

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 679-1

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 7:55 am - 8:03 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

The President's forthcoming meeting with the Republican Congressional Leadership

- -Welfare reform and revenue sharing
 - -Briefing paper
 - -Charls E. Walker
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -Wallace F. Bennett
 - -John W. Byrnes
- -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
 - -Alexander P. Butterfield
 - -William E. Timmons
- -Welfare reform and revenue sharing
 - -Bennett
 - -Committee bill
 - -Ehrlichman's view

ITT case

- -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -Dita D. Beard's doctor
 - -Meeting with Ehrlichman
 - -Prospects
- -Beard
 - -Testimony
 - -Roman L. Hruska
 - -Marlow W. Cook
 - -Philip A. Hart
 - -Edward M. Kennedy
 - -Birch E. Bayh, Jr.
 - -Witnesses
 - -Jack N. Anderson
 - -Anderson's assitant
 - -Questioning
 - -Cook
 - -Type

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Dick Herman

-Contributions

-Circumstances

-Statement issued

-Convention

-San Diego

-Republicans

-Testimony

-Memorandum

-Talk with Ehrlichman

Stephen B. Bull entered at 8:03 am.

Cabinet Room meeting
-Republican Congressional leaders

The President, Ehrlichman, and Bull left at 8:03 am.

Conversation No. 679-16

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:03 am and 9:58 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] agents met.

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

[Unintelligible]

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 8:03 and 9:58 am.

[Conversation 679-16A]

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 9:58 am.

Conversation No. 679-2

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 9:58 am - 10:02 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. Allen Smith, Clark MacGregor, and William E. Timmons.

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[General conversation]
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-Photographs

John W. Byrnes

-Possible meeting with MacGregor

-John D. Ehrlichman

Busing

- -Constitutional amendment
- -MacGregor
 - -Meeting with Timmons, Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz and Gerald R. Ford

Congressional activities

- -The President's view
 - -Democratic National Convention
 - -Republican National Convention
- -Appropriations Bill
 - -Speaker of the House [Carl B. Albert]
 - -Conclusion of business
 - -Timing
 - -Republican National Convention
 - -Leslie C. Arends

-Roman L. Hruska

- -Dinner
 - -Wallace F. Bennett
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -The People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - -American public opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Smith, MacGregor, and Timmons left at 10:02 am.

Conversation No. 679-3

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown after 10:02 am until 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Earl L. Butz and Richard E. Lyng
-National Advisory Committee on Child Nutrition Report
-Timing
-Press briefing
-Length of meeting

Butterfield left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 679-4

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: 10:07 am - 10:48 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

The People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Taiwan, Republic of China

-James L. Buckley

-Talk with Kissinger

-William F. Buckley, Jr.

-The President's talk with Chou En-Lai

-US presence in Asia

-Communique

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-William Buckley -James Buckley's view ************************* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration: 24s] **TAIWAN** END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 *********************** -Message from PRC -Kissinger's view -PRC acceptance of delegation -Establishment of communications channel -State Department Greece US military aid **PRC** -Letter to Mao Tse-tung -Letter to Chou En-lai -Statements by non-White House personnel -William P. Rogers -Press -House of Representatives and Senate -Number of responses to statements -Vietnam -Bombing -The President's meeting with Chou En-lai -Postponement of meeting between the US and North Vietnam -Chinese reaction

> -North Vietnamese -Significance of timing -Offensive

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-The President's view
                          -Public opinion
                     -Kissinger's view
                          -Le Duc Tho
                                -Peking And Moscow
                          -Chinese
                          -Rogers
                          -Hugh Scott's statement
US recognition of Bangladesh
     -Statement by the State Department
     -Announcement
          -Rogers
          -The President's view
          -Timing
                -Kissinger's view
                     -Possible Congressional action
                     -Mujibur Rahman
                          -Communiqué with the Soviet Union
                     -PRC
          -India
     -Unknown country
PRC
     -PRC relations with the US
Vietnam
     -Postponement of meeting
     -Kissinger's forthcoming trip to Paris
          -Timing
                -Rogers's forthcoming trip to South America
                     -Kissinger's talk with the Israeli ambassador
                          -Soviet negotiations
Newsweek article
     -Rogers
          -State Department
               -Morale
                     -Joseph McCarthy era
                -Kissinger's talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
                     -Joseph W. and Stewart J. O. Alsop
                          -The PRC trip
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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-Report in Time magazine
                                -Chinese officials
                                     -Questions on treatment of Rogers
          -Interaction with PRC officials
                -The President's role
                     -Chou En-lai
                -Kissinger's role
                     -Shanghai
                     -Shanghai Communiqué
                          -Marshall Green
           -Source of recent stories
           -Replacement
                -Stewart Alsop
                -[David] Kenneth Rush
     -News summary
          -Newsweek
          -Time magazine
          -The President's preparation for the PRC trip
           -Shanghai Communiqué
          -London Times
          -Writers
                -Kissinger's view
                     -John F. Kennedy
                          -Television
     -John A. Scali
PRC trip
     -Presidential image
          -Toasts
          -Meetings
          -Kissinger's previous conversation with Haldeman
          -Kissinger's call to a television producer on the West Coast
                -Chou En-lai
     -Rogers
Kissinger's schedule
The President's schedule
     -Forthcoming presentation of the National Advisory Committee on Child Nutrition
          Report
          -Time
     -Florida
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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

*********************************** BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 19s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 *********************************** International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case Haldeman entered at 10:28 am. State Department -Joseph and Stewart Alsop -Rogers's press conference The President's schedule -Possible meeting with Rogers -Timing -Congress -Status of Secretary of State -The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung -The President's meeting with congressional leadership -Rogers -Previous meeting with Haldeman -Alsop -State Department -Statements about the PRC trip -Shanghai Communiqué -Green -Time magazine -Chinese perception of Rogers -Articles critical of Rogers -Newsweek

Kissinger's schedule

-Meeting with John B. Connally

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
Press
     -Local press
     -News summary
          -American public opinion
     -News magazines
     -Ronald L. Ziegler
     -Writing press
     -Television
     -State Department
          -Rogers
                -The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung
                     -Questions from Congress
                     -Administration strategy for negotiations
                -Plenary sessions
                -Chou En-lai
                -Foreign ministers
          -White House
                -Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
          -Statements
           -Rogers
                -Congressional leaders
                -Cabinet
                -Time and Newsweek
                -Issue
                     -Significance
                -Secretaries of State
                     -Previous Presidential trips
                           -Dean Rusk
                                -John F. Kennedy
                                     -Europe
                                     -Nassau
                          -John Foster Dulles
                                -Dwight D. Eisenhower
                           -Rogers
                                -The President's previous trips
                                     -Asia
                                     -Vietnam
                                     -Romania
                -The President's view
                -Meeting with the President
                     -Haldeman's participation
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-W[illiam]Stuart Symington

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- -Eisenhower's support of the President
- -Haldeman's view
- -Kissinger's view
 - -Previous Secretaries of State
- -Bureaucracy
- -Rogers
 - -Congressional leaders meeting
 - -John D. Ehrlichman's reaction
 - -Meeting with State Department officials
 - -Emil ("Bus") Mosbacher, Jr.
 - -Foreign minister-level discussions
 - -Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
 - -Andrei A. Gromyko
 - -The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung
 - -Chou En-lai
 - -The President's forthcoming meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - -Rogers's participation
 - -The President's meetings with foreign ministers
 - -Receiving lines
 - -Plenary sessions
 - -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
 - -Max Frankel
 - -Press
 - -Joseph Alsop
 - -State Department statements
 - -The President's PRC trip
 - -Shanghai Communiqué
 - -Stewart Alsop
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -Kissinger's backgrounder
 - -The President's forthcoming meeting with Rogers
 - -The President's view
 - -Benjamin C. Bradlee
 - -Rogers's meeting with editorial staff of the Washington Post
 - -The President's view
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Rogers compared to Clark M. Clifford

State Department

- -Cambodia
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Settlement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Sihanoukville
-Vietnam
-Vietnam
-PRC
-The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung
-Rogers

Kissinger left at 10:47 am.

The President's schedule
-Charles W. Colson
-Unknown man
-Meeting
-Time
-The President's view
-State dinner for Nihat Erim, March 21, 1972

Haldeman left at 10:48 am.

Conversation No. 679-5

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 10:48 am - 10:49 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Meeting
-National Advisory Committee on Child Nutrition
-Handshaking
-Press photograph

Bull left at 10:49 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: 10:49 am - 10:57 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield, Bennett Applegate, Ruth Huenemann, Jacqueline Johnson, Josephine Martin, John F. Murphy, Dale Farnell, Edward Schwartzkopf, Cola D. Watson, Roger Whitcomb, Richard E. Lyng, Edward J. Hekman, Herbert D. Rorex and Russell H. James; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

[General conversation]

Introductions

-Members of the National Advisory Committee on Child Nutrition

Report on child nutrition

- -Committee's work
- -Congress
- -Quality
- -Time
- -Nutrition

Gifts to the committee

The committee's work

-Earl L. Butz

[General conversation]

Applegate, et al. left at 10:57 am.

Meeting concluded

Butterfield left at 10:57 am.

Conversation No. 679-7

Date: March 7, 1972

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Time: 10:57 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 21-8]

Conversation No. 679-8

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: 10:57 am - 12:31 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Florida trip

-Rest

-The People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

The President talked with Timothy G. Elbourne between 10:57 am and 10:58 am.

[Conversation No. 679-8A]

[See Conversation No. 21-9]

[End of telephone conversation]

William P. Rogers

-The President's view

-The President's remarks at Andrews Air Force Base, February 28, 1972

-The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung

-Chou En-lai

-Newsweek

-Press clippings

-State Department

The President's schedule

-John B. Connally meeting

-Time

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-Meeting on economic issues
                -Wage Board and Price Commission
     -Rogers meeting
          -The President's view
                -Haldeman
                     -Possible line
          -Henry A. Kissinger
                -Backgrounder
                     -Haldeman's view
Rogers
     -PRC trip
          -Mao Tse-tung meeting
                -Rogers's attendance
     -Press
          -Marshall Green
          -Stewart J. O. Alsop [?]
                -Kissinger
                -State Department
     -Stewart Alsop [?] and Kissinger
     -Columnists
          -Understanding of totalitarian society
                -Role of foreign minister
     -Kissinger
          -The President's view
                -John A. Scali
     -Work with Congress
     -Press conference
     -Haldeman's view
     -Bryce N. Harlow
     -Kissinger
International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
     -Television coverage
     -Dita Beard memorandum
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-Press

-Beard's doctor

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 1m 12s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 *********************************** The President's schedule -Patrick J. Buchanan -Meeting 1972 campaign -High School poll -Detroit Free Press ****************************** BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 37s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 *********************************** -Votes -Dixville Notch, New Hampshire

American Broadcasting Company [ABC] news documentary
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
-PRC trip

-The President

-Edmund S. Muskie -George S. McGovern

-News shows -Democrats

-Republicans

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-Timing
          -Kissinger
Rogers
     -Kissinger
          -Shanghai Communiqué
     -Scali
          -Marvin L. [?] Kalb
          -Ziegler, Richard A. Moore
                -Talk with Haldeman
Schools
     -Neil H. McElroy Commission
          -Report
                -Multiracial experience
                     -Blacks
                     -Mexicans
                     -Jews
                     -Catholics
                     -Christian Scientists
ITT case
     -Strategy
          -Charles W. Colson
     -Big business
     -Press reports
          -Coverage
                -White House involvement
     -Campaign
     -Beard
          -Memorandum
          -Lobbyists
                -Compared to Congressional staff
Television publicity for the PRC trip
     -ABC news documentary
          -Mrs. Nixon
          -Possible perception
          -Report to the nation
     -Rogers
          -Television appearances
     -Kissinger
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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-Rogers
          -The President
          -Marvin L. Kalb
                -Herbert G. Klein
                -Television
                     -Haldeman's view
                          -Timing
                          -PRC trip
     -Rogers
          -Television appearance
                -Sunday talk shows
                     -New Hampshire primary
                     -Florida primary
                     -Kissinger
                     -PRC
                     -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
                     -John N. Ashbrook
Rogers
     -Previous talk with Haldeman
     -Stewart Alsop [?] article
     -State Department
     -PRC trip
          -Columnists
          -Kissinger
          -Rogers's meeting with Chou En-lai
          -State Department's view
                -Taiwan, Republic of China
                -Japan
                -Korea
                -Soviet Union
                -Connally's view
                     -Haldeman's view
     -Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
          -Plenary session
          -Leonid I. Brezhnev
                -Compared to Mao Tse-tung
          -Planning sessions
                -Kissinger
                -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
     -Meeting with the President
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-Planning sessions for PRC trip

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Marshall Green

-State Department

-Session on biological warfare

-Loyalty

-White House

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman at an unknown time between 10:58 am and 11:35 am.

[Conversation No. 679-8B]

Request for Ehrlichman to come to the Oval Office

[End of telephone conversation]

Buchanan

-Possible resignation

-Shelley A. (Scarney) Buchanan

-Kissinger, Ehrlichman and Haldeman meeting

-Buchanan's career potential

-Editorial writer

-St. Louis Globe-Democrat

-Chicago Tribune

-Richard Blumentahal [?]

Ehrlichman entered at 11:35 am.

The President left at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:41 am.

-Meeting with Haldeman -Possible resignation -Shelley Buchanan

The President re-entered at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:41 am.

-Resignation of staff members

-The President's view

-Possible resignation

-Haldeman's view

-Role in PRC trip

-Shanghai Communiqué

-Toasts

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-Take-off speeches
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-Hawaii

-Guam

-Arrival statements

-Alaska

-Writing skill

-Arrival statement

-Staff as consultants

-The President's view

-Speechwriting

-Press relations

-Possible resignation

-Lack of substantive work

-News summaries

-Press conferences

-Memoranda

-Ehrlichman

Kissinger entered at 11:41 am.

PRC trip

-Connally

-Forthcoming talk with Kissinger

-Shanghai Communiqué

-Rogers

-State Department

-Secretaries of State

-Presence on trips

-Rogers's efforts at previous summits

-The President's meeting with Georges J. R. Pompidou

-Azores

-Kissinger's efforts

-Connally

PRC Trip

-Rogers

-Status of PRC Foreign Minister

-Rogers possible meeting with Chou En-lai

-Secretaries Of State

-Andrei A. Gromyko

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Politburo

- -Chinese
 - -Rogers and Kissinger
- -The President's first meeting with Chou En-lai
- -Rogers's meeting with the PRC Foreign Minister
 - -US presence in Asia
- -The President's initial speech
 - -Chou En-lai
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Rogers
- -Rogers's statements
 - -Cabinet meeting
 - -US presence in Asia
 - -Africa
- -Memoranda of conversations
 - -Timing
 - -John H. Holdridge
 - -Winston Lord
 - -Green

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security] [Duration: 41s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

- -Rogers's meeting with Chou En-lai
- -State Department
 - -Chinese
 - -Time Magazine
 - -Hugh S. Sidey
 - -Kissinger
 - -Green

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Shanghai Communiqué

- -The President's view
 - -Meeting with foreign leaders
 - -Latin America
 - -Leaks
- -The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung
- -Soviet summit
 - -Rogers
 - -State Department
 - -Previous talk with Haldeman
 - -Forthcoming meeting with the President

Issues facing the President

- -Foreign policy
- -Busing
- -Welfare reform
- -The President's forthcoming meeting with Rogers
- -Re-election
- -ITT case
 - -John N. Mitchell

PRC Trip

- -The President's meetings with Chou En-lai
- -Mao Tse-tung
- -Ceremonies
- -Rogers
 - -Shanghai Communiqué
 - -Meeting with Haldeman
 - -Kissinger
 - -Changes to the communiqué
 - -Politburo
 - -Drafting
 - -October draft
 - -Concessions
 - -Taiwan
- -Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
 - -Foreign policy
 - -White House
 - -State Department
- -Media
 - -State Department's efforts
- -Significance

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-India-Pakistan war

-Rogers

-Press conference

-Taiwan

-Memorandum

- -Report on foreign policy
- -Kissinger's view-Connally
- -Meeting with Kissinger
- -Meeting with Haldeman
- -The President's meeting with Pompidou

-Azores

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:41 am.

Forthcoming promotion ceremonies

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:02 pm.

Busing

-Constitutional amendment

-Congressional leaders

-Blacks

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Barbara E. Haig, Alonzo Fox, John K. Andrews, John V. Brennan and Bull entered at 12:02 pm; the White House photographer was present.

Greetings

Photographs

Beard

-Doctor's testimony

Haig's work

Haig, et al., except Bull left at 12:04 pm.

The President's schedule

-Vernon C. Coffey, Jr. and family

Bull left and Coffey, Sarah Coffey, Karen Coffey, Vernon C. Coffey, III, Craig Coffey, Andrews, Brennan, and Brig. Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft entered at 12:04 pm; the White House

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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photographer was present.
     Greetings
     Photographs
     Haig
     Coffey's promotion
     Presentation of gifts
     Vacation
Coffey, et al. left at 12:09 pm.
     The President's advisors
          -Soviet trip
          -Buchanan
          -William L. Safire
          -The President's consultation with advisors
                -Ehrlichman's experience
                     -Busing
                           -Leaks
                                -Moratorium
                                -Constitutional amendment
          -Buchanan, Raymond K. Price, Jr., Safire, Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
                -Leaks
          -State Department
     PRC trip
          -McGeorge Bundy's view
          -Rogers
```

-The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung

Cabinet

-Relationship with Presidents

-Media coverage

-Speculation

- -Abraham Lincoln
- -Dwight D. Eisenhower

-Media reaction

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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-John F. Kennedy
               -Lyndon B. Johnson
               -Harry S. Truman
                     -Dean G. Acheson
                -Franklin D. Roosevelt
               -Eisenhower
                     -Dulles
                          -Trips
          -Rogers
          -State Department
               -Record of meeting
                     -Leaks
               -Rogers
                     -Briefing by Kissinger
     Busing
Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.
          -Forthcoming paper
               -Language
          -McElroy Commission report
               -Day care centers
          -School districts
               -Reorganization into multi-racial schools
                     -McElroy
                     -James S. Coleman
                     -George P. Shultz
                     -Governor of Virginia
                     -Haldeman
                     -The Presdent's experience
                          -Athletics
                               -Nathaniel George
                               -William Brock
                     -Coleman
                     -Burden on schools
                     -Gerald R. Ford
                          -Letter
                               -J. Stanley Pottinger
                                     -Edward L. Morgan
                                     -Unknown lawyer
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-John Foster Dulles

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

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Campaign spending
        -Regulations
            -Elmer B. Staats
            -Laws
        -Republicans
        -Veto
    Social security
        -Possible increase
            -The President's possible approval
            -Shultz
            -Legislation
                 -Clark MacGregor
            -Possible Ehrlichman, Shultz, Ford, Leslie C. Arends, Robert P. Griffin, Hugh
                 Scott meeting
*****************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 24s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
**********************************
    1972 campaign
        -New Hampshire primary
            -Japanese Government lobbyists
            -Wilbur D. Mills
                 -Connally
                     -Milk producers
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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 47s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

General Motors [GM]
-James M. Roche
-Richard C. Gerstenberg
-Possible meeting with the President
-Shultz

Haldeman and Ehrlichman left at 12:31 pm.

Conversation No. 679-9

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:31 pm and 12:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Richard C. Gerstenberg
-John D. Ehrlichman
-Photographs

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:40 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:31 pm and 12:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

- -Executive Office Building [EOB]
- -Briefcase
- -Time

-Forthcoming meeting with Richard C. Gerstenberg

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:40 pm.

Conversation No. 679-11

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: 12:40 pm - 12:43 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with James M. Roche, Richard C. Gerstenberg, John D. Ehrlichman, and George P. Shultz.

Greetings

The President's recent trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]

Photographs

Anti-trust

-Lobbyists

New York Times article

- -General Motors [GM]
 - -Unknown writer [Shanahan?]
 - -Current administration
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson administration

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

GM

- -Sales
- -Production
- -Productivity

-Amount of work performed in each hour of workday

The President, et al. left at 12:43 pm.

Conversation No. 679-17

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:43 pm and 3:01 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] agents met.

[Unintelligible]

The President's location

-Executive Office Building [EOB]

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:43 and 3:01 pm.

[Conversation 679-17A]

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 3:01 pm.

Conversation No. 679-12

Date: March 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:01 pm and 3:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with George P. Shultz

Busing

-Proposal

-William E. Timmons

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 679-13

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 3:05 pm - 4:43 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with John B. Connally, George P. Shultz, and Herbert Stein.

Arthur F. Burns's schedule

-Central bank meeting

-Switzerland

-Federal Reserve Board [FRB] staff

West Germany and France

- -Burns's [?] sppech
- -Interest rates
- -Gold

Social Security

- -Spending ceiling
 - -Gold bill
 - -Debt ceiling
 - -Willy Brandt
 - -Treasury Department
 - -Social Security
 - -Debt ceiling

-House of Representatives

-Tax bill

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Social Security increase
     -Connally's view
          -Wilbur D. Mills
          -Wages
          -Inflation
          -Civilian federal employees
     -Mills
          -Florida primary
          -Hubert H. Humphrey [?]
     -Democrats
          -Proposals
          -Senior citizens
               -Support for the President
          -Congress
               -Tax
          -Deficit
     -Inflation
     -Testimony by Shultz and Connally
          -Cost of living raise
                -Mills
     -William E. Timmons and Clark MacGregor
     -Mills's proposal
          -Tax change
               -Wage base increase
          -House Resolution [HR] 1
          -Timing
     -Elliot L. Richardson's proposal
          -Mills
          -HR 1
          -Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
     -Gerald R. Ford
     -MacGregor and Timmons
          -Representatives and Senators
          -The President's experience
     -Russell B. Long
     -Taxes
          -Mills
     -Timing
          -Walter F. Mondale
          -Senate Finance Committee
               -HR 1
     -Popular opinion
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- -Inflation
- -Business people
 - -Shultz's previous conversation with Bryce N. Harlow
- -Wallace F. Bennett
 - -The President's disapproval
- -Senior citizens
 - -Stein's view
 - -Appropriation of monies
- -Timing
 - -Ronald L. Zeigler
- -Connally
- -Shultz
- -Richardson
 - -Department of Health and Education and Welfare [HEW]
 - -Mills
 - -Cost of living increases
- -Taxes compared to benefits
- -Full employment budget
 - -Inflation
 - -Senior citizens
- -Administration position
 - -Congress
 - -No increase in spending
 - -Arthur S. Flemming
 - -Gilbert Carmichael
 - -Cost of living
 - -Inflation
 - -Wage and Price Boards
 - -Deficit
 - -Compared to veto of previous education bill
 - -National Education Association [NEA]
 - -Senior citizens

Budget

- -Other forthcoming spending measures
 - -Higher education bill
 - -Veto
 - -Senior citizens compared to educators
 - -Water quality authorization bill
 - -John D. Ehrlichman
 - -Environment
 - -Edmund S. Muskie

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-The President's view
                         -Potomac River cleanup
                              -Expense
                     -Navy
                         -Dumping problems
                              -Expense
                                  -Compared to the net impact
        -Defense
            -Air Force and Army
    Social Security
            -Richardson
            -Troika
            -Paper
            -Tax rate increases
                 -HR 1
            -Administration position
                 -Election
                     -Deficits
            -Stein
            -Mills
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 5s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
***********************************
    Budget
        -Shultz \\
        -Connally
            -Environmental bill
                 -Shultz's memorandum to the President
```

-Ehrlichman

-Environmental issue

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Expense
-Timing
-Congress
```

Economy

- -Social Security
- -Wage and price controls
 - -Longshoremen strike
 - -Pay Board
 - -Harry Bridges
 - -J. Curtis Counts
 - -Bridges
 - -Previous agreements with longshoremen
 - -Previous practices
 - -Stealing
 - -Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - -Connally
 - -Previous agreement

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:43 pm.

Labor relations

- -Longshoremen strike
 - -Bridges
 - -West Coast docks
 - -Unemployment compensation
 - -Military cargo
 - -Possible legal measures
 - -Injunction
 - -Strike fund
 - -John L. Lewis
 - -Gridiron dinner

-The President as a congressman

- -Labor support of administration
 - -I[lorwith] W[ilbur] Abel
 - -Construction industry
 - -Wages
 - -Pay Board

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Possible labor walk-off
                -International Brotherhood of Teamsters
                -Shultz's forthcoming meeting with Frank E. Fitzsimmons
-Fitzsimmons
-The President's return from the People's Republic of China [PRC]
     -Meeting with Connally
-Economy
     -Social Security
     -Rising cost of living
     -Business confidence
     -Consumer confidence
     -Bridges
     -Employers
-Employment figures
     -Stevedores
-Contingency plan
     -OMB
     -Justice Department
     -Use of military
          -National Guard
          -Compared to Postal Service strike
          -Units with experience from Vietnam
                -Naval Construction Battalions [Seebees]
                     -Saigon compared to Los Angeles
                                     -Military cargo
                -Defense Department
-Bridges
     -Thomas W. ("Teddy") Gleason
          -East Coast docks
     -Possible national strike
-Use of military
     -Troops in Postal Service strike
-Forthcoming meeting with George Meany
-Possible task force
     -Possible chairman
          -Rumsfeld
          -Shultz
          -Rumsfeld
                -Labor
                -Cost of Living Council [COLC]
```

-Contingency plan

-Justice Department

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Defense Department

- -Rumsfeld
- -OMB

Busing

- -Moratorium
- -Importance as an issue

Economy

- -Minimum wage legislation
 - -Future
 - -Increase
 - -Democrats
 - -Labor
 - -Level of increase
 - -William M. Colmer
 - -Republicans
 - -Conservative Democrats
 - -Increase
 - -Timing of increase
 - -Wage controls
 - -Economic Stabilization Act
 - -Wage controls
 - -Low income group

-COLC

- -Youth minimum wage differential
 - -Youth vote
 - -Youth unemployment
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson
 - -Detroit unemployment project
 - -Amount
 - -Cost of living
 - -Level comparable to working poor
- -Compared to sweat shops
- -Youth unemployment
 - -Percentage
- -Amount of increase
 - -Youth differential
- -Legislation
 - -Possible veto
- -Amount of proposed increase
 - -Mills

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- -Coverage
 - -Extension
- -Bargaining
 - -Extension of coverage
 - -Youth differential
 - -Amount of increase
 - -The President's view

-COLC

- -The President's view
 - -Possible veto
 - -Extension of coverage
 - -Youth differential
 - -Amount of increase
- -Unemployment insurance amendments
 - -Unemployment figures
- -Possible report from Stein
 - -Memoranda
 - -White House
 - -Shultz
 - -Connally
 - -Rumsfeld proposition
- -Retail sales figures
 - -General Motors [GM]
 - -Manufacturing
 - -Wage and price controls
 - -Expansion of government spending
- -Environment
 - -Navy
 - -Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
 - -Air Force
 - -Army
- -Income tax
- -Consumer confidence
 - -Unknown person
- -New York
- -Western Europe
- -Payroll
- -Equipment expenditures
- -Orders for capital goods
- -Orders for manufactured goods
- -Orders for durable goods
- -Increase in orders

Tape Subject Log

- -Employment
- -Domestic automotive sales
- -Financial position of consumers
- -Leading indicators
- -Unemployment insurance
- -Manufacturing layoffs
- -Housing starts
- -Housing permits
- -Mortgage lending institutions
- -Savings
- -Standard and Poor's Index of stock prices
- -Dow Jones
- -Weekly earnings
- -Consumer Price Index [CPI]
- -Unemployment
- -Money supply
- -Interest rates
 - -Decline
- -Retail sales
- -Merchandise trade
 - -Balance of payments
 - -Imports
 - -Exports
- -Confidence in business community
 - -Consumer index
- -Interest rates
 - -Burns
- -Money supply
- -Convertability
 - -Administration position
 - -Wall Street
 - -International bankers
 - -Jelle Zijistra
 - -Balance of payments
 - -Stein
 - -Connally
 - -Burns
 - -Hobart Rowen
 - -Stein
 - -Memoranda
 - -The President
 - -Shultz

Tape Subject Log

```
-Connally
          -Report
          -Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
               -Ezra Solomon
               -[Marina von N. Whitman]
               -Burns
                     -Value added tax [VAT]
               -The President's view
                     -Example of foreign policy advisors
                          -Henry A. Kissinger
                     -Economists
               -Forthcoming meeting in New York
                     -Figures
-Connally
-Social Security
-Connally's previous meeting with C. Jackson ("Don") Grayson, Jr.
     -Price Commission
          -Utilities
               -Regulatory agencies
                     -Federal Power Commission
               -Telephone companies
               -Connally's view
                     -Tier 1
                     -Tier 2
               -First quarter reports
               -Semi-annual reports
     -OPM
     -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
     -Defense Department
          Melvin R. Laird
     -IRS
          -Audits
-The President's schedule
     -Forthcoming meeting
          -Connally, Shultz, Stein
-Social Security
     -Congress
     -MacGregor and Ehrlichman
-Minimum wage issue
-Longshoremen's strike
     -Task force
     -Meany
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- -Social Security
 - -Senior citizens
 - -Issues
 - -Wage and price controls
 - -Busing
 - -Budget
 - -Cost of living
- -Stock market
 - -Stein
 - -Standard and Poor's
 - -Dow Jones

Meeting

- -The President's view
 - -Quadriad
- -Burns
- -Schedules
- -Invitees
 - -CEA

Connally, Shultz, and Stein left at 4:43 pm.

Conversation No. 679-14

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 4:43 pm - 4:44 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with William P. Rogers

Bull left at 4:44 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: March 7, 1972 Time: 4:44 pm - 6:18 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press briefing questions
-The President's decision on busing
-Florida primary
-Possible influence
-Timing

Ziegler left and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 4:45 pm.

```
Article on State Department

-Washington Star

-Morale

-Foreign Service Officer quoted

-McCarthy period

-Compared to the President's administration

-William P. Rogers

-The President's meeting with Mao Tse-tung

-Henry A. Kissinger

-White House influence

-John N. Irwin, II

-George Sherman

-The President's achievements
```

Polls

-George H. Gallup
-Percentage
-The President's popularity
-The President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
-World peace
-Comparison to White House poll

Stock market

-Points

-Economic indicators

The President's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Executive Order release [E.O. 11652]
-Security classification
-Congressional hearings
-Signing ceremony
-State Department, Defense Department, Justice Department, Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], Atomic Energy Commission
[AEC], and National Security Council [NSC]

Polls

- -The President's popularity
- -PRC trip
- -Glassboro Summit
- -Louis P. Harris synopsis
- -PRC trip
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan [?]
 - -Effect on Americans
 - -The right wing

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 2m 8s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:45 pm.

Meeting with Rogers

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

Rogers entered at 4:56 pm.

Rogers's schedule

- -Press conference
- -Testimony [?]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:56 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:59 pm.

Rogers

- -Previous meeting with Haldeman
- -Foreign policy
 - -The administration
 - -The President's leadership
- -The PRC trip
 - -State Department
 - -Morale
 - -Mao Tse-tung
 - -Chinese
 - -Time and Newsweek
- -Campaign
 - -Rogers's role
 - -Mail
- -State Department bureaucracy
 - -John Foster Dulles
 - -Dean Rusk
 - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - -New York Times
 - -Irwin
 - -Compared to Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -Busing
 - -Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
 - -George W. Romney

State Department

- -Support for the President's policies and Rogers
 - -The PRC trip
- -Marshall Green
- -Joseph J. Sisco
- -Martin J. Hillenbrand
- -David D. Newsom
- -Lower officials
 - -Secretary of State

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-The administration

-Canada

```
-Vietnam
                 -Cambodia
                 -Press
        -U. Alexis Johnson
        -Rogers
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 19s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
***************************
    State Department
        -Press
             -Washington Star story
        -The President's public appearance
             -The PRC trip
        -Diplomats
             -Interaction with the White House
             -Implementing policy
                 -Green
        -The President's meeting with James C. H. Shen
             -Chiang Kai-Shek
                 -Green
    Rogers's schedule
        -Rogers's possible Latin American trip
             -Moscow
             -Administration
                 -Opposition to generalized trade preferences
                     -John B. Connally
             -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Organization of American States [OAS] meeting

```
OAS meeting
     -The President's possible attendance
          -Possible dinner
                -Mount Vernon, Virginia
                     -Sequoia
                     -Schedule of meeting
                          -The President's forthcoming trip to California
                                -The President's forthcoming trip to Canada
                                -Timing of dinner
The President's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
     -Rogers's role
          -White House staff
                -PRC Trip
          -Middle East
          -European security council
          -Advance work for trip
                -Hillenbrand
                -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
                -European trips
                     -National Security Council [NSC] role
                     -Contacts with foreign governments
                     -Protocol office
                     -Communications and security
                     -Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
                     -Ronald H. Walker
          -Message
     -Compared to PRC trip
     -The President's accommodations
          -Guest house
          -US embassy
          -Guest house
                -Jane Thompson
                     -Redecoration
                -The President's accommodations in Romania
                -The President's accommodations in Yugoslavia
          -Embassy
                -The President's previous meeting with Llewellyn E. ("Tommy")
```

Thompson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Rogers's role

- -Plenary session
 - -Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - -Mao Tse-tung
 - -Rogers's possible meetings with Aleksei N. Kosygin and Andrei A. Gromyko
 - -Brezhnev and Kosygin's participation in meetings
 - -Willy Brandt's experience
 - -Brezhnev's possible hosting of dinners
 - -Subjects to discuss
 - -Contrasted with PRC talks
 - -Trade
 - -Grain sales
 - -Middle East
 - -European Security Conference
 - -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - -Announcements

-Hillenbrand

- -Possible appointment as US Ambassador to Germany
- -Participation in Soviet trip
- -Rogers's role
 - -Supervision of Soviet trip
 - -Kissinger
 - -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Kissinger
 - -The President's possible meeting with Dobrynin
 - -NSC staff
 - -State Department role
 - -White House role
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -Kissinger's role
 - -State Department
 - -NSC
 - -PRC trip
 - -Substantive discussions
 - -Kissinger
 - -Working groups
 - -The President's meeting with Chou En-lai
 - -Brezhnev
 - -Kosygin
 - -Gromyko

Tape Subject Log

- -The President's meeting with Brezhnev
 - -The President's meeting with Chou En-lai
- -Kosygin, Gromyko
 - -Roles
- -Cabinet participation
 - -Earl L. Butz
 - -Grain
 - -Peter G. Peterson
 - -Trade
 - -Political effects
 - -Economic effects
- -Kosygin
 - -Trade
 - -Computers
- -Soviet negotiating style
 - -Compared to the PRC trip
- -Schedule of meetings
 - -Talks
 - -Announcements
 - -Rogers's role
 - -News impact
 - -Press briefings
- -Date of arrival
- -Rogers's forthcoming meeting with Gromyko
- -Meetings
- -Press conferences
- -State Department's view of the PRC trip
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -Green
 - -Alfred LeS. Jenkins
 - -Green
 - -Kissinger's briefing
 - -ShanghaiCommunique
 - -Press coverage
 - -Marshall Green
 - -Lower officials
 - -Quotes
- -State Department
 - -Support for the President
- -Romania and Yugoslavia
 - -Invitations for Rogers
- -The President's forthcoming trip to Iran

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Rogers's possible trip to Poland
     -Domestic impact of trip
-Rogers's possible trip to Czechoslovakia
-Invitations for Rogers
     -Poland
     -Yugoslavia
     -Romania
-Travel by the Secretary of State
     -Eastern Europe
     -Latin America
     -Poland
     -Romania
          -Security
     -NATO
     -Romania
          -Timing
                -The forthcoming Soviet trip
                -Announcement of trip
     -Poland
     -Possible meeting with Giovanni Battista Motini [Pope Paul VI]
          -NATO
     -Middle East
          -Jews
                -Support for the President
                     -Unknown person
                          -Phantoms
                     -Max M. Fisher
                     -John N. Mitchell
                     -The President's view
                          -Democrats
                                -Phantoms
                          -Soviet Union
                     -The President's meeting with Yitzah Rabin
                     -The President's view
                          -Example of 1970 crises in Jordan
                                -Sixth Fleet
                                -Soviet Union
                          -Soviet Union
                                -Egypt
                          -Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M.
                                Kennedy
```

-Poland

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

-Romania

The President's forthcoming trip to Canada

-Rogers's role

-OAS meeting

-The President's schedule

-California

-Gridiron dinner

- -Kansas City
- -California
- -Canada
- -OAS dinner
- -Rogers's possible speeches in California
 - -University of Southern California
 - -San Jose State
 - -University of California-Davis
 - -University of California-Berkeley
 - -Rogers's daughter
 - -Soviet and the PRC Summits
 - -Vietnam War
 - -Casualties
 - -Anti-war people
 - -State Department relations with White House
 - -Attention

-Reason

-Casualties

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] report

-Prisoners of war [POWs]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 3m 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case

- -Edward M. Kennedy
- -Dita D. Beard testimony
 - -James O. Eastland
- -Beard
 - -Ted Rodgers
 - -1960 campaign
 - -Rose Mary Woods
 - -Compared to other lobbyists
- -Kentucky Derby
 - -Louie B. Nunn
 - -Beard's talk with Mitchell
- -Company letters
- -Contribution to San Diego
 - -Sheraton Hotel
- -Anti-trust case
 - -Harold S. Geneen
- -Kennedy
- -Effect on election
- -Eastland
 - -Files
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst
- -Senate committee
 - -Kennedy position
 - -Politics
- -Strategy
 - -Public relations
- -Haldeman

State Department

- -Relationship with the President
 - -The President's attendance at State Department activities
 - -Award ceremony
 - -Johnson
- -Foreign policy reports
 - -Kissinger
 - -Press coverage
 - -Rogers's press conference
- -White House
- -New York Times article
- -Rogers's schedule
 - -Forthcoming testimony

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-J. William Fulbright
```

- -The President's schedule
 - -Domestic policy
 - -Press coverage
 - -Photograph session

Foreign policy

- -Rogers's previous press conference
 - -Summit meetings
 - -Rogers's role
 - -PRC
 - -Meetings with Chou En-lai
 - -Plenary sessions
 - -Edward R.G. Heath meeting
 - -Georges J.R. Pompidou meeting
 - -Brandt meeting
 - -Eisaku Sato meeting
 - -British, Germans, Japanese
 - -Plenary sessions
- -Rogers's view
 - -Diplomats
 - -1972 campaign
- -Meetings with Foreign Ministers
 - -The President's view

The President's schedule

- -Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW]
 - -Presentation of award to Thomas E. ("Doc") Morgan

Rogers left at 5:59 pm.

Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 6:18 pm.

Instructions

-Briefcase

Kissinger

- -Forthcoming talk with Connally
 - -Possible replacement of Rogers

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Soviet Union trip

- -Advance work for trip
 - -Kissinger
 - -Appearances on television
- -Rogers's role
 - -Possible meeting with Kodygin
- -Kissinger
 - -Desire to make advance trip
 - -The President's view
 - -Dobrynin
 - -Possible meeting with Rogers and Dobrynin
 - -Plenary session
 - -Middle East
 - -Rogers
 - -Jews
 - -Administration policy

Rogers

- -State Department
 - -Support for the President
 - -Green
 - -Press stories
- -Talk with Haldeman
- -Role in Administration
- -Poland
 - -Possible visit
 - -Walker
- -Latin America
 - -Tariff preferences
- -Rogers's press conference
- -Rogers's forthcoming testimony
- -Foreign Policy report
 - -Press conference
- -Soviet trip
 - -Kissinger
- -California trip
 - -Rogers, Kissinger
 - -Preliminary work for the Soviet trip

Tape Subject Log

```
Kissinger
     -Rogers
          -The President's efforts
     -Ziegler, John A. Scali, Rogers
     -Reporter's questions
          -Responses
     -Stories
          -Rogers
          -Roles
                -The President
State Department
     -Morale
          -Story in the Washington Star
               -McCarthyism
          -News summary
                -Kissinger
     -Rogers
          -Soviet trip
               -Logistics
                     -Advance work
                          -Kissinger
                          -US embassy
               -Dates of trip
                     -Announcement
                -Kissinger
                     -Dobrynin
                     -Meeting with Rogers and Dobrynin
                          -Television coverage
          -Haldeman's view
     -Bureaucracy
          -Relationship with the administration
          -Rogers
     -Rogers
          -Ambassadors
          -Press
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- -Haldeman's view
- -Relationship with Kissinger
- -State Department

Chairs

-Movement

The President and Haldeman left at 6:18 pm.