

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 706-1

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: 9:41 am - 10:09 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's parents -Comments on previous meeting with the President

Democrats -Edmund S. Muskie -George S. McGovern

Soviet Union -Message to Kissinger

White House staff -Public talking points -Meeting with Kissinger -Herbert G. Klein -Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox -The President's outline -Kissinger's additions

Soviet Union -The President's trip -Stopover in Poland -Invitation -Polish Ambassador -Announcement -Publicity -Vietnam -B-52 strikes

Vietnam

-Air strikes -B-52 raids -North Vietnamese accounts to its public -Withholding of knowledge -Reasons

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

-Repeat strikes -Time -Size

The President's schedule -Meetings with Kissinger -Time -Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting

The President's Canadian trip -Mention of Soviets

Vietnam

-North Vietnamese offensive -Response -Importance -Weapons -Soviet knowledge -Uses in South Vietnam -Military Region One -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] counter-attacks -The President's call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., April 10, 1972 -Resupply efforts -South Vietnam -Nguyen Van Thieu -Movement of tanks and troops -Twenty-first division -An loc -B-52 strike -North Vietnamese losses -US actions -Concentration of power -Haig -II Corps and I Corps -Air strikes -B-3 -Haig -Concentration of forces -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr. -Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. -Gen. Omar N. Bradley

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

-Gen. Bernard L. Montgomery -Military Region One -Attacks over Demilitarized zone [DMZ] -North Vietnamese retreat -Compared with Laotian operation -Air strikes -Naval gunfire -Cruiser -Destruction of tanks -Guns -Size -Range -Secondary explosions -Destruction -Tanks -Number -Military Region Three -Setbacks -Ammunition dump -Saigon -Replacement of ammunition -Dong Ha -North Vietnamese casualties -Air strikes -B-52s -Psychological impact on North Vietnam -Number -Increase -Carriers -US policy -News reports -Jerry W. Friedheim -Ground forces -Withdrawal -The President's news summary -New York Times and Washington Post -Newsweek -Time -Newsweek -Kissinger's meeting with Mel Elfin -Time

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

-Circulation of evidence -New Republic -US public opinion -Polls -Instructions to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -The President's television appearance -Timing -Vietnamization -Support -Opposition to war -Kissinger's staff meeting -Prisoners of war [POW] meeting with relatives -Haig -The President's policies -Kissinger's explanation -Communist government in South Vietnam -Withdrawal deadline -Rejection by North Vietnam -Kissinger's schedule -Kissinger's meeting with congressional group -Leaders meeting -Kissinger's talk -Purpose -John C. Stennis -Political opposition -The President's news summary -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Statement of April 10, 1972 -Compared with Hanoi's statement -Interpretation -The President's hypothetical statement -Thieu -Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV] -Demands -US-PRC relations -US attacks on Hanoi -Kissinger's meeting with PRC ambassador -Michael J. Mansfield's visit to PRC

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -Briefing by Kissinger

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

Vietnam

-Public relations efforts -State Department -Melvin R. Laird and William P. Rogers -John A. Scali and Ronald L. Ziegler -Joseph C. Kraft column -Blame on Soviets -Soviet summit -Problems for democrats -Rowland Evans column -Soviet summit -Soviet foreign policy -Importance -Germany -PRC -US-Soviet Union relations -India-Pakistan War

Alastair Buchan

-Conversation with Kissinger -Vietnam -US responsibility -Consequences of defeat -Lectures to Council on Foreign Relations -Defense of the President's policies -Balance of power policies -Criticism of liberals

-Liberals

-United Nations [UN] -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

Vietnam

-North Vietnamese offensive -Kissinger's meeting with Robert S. McNamara -Kissinger's conversation with John B. Connally -Call to Otto E. Passman -NATO -Soviets -Miscalculation -Cambodia

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

-Laos -Edward M. Kennedy's criticism -Mistake -[Julie Nixon Eisenhower] -Appearance on Mike Douglas Show -Today Show -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] -Tone -Compared to Laos operation -Wording -The president's critics -Views -Hegemony -Balance of power -Relationship with alliances -Nineteenth century -Intellectual establishment -Council on Foreign Relations -Failure of ideas, ideals and heroes -John F. Kennedy -North Vietnamese offensive -Hanoi press -US success -Compared with Laos operation -Level of commitment -Miscalculations -Strength of South Vietnam -US unresponsiveness -Weather -B-52 strikes -DMZ -Risks -Surface-to-air missile [SAM] concentrations -Hanoi

Kissinger's schedule -WSAG meeting -Report

Vietnam

-The President's speech

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Conv. No. 706-1 (cont.)

-Scheduling -Value compared to risks -Domestic and foreign policy

Canadian speech -Draft -Delivery to the President -Time

Kissinger left at 10:09 am.

Conversation No. 706-2

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: 10:10 am - 12:35 pm Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule -Meeting with Arthur F. Burns -Trip to Camp David -Departure -Reasons -Leaders meeting -Burns -Time and day -Thursday -Meeting with Hugh Scott and Michael J. Mansfield -Change of day -Time of day -Camp David -Change of day -Location -Executive Office Building [EOB] -Henry A. Kissinger's presence -Photograph -Location

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Map Room -Compared to library, EOB -Free time -Afternoon -Changes -Meeting with Frank DeMarco, Jr. -The President's tax returns -Youth conference -Camp David -Canadian trip -Departure -Afternoon meetings -Changes in time and day -Advantages -Canadian trip -Camp David trip -Cancellation of meetings -W. Kenneth Riland -Camp David trip -Secretaries -Canadian trip -Speech -Kissinger -Secretaries -Florida trip -Alexander P. Butterfield -Camp David -Secretaries -Nellie L. Yates -Terry Goodwin [sp?] -Unknown person -Competence -Marjorie P. Acker and Rose Mary Woods -The President's speech -Revisions -Unknown secretary -Age -Experience -Background -Loyalties -Yates

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Experience -Work with previous presidents -Lyndon B. Johnson -John F. Kennedy -Dwight D. Eisenhower -Integrity -Loyalty White House staff -Secretaries -Background -Compared with Susan Lichtman at International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] -Unknown secretary -Loyalty -Typing skills -Speed -Yates and Woods -Ages -Composure -Acker -Competence -Knowledge of White House -Woods -Staff -Competence -Competence The President's schedule -Meeting with Peter G. Peterson and Peter M. Flanigan -John B. Connally

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2A]

The President's schedule -Scott and Mansfield meeting -Arrangements -David N. [Parker] -Day

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Time -Kissinger's clearance -Location -Cocktails -Invitation -Kissinger's presence

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger's meeting with White House staff -Briefing -Robert B. Semple, Jr. article -Ronald L. Ziegler -A leak -Source -Kissinger's briefing -Robert H. Finch and Herbert G. Klein -Absence

Vietnam

-Talking points -Kissinger -Klein -North Vietnamese offensive -Press reports -Unknown South Vietnamese commander -Statement -Tank column

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case -Press reports -A session of a committee -Confusion -William R. Merriam -Staff -Confusing statements -Testimony -Robert C. Wilson -Senators -Receipt of transportation -Edward J. Gurney

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Senate testimony -Henry E. Petersen -Conclusion -Date -Administration tactics -Senate -James O. Eastland -Fred R. Harris -Caucus -Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. -Letter writing campaign -Charles W. Colson

Economy

-Food prices -John D. Ehrlichman -News summary -Connally -Unknown person

ITT case

-Flanigan statement -Scott -John W. Dean, III -Letter to Senate -Flanigan's involvement in case -Richard W. McLaren -Richard J. Ramsden -Republican National Convention -Denial -Flanigan's reaction

The President's schedule -Stopover on trip to Soviet Union -Poland -Announcement -Day -Ireland -Kissinger's view -Britain -Northern Ireland

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Switzerland and Austria -Azores -Logistics -Flying time -Switzerland -Kissinger's view -Zurich and Geneva -Facilities -Geneva -Political connotations -United Nations [UN] -Majorca -Spain -Protocol -Majorca -Bases -Portugal -Majorca -Monaco -Majorca -Spanish Foreign Minister -Distance from Moscow -Madrid -Zurich -Greece -US base -Mediterranean -Haldeman's call to Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2B]

[See Conversation no. 22-102]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule -Canadian trip -The President's speech

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-French phrases -Walters -Camp David -Preparation -Walters -Coaching on French

Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] -Confirmation of Walters -Handling -Praise for Walters

Canadian trip -Walters -Translation

White House staff -Kissinger -Willingness to work -Briefing of Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon and Irina N. Dobrynin -Meeting with prisoner of war [POW] wives -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts -Parents -Quantity of energy

Haldeman talked with Walters at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2C]

[See Conversation No. 22-103

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet Union trip stopover -Zurich -Rota, Spain -Spanish bases -Rota, Saragossa and Seville -Military connotations -Switzerland -Lucerne

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Zurich -Advantages -Swiss reaction -Cooperation -Kissinger's view -Clearances -Logistics -Facilities -Neutrality -Ireland -Views Soviet trip -Return trip -Arrangements -Warsaw -Stopover -Switzerland -Lucerne -Arrival and departure -Length of stay -Itinerary -Departure from US -Time -Arrival in Switzerland -Departure from Switzerland -Time -Amount of sleep -News reports -Compared with Hawaiian trip -Time change adjustments -Switzerland -Lucerne -Geneva -Austria -Kissinger's view -Salzburg -Bruno Kreisky -Meeting with the President -Advantages -Kissinger

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Meeting with Kreisky -Ambassador

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2D]

[See Conversation no. 22-104]

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet Trip -Stopover -Austria -Vienna -Salzburg -Advantages -NATO -Compared with Spain -Neutrality

-Switzerland

Haldeman talked with Kissinger between 10:49 and an unknown time before 10:54 am; the president talked with Kissinger between an unknown time after 10:49 and 10:54 am.

[Conversation No. 706-2E]

[See Conversation No. 22-105

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet trip -Stopover -Austria -Kissinger -Karl J. Gruber -Meeting with Kreisky -Compared with a trip to Ireland -John A. ("Jack") Mulcahy -Importance

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Pro-US policies -Salzburg -Welcome -Ireland -Northern Ireland -The President's previous trip -Austria -Purpose -Meeting with Kreisky -Social events -Working stop -Church service -Possible itinerary -Church service -The President's attendance -Baptist church -Synagogue -Baptist church -The President's attendance -Call to William F. ("Billy") Graham -Graham -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Kissinger -Tomb of unknown soldier -Formal ceremony -Departure from Moscow -Soviet veterans -Church service -Call to Graham -Schedule -Review -Advance party -Arrival -Banquet -Ceremonial calls -Meetings -Ballet -Wednesday -Meetings -Evening -Dinner with Leonid I. Brezhnev

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Thursday -Leningrad visit -Sight-seeing -Ballet -Friday -Return to Moscow -Meeting -Saturday -Meeting -Communiqué -Banquet -Sunday -Church -Soviet television address -Time -Kissinger -US time -Translation -Method -The President's first visit -Six Crises account -Compared with State Department account -The President's schedule -Press conference -Monday -Baku -Tuesday -Teheran -Thursday, June 1, 1972 -Arrival in US -Press conference in Moscow -Kissinger, William P. Rogers and Connally -Attendees -Schedule -Return to US -Network coverage -Equal time -Ronald L. Ziegler's statement -John M. Ashbrook -California primary -Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-The President's press conference on return -Day -Timing -California primary -Democrats -Public opinion -Announcement -Foreign policy issues -Ziegler's statement -Discussion of trip -Compared with PRC trip -Interest -Summit talks -Vietnam -Location -Arrangements -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule -Staff -Ziegler -Constance M. ("Connie") Stuart -Klein

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Personal returnable] [Duration:<u>15s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

-Stuart -Work with Ziegler -Ziegler -Control of news

-Press

-Number

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Soviets -Kissinger -PRC trip -Yuli M. Vorontsov and Soviet press attaché -Meeting with Ziegler and Dwight L. Chapin -Selection -Ziegler -Favor for friends -Press pools -1972 campaign

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9 [Personal returnable] [Duration:<u>1m 10s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Ziegler entered at 11:12 am.

Soviet trip
-Soviet press attaché
-Meeting with Ziegler
-Number of US newsmen present
-Press conference in Soviet Union
-Number
-Soviet press
-Press
-Number
-The President's Vice Presidential trip
-Six Crises
-Maximum
-Advantages
-Selection
-PRC trip
±.

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Boston Globe and Newsday -St. Louis Post-Dispatch -Exclusion -St. Louis Globe-Democrat -Buffalo Evening News -Dallas Morning Herald -Pro-administration papers -1972 campaign -Networks -Wire services -Radio -John F. Osborne -Exclusion -The President's news summary -Kissinger -Osborne -Hugh S. Sidey -Enemies -Compared with Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration -James C. Hagerty -New York Times -Retaliation -Number -Soviet views -Selection -Limitations -Compared with other trips -Romania, Yugoslavia, Italy, France -Ziegler's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -PRC trip -Number -Limitations -Disadvantages -Economic constraints of press -Selection -PRC trip -Newsday and Boston Globe -Press corps -Attitudes -Limitations -Problems

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Ziegler's conversation with Dobrynin -Previous Presidential trips

Press

-Critics -Kennedy -Franklin D. Roosevelt -Osborne and Sidey -Finch, Klein, Ehrlichman and Kissinger -Supporters -Frank van der Linden -Nashville Banner -Victor Lasky -News summaries -Osborne -Van der Linden -Nicholas P. Thimmesch -Cultivation -Ehrlichman, Kissinger and George P. Shultz -Critics -Winston S. Churchill -Kissinger -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew -James Keogh -Book [President Nixon and the Press] -Supporters -Number -Cultivation -Critics -Martin Schram -Exclusion from Ziegler's office -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo -Robert B. Semple, Jr. -Networks -Kissinger -Work with Joseph C. Kraft -Supporters -Rowland Evans -Chalmers M. Roberts -Critics -Dealings with Kissinger

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Evans -Dealings with administration officials -Egotism -Sans Souci -Georgetown

Supreme Court -"Nixon Court" -Tendency toward liberalism -Potter Stewart -Conservatism -Liberalism -Warren E. Burger

Nancy Ziegler

-Visit to Kentucky -Relatives -Support for administration's policies on Vietnam -Richard G. Kleindienst hearing

Soviet trip

-Press -Number -Limitation -Soviets -Supporters -Inclusion -Reader's Digest -Small papers -Subsidy -William S. White -Bantam Books -Book on trip -Forward by the President -US News and World Report -Press conference on TV -Timing -California primary -Foreign policy -Report to nation -Equal time on TV

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-New York Times and networks -Ashbrook -Writing press -Networks -Prime time television -Foreign policy -Length -Return to US -Press conference upon return -Timing -California primary -Ziegler -Arrangements

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15 [Personal returnable] [Duration:<u>9s]</u>

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

Press relations
- The President's memorandum
- Reports on biological warfare treaty signing at State Department
- Networks
- Setting
- Flags
- The President's appearance
- The President's remarks
- Dobrynin

Soviet press -Soviet Life editor -Reports -Kissinger

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Mrs. Nixon -Tea with Mrs. Dobrynin -Kissinger -Press release Press relations -Evans and Kraft

-Evans and Kraft -Criticism of the President -Dealings with Soviets -Summit -PRC -Middle East -German Treaty

Soviet Union -Soviet Summit -Dobrynin -William E. Jenner -The President's Soviet trip -PRC trip -Arrangements -Soviet people -Crowds -Interest in the President's visit -Stopover -Salzburg, Austria -Meeting with Kreisky -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] conferences -Hubert H. Humphrey -Vienna, Austria -Leningrad -Baku -Stop in Teheran, Iran -Stop in Poland -Crowds -PRC -Drama of trip -PRC trip -The President's first trip -Six Crises -Atmosphere

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-The President's speech -Kitchen debates -Films -Replay

Ziegler left at 11:39 am.

Press relations -Handling of critics -Ziegler's opinion -Osborne -Sidey -Readership

The President left at an unknown time after 11:39 am.

[No conversation]

The President entered at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

Biological warfare treaty signing -The President's speech -Haldeman's presence -Reading by Haldeman and staff

The President's schedule -Canadian speech -Dinner in Philadelphia -The President's note to John Cardinal Krol -Henry C. Cashen, II -Absence from dinner -Trip to Soviet Union -The President's trip to Poland -Visit with Krol -Announcement -Timing

Agnew

-Lack of media coverage -Trip to Fort Campbell, Kentucky -Speech to California Republican Assembly [CRA]

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-News summary -Television report -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] -Newspaper story

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 1m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

Tricia Nixon Cox -Schedule -Mike Douglas Show appearance -Table tennis matches -Space shot -Time -Audience -Table tennis match -Audience -Left wing -Homosexuals -Tennis audience -Make-up -Left wing -Homosexuals -Bill Tilden -Compared with opera audiences -Attire -Television -Value -Location

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 2m 47s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

Vietnam -North Vietnamese offensive -Outcome -Length -Critics -Fear of US success -Caution -Tet offensive -Donald Oberdorfer, Jr.'s book -Victory for US -Enemy losses -Compared with 1972 offensive -Viet Cong elements -North Vietnamese elements -Buddhists -Support for Nguyen Van Thieu government -The President's critics -Caution -North Vietnamese offensive -South Vietnamese victories and defeats -I Corps -Weather -B-52s -Symbolism -Naval gunfire -Effect on North Vietnam -Public reactions -"Hawks" -Show of strength -College campuses

Tape Subject Log

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-Apathy

Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Minnesota and University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA] -Vietnam -Marches -PRC -Bombing in North Vietnam -April 22, 1972 national march -Timing -Possible coordination with North Vietnam -The President's November 3, 1969 speech -Problems -Lack of support -Antiwar protests -Size and scope -Chicago ITT case -Media coverage -Advantages -Public interest -POWs -Bombers -Demilitarized zone [DMZ] -POWs -North Vietnamese actions -US reaction -Blockade -Soviet reactions -Effect on Summit -Mining -Option -Soviet ships -Options other than nuclear weapons or US ground forces -The President's Biological Warfare Treaty signing statement -George R.S. Baring [Earl of Cromer] -Dobrynin

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

Domestic issues -Ehrlichman -Food prices -Crime -Note from the President -Speeches -Work with White House -White House staff -Speeches -Scheduling -Material for surrogates -Edward L. Morgan -John N. Mitchell -Ehrlichman -Weekly meetings with surrogates -Inspirations -Kissinger -Briefings -Frequency -Speakers -Self-confidence -Ehrlichman -Self-confidence -Attacks on opposition -White House involvement -Ehrlichman -Leadership meetings -Food prices -Decline -Wholesale prices -Leadership -The President -Price Board -John B. Connally -Publicity -Connally -Amount -Drugs -Marijuana -The President's speech -Preparations

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Ehrlichman

-Crime -Prices -Busing -Drugs -Relation to crime -Busing -Prices, inflation, labor

Foreign policy

-The President's leadership -Emphasis

Vietnam

-Media -B-52 strikes -The President's responsibility -Credit to the President -The President's leadership -Lyndon B. Johnson -Location of fleet -B-52s -Results -Credit for the President's success -Compared with Cambodia -Melvin R. Laird and Rogers -Statements -Rogers -Caution -Kissinger -Defense of Administration -Possible talk with Haldeman -Negotiations -The President's speech -Kissinger and William L. Safire -Negotiations -William J. Porter -Canadian speech -Soviet Union

The President's trip to Canada

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Demonstrators -Restrictions -Canadian Mounted Police -Aleksei N. Kosygin's experience -Reception in Parliament -Itinerary in Ottawa

Vietnam

-Rogers -Defense of Administration -Caution -Edmund S. Muskie -Personal concerns -Press -Long-range interests

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>1m 10s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25

Economic issue -Unemployment figures -Positive aspect -Prices -Unemployment -Prices -Food -Big business -Food prices -Need for dramatic action -Freeze

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Protection -Options -Timing -Eventual decline -Meat prices -Jawboning -Effects -Inflation -Herbert Stein's memorandum -Problems -Midyear report -Timing -Democratic National Convention -Connally's response -Advantages -Press -Speakers

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:39 am.

Refreshment

The President's schedule -Executive Office Building [EOB] office

Economy

-The President's midyear report -Connally's view -Call from Haldeman

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

Government -Disenchantment -Youth -The President's trips to PRC and Soviet Union -Appeal

Media

-Problem for administration -New York Times review of James Keogh's book, President Nixon and the Press

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Coverage of the President -Evaluation -Reasons -Favorable coverage -Administration's efforts -Bad press -Compared with Kennedy -Publicity concerning PRC trip -Ziegler -Publicity for administration -PRC trip -New China Hands momento -Ziegler -White House staff -Secret Service -Airplane crews -Ziegler -Social events for press -Impact and worth -Klein -Rogers -Social contacts with press -Newsmen's response -Dealings with the President on a social level -Supporters -Van der Linden -Critics -Cynicism -Supporters -Critics -Reactions -Ziegler -White House Correspondents Association -Edgar A. Poe, president -Gridiron president -Lack of control -Gridiron dinner -Conversation with Haldeman -The President's absence -Soviet trip -White House subsidy

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Ziegler -Trip expenses -Air fare -Hotel -The President's plane -Waiver of charges -Confidentiality -South Carolina trip -Funeral -Gridiron dinner -The President's absence

Weather

-Spring in Washington, DC -Cherry blossoms -Festival

The President's schedule -Arbor Day -Tree plantings

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>16s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26

The President as head of non-government organizations -Boy Scouts of America -Meetings -Frequency -Red Cross -Television -Tricia Nixon Cox 35

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-United Way

The President and Haldeman left at 12:35 pm.

Conversation No. 706-3

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:35 pm and 2:56 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The President's location -Executive Office Building [EOB]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:35 pm.

Unknown agent

The President's location -EOB

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 2:56 pm.

Conversation No. 706-4

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: 2:57 pm - 3:03 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield; the recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.

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The President's schedule -Meeting with Clark MacGregor, Henry A. Kissinger and Democrats -Briefing -Day -John C. Stennis -George H. Mahon -F. Edward Hebert -Hawkish Democrats -Kissinger's briefing -Memoranda to be read

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 3:02 pm.

-Meeting with Ehrlichman and Peter G. Peterson -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.'s attendance -Memorandum to be read

Butterfield and Ehrlichman left at 3:03 pm.

Conversation No. 706-5

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: 3:06 pm - 5:05 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Peter G. Peterson, John D. Ehrlichman, Peter M. Flanigan, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. and Stephen B. Bull; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

John B. Connally -Forthcoming meeting with the President -Delay

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Commerce Department -Undersecretary

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Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-James T. Lynn

Economy -Foreign trade -Commercial attaches -Legislation before Congress

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Economic issues -Commercial attaches -Problems with pending legislation -Foreign trade -Foreign Service officers -Indoctrination on economic issues -State Department -Lack of leadership on economic issues -Undersecretaries -Textiles -Agriculture -Foreign trade -Leadership -Attaches **US-Soviet Union relations** -Henry A. Kissinger -Flanigan -Trade -Linkage -Soviet needs -Commercial deals -Raw materials -Capital demands -Oil and gas -Scope -Return -Soviet debts

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Gradual increase -Export-Import [Ex-Im] -Most favored nation status [MFN] -Raw materials -Aleksei N. Kosygin -US credits -Soviet gains -Resources -Capital demands of Soviets -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Conversations with Peterson -Peterson's meeting with Soviet Trade Minister, Nikolay S. Patolichev -Arrangements -Ex-Im and MFN status -Talks -Issues -Ex-Im agreements -Credits -MFN status -1972 election -Congress Foreign trade -Poland -Yugoslavia and Rumania -US attitudes -Kissinger -Poland -The President's forthcoming trip -Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania -Visits to US -Eastern European nations -Contacts with US -Soviet trade -Peterson memorandum -Recommendations -Donald McI. Kendall -Benefits to US -US businessmen -Sales -Credit and investment guarantees

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

Energy -Flanigan -Ehrlichman -Problems -Long-range view -Politics Economy -Maritime Administration -Andrew E. Gibson -Study of imports -Maritime implications -Energy -Oil imports -Percentage -Maritime fleet -Projected size -Supertankers -Japanese -Economic advantages -Dock facilities -Political problems -Delaware -Problems -Subsidies -Domestic problems -Incentives -Environment -Supertankers -Ports of call -Canada and the Bahamas -Docking problems -Japan -Australia -Recommendations -George P. Shultz -Budget problems -Investment areas -Welfare -Hard and soft goods

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Investments -Welfare -Summer youth programs -Maurice H. Stans -Day care centers -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] -Democratic political pressures -Conflicts between business and welfare -Energy -Supertankers -Shultz -Docking problem -Pacific Northwest -Local resistance -Maine -Gulf states -Louisiana and Texas -Off-shore leasing

Energy

-Alaska -Political problems -Environment -Costs to consumers -Domestic ownership -Petersons' job -Budget -Shultz -Monitoring issue -Cole -Business representation -Environment -1972 election -Public awareness -Increase -Publicity -Business community -Rogers C. B. Morton -Testimony -News summary -Power shortages

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Gibson -Power stations -Construction -Objections -Compared with Vietnam War -Peterson's role -1972 election -Stans -Links to liberals Foreign trade -US competitiveness -Information gathering -Steel output -Japanese -Japanese -Strategic industries -Studies -Machine tools, steel -Depreciation, write-offs -Study program -Commerce Department -Connally -Depreciation policies -Strategic industries -Foreign government support -US tax reform bill -Congress -Connally -1969 talk with the President at San Clemente -Cattle -Reform -Connally's role -Study program -Depreciation policies -Problems -Housing -ADR -Investment tax credit -German and Japanese policies -Successes

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-New jobs -Speech -Publicity for reform -Study for Congress -Investment tax credit -Japanese -Responsiveness -Tax reforms -Criticism -Rich compared to poor -Jobs -Treasury conservatism -Internal Revenue Service [IRS] -Peterson's meeting with Connally -Tax lawyers Technology -Industrial technology -Study by Commerce Department -Patents -US government ownership -Commercial production -Review of policies -Costs -Research and development [R&D] -Nonexclusive provisions -Patent policies -State of the Union address -Incentives for technology -Cost sharing -Government patents -Commercial production -Government R&D -Roadblocks -William M. Magruder -Commerce Department -Aggressiveness -Salesmanship -1972 election -Business -Jobs

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Prices -Job creation -R&D -Emphasis on jobs -Environment -Necessity to sell -Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Image of business -Administration's image

-International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]

Environment

-National Industrial Pollution group -Comments -Growth -Club of Rome study -Quality of life programs -Costs -Office of Management and Budget [OMB] -Health, welfare, mass transit -Long-range costs -Source of funds -Projections -Economic growth -Zero-growth advocates Economy -Productivity Commission -Shultz -I[lworth] W[ilbur] Abel and Leonard Woodcock -Membership -Popular appeal -Advertising Council -Identification of the President with campaign -Cost-wage push -Range of problems -Germany and France -Productivity -The President's August 15, 1971 statement -Popular appeal -International problem

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Bargaining system -Phase II -Businessmen's doubts -Strikes -Costs -Strikers -Benefits -Food chains -Meeting with Connally -Bargaining system -Reform -Post-election changes -Shultz's ideas -Dangers -Pre-election attacks against labor -Minority economic development -Appeal to voters -Political appeal -"Bridge to dignity" -Problems -Peterson's speeches -Chicago -New York -Lack of knowledge in public -Bold steps -Prominent blacks to sell program -Stars -Athletes -Dinner -New York -Inner cities -Deterioration -Economic stimulation -Unknown person's suggestion -Focus on business -1969 campaign theme -[Forename unknown] Messig [sp?] -Stans -Productivity -Peterson's recommendations -Advertising Council

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Wage-cost push -Pre-election actions -Peterson's meeting with Connally -Date and location

Connally, Arthur F. Burns, Shultz and Frederic V. Malek entered at 3:48 pm.

Greetings

Connally -Health

Economy

-Connally's meeting with Peterson -International competition -Productivity -Environment

Peterson, Ehrlichman, Flanigan and Cole left at 3:49 pm.

[General conversation] Federal Reserve Board [FRB] -Vacancy -Number -Sherman J. Maisel -Andrew F. Brimmer -Ambassadorship -Removal -Black ambassadors -Position security -Election -Rogers -United Nations [UN] -Secretary General -Confirmation -European post -African post

Jerome H. Holland -Background

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-College -Football -Tenure -Post -Future

FRB

-Vacancy -Candidates -Names -Districts and regions -California -Candidates -List -Jeffrey M. Bucher -Ward C. Krebs -Bucher and Krebs -Origins -Age -Selection -Criteria -Compared with Supreme Court -Age of justices -Lewis F. Powell, Jr. -William H. Rehnquist -Youth -Length of term -Age -Compared with Supreme Court justices -Earl Warren -Warren E. Burger -Harry A. Blackmun -Powell -Bucher -Aspirations -Short-term -Banking job -Experience on board -Krebs -Duration of term -Criteria

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Banking background -Krebs -Experience in banking -Bucher -Youth -Requirements -Judgment -Maturity -Longevity -Bucher -Other positions in second term -Krebs -Bucher -Longevity on board -Burns's influence -[John E. Sheehan] -Bucher -Potential -Krebs -Interview with Burns -Compared with Bucher -Bucher -Harry J. Volk -Asa V. Call and Charles D. ("Tex") Thornton -United California Bank -Bank of America -Security First National Bnak -United California Bank -Volk -Prudential Insurance Company -Robert H. Volk -Burns's preference -Ernest C. Arbuckle -David Packard's work -Background -Stanford University -Present position -Krebs -Candidate selection -E. Penn James's and Malek's work -Brimmer case

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-James L. Robertson -Possible resignation -Robert C. Holland -Position on board -Political affiliations -Respect in banking world -Appointment -Replacement for Robertson -Pension -Rules -Age -Robertson -Meeting with the President -Sheehan's swearing-in -Possible retirement -Populism -Support for small banks -Appointments -Future make-up -Candidates -Krebs -Bucher -Youth -Work with Burns -Compatibility -The President's talk with Burger -Conflicts within board -Number of dissents -Alfred Hayes -Work with Burns -Hayes's staff -Candidates for vacancy -Names -Criteria

Malek left at 4:13 pm.

Budget

-Information for the President -Money supply and interest rates -Wage and prices

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Decrease Environment -Commerce Department study -Peterson -Costs -Quality of life programs -Relation to economic growth -Population -World -Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan -US -Stabilization -The President's meeting with Peterson -Oil imports -US needs -Supertankers -Docking facilities -Local resistance -Texas -Quality of life programs -Family assistance -Day care centers -Costs -Budget -Environmental field -Regulatory activity -Proposition in California -Loss of jobs if passed -Edgar F. Kaiser -Steel plants -Peterson -Political implications -Need for economic growth Economy -Welfare programs

-Deficit

-Family Assistance Program [FAP] -Education and health programs -Summer youth programs

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-FRB -Peterson -Charles H. Percy -Change of attitude -Stans -National Association of Businessmen [NAB] -Optimism -The President's meeting with Gordon E. Metcalf and John D. Harper -Prices and stocks -Rate

Burns and Shultz left at 4:20 pm.

Connally -Health -Illness -Gen, Walter R, Tkach

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: <u>3m 40s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Connally's schedule -Trip to Texas -Stansville [?] -Dinner honoring Texas Supreme Court Chief Justice -Speech -Time off

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:20 pm.

Refreshment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Tea

-Effects -Type

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:46 pm.

Connally -Reports -World situation -Trip to Camp David -Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally -The President's Canadian speech -Transportation -Rest -Camp David -Golf -Work ethic -Speech -Health

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 1m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

-Work ethic

The President's schedule -Vietnam -Reports -News summary -Critical decisions -Conversation with Haldeman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

Vietnam

-Kissinger -Air Force -Naval gunfire -North Vietnamese offensive -Victory -Impact on Soviet Summit -Cancellation -Impact on foreign policy -India, Middle East and Europe -Soviet Union

Treaty on biological warfare -Effect -Great power restraint -The President's remarks at signing ceremony -Arms control -Great powers restraint -Soviet's views on Summit -Dobrynin

Vietnam

-Navy -Fleet -Shelling of roads in North Vietnam -B-52 strikes -Polls -Critics -Edward M. Kennedy -Foreign policy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>24s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

Economy -Interest rates -Burns's policies -Burns's work -Interest rates -Money supply -European problems -Paul A. Volcker's meetings -Press conferences -The President's Canadian trip -Trade negotiations -Great Lakes agreement -The President's speech draft -Connally's review -Pierre E. Trudeau -Reelection -Quebec -Separatism -Trudeau -Reelection campaign -Connally's speech in Chicago to national broadcasters -Reaction -Business leaders -Location -Continental Plaza Hotel -Tourist Bureau -Dallas and Houston -Format -Agenda -Foreign policy, taxes, loopholes, productivity -Taxes -Loopholes -Definition -Major reforms -Republican initiatives -Eisenhower and the President

-Democratic interests

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-George C. Wallace -Loopholes -Creation of jobs -Home mortgage interests -Abolition -Opposition -Purpose of loophole -Municipal bonds -Support of cities -Abolition -Failures -Charitable contributions -Abolition -Impact -Capital gains -Dow-Jones Industrial Average -Depletion allowance -Energy crisis -Abolition -Disadvantages -Casualty losses -Estate taxes -Peterson -US competitive position -Depreciation allowance -Japanese and West German example -Change of position -Support for loopholes

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>6m 11s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-ITT case -Relations with ITT -Vance Hartke

Taxation

-Overwithholding -News summary -Agents of Internal Revenue Service [IRS] -Correction of problem -Timing -Public campaign -W-4 exemptions -Mailings -Shultz -Tax returns -IRS aid to average taxpayer -Publicity -Announcement of task force -IRS agents -Number -Customs Bureau in Florida -Agents -Sufficient number for job -Number for searches -Financing problems -Customs Bureau -Agents -Increase -Port officers -Value of inspections -Specific case -[Recent heroin seizure] -Budget and personnel cuts -Customs -IRS -Agents -Help for returns -Political benefits -Personnel available -Returns

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Johnnie M. Walters -Survey of small professional preparers -H&R Block -Fraudulency rate -Costs of delinquency

ITT case

-Edmund S. Muskie charge -Corporate taxes -Validity of claim

Economic policies -Food prices -Administration's actions -Albert E. Sindlinger poll -Support -Offensive stance -Sindlinger's conversation with Colson -Administration statements -Wholesale price index -Graham Purcell's hearings -News coverage -Administration's image -Farmers -Middlemen -Retailers -Safeway -Need for discussions -Profits -Actions before election -Freeze on food prices -Effect -Risks -Farm vote -Packers and producers -Current state of economy -Unemployment -Level -Figures -State in October -Inflation

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Agitation of issue -Housewives -Networks -Public statements -Frequency -Connally -White House staffers -Marina von N. Whitman -Mood of nation -Florida -Youth -Tricia Nixon Cox's assessment -Harvard University -Nostalgia -Stability and leadership -Kennedy and Muskie -Lack of support -Unemployment -Figures -Analysis -Youth -New workers -Creation of jobs -Positive perspective -Social changes -Wives and youth -Entrance into labor force -Job seekers

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:20 pm.

The President's meeting with Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

Vietnam -North Vietnamese offensive -Aggression -Analysis -Compared with Laos and Cambodia -US public reaction

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Bombing of North Vietnam -US troops -Hanoi and Haiphong -Bombing of other cities and railroads -US countermeasures -US choices -Consequences of failure -Credibility of foreign policy

The President and Connally left at 5:05 pm.

Conversation No. 706-6

Date: April 11, 1972 Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 11:59 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] and Manolo Sanchez met.

[Unintelligible]

Stephen B. Bull -Door -Alarm

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.