

# THE PRICE OF POWER

KISSINGER  
IN THE NIXON  
WHITE HOUSE

CLT  
of Print 044  
SALE PRICE  
\$14.98



Seymour M. Hersh

(continued from front flap)

*The Price of Power* is an extraordinary joining of subject. Seymour M. Hersh is one of America's greatest investigative journalists—winner of a Pulitzer Prize for his exposure of the My Lai massacre and the winner of the George Polk Award for his reporting on international affairs. Henry Kissinger is, of course, regarded as the most brilliant diplomat of our age.

Seymour Hersh's long-awaited book is a magnificent achievement—a portrait not only of an era that haunts us still, but also of a relationship between President and adviser unique in our time. It begins in 1968 with the revelation of how Kissinger earned the post of National Security Adviser and ends in 1973 with the tragic tale of how Kissinger's Vietnam negotiations were betrayed by Nixon for his own political ends. The years between these milestones were filled with a remarkable series of diplomatic triumphs. Or so it seemed to most of us at the time.

In these pages Mr. Hersh gives us a totally fresh account of the crises that were hidden from us then. He tells us how Nixon's desire for maximum television coverage altered the Peking summit; how Kissinger's negotiating mistakes undermined the arms limitation talks; how the wiretapping of Kissinger's aides became the ultimate loyalty test; how America's atomic security was jeopardized by the secret bombing of Cambodia; how Kissinger ignored the signal that might have led to an Egyptian-Israeli peace; how Kissinger's "tilt" toward Pakistan played directly into Chinese hands. These events, and dozens more, are revealed and explained for the first time.

Besides Nixon and Kissinger themselves, other remarkable men appear in these pages: Alexander Haig, who knew how to make himself invaluable to both the President and his adviser; Secretary of State William Rogers, who was too decent to succeed; Melvin Laird, congressman turned Defense Secretary, who knew how political battles were won and lost; Daniel Ellsberg, secret adviser to Kissinger; the "liberals" on the National Security staff who came to Kissinger's team believing they could make a difference; Chairman Mao, who spent many of his last days in fear of his life; and hundreds more—from file clerk to presidential adviser—whose ambitions and actions made the Nixon-Kissinger years so remarkable.

Mr. Hersh writes: "The book had its beginnings in my experiences as a Washington reporter for the *New York Times* during Watergate. . . . But even at the height of the outcry over the methods and the morality of the men at the top, foreign policy remained sacrosanct. I began my research certain that there was more to be known about the conduct of foreign affairs. . . . I came to realize that even sophisticated public servants perceived something cru-

cially different about the conduct of foreign policy in the Nixon White House. That difference and its cost to both the participants and the country is what I have tried to describe."

Four years in the writing, based on more than 1,000 interviews and on extensive research in both published and unpublished sources, *The Price of Power* will forever alter the way we perceive the workings of our government and will become part of the permanent history of our time.

Seymour M. Hersh was born in Chicago in 1937 and graduated in 1958 from the University of Chicago. He began his newspaper career as a police reporter for the *City News Bureau* in Chicago. After Army service he was hired by *United Press International* in Pierre, South Dakota. In 1963 he joined the *Associated Press* in Chicago and in 1965 went to Washington for the AP to cover the Pentagon. He served as press secretary and speech writer for Senator Eugene J. McCarthy in the famed "Children's Crusade"—the 1968 New Hampshire Democratic primary campaign against Lyndon Johnson. In 1969, as a free-lance journalist, Mr. Hersh wrote the first account of the My Lai massacre, distributing five newspaper stories on the atrocity through *Dispatch News Service*. He joined the *New York Times* in 1972 and worked out of both Washington and New York until his resignation in 1979 to begin *The Price of Power*. In early 1983, he joined the *Atlantic* magazine as national correspondent.

Mr. Hersh has won more than a dozen major journalism prizes. For his account of the My Lai massacre he earned the 1970 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting, the George Polk Award, the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award, and the Worth Bingham Prize. For his reporting on the secret B-52 bombing of Cambodia, he was awarded the Roy M. Howard Public Service Award and a second Polk Award in 1974. The next year he won the Drew Pearson Award, the John Peter Zenger Freedom of the Press Award, the Sidney Hillman Foundation Award, and a third Polk for his stories on the CIA and Chile, and CIA domestic spying. And in 1981 he received a second Sigma Delta Chi Award and his fourth Polk Award for two articles in the *New York Times Magazine* on the involvement of former CIA officials in arms sales to Libya.

Mr. Hersh's previous books are *Chemical and Biological Warfare: America's Hidden Arsenal*; *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath*; and *Cover Up: The Army's Secret Investigation of the Massacre of My Lai*. His articles have appeared in *The New Yorker*, *Saturday Review*, the *New York Review of Books* and the *New Republic*. He lives in Washington, D.C., with his wife and three children.

(continued on back flap)

Jacket design © 1983 by Robert Anthony, Inc.  
Photograph on front of jacket by Erich Hartmann  
Photograph of the author by Sigrid Estrada

# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
1. The Job Seeker	11
2. A New NSC System	25
3. Consolidating Authority	37
4. Vietnam: The Policy	46
5. Cambodia: The Secret Bombing	54
6. Korea: The First Crisis	66
7. The Wiretaps	83
8. Decay	98
9. Intrigues	108
10. Vietnam: Planning for Götterdämmerung	118
11. A Greek Tragedy and a Civil War in Africa	136
12. SALT: A MIRV Mistake	147
13. SALT: A Mistake Becomes a Policy	157
14. Southeast Asia: Policy Change and Escalation	168
15. Cambodia: The Coup	175
16. Vietnam: A Spring Invasion	184
17. In Full Control	203
18. Mideast: The Rogers Plan	213
19. Mideast: Misperceptions in Jordan	234
20. Cuba: A False Crisis	250
21. Chile: Hardball	258
22. Chile: Get Rid of Allende	277
23. Vietnam: The Quagmire Deepens	297
24. Protecting the Secrets	314
25. SALT: A Grain Deal	334
26. China: Opening Moves	350
27. China: Kissinger's Secret Trip	363
28. The Plumbers	383
29. Mideast: Final Defeat for Rogers	402
30. A Berlin Settlement	415
31. Vietnam: A Missed Chance	423
32. The India-Pakistan War	444
33. Spying on Kissinger	465
34. Vietnam: Going Public	480
35. China: A Prime-Time Visit	489
36. Vietnam: Hanoi's Offensive	503
37. SALT: The Moscow Summit	529
38. Vietnam: Intense Negotiations	561

39. Vietnam: Politics Before Peace	589
40. Vietnam: The Christmas Bombs	610
41. The Price of Power	636
Epilogue	641
NOTES	643
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	666
INDEX	667

Th  
ov  
Ho  
or  
we  
mu  
wi  
an  
fac  
ing  
ina  
  
the  
na  
tol  
mo  
  
mo  
dis  
str  
at  
me  
rea  
dif  
dif  
hav  
M  
nat  
inv  
agr  
pub  
tim  
inte

589  
510  
536  
541  
  
543  
566  
567

## Introduction

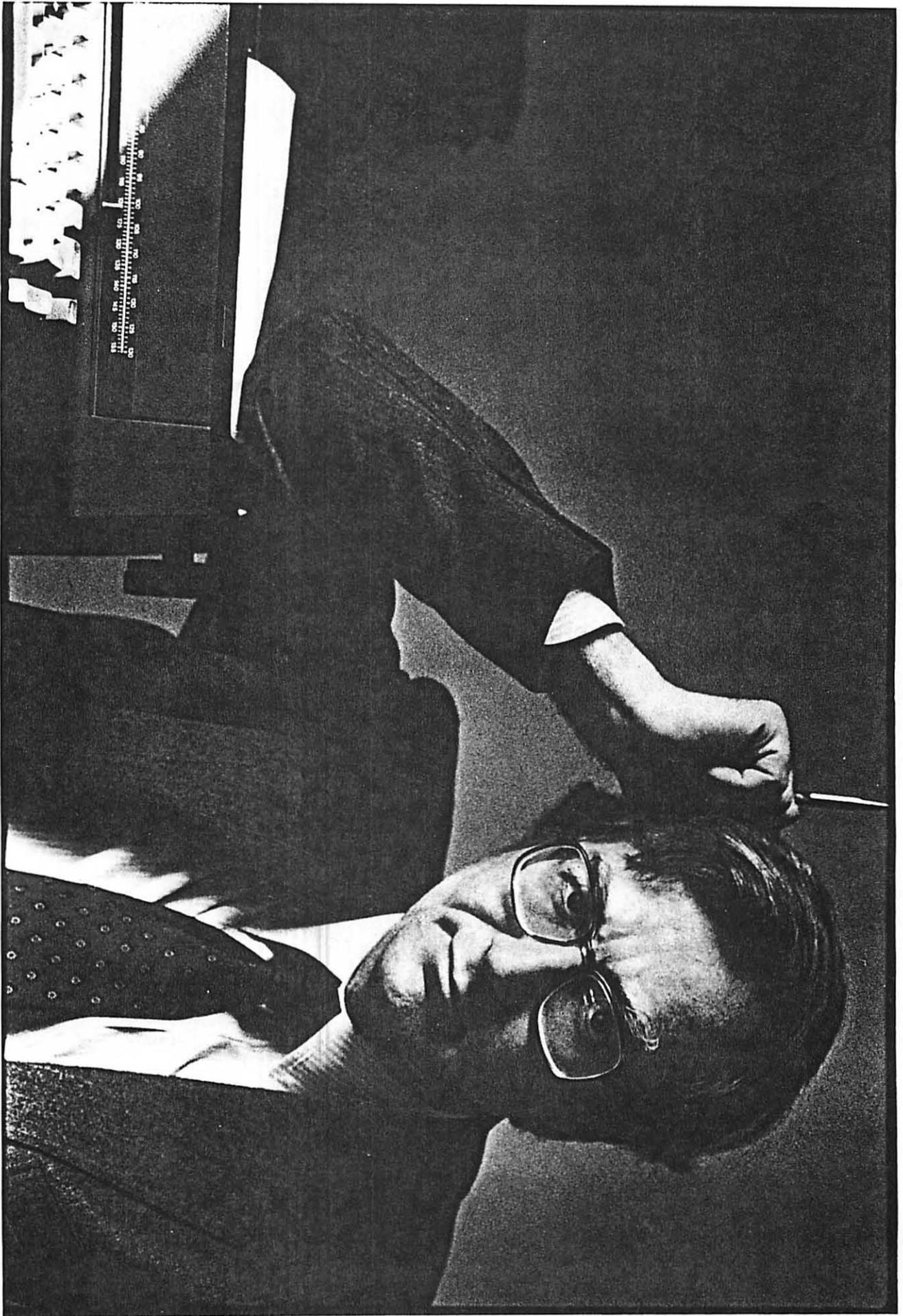
---

THIS BOOK is an account of the foreign policy of the United States, presided over by Henry Kissinger, during Richard Nixon's first term in the White House. It is also an account of the relationship between two men who collaborated on what seemed to be a remarkable series of diplomatic triumphs. These were the years when China was reclaimed by American diplomacy; when a much-praised agreement on strategic arms limitation (SALT) was negotiated with the Soviet Union; when a complex dispute in West Berlin was settled; and when American participation in the war in Vietnam, the most crucial issue facing the American presidency, was brought to a dramatic end with the signing of the Paris peace accords in January 1973, three days after Nixon was inaugurated for a second term.

The book had its beginnings in my experiences as a Washington reporter for the *New York Times* during those Watergate years when the press—and the nation—became aware of the distance between the truth and what we were told had happened. But even at the height of the outcry over the methods and morality of the men at the top, foreign policy remained sacrosanct.

I began my research certain that, despite all that has been written, there was more to be known about the conduct of foreign affairs. It was no surprise to discover that personal ambition was sometimes entwined with diplomatic and strategic goals, that successful bargaining whether in White House meetings or at a summit was never an open process. No experienced reporter or government official expects otherwise. But as my interviewing proceeded I came to realize that even sophisticated public servants perceived something crucially different about the conduct of foreign policy in the Nixon White House. That difference and its cost both to the participants and to the country is what I have tried to describe.

My basic sources are more than 1,000 interviews with American and international officials—some retired, some still in government—who were directly involved in making and executing policy. Most of the people I talked with agreed to be quoted by name. I also relied on internal documents and on the published memoirs of those who themselves participated in the history of that time. Despite my many requests, neither Kissinger nor Nixon agreed to be interviewed for this book.



0683-1925

Distributed by Simon and Schuster

0-671-44760-2