; Science and technology exchanges; Cultural exchanges; Athletic exchanges; Journalism exchanges; USSR; Taiwan; Trade, PRC-U.S.; Joint communique drafts; Indochina; Korea; Hsiung Hsiang-hui; Japan; South Asia; USSR; Arms control; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China.

[23] China-HAK - October 1971 visit [Part II], October 1971

Major subjects: Lord, W.; Kissinger trip to People's Reupublic of China; Vietnam; Travel plans/itineraries; Indochina; Taiwan.

[24] HAK visit to PRC-Memcons-originals, October 1971

Major subjects: Science and technology exchanges; Cultural exchanges; Athletic exchanges; Journalism exchanges; Hsiung Hsiang-hui; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; United Nations; Korea; South Asia; USSR; Arms control; Central Intelligence Agency; Japan; Chou En-lai; Taiwan; Indochina; Joint communique drafts.

REEL 5

Folder#

[25] China-general, July-October 1971

Major subjects: Improved relations between Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Republic of Korea; News media/press; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; State Department; Sino-Soviet dispute; Flexible diplomacy; Trade, PRC-U.S.

[26] China-general, November 1971-February 26, 1972

Major subjects: News media, international; Chou En-lai; Indochina; United Nations; Service, John; Diplomacy, multilateral; Pakistan; Prisoners, American; Taiwan; State Department; China, People's Republic of.

[27] China-general, February 27-March 31, 1972

Major subjects: Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; News media/press; Taiwan; Condemnation of U.S.; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; China, People's Republic of; Civilians, American; State Department; Vietnam War.

[28] China-general, April 1-June 22, 1972

Major subjects: Condemnation of U.S.; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Vietnam War.

[29] China-PARIS CHANNEL, March 10, 1972-April 1973

Major subjects: Cultural exchanges; China, People's Republic of; Science and technology exchanges; Expropriated property; Trade, PRC-U.S.; Population study; White House press conferences.

REEL 6

Folder#

[30] China-AH Visits, January 1972

Major subjects: Haig trip to People's Republic of China; South Asia; Indochina; Chou En-lai; White House press conferences; Ikko Kasuga; Taiwan; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China.

[31] Haig trip-memcons, January 1972

Major subjects: Haig trip to People's Republic of China; Chi Peng-fei; Chou Enlai; Indochina; Taiwan; South Asia.

[32] Haig's trip-talking points-private meeting, January 1972

Major subjects: Haig trip to People's Republic of China; Nixon trip to People's Republic of China; Joint communique drafts; USSR; South Asia; Indochina; Taiwan.

[33] China-Mansfield/Scott trip to China, [April-May 1972]

Major subjects: Prisoners, American; Vietnam War; China, People's Republic of; Vietnam War; Mansfield trip to People's Republic of China; Scott trip to People's Republic China; Taiwan; Mao Tse-tung; *Peking Review*; Indochina; Japan; Nixon Doctrine; Chiao Kuan-hua; Korea; South Asia; USSR.

[34] Notes from Mansfield/Scott trip, May 1972

Major subjects: Mansfield trip to People's Republic of China; Scott trip to People's Republic China; Asia; USSR; Mao Tse-tung; Sino-Soviet dispute; Women in People's Republic of China.

REEL 7

Folder#

[35] China-Boggs and Ford trip, June-July 1972

Major subjects: Boggs, Hale; China, People's Republic of; Ford, Gerald.

[36] Background Material for China Trip-Hon. Hale Boggs

Major subjects: Mansfield trip to People's Republic of China; Scott trip to People's Republic China; China, People's Republic of; State Department; Mao Tsetung; Sino-Soviet dispute; Strategy, People's Republic of China.

[37] Background Material for China Trip-Hon. Gerald Ford

Major subjects: State Department; Mao Tse-tung; Sino-Soviet dispute; Mao Tse-tung; Strategy, People's Republic of China.

[38] Camp David HAK-I, July 1969-September 27, 1970

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Camp David meetings; Le Duc Tho; Xuan Thuy; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of.

[39] Camp David HAK II, 1971

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Camp David meetings; Xuan Thuy; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of.

[40] Camp David, 1972, May 2-October 7, 1972 [1 of 4]

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Camp David meetings; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Xuan Thuy; Le Duc Tho.

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[41] Camp David 1972, May 2-October 7, 1972 [2 of 4]

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Camp David meetings; Xuan Thuy; Le Duc Tho.

[42] Camp David 1972, May 2-October 7, 1972 [3 of 4]

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Camp David meetings; Xuan Thuy; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Le Duc Tho; Peace efforts.

[43] Camp David 1972, May 2-October 7, 1972 [4 of 4]

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Xuan Thuy; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Camp David meetings; Le Duc Tho.

[44] Camp David Materials-US-VN Exchanges, August-October 1972 [1 of 2]

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Camp David meetings; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of.

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[45] Camp David Materials-US-VN Exchanges, August-October 1972 [2 of 2] Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Peace efforts; Camp David meetings; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of.

[46] US-NVN Exchanges, January-October 5, 1972 Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of.

[47] HAK Saigon trip memcons and Alexander Haig's Trip memcons, October 19-23 and November 10-12, 1972

Major subjects: Vietnam War peace negotiations; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Nguyen Van Thieu; Haig trip to People's Republic of China; Lon Nol; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Nguyen Phi Duc; Sullivan, William H.; Lam, Tran Van; Nguyen Van Thieu; Hoang Duc Nha; Souvanne Phouma.

[48] [Original Letters from Thieu to President RN], November 1972-January 1973

Major subjects: Vietnam War; Nguyen Van Thieu; Kissinger trip to People's Republic of China; Vietnam, Democratic Republic of; Lon Nol.

SUBJECT INDEX

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Section 1: Presidential Country Files for East Asia and the Pacific

Section 2: Presidential Correspondence and Conversations with Foreign Leaders

Section 3: Saigon Embassy Files from Ambassador Graham Martin

Section 4: Presidential Country Files for Africa