

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 576-15/577-1

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:44 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald G. S. Au, Andre LeTendre, and George T. Bell; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

[The recording begins at an unknown time while the meeting is in progress]

[Photographs]

Meeting with the President

-Thanks for the opportunity

US Jaycees organization

- -The President's membership
- -Jaycee convention in St. Louis, June 25, 1970
 - -The President's attendance
 - -Enthusiasm of greeting
 - -Cambodia
- -The President's relationship with the Jaycees
- -Membership
 - -Age

-Relationship with the younger generation

-Age group

-Jaycee role within the US

-US as country

-Critics of the "system"

-Economics

-Foreign policies

-Leaders

-Types

Miss America Contest

-Miss America contestants

-The President's meeting with winners [Phyllis A. George, Laurie Lee Schaefer]

-Conservative values in relation to perceived current societal values

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Conv. No. 576-15/577-1 (cont.)

US Jaycees organization

- -Partnership relationship
 - -Tradition
- -Jaycee role in the United States
 - -Effort by LeTendre
 - -Support of the President
 - -The President's policies
- -Au's ancestry
 - -Race
 - -Election to office
 - -Press appearances
 - -Questions
 - -Answers in relation to the President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Jaycee friends in Taiwan
 - -Address at Jaycee national convention

PRC initiative

- -Au's support
- -Purpose of trip
 - -Public speculation
- -US foreign relations with the PRC
 - -Differences between the US government and the governments in the PRC and the Soviet Union
 - -Negotiation as option
 - -Future environment
 - -US-Soviet relations
 - -Middle East, Berlin, arms limitation issues
 - -Detente
 - -Communications
 - -Methods of communications
 - -Superpowers
 - -Initiation
 - -Negotiation of differences
- -Taiwan
 - -Amount of progress
 - -Type of society
 - -Population
 - -Trade
 - -Position in United Nations [UN]

-UN

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 576-15/577-1 (cont.)

```
-China membership issue
                -PRC admission
                     -Secretary of State [William P. Rogers]
                           -Vote
           -PRC, Taiwan
                -Vote
                -Negotiations
                     -George H.W. Bush
           -Pragmatism
           -Position in the world
           -Philosophies
           -Foreign relations
           -Type of world
           -Chou en-lai
           -PRC and US position in the world
                -Superpowers
                -Negotiations
                     -Future
     -Au's forthcoming trip to Taiwan
     -State Department
           -Vote in UN
     -Au's meeting with Vice President Chiang Ching-Kuo
           -Message from the President
                -Cordialities
                     -Friendship between the US and Taiwan
                     -International relations
                     -Responsibilities
East Asian affairs
     -Au's request to Ronald W. Reagan
           -Reagan's trip to the Far East
                -Au's attendance
                     -Jaycees' representation in the Far East
                           -Industry
                -Request
                     -Date
                     -Governor's office
                     -Lieutenant Governor Edwin Reinecke
```

-Date

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Conv. No. 576-15/577-1 (cont.)

- -Ethnic background
 - -Attainment of office of presidency of the Jaycees
 - -Travel
 - -Representation of the Jaycees
 - -Manila, Philippines
- -Relationship with Taiwan
 - -Manufacturing of campaign paraphernalia by Taiwan
 - -Relationship with Au
 - -Comparison to Irish and Germans

Chinese

The President's view

- -Taiwan
- -Manila
- -Singapore
- -Bangkok
- -Hong Kong
- -Accomplishments

PRC

- -Relations with the US
 - -Type of relations
- -Population
 - -Type of culture
- -Relations with the US
 - -Types of government
- -PRC relations
 - -Au's support for the President
 - -The President's foreign policy

Presidential gifts

- -Cuff links
- -Golf balls
- -Tie clasps
- -Paperweight
- -Lady's gifts
 - -Signatures
 - -Stephen B. Bull

US Jaycees

-Support of the President

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Conv. No. 576-15/577-1 (cont.)

-Re-election -Au's leadership -Age

Au, LeTendre, and Bell left at 12:44 pm.

Conversation No. 577-2

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 12:44 pm - 12:45 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Arthur F. Burns
-Meeting with the President

John N. Mitchell
-Telephone call
-Time

-The President's meeting with Miss America contestants

Telephone call to William E. Walk, Jr.

Burns

Bull left at 12:45 pm.

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Conversation No. 577-3

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 12:45 pm - 1:30 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John N. Mitchell; Arthur F. Burns entered at 12:45 pm while the conversation is in progress.

[Conversation No. 577-3A]

[See Conversation No. 9-95]

[End of telephone conversation]

Greetings

Supreme Court resignation -John Harlan -Health -Georgetown Hospital -Announcement -Date -Speculation -Appointees -Number -Effect on Supreme Court -Justice Department -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] -Role in appointing Justices -Appointees -Congressman -Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. -G. Harold Carswell -Richard H. Poff -Credentials

-Harry F. Byrd, Sr.

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Practice of law
                     -Judiciary Committee
                          -American Bar Association [ABA]
International economics
     -Burns's European trip
```

-Conservatism

-John B. Connally

-US objectives

-Europeans

-Currency re-alignment

-Convertibility of gold

-France

-Restoration of convertibility

-Results

-Significance in France

-France

-Price of gold issue

-Reactions

-Price of gold

-Burns's conversation with Connally

-US position

-Policies

-Tariffs

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.

```
Refreshments
     -coffee
```

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:30 pm.

```
International economies
     -Price of gold
           -Raising price
                -Amount
                -William Proxmire
                -William V. Roth, Jr.
                      -Opposition
     -Congressional actions
           -Price of gold
```

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Increase
           -Attitude
           -Political and economic objection
                -Political objection
                      -Rewards for countries
                           -South Africa
                           -Soviet Union
                           -France
-Price of gold
     -Comparison to earlier prices
           -Official price compared to market price
     -Action of raising price
           -Percentage points
                -Inflation
-Future action
-Europe
-Japan
     -Subsidization of exports
           -Canada
     -Free trade
           -Relationship with Canada
-Great Britain
     -Political situation
     -Common market
-Germany
     -Relationship with the US
     -Question of future policy
-Forthcoming economic meetings
-International Monetary Fund [IMF] and Group of Ten
-Preparation
-Location
     -Washington
           -The President's schedule
                -Alaska
           -Forthcoming IMF meeting
                -Possible statement by the President
-Reception
     -Connally, the President
     -Secretary of the Treasury
```

-Central bankers -IMF chairman

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Number
```

-Statement by the president

-Impact

-Location

-White House

-Secretaries of the Treasury

-John B. Connally

-Timing

-Great Britain

-Connally's evaluation

-European market

-Common market

-Effect on foreign policy of the US

-Economic policy

-Approach

-Integration of economic and foreign policies

-Japan

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Soviet Union

-Japan

-Relationship with US

-Commercial relationship

-PRC, Soviet Union

-Relationship with Europe

-Comparison with the US

-Europe and Japan

-Relationship with the US

-Competition

-Japan

-Relationship with the US

-The President's previous comments

-Competition

-People

-Type of governments

-Relationship between foreign policy and domestic issues

-Group of Ten meeting

-Congress

-Meeting with the President

-Isolationism

-Surcharge

-Foreign aid

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Trade barriers
                -Canada
                -Japan
                     -US public
                           -Possible speculation
                                -Anti-trust laws
                                -Subsidization
                                -Okinawa reversion treaty
                                      -Textiles
                -Type of diplomacy for the US
                     -Strength
          -Public posture
          -Congress
                -Jacob K. Javits
     -Current situation
          -Projections for the future
-Britain
     -British press
          -Influence in US
                -The Economist
     -Relationship with the US
          -Politics
     -Orientation
-Italy
     -Rome
          -Memorandum
          -Conversation between the president and burns
-Foreign restrictions
     -Impact in the US
          -Timing
-Economic theory
     -Floating exchange system
          -Milton Friedman
          -Godfrey [Surname unintelligible]
          -Marketplace forces
                -Demand and supply
          -Contrast of theoretical and practical conditions
          -Current environment
          -Restraints
                -Government rules
                -Central banks
```

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-European countries
     -Unification of ideas
           -Competition with the US
                -Obstacle
                      -Percentage points
-Connally
     -Presentation of US position abroad
           -Understanding of problems
-Foreign countries
     -Problems
           -Gold prices
                -US understanding
                      -Type of problems
-Impact of us action
-Import surcharge
     -US position
           -Duration
     -Currency realignment
           -Relation to surcharge
     -Negotiations
           -Length of time
-Gold issue
-Devaluation of the dollar
     -Psychological impact
     -Political impact
-Price of gold
-Inflation
-International reserves
     -Measured by gold
           -Reduction
                -Special Drawings Rights [SDR's]
-Economic theories
     -Political economic effects
     -Political factors
```

-Parliamentary bodies-US position on gold prices

-Economic change

-Election period -Proxmire. Roth

-Congress

-Burns

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Connally
-Burns's trip
     -Education
     -Burns's credentials
          -Representation of the US
                -Negotiations
                     -International economics
     -Domestic versus international matters
     -Burns, Connally
     -Meeting with central bankers and finance ministers
     -Clarity of communications
     -Connally
     -Representation of the US position
          -Connally
                -Credentials
          -Type of trip
     -Connally
          -Obtaining information
          -Conversation with burns
     -France
          -Gold convertibility
     -Germany
          -Percentage points appreciation
     -European economic community [common market]
          -Director General's position
-Price of gold
     -Political compared to economic problem
          -Economic problem
-Foreign, economic discussions
     -Conally's position
     -Limitation on discussions
     -Central bankers
          -Tradition of discussion
                -President's approval
                -Connally
     -US position
          -Unified position
                -Possible outcome
                     -Press
     -Burns
```

-Relationship with Connally

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Role as economist
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-Representation of the US

-US position

-Connally

-Agenda proposal

-Price of gold

-Trade

-Currency re-alignment

-Domestic political scene

- -Conversations between Burns, Connally, and the President
- -William P. Rogers

-State Department

-[Federal Reserve Board [FRD]]

-Treasury Department

-Council on International Economic Policy [CIEP]

-US negotiating position

-Connally's staff

-Limitations

-Connally's

-Credentials as negotiator

-Understanding of foreigners

-Perception by Europeans

-Toughness

-Understanding

-John Foster Dulles

-State Department

-Relationship with the President

-Number of individuals involved

-CIEP

-Peter G. Peterson

-State Department

-Commerce Department

-Peterson

-Number involved

-Type of discussions

-Connally's role

-Foreign policy

-Nathaniel Samuels, Philip H. Trezise

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Relationship with the President

-Peterson

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Kissinger
          -Foreign relations factors
                -Germans
                -France
                     -Georges J.R. Pompidou
                -Britain
                -Japanese
                -Future implications
                -Member of group
                -Political interests
                -Domestic advantages
     -IMF
          -The President's appearance
                -Statement
                -Reception
          -Pierre Paul Schweitzer
                -Possible meeting with the President
                     -Connally
                          -Possible reaction
     -Detroit Economic Club
          -Upcoming Question and answer [Q&A] session with the President
                -Preparation of background information by Burns
                     -Audience
                     -International issues
                          -IMF
                          -Gold
                     -Handling
                          -Transmittal
                                -Date
                                -Time
                                -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
                                -Rose Mary Woods
                                     -California
                     -Type of information
                           -Impact
The economy
     -Phase II
          -Meetings with various special interest groups and individuals
```

-Date

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

```
-Decisions
```

-Directions of policy

-Congressmen, Senators, business leaders

-Preferences

-Labor leaders

-Position on Phase II

-Comparison to business leaders

-The President's schedule

-Trip

-Alaska

-Unified position

-Direction

-Freeze

-Phase II

-Follow-up

-Budgetary and tax action

-Follow-up

-IMF meeting

-Freeze

-Impact

-Meeting between Burns and the President

-Freeze

-Phase II

-Sequence of follow-up action

-Burns's conversation with Herbert Stein

-Changing process

-Mechanics of change

-Labor leaders' cooperation

-People

-Support of the President

-Results of polls

-George Meany

-Lack of support versus support

-Freeze

-Impact

-Freedom

-US people

-Support of the President

-Election

-Restraint imposed by freeze

-Labor unions

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Conv. No. 577-3 (cont.)

-Forthcoming Q&A session
-Memo from Burns to the President
-Phase II
-Date
-Preliminary statement

Burns left at 1:30 pm.

Conversation No. 577-5

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Briefcase

-Materials

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:40 pm.

Conversation No. 577-6

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Schedule

-Kissinger

-Meeting

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Conversation No. 577-7

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-96]

Conversation No. 577-8

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:40 pm and 2:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (Bob") Haldeman.

Status report

[The President talked with William E. Walk, Jr. between 2:09 pm and 2:12 pm].

[Conversation No. 577-8A]

[See Conversation No. 9-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

Supreme Court

-Nominees

US economic policies

-Arthur F. Burns

- -Information for forthcoming press conference
 - -Forthcoming press conference
 - -Phase II
 - -Transmittal

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
Spiro T. Agnew
     -Telephone conversation to Haldeman
     -Foundations speech
           -Format
           -Possible reaction
                -Agnew's role
                     -Job as Vice President
                     -Agnew's attitude
           -Speech format
                -Press relations
                -Type of speech
                     -Options
                -Handling
                -The Vice President's handling of previous speeches
           -Foundations
           -The press
                -Forthcoming release of [Edith Efron's] book [The News Twisters]
                -The Vice President's role in commenting on the media
     -Pentagon Papers
           -Leslie H. Gelb
                -Brookings Institute
     -Press relations
           -Timing
Foundation speech
     -Ford Foundation
     -Brookings Institute
```

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 2:18 pm.

The President's schedule
-Trip to Florida
-Flight
-Meeting

Haldeman left at 2:18 pm.

Vietnam

-Air strikes

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Air force
```

- -Weather
- -Planned effect
- -The People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Forthcoming announcement
- -Air force
 - -Flight ceiling
 - -Soviet Union
- -Air strike
 - -Time frame
- -Briefing for forthcoming National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- -Richard M. Helms, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- -Kissinger's memorandum to the President
 - -NSC
 - -Condensation of two memoranda
 - -Kissinger's conversation with David K.E. Bruce
 - -Bruce's analysis
 - -US options
- -Vietnam negotiations
 - -History
 - -Final announcement
 - -Air strike effect
- -Kissinger's conversation with John B. Connally
 - -Meeting
 - -Agnew, John N. Mitchell
- -Kissinger's conversation with Connally
 - -Agnew
 - -Mitchell
 - -Final announcement
 - -Connally's analysis
 - -Date
- -US strategy
- -Kissinger's possible meeting with Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 - -Meeting
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Blair House
 - -Clark MacGregor
 - -J. William Fulbright
 - -Intended purpose
 - -Rogers's forthcoming testimony
 - -Timing

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-The President's press conference
          -Nguyen Cao Ky
               -News summary
               -Ellsworth F. Bunker
               -Meeting with Alexander M. Haig, jr.
                     -NSC meeting
     -Political conditions
          -Ky
          -Nguyen Khanh
          -Nguyen Van Thieu
          -Possible US action
     -Negotiations
          -Final withdrawal
          -Meetings
               -Number
               -US offer
               -Thieu
          -The President's forthcoming meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
               -Meeting with Kissinger
                     -Importance
                     -Election
          -Congressional action
               -Effect
          -Activity
US-Soviet relations
     -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's meeting with Kissinger
          -Time
          -US-Soviet summit
          -Date
US-PRC relations
          -Coordination of trip arrangements
               -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
                     -Announcement
               -Response
               -Press arrangements
               -Walters
                     -Message
                          -Overseas delays
                          -Time differences
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Date
                           -Impact
                           -Additional announcements
                     -Preparation
                           -State Department
International economies
     -Connally's trip to Europe
          -Kissinger's concern
                -US position
     -Surcharge
     -Price of gold
     -US position
          -Split compared to unified position
     -Connally
     -Burns
     -Meeting with the President
          -Connally
          -Burns
     -Forthcoming Group of Ten meeting
     -International Monetary Fund [IMF]
          -Speech
          -Pierre-Paul Schweitzer's meeting with the President
                -Outcome
          -Social reception
     -Kissinger's conversation with Connally
          -US position
                -Surcharge
                -Currency floatation
                     -System
     -Surcharge
          -Popularity
                -Domestic scene
     -Currency floatation
     -Connally
          -Currency floatation
                -Negotiating position
     -International economic meeting
          -The President's conversation with Burns and Connally
```

-Kissinger's attendance

-Announcement

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Connally
           -Burns
           -Paul W. McCracken
           -Peter G. Peterson
           -George P. Shultz
           -Paul A. Volcker
           -State Department
                -Nathaniel Samuels, Philip H. Trezise
                     -Bureaucracy
     -Currency flow
     -Burden-sharing
     -Political issues with economic policies
           -Burns
           -Connally
           -Kissinger
                -Role
           -Peterson
                -Leadership
                -Ideas
                -Strategy
                -Japanese textiles quota issue
     -Kissinger
           -Participation
                -Political ideas
     -Connally
           -Politics
                -Knowledge in economics
     -Connally's and Kissinger's relationship
     -Connally's support for the President
           -Public support
-Handling
-Germany
     -US position
-Great Britain
     -France
     -European market
-US position
     -Indecision
-International economic meeting
     -Kissinger's participation
```

-Surcharge

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Canada, Mexico
           -US position in relation to foreign countries
           -Third world countries
           -Japan
Japan
     -Trade relations
           -Possible quotas
                -Trading with the Enemy Act
     -Textiles
           -Peterson
           -David M. Kennedy
           -The President's august 15, 1971 speech on economic action
           -US officials responsible for handling textile issues
           -US-Japanese relationship
                -Rogers
                      -Negotiations
           -Kissinger's participation
           -Peterson
           -Kissinger and Rogers relationship
           -Nobusuke Kishi
                -Trip to the US
           -US position
                -Anticipation in dealing with Japan
                -Meeting
                      -Date
           -Kissinger's trip to the PRC
                -Date
                      -Timing
                -US restrictions on Japan
           -Kishi
                -Trip to the US
                      -Date
```

-The President's schedule

-Trade relations

-Date
-Meeting with Kishi
-Date

-Trip to Detroit, Michigan

-The President's forthcoming meeting with [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito

-Connally

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Peterson
     -US position
     -Communications
     -Date
           -Trading with the Enemy Act
                -Impact on Japan-US relations
     -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Connally
           -Textile issue
     -David Kennedy
     -Peterson
     -Rogers
     -Mitchell
           -Domestic issues
     -Possible conversation with Kishi
     -Japan
     -Japan's economic position
           -Time limit
     -Kishi
     -US position
           -Trading with the Enemy Act
           -Strength
                -Negotiating position
-Peterson
     -Staff
           -Kennedy
           -Number of people
           -Peter M. Flanigan
           -Kissinger
-Status
-The President's press conference
     -Time
     -Political impact
-Saigon
     -Situation of South Vietnamese government
           -[Thieu]
     -State Department officials
           -Ky
           -Haig
```

-Melvin R. Laird

Vietnam

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-State Department officials
           -Ky
                -US
                -Negotiation strategy
                -The President's press conference
                -Memorandum from State Department official
                -Status
                     -Public life
                           -Stance
                                -The President
                                -Opponent to Thieu
                -Negotiations
The President's handling of foreign relations
     -Comparison of cienfuegos to the Cuban missile crisis
     -Comparison to Jordan
           -Resolution of crisis
                -John F. Kennedy
                -Public reaction
     -Forthcoming summit meetings
           -PRC
           -Soviet Union
PRC initiative
     -Announcement
           -Timing
     -Date
     -Announcement
          -Possible leaks
     -Possible composition of traveling party
           -State Department official
                -Secret Service
                -Role
                     -Cultural exchange issues
           -Advance men
                -Ronald H. Walker
           -Alfred Les Jenkins
           -Marshall Green
           -Attendance at meetings
     -Kissinger's conversations with Chinese leaders
           -State Department officials
```

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

- -The President's handling of forthcoming summit meetings
 - -Meeting with Chou en-lai
 - -Rogers
 - -Meeting with Chinese foreign minister
- -The President's meeting with Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung
 - -Kissinger, Rogers
- -Plenary sessions and meetings
 - -Open atmosphere for negotiations
- -The President's meeting with Chou en-lai
 - -Type of negotiations
 - -Rogers's attendance
- -Rogers
 - -Meetings with foreign ministers
- -Attendance of meetings
 - -The President's meeting with Chou en-lai
 - -Type of meeting
 - -Attending Chinese officials
 - -Mao Tse-tung
 - -Location

US foreign relations

- -Forthcoming NSC meeting
 - -Briefing by Helms
 - -Briefing by Moorer
 - -The President's role
 - -Type of statement
 - -Connally
 - -Agnew
 - -Mitchell
 - -Rogers
 - -Laird
 - -Type of statement

US foreign economic policy

- -Meeting
 - -Attendance
 - -Connally
 - -Kissinger
 - -Connally
 - -Preparations
 - -Contact with foreign leaders

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Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

```
-Peterson
                -Connally
                     -Preparations
          -Preparations
                -State Department
                -Meeting between Connally and Kissinger
                -Shultz
                -Peterson
                     -Knowledge
          -Kissinger
                -Politics
     -Textile issue with Japan
          -US position
                -Kishi
          -Peterson
                -Group
                     -Trading with the Enemy Act
                -US communication with the PRC
                     -Impact on Japan
                -White House bureaucracy
                     -Effect on negotiations
          -US position
          -Peterson
          -Strategy
                -Meeting with Kishi
                -Textile association
                     -US position
                -Kishi
                     -US position
          -Summary
                -Congress
     -Peterson
          -Role
Item in the Oval Office
     -Greece
     -Pakistan
```

Kissinger left at 2:59 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-8 (cont.)

Conversation No. 577-9

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 3:00 pm - 3:01 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Ziegler's schedule

- -National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- -Senate

The President and Ziegler left at 3:01 pm.

Conversation No. 577-10

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:01 pm and 4:41 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] entered at an unknown time after 3:01 pm.

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-9 (cont.)

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 4:41 pm - 5:04 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

```
Supreme Court appointment
     -Justice Hugo Black
          -Health report
                -Health
                -Condition
          -Visit by the President
                -Pros and cons
                     -Effect on Black
                          -Black's health conditions
                -Recommendation by Dr. Walter R. Tkach
                -Recommendation by Black's son
                -The President's perception
                     -Visit to Black
          -Health
Helen Knowland
     -Divorce from William F. Knowland
     -Knowland's age
     -Possible reason
The President's Detroit, Michigan trip
     -Demonstrations
          -Gen. George A. Lincoln
          -Widespread nature
          -American Federal of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
                -Teachers
                -Auto workers
                -Counsel
                     -Picket line
                     -Economic policy
                     -Vietnam War
                          -Information
     -Airport
          -Hotel
          -Type of location
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-12 (cont.)

```
-Size of crowd
     -Type of press coverage
          -Use of film in broadcasts
          -Regional coverage
     -Spiro T. Agnew's projected speech
          -Film coverage
     -The President's Detroit Question and Answer [Q&A] appearance
          -National coverage
          -Time of day
          -Live coverage
          -Regional
                -Results for the administration
          -Time of day
          -John A. Scali
          -Live/local broadcast
          -Live coverage
          -Type of audience
          -Public Broadcasting Service
                -Equal time coverage
     -Forthcoming events
          -Press conference in the Oval Office
          -John B. Connally
                -Phase II
                -Announcement
                -Date
          -Office press conferences
                -Amount of news in comparison to Detroit press conference appearance
          -Television press conference
                -Issues
Detroit trip
     -Demonstrators
```

-AFL-CIO

-Labor

-Press coverage

-Precedent

-National announcement

-Decision by local authorities

-Presentation of announcement

-Live

-Possible problems

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-12 (cont.)

-Press questions -Agnew -National news

Haldeman left at 5:04 pm.

Conversation No. 577-13

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Edward J. Dwyer
-Call to the President
-Reply
-Possible note from the President

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.

Conversation No. 577-14

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person [Henry A. Kissinger?]

John B. Connally

-Location

-Conversation with the unknown person [Kissinger?]

The unknown person's [Kissinger?] schedule

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 577-15

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-98]

Conversation No. 577-16

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 5:04 pm - 5:12 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 577-16A]

[See Conversation No. 9-99; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Henry A. Kissinger entered after 5:05 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 2m 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

[End of telephone conversation]

-Podgorny

-Announcement timing

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

```
Vietnam negotiations
     -National Security Council [NSC] meeting
          -Spiro T. Agnew
          -William P. Rogers
     -Status
     -Revelations
          -Effect
          -The President's speech on October 7, 1971
PRC initiative
     -Summit trip to the PRC
          -Announcement
                -Possible date
     -Hanoi
          -Nikolai V. Podgorny
     -Trip
           -Date options
                -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
          -Kissinger's schedule
                -Trip itinerary
                     -Hawaii, Shanghai, Peking
                -Effect on negotiations
          -Date of negotiating session
                -Agreement between the US and the PRC
          -Dates
                -Order of dates
                -Flexibility of dates
                -Podgorny
                     -Hanoi, Soviet Union
Soviet Union
     -Summit meeting with the President
          -Announcement
                -Timing
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-16 (cont.)

```
Vietnam
     -Air strikes
          -Time
          -Target
     -Petroleum, oil and lubricants [POL] dumps
     -Cambodia
          -Target
               -Time
     -Air strikes
          -Weather
               -Date
     -Targets
     -Weather factor
     -Number of planes
          -Minimum
          -Maximum
     -Negotiations
          -Agnew
          -Rogers
          -Melvin R. Laird
               -Knowledge
     -Casualties
          -Number
          -Effect on negotiations
          -Hanoi
     -Blockade
          -Soviet Union
          -PRC
     -Soviet Union
     -Egon Bahr
          -Cable
               -Leonid I. Brezhnev
          -Comments about the President
                          -Détente
                               -Leaks
                    -The President's trip to the PRC
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-16 (cont.)

```
PRC initiative
     -Political attitudes within the US
          -Right wing
                -PRC trip
Vietnam
     -The President's statement
          -Foreign policy
     -The President's Administration
          -Unified Government
                -Laird
     -Alternatives In Vietnam
          -Thieu
          -Communism
     -Ngo Dinh Diem
          -Effect on US in negotiations
     -Soviet Union, PRC
     -Negotiations
          -Effect of US military actions
                -"Menu" air strike
                -Cambodia
                -Laos
                -Military standpoint
                -Diplomatic effect
                -PRC trip
                -Laos
                     -Compared to Cambodia
     -North Vietnamese
          -Date
                -Balance of negotiations
          -Laos and Cambodia
                -Attacks
                     -Timing on negotiations
                          -Laos
     -Helms
           -Timing of attacks in Vietnam
                -Date
     -Air strikes
     -Military action
          -Timing
```

-Soviet announcement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-16 (cont.)

```
-US election
          -Effect on US-PRC and US-Soviet negotiations
-US goals
-Verdun Battle during World War I
-The President's possible policy in 1965
     -Bombing
          -Escalation
          -Targets
                -Locations
                     -Compared to World War II
     -Date
-US position in negotiations
     -Speculation
          -Foreign policy
          -Domestic policy
                -Effect on the Administration
-Effect on US domestic policy
     -Saigon
-Communist rule
-Kissinger's memorandum
     -Peace talks
     -Election
     -Bombing halt
          -Time duration
-South Vietnam
     -Projected status
          -North Vietnam
     -Laird
          -Military supplies
                -Equipment
          -Congress's possible action
          -Military Supplies
                -North Vietnam
                     -Offensive
                -Tanks
                     -Laos
-Prisoner of war [POW] issue
     -Bombing
     -Effect of re-election of the President
-Effect of election on the North Vietnamese
```

-Soviet Union

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-16 (cont.)

```
-Defeat of the President in election
```

-Re-election of the President

-Polls

-Effect on negotiations

-North Vietnam position

-1968 election

-North Vietnam

-Bombing halt prior to 1968 election

-Clark M. Clifford

-W. Averell Harriman

-John N. Mitchell

-Conversation with Kissinger

-Bombing halt

-North Vietnam position

-Attitude toward the President

-Defeat

-Victory

-1972 election

-Polls

-Re-election of the President

-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement

-Summits with the PRC and the Soviet Union

-European summit

-Campaign

-Public news

-Public reaction

-Economy

-George H. Gallup polls

-Louis P. Harris polls

-Gallup Polls

-The President's position

-Percentage

Kissinger's schedule

-Meeting with Dobrynin

-Forthcoming call to the President

Kissinger left at 5:33 pm

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: September 20, 1971 Time: 5:34 pm - 6:19 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

```
The President's schedule
     -Henry A. Kissinger
     -Trip to Detroit
          -Types of press coverage
                -Electronic pool camera
                     -Tape
                          -Time of day
                -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
                     -Delay
                -Radio
                     -Live
          -National news
                -Possible problems in Detroit
               -Oval Office press conference
          -Preparation
                -John B. Connally
          -Press coverage problems
          -Media
                -Newspaper editors
                     -Questions
               -Radio
          -Film
                -Amount of work
                     -Question of impact
          -Speaking schedule
                -Dates
          -Spiro T. Agnew
                -Banquet
                -Dates
     -Disney World opening
     -Eisenhower Theater appearance
          -Date
                -Changes
          -Mamie D. Eisenhower's appearance
     -Florida
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-Eisenhower Theater
                -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
     Polls
          -George H. Gallup poll
               -Weekend results
                     -Edward M. Kennedy
                -Timing
                     -August 15, 1971 speech
                     -Approval vs. disapproval of the President's performance
                          -Points
                -Weekend
                     -Date
                -Point fluctuations
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:34 pm and 5:48 pm.
[Conversation No. 577-17A]
     Gallup poll results
          -Request
[End of telephone conversation]
     Polls
          -Gallup poll
                -Figures
                     -Timing
                     -Date
          -Louis P. Harris poll
                -Date
          -Gallup poll and Harris poll dates
          -Kennedy poll
               -Date
```

Press coverage of the President -Detroit Economic Club trip -National television -Types of questions

-Impact in polls

-National television

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-Impact
-Oval Office press conference coverage
     -Question and answer [Q&A] type sessions
-Detroit trip
     -Impact
-Radio
-Live television
     -O&A format
          -Exposure
          -Amount of work
-Commentaries
-Press planning
     -Ronald L. Ziegler
          -Handling of press poll
```

Miss America pageant winners

-The President's meeting with Miss America 1971, 1972

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:34 pm and 6:19 <u>pm</u>.

[Conversation No. 577-17B]

Request for Ziegler to join meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

```
Miss America pageant winners
     -Miss America 1971
```

- -Miss America 1972
- -Miss America 1971
- -Phyllis George
 - -Vietnam War issue
 - -Domestic issues
 - -Support for programs
 - -Reaction to the press
 - -Travel

The President's conversation with J. Edgar Hoover

- -Status of job
- -Conversation

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Confidentiality

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-John D. Ehrlichman
          -Mitchell
          -Perceptions
Ziegler entered at 5:48 pm.
     Detroit trip
          -Film coverage
               -Live coverage
                     -Timing
                     -Recent trend
               -Coverage
          -Ziegler's conversation with television executives
               -Neil Sheehan
               -Possible economic statement
                     -News value
               -New Fall television programming season
               -Month
                     -Coverage
          -Television coverage
               -Exposure
          -Radio coverage
          -Detroit Economic Club
               -Radio
          -Live coverage
               -0&A
                     -Number of cameras
               -Speech
          -Format
               -Comparison with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE] event
                    format
               -Businessmen and labor leaders
                     -Questioning
          -Film coverage of press conference
          -Impact
```

-Film coverage compared to electronic coverage of press conference

-Types of preparation

-Q&A press conference -Office press conference

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-Q&A session in Detroit
-Radio coverage
-Television coverage
-Q&A
     -Radio coverage
-Press coverage
     -Types of preparation by the administration
-Film coverage
     -Impact
     -Advantages for the administration
-Radio coverage
-Electronic camera coverage
     -News story
          -News programs
                -Time
-Media
     -O&A
          -Portland, Oregon
     -Presence of cameras
     -Q&A
          -Preparation
-Press conference
-Time differences between Washington, DC and Detroit
     -Q&A
          -Impact
          -Preparation
                -News stories
-Connally's absence
     -The President's role
     -Live coverage
     -Press conference
-Radio coverage
-Ziegler's conversation with television executives
     -Camera coverage
-Radio
     -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
     -CBS
-Attendance
```

Ziegler left at 5:57 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
Polls
     -Gallup poll from August 27-30, 1971
           -Recent percentage points
           -Date span
                -Trend
           -Percentage points
           -President's popularity rating
                -Intensity of ratings
                      -Percentage points
                      -Previous poll percentage points
                           -Changes
           -Date
                -Percentage points
                -Changes
                      -Previous poll figures
           -Date
                -Impact of People's Republic of China [PRC] summit announcement
                -Percentage points
                -Month
                -Percentage points
           -Date
                -Disapproval
                -Current points
           -Date
                -Publication of polls
     -Gallup
     -Harris
     -White House poll
           -Dwight L. Chapin
          -Lawrence M. Higby
          -Kissinger's figures
     -Poll results
           -Current trend
           -PRC trip
                -The administration's poll
                      -Percentage points
                      -Increase
                      -Comparison to Gallup
                -Differences in Gallup poll and White House poll
                      -Percentage points
     -White House poll
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-Discrepancy in comparison to Gallup
                -Telephone poll compared to field poll format
                     -Factors
                           -Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. case
                                -April-September time span
     -Type of sample
           -Harris
                -Youth
                -Blacks
                -Doctors
                -Type of poll
                -Quality of polls
                     -Types of issues
           -Possible bias
                -Gallup
                     -Comparison of figures with White House poll
           -Dates
           -Question of issues
                -The President's speech before Congress
US economic policy
     -Public perception
           -Wage and price controls
                -Continuation of process
                     -Phase II
                -Wording of the President's speech
                     -End of freeze
                           -November 13, 1971 date
                     -William L. Safire
                -Follow-up program
                     -Announcement
                           -Impact
                                -Analogy to PRC initiative
           -Lyndon B. Johnson
                -Glassboro Summit
           -Announcement
                -Alexei N. Kosygin
```

Forthcoming US-Soviet Union summit -Impact on polls

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
Polls
     -Impact of issues
          -PRC trip
          -Intentions
     -Leadership perception
     -Public reaction
Campaigning
Detroit trip
     -National television
          -Effect
          -Demonstrations
          -Public awareness of issue
                -National Security Council [NSC] meeting
          -Effect
     -West Coast
          -Portland, Oregon
          -Q&A format
                -White House press
                     -Types of questions
          -Electronic coverage
          -Microphones
Supreme Court
     -The President's appointment of judges
          -Ideology
     -Liberals
     -The President's choice
          -Reactions to choices
     -Patrick J. Buchanan's recommendations
          -Richard H. Poff
                -Conservatism of nominee
                -The South
                -Full court
                     -Number
                -Democrats
                     -Timing
                           -Robert P. Griffin
                     -Election year
                     -Democrat senators
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

```
-Reaction
           -Election year
           -Mitchell
           -Warren E. Burger, Harry M. Blackmun
           -Strict constructionism
           -Burger's speech at Georgetown Center
           -Senate
           -Further appointment
                -Ethnic Catholic
                     -Italians
                     -Irish
                     -Polish
           -Routing to Mitchell
-Italian judge
     -Unknown person
-Polish judge
-Protestant
     -Catholic
     -William French Smith
           -Conservatism
```

Romana Acosta Banuelos

-Catholic

-Swearing-in ceremony

-Conservatism

-Effect of naming Hispanic to post of Treasurer of the US

Buchanan's memorandum

-Mitchell

The President and Haldeman left at 6:19 pm.

Conversation No. 577-18

Date: September 20, 1971

Time: 6:19 pm

Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 577-17 (cont.)

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Federal Statute] [Duration: 17s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
