

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 709-1

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 1m 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conversation No. 709-2

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Ronald L. Ziegler
-Meeting with the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 709-3

Date: April 17, 1972 Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am Location: Oval Office
The President dictated notes for the file.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 5m 29s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conversation No. 709-4
Date: April 17, 1972 Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am Location: Oval Office
The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 3m 48s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated notes for the file.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 1m 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conversation No. 709-6

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

-William M. Colmer luncheon

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 709-7

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape of memoranda for the file

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Conversation No. 709-8

Date: April 17, 1972 Time: 8:58 am - 9:34 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

-Summit

```
Vietnam
     -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s cable
          -Possible US action
          -Military situation
                -Predictions
          -Troop withdrawals
                -Conversation with Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
                -Figures
               -Announcement
                     -Timing
                          -Numbers
                          -Kissinger's recommendation
     -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
          -Message to the President
                -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                -Hanoi
                -US response
                     -Soviet reply
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

-The President's trip
-Impact on domestic issues
-Kissinger's trip
-Timing after bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
-Soviet message from Dobrynin
-Hanoi
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
-People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Chou En-lai

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security] [Duration: 1m 43s]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-William P. Rogers

-The President's conversation with Rogers
-Kissinger's conversation with Rogers

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 8:58 and 9:03 am.

[Conversation No. 709-8A]

Request for a call to Rogers

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

-Negotiations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Resumption of Paris Peace Talks
-Le Duc Tho
-Plenary sessions
-Cessation of bombing
```

The President talked with William P. Rogers between 9:03 and 9:10 am.

[Conversation No. 709-8B]

```
Vietnam
     -Negotiations
          -Resumption
                -Cessation of bombing
                -US response
     -Blockade
          -Rogers's statement
                -Delays
                -Wording
                -Military targets
                     -Ronald L. Ziegler
                          -Necessity of weapons
     -Military operations
          -South Vietnam
                -Courage
                -Air sorties
                     -Figures
     -Negotiations
          -Statement
     -USSR and PRC protests
          -US replies
          -CIA analysis
                -Nature of responses
          -Summit
                -Cancellation
     -Rogers's statement
     -William F. ("Billy") Graham
          -Conversation with the President
                -Conversation with University of North Carolina Chancellor
                     -Student protests
                     -Students
```

-Acceptance of US policies

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Support for the President
                               -The President's trips to the PRC and USSR
          -Military operations
               -An loc
               -Ground action
                     -Newspaper reports
                -Air power
                     -Abrams
                     -Military targets
[End of telephone conversation]
     Vietnam
          -Blockade
               -Necessity
               -Legality
               -Timing
               -US commitment
                     -Kissinger's trip to USSR
                          -Return
                               -Timing
                          -Soviet responses
          -The President's Administration
               -Kissinger' analysis
               -Impact of war
               -Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration
               -Confidence in government
               -John F. Kennedy's Administration
                     -Foreign policy
                          -Advisors
                -Johnson's Administration
                     -Foreign policy
                -Successor
                     -Democrats
                          -Edmund S. Muskie
                          -Hubert H. Humphrey
                          -Edward M. Kennedy
                     -Republicans
                          -Spiro T. Agnew
                          -Ronald W. Reagan
                          -Nelson A. Rockefeller
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Possibilities for the nomination
     -Legacy
           -US strength
                -Possible successors' strength and experience
                     -Leadership evaluated
                -Muskie
                -Kennedy
           -Successors
                -Strength in foreign policy
-US credibility
     -North Vietnamese victory
     -Foreign policy initiatives
     -Policies
           -Criticism
                -Hue
                -Vietnamization
                -Muskie
                     -Statements
-World War I
     -Verdun
           -Comparisons
                -France and Germany
           -Costs
           -South Vietnamese losses
                -Hue
                -An loc
                -Hue
                     -New York Times article
                           -Unknown reporter
-North Vietnamese offensive
     -Hugh S. Sidey article
           -The President's demeanor
     -Jerrold L. Shechter
           -Conversation with Kissinger
                -Location
           -The President's instructions to Kissinger
     -Robert B. Semple, Jr.
           -New York Times
     -Max Frankel
           -Leads
     -Victory
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Consequences
                -Soviets
                -Middle East
                     -Message for Golda Meir
                     -Kissinger's call to Yitzhak Rabin
-Military operations
     -Kissinger's upcoming conversation with Dobrynin
          -Soviet Message
                -US reply
                     -Wording
                          -Kissinger's upcoming trip to the USSR
                     -Summit
-Chou En-lai
-Soviet message
     -Private talks
          -US reply
     -Dobrynin
     -US response
          -Rogers's cable
-Kissinger's trip to USSR
     -Possible agenda
     -Reasons
     -Compared with PRC trip
-Press conference
     -Announcement
     -The President's statement
          -Kissinger's television appearance
                -Democrats' responses
     -Kissinger's trip to USSR
          -Possible North Vietnamese presence in Moscow
          -Announcement
-The President's schedule
     -Camp David
          -Kissinger's presence
                -Low key
          -Return to Washington
          -Meeting with Kissinger
                -Arrangements
                     -Meeting in Paris
     -Meeting with Kissinger
```

-Trip to Moscow

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Timing
           -Place
                -The Executive Office Building [EOB]
-USSR
     -Dealings with US
-North Vietnamese offensive
     -Bombing
           -Target areas
           -Scheduling
           -B-3
                -South Vietnam
                -Timing
           -Public reception
           -USSR and PRC protests
           -Intensity
                -Kissinger's return to US
-Soviet talks
     -Kissinger's trip
     -Blockade
           -Soviet Summit
                -Possible cancellation
                -US stance
                     -Impact
                           -Tone to be used witho the Soviets
     -Johnson
           -Differences
     -North Vietnamese troop levels
           -Possibility of cease-fire during USSR trip
           -US conditions
                -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
           -Cessation of bombing
           -Domestic opinion
           -Abrams
                -Air attacks
                     -Intensification
-Military operations
     -Number of sorties
     -Naval action
           -Number of destroyers, cruisers and carriers
                -Location
     -Bomb damage
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-8 (cont.)

```
-Haiphong petroleum, oil, and lubricants [POL]
-Photographs of damage
-Rail cuts
-Railroads
-Hanoi POL
-Railroads in Hanoi
-Haiphong
-Warehouse
-Naval base
-Shipyards
-Warehouse
-Truck parks
-Photographs
```

Frank J. Shakespeare -Withdrawal of resignation

Vietnam

-An Loc

-North Vietnamese tank losses

-Noth Vietnamese maneuvers

-Losses

-Hue

-Military action

-Quang Tri

-South Vietnamese movements and offensive

-South Vietnamese tanks

-Damage against North Vietnam

Kissinger left at 9:34 am.

Conversation No. 709-9

Date: April 17, 1972 Time: 9:35 am - 10:32 am Location: Oval Office

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
Richard G. Kleindienst confirmation
     -Meeting with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
          -Clark MacGregor
                -Call to Ervin
                     -Reason
                     -Paul J. Fannin
          -Next move
          -Likely result
                -Options
     -Russell B. Long's statment
     -John N. Mitchell
          -Belief in success
     -MacGregor
          -View of Kleindienst's chances
     -Democrats' strategy
          -Washington Post story
     -Replacement
          -Caspar W. Weinberger
                -Risks
                     -Rejection
          -Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
                -Risks
          -William French Smith
                -Interests
                     -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
                -Prestige
           -Dean at Duke Law School
                -Oualities
                     -John D. Ehrlichman
                -Charles S. Rhyne
          -Washington Post story
News summaries
     -The President's instructions
          -Cambodia and Laos
          -Screening
          -Vietnam
          -Developing stories
                -Republican National Convention [?]
                -The President's attention
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
-Haldeman's review
-Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson
```

```
Issues
     -ITT
          -Colson
     -Busing
          -Ehrlichman's project
     -Vietnam
          -Cabinet meeting
                -Publicity
                     -Alarmism
The President's schedule
     -Camp David
          -Henry A. Kissinger
          -Length of stay
     -Monday
          -Kissinger's Paris meeting
     -Kissinger's Soviet trip
          -Public statements
                -Cover
                     -Ehrlichman and Ronald L. Ziegler
                           -Comparisons to Key Biscayne
     -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
          -Return to US
     -Kissinger's trip
          -Meeting with Haig
                -Report to the President
     -Camp David
          -Time
     -Press conference
          -Troop withdrawals announcement
     -The President's trip to Capitol
          -The President's instructions
          -Press coverage
                -Ziegler
                -Problems
          -Entrance to building
```

-Blocking reporters

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
Kleindienst nomination
-Mitchell
-Support for Kleindienst
```

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:49 am.

```
William P. Rogers's television appearance -Time
```

Pandas

-Photographs

-Ziegler's conversation with Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Conflicts with table tennis event

-Two People's Republic of China [PRC] stories

-Ziegler's call to Mrs. Nixon

-Mrs. Nixon's location

-Washington Post story

-Musk oxen from the PRC

-Sickness

-Treatment in zoo

-Washington Post story

-Photographs

-Associated Press [AP] story

-Postponement

-Theodore H. Reed

-Musk oxen

-Sickness

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Photographs with pandas

-Table tennis match

-Publicity

-Schedule of team

Table tennis

-PRC's team visit

-Publicity value

-Mrs. Nixon's schedule

-Ziegler's call

-Historic significance

-Postponement of appearance with pandas

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

-Scheduling problems

The President's schedule

- -Meeting with Polish Ambassador, Witold Trampczynski
 - -Photographs
 - -Kissinger
 - -Arrangements
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
 - -The President's upcoming conversation with Kissinger
 - -Ramifications

Soviet summit

- -Ziegler's line
 - -Answer to USSR and PRC protests on Vietnam
- -Rogers
 - -Melvin R. Laird
- -Bombing
 - -Impact
 - -Ziegler's statements
 - -Guidelines
 - -Possible questions
- -New York Times
 - -Terence F. Smith
 - -Story about Hue
- -World War I
 - -France and Germany
 - -Verdun
 - -Losses
 - -Symbolism
- -White House staff
 - -Conversations with New York Times reporters
 - -Prohibitions
 - -Robert B. Semple, Jr.

Vietnam

- -Ziegler's comments
 - -Protests
 - -Edmund S. Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey
 - -Counterattacks
 - -North Vietnamese invasion
 - -Failure

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
-Resolutions in the US Senate
```

-Critics

- -North Vietnamese invasion
 - -Lack of criticism
 - -US policies
 - -Rhetoric

-Criticism

- -Support for the enemy and hostility toward South Vietnam
- -Rogers's statement
 - -White House support
- -Negotiations
 - -Ziegler's statements
- -Bombing
 - -Limitations
 - -The President's previous conversation with Rogers
 - -Cessation
 - -Nuclear weapons
 - -Withdrawal of US forces across the demilitarized zone [DMZ]
 - -Conditions
 - -Wording
- -South Vietnam
 - -Praise
- -US Air Force [USAF]
 - -Praise
 - -Defensiveness
- -Bombing
 - -Escalation of debate
 - -Colson and Kissinger
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Democrat attacks

-Critics

- -Answer
- -Need to defend South Vietnam and US airmen and seamen
- -Current line
- -Muskie
- -United Nations [UN] consideration
 - -UN Security Council
 - -Humphrey's resolution
 - -President's view
 - -Soviet and PRC vetoes
 - -Humphrey as Vice President

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

- -Muskie's resolution
 - -Cessation of all operations by US
- -Ziegler's responses
 - -Individual attacks
- -Rogers
- -The President's decision to bomb
- -The President's instructions to Ziegler
- -Press
 - -Hugh S. Sidey and John F. Osborne
 - -Boycott
- -The President's decision to bomb
 - -Ziegler's response
- -Soviet summit
 - -The President's previous conversation with Kissinger
 - -Possible comments by Kissinger
- -US policies
 - -Hard line
 - -Defense of policies
 - -Attack from Democrats
 - -Counterattack
 - -Posture of confidence
- -Negotiations
 - -Ziegler's statement
 - -The President's November 25th speech
 - -US policies and record of Administration
 - -Private channels
 - -Release of record
 - -Embarrassment of press
 - -"Red faces"
 - -Rogers's statement

Mrs. Nixon

- -Ziegler's upcoming telephone call
- -PRC related stories
 - -Number
 - -Pandas
 - -Table tennis game

Ziegler left at 10:12 am.

Vietnam

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
-Public relations
           -Press reports
                -Embarrassment
                -Colson
                -Spiro T. Agnew
                     -Attacks
                     -Patrick J. Buchanan speech
           -Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald W. Reagan
                -Joint statement
           -Agnew
                -Schedule and location
                -Buchanan
                     -Draft of speech
                           -Criticism of critics
Rogers
     -Relations with Kissinger
           -Conflict
                -Possible action taken by Kissinger
Unknown treaty
Vietnam
     -Unknown lieutenant colonel
     -North Vietnam
     -Press
          -President's view
Press
     -Quality
          -Decline
          -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
          -William S. White
                -Public relations
     -White House
           -Indifference to press hostility
     -An Loc
           -Television media reports
     -Terence F. Smith
           -Conversation with unknown White House aide
                -Identity of aide
                     -Story of Hue loss
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
-Joseph W. Alsop
Moon shot
     -Audience
          -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
          -Diplomatic Corps
               -Invitations
                     -Acceptances
          -The President's daughters
          -Haldeman's children [?]
     -Television equipment
          -Increase in amount of coverage
The President's schedule
     -William M. Colmer luncheon
     -Bicentennial Gardens
          -Location
     -Frank T. Bow
          -Meeting with the President
                -Future plans
     -Colmer luncheon
          -Seating
               -Bow
                     -Age
Vietnam
     -Edward M. Kennedy
          -Criticism about Vietnam
                -White House strategy
     -White House position
          -Public opinion
          -Hawkishness
     -Supporters
          -Rockefeller
               -Kissinger [?]
          -Young Americans for Freedom [YAF]
                -Input
     -White House staff
```

-Buchanan -Timidity

-Show of pride for administration

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

- -Support for the President
- -Criticism of administration
- -Public reactions of leaders
 - -British view [?]
- -Public support for administration
- -Leaders
 - -Rockefeller
 - -William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - -Chancellor of University of North Carolina
- -North Vietnamese offensive
 - -State Department
 - -Public relations value
 - -Press reports
 - -Compared with Cambodian invasion
 - -North Vietnamese violations
 - -Horror stories on television
 - -Refugees
 - -US-South Vietnamese atrocities
 - -Reports
- -North Vietnam
 - -Propaganda about US advisors
 - -Truck driver incident

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:12 am.

- -US bombing of Haiphong
 - -Sanchez's view
 - -North Vietnamese and Soviet complaints -US responses

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:32 am.

- -North Vietnamese invasion
 - -US responses
 - -Softness of American Society
- -White House staff
 - -Problems
- -Soviet Summit
- -The President's instructions to Haldeman

White House staff

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

- -Problems
- -Dealings with aides
 - -Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz and Herbert G. Stein
- -Dealings with Cabinet officers
 - -John B. Connally
- -Ehrlichman and Haldeman
 - -Dealings with Connally
 - -Meetings with the President

Weather at Camp David

- -Spring
- -Sunlight
- -Rain and thunderstorms

White House staff

-Kissinger's staff

Vietnam

- -Haig
- -B-52s
- -Navy
- -Success
- -Vietnamization
 - -Muskie's criticism
 - -Cease-fire
 - -Problems

Haldeman left at 10:32 am.

Conversation No. 709-10

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 10:32 am - 10:47 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-9 (cont.)

```
-Meeting with Witold Trampczynski
-Photographs
-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
-Press
```

Henry A. Kissinger entered and Bull left at 10:32 am.

```
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Message to US
-Analysis
```

The President's forthcoming trip to Poland

-Announcement

-Trampczynski

-Soviets

-Possible cancellation

USSR

```
-Soviet Summit
-Collapse
-Initiative
-U-2 incident
-Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Possible similarities
-Joseph C. Kraft
-Conversation with Kissinger
-Soviet response
```

Trampczynski entered at 10:34 am.

Greetings

Photographs

-Arrangements

-Message for the President

Warsaw

-Kissinger's visit

Poland

-The President's last visit

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-10 (cont.)

- -Meeting with Wladyslaw Gomulka
 - -Chou En-lai
 - -Nikita S. Khrushchev
- -Letter inviting the President to visit Poland
 - -Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz
- -Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski
 - -Visit to US

US-Poland relations

- -US aspirations
 - -Differences
 - -Similarities to the President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and USSR
 - and USS
- -Polish-Americans
 - -Special ties
- -Mutual agreement
- -Polish-Americans
 - -The President's Polish acquaintances
 - -Locations
 - -John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia
- -The President's forthcoming visit to Poland
 - -Lodgings
 - -Size of party
 - -Request from the Polish government
 - -President and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - -Arrangements
 - -The President's stop in Teheran
 - -Meetings with officials
 - -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Tours
 - -Schools
 - -Hospitals
 - -Areas of interest
 - -Culture
- -Poznan Boys' Choir
 - -Past performances
 - -Future performances
- -Trampczynski's home town
 - -Warsaw
 - -Historic site
 - -Memories

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-10 (cont.)

- -Kissinger's visit in 1964
 - -Visit of Polish Jews
 - -Kissinger's reaction
- -Trampczynski's stay in US
 - -Berkeley, California
 - -University of California at Berkeley [?]
 - -Return visit
- -The President's trip to Poland
 - -Symbolism
 - -Benefits
 - -Economic cooperation
 - -Warsaw

Trampczynski left at 10:45 am.

Vietnam

- -Haiphong
- -Kissinger's meeting with press
 - -Ronald L. Ziegler
- -US bombing
 - -Haiphong and Hanoi
 - -Visit of Polish Ambassador with the President
 - -Invitation to visit Poland
 - -Soviet attitude
 - -Press reports

Kissinger's schedule

- -Meeting with press
 - -Robert J. McCloskey, Daniel Z. Henkin and Ziegler
- -Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting
- -Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- -WSAG meeting
 - -Kissinger's attacks on Democrats
 - -Support for North Vietnamese invaders

Kissinger left at 10:47 am.

Conversation No. 709-11

Date: April 17, 1972

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-10 (cont.)

Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:51 am Location: Oval Office
Unknown persons met.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Non-historical returnable] [Duration: 2s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:51 am.
Conversation No. 709-12
Date: April 17, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:51 am Location: Oval Office
<u>Unknown persons met.</u>

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Non-historical] [Duration: 33s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 709-13

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 10:51 am - 11:03 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- -Daniel Z. Henkin's speech
- -Democrats' criticism
 - -White House response
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler
 - -Defense of the President
 - -Attacks on Democrats
 - -Escalation in rhetoric
 - -[Forename unknown] Coleman [?]
 - -Previous conversation with the President
 - -Resolutions in Senate
 - -Curtailment
 - -Hanoi's response
 - -Charge of defeatism
 - -Administration's attacks
 - -Press coverage
 - -Edmund S. Muskie
 - -Hugh Scott and Michael J. Mansfield
 - -Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -PRC statement
 - -Mansfield statement
- -The President's Soviet trip
 - -Kissinger's conversation with PRC Ambassador
- -Mansfield
 - -Administration attacks
- -Soviets
 - -Kissinger offer

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-13 (cont.)

```
-Interim solution
                -Le Duc Tho
                     -Paris Peace Talks
-North Vietnamese invasion
     -Defeats
          -Attitude after bombing
     -US conditions for negotiations
          -North Vietnamese refusal
-Prisoners of war [POWs]
     -Exchange
          -Sick and wounded
-Democrats
     -Criticism
     -US policies
          -Possible hardline
          -Blockade
          -End of war
          -Involvement of Soviets
-Negotiations
     -May announcement
          -Timing
                -Kissinger's view
                -Upcoming press conference
          -Troop reductions
                -Show of confidence
                     -Paris Peace talks
                -Public impact
                     -Upcoming press conference
                -Number
     -Soviets
          -Kissinger's trip
          -Conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                -Message for the President
```

-Reason for the talks -Reply

-Administration's position

-Soviet summit

-Blockade

- -Joseph C. Kraft
- -Soviet response
- -Option

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-13 (cont.)

Ziegler entered at 11:01 am.

Soviet summit

-United Press International [UPI] story

-The President's itinerary

-Locations

-Ziegler

-Source from the Kremlin

Kissinger left at 11:02 am.

Vietnam

-North Vietnamese invasion

-William P. Rogers's televised statement before Senate Foreign Relations

Committee

-Number of North Vietnamese tanks with equipment

-Frank F. Church

-Criticism of Congress

-Length

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Schedule

-Visit to National Zoo

-S. Dillon Ripley III

-Table tennis game

-Planning

PRC

-Table tennis game

-The President's schedule

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Changes in schedule

Ziegler left at 11:03 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-13 (cont.)

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 11:07 am - 11:33 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler

-Edward C. Nixon

-Dinner

Weather

Vietnam

-William P. Rogers's statement

-President's view

-Edmund S. Muskie

-Rogers's difficulties

-Democrats

-Woods's opinion

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 44s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Pandas

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Table tennis team visit

-Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart

-Conflicts with Ziegler

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-John B. Connally

-Trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-14 (cont.)

-Ziegler -President's view

```
Soviet Trip
-Mrs. Nixon
-Schedule
-John V. ("Jack") Brennan
-The President's schedule
-People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
-White House staff
-President's instructions
-Rogers
-Mrs. Nixon
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 8m 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

The President's schedule

- -Meeting with retiring members of Congress
 - -Alexander P. Butterfield
 - -Army Chorus
- -Newspaper editors event
 - -Arrangements similar to Christmas parties
 - -The President's instructions
 - -Chorus
 - -Entertainment
 - -Music
 - -Location
 - -Reception line
 - -Number of people
 - -Entertainment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-14 (cont.)

```
-Duke Law School class event
-Whittier College class event
     -Enjoyment of party
     -Dinner
-Navy comrades event
-Social events
     -The President's Canadian trip [?]
     -Concert
          -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
     -Organization of American States [OAS] function
     -Concert
          -Kennedy Center
          -Buffet
          -Preparations
                -White House staff
-Mexican President's visit
     -State dinner
          -The President's Canadian trip
                -Previous State dinners
-Concert
     -Buffet
     -Toasts
-Navy comrades
     -Party
          -Reception
          -Army Chorus
                -Uniforms
          -Planning
                -Butterfield and Lucy A. Winchester
                     -The President's view
          -Modern dancers
                -Nancy Hanks
                -The President's request
-Modern dancers
     -Makeup of dancers
```

Arts

- -Hanks
- -Modern music
- -Modern painting
- -Entertainment during administration

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-14 (cont.)

-Quality of entertainment
-President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy
-Reputation for support
-Pablo Cassals
-Current administration
-Invitations
-Stuart
-Press distortions
-Entertainment at the White House
-The President's memorandum
-Stuart
-Publicity

Woods left at 11:33 am.

Conversation No. 709-15

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 11:35 am - 12:02 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Richard G. Kleindienst confirmation

-John N. Mitchell's report

- -Negotiations with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. and Paul J. Fannin
 - -Robert Mardian
 - -Clark MacGregor

Vietnam

- -William P. Rogers's testimony, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 - -Rogers's hearing
 - -Press coverage
 - -Clifford P. Case's questions
 - -Support for the President and Vietnamization
 - -Criticism of air war
 - -Press coverage
 - -Rogers's bearing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-14 (cont.)

-Frank F. Church's questions

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:50 am

[Conversation No. 709-15A]

[See Conversation No. 23-1]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

-Rogers's testimony

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:50 am.

[Conversation No. 709-15B]

[See Conversation No. 23-2]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

-Rogers's testimony

Kleindienst confirmation

- -MacGregor
- -Mitchell
 - -Advice on Kleindienst
- -Speech
 - -Scheduling
- -Ervin's tactics
 - -Delay of testimony
 - -Michael Gravel case
 - -Supreme Court
 - -Privilege of Congress
 - -Criticism of Ervin's position

Vietnam

-Rogers's testimony

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-15 (cont.)

- -Substance
 - -Haldeman's opinion
- -Television appearance
 - -Bearing
- -Criticism of invasion
- -Prisoners of war [POWs]
- -Plane loss
 - -Figures and casualties
- -US bombing
 - -Military reasons
 - -Diplomatic reasons
 - -Importance
- -Talents
 - -Legal abilities
 - -Public relations sense
 - -Clarity
 - -Compared with Henry A. Kissinger
- -North Vietnamese intentions
 - -Negotiations
 - -Possible offer from North Vietnam
 - -US bombing
 - -Cessation
 - -Conditions
 - -Violations
 - -Cessation
 - -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
- -US bombing
 - -Conditions for cessation
- -Changes of policy under the President
 - -Compared to 1968
 - -Troops
 - -Retaliation for attacks
 - -Protection of troops
 - -Rogers compared to Kissinger
- -North Vietnamese invasion
 - -Mechanized forces
 - -Source of supply
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - -Petroleum dependence
 - -US attacks on dumps
 - -Purpose of bombings

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-15 (cont.)

```
-News coverage
           -Edmund S. Muskie's resolution
                -Comments
                -Dangers to Democrats
                     -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's criticism
                     -George C. Wallace
Wallace
     -Tax reform
          -Letter to the President
                -Congress
                -Donald H. Rumsfeld's reaction
John B. Connally
     -Return from Texas
          -Timing
          -Haldeman's call
     -Appointment with Haldeman
     -Vacation in Texas
          -Benefits
          -Lyndon B. Johnson
                -Need to get back to Texas
Vietnam
     -US bombing
          -Haiphong
           -Supporters
                -William F. ("Billy") Graham
                -Nelson A. Rockefeller
                -Charles W. Colson briefing
                     -Albert E. Sindlinger poll
                           -Hawkishness of public opinion
                          -Voluntary reaction
           -Sindlinger's press conference
     -The President's previous conversation with Kissinger
          -Desire for negotiations
                -Possible partial deal
     -Negotiations with the USSR
          -Blockade
                -Imposition
                     -Timing
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-15 (cont.)

```
-North Vietnamese troop withdrawal from South Vietnam -Blockade
```

-Johnson's compared with the President's policies

```
White House staff
```

-Donald B. Rice

-Job with Rand Corporation

-Meeting with the President

-Value

-Departures

-Meetings with the President

-Kissinger's people

-Rice

-Meeting with the President

-George P. Shultz

-Reasons

-Departures

-Meetings with the President

-Scheduling

-Alexander P. Butterfield

-Individuals to meet with the President

-Stephen Hess

-Capitalization on White House job

-Meetings with the President

-President's view

-Unknown accountant [?]

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Mix-up with pandas

-Two People's Republic of China [PRC] related events on same day

-Rescheduling

-Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart

-Upcoming conversation with Haldeman

-Work with Ronald L. Ziegler

-Soviet trip

-Ziegler's staff

-Plane

-Reason for trip

-Favor to Mrs. Nixon

-Haldeman's conversation with William R. Codus

-Stuart's staff people

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-15 (cont.)

-Problems

-Mrs. Nixon's trip to Africa

-Codus

-Stuart

-Job description

-Assignments

-Work with Mrs. Nixon

-Lucy A. Winchester

-Soviet trip

-Restrictions

-Hairdresser on Soviet trip

-The President's insistence

-Work on previous trips

-Helpfulness

-Value to Mrs. Nixon

Soviet trip

-Warsaw stopover

-Announcement

Vietnam

- -Rogers's testimony
 - -Haldeman's call
 - -Complements
- -The President's call
- -Blockade
 - -The President's previous conversation with Rogers
 - -Rogers's statement
- -Options
 - -Exclusions
 - -Ground forces
 - -Nuclear weapons
- -Rogers's testimony
 - -Blockade question

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:52 am.

The President's schedule

- -Luncheon with William M. Colmer
- -Meeting with Rice
 - -Length

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-15 (cont.)

```
-Next job
-Rand Corporation
-Family
-Gift
-Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
-MacGregor
-Ervin
```

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

```
Kleindienst confirmation
-Ervin
-Meeting with MacGregor
-Jack Gleason
```

Haldeman left at 12:02 pm.

Conversation No. 709-16

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 12:02 pm - 12:06 pm Location: Oval Office

Rice's next job

-Location

The President met with Donald B. Rice, Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger and George P. Shultz; Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

```
-Locaiton

Photographs

Rand Corporation
-Rice's job
-Experience
-Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
-Shultz
-Press office
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-16 (cont.)

```
-Work
-Home
-Rice's family

Presidential gifts
-Money clip
-Cuff links
-Wife
-Compact
-Golf balls
```

Best wishes

Rice and Weinberger left at 12:05 pm.

```
Vietnam
     -Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
     -Troop withdrawals
     -Negotiations
          -US peace offers
          -US bombing
               -Soviet Summit
                    -Possible cancellation
                    -Toughness
     -Blockade
          -Implementation
     -North Vietnamese invasion
          -Number of divisions
               -Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration
          -US response
               -Defense of South Vietnam
                    -Odds
          -Ground forces
          -Press reports
```

-US Marines

Shultz left at 12:06 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person in Henry A. Kissinger's office.

Kissinger

- -Location
- -Meeting with Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and [David] Kenneth Rush

-Location

Conversation No. 709-18

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person in Henry A. Kissinger's office.

Kissinger

- -Return from meeting
- -Meeting with the President
 - -Length
 - -The President's departure
 - -Time

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 709-19

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 12:15 pm - 12:28 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

```
Vietnam
```

Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-William P. Rogers's testimony

-Praise from Kissinger

-Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin

-Purpose

-Interim compromise

-Difficulties

-Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr's report

-Demilitarized zone [DMZ]

-North Vietnamese capabilities

-US response

-Negotiations

-US bombing

-Soviets

-Pressure

-Dobrynin

-Blockade

-Implementation

-Immediacy

-Upcoming elections

-Interim agreement

-Rejection

-Consequences

-Possible Soviet actions

-Advantages according to Kissinger

-Soviet Summit

-People's Republic of China [PRC] summit

-Possible Middle East settlement

-Problem

-1972 election

-Continuation of war

-Possible outcome

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-19 (cont.)

```
-Haig's report
```

- -Cessation of offensive
- -Prevention of future offensive
 - -Timing

-Assurance by the Soviets

- -North Vietnamese offensive
 - -Possible actions by Hanoi
 - -US response
 - -Timing
 - -Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Failure
 - -Concern from Kissinger
 - -Blockade
 - -Impact
 - -Compared to 1969
 - -Weaknesses
 - -Circumvention
 - -Interim Solution
 - -POWs
- -Haig report
 - -Military Region One
 - -South Vietnamese performance
 - -Increase in South Vietnamese strength
 - -US bombing
 - -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
 - -Carriers
 - -Bombing support
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Number of sorties
 - -South Vietnam
 - -increase
 - -I Corps
 - -North Vietnamese weakness
 - -B-52s
- -Ground action
 - -South Vietnamese strength
 - -Improved situation
 - -Compared with Laos operation
 - -Retreats
 - -Provincial capitals
 - -Demoralization of North Vietnam

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-19 (cont.)

-US strategy
-Military action
-Toughness from the President
-Peace offers
-Soviet Summit
-Preservation of US integrity
-Blockade
-Implementation
-Timing
-Threat
-Soviet Summit

-Meeting with Polish Ambassador [Witold Trampczynski]

-Cancellation -Chances

-Symbolism

-Kissinger's Moscow meeting -Press reports

Kissinger left at 12:28 pm.

Conversation No. 709-20

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 12:28 pm - unknown before 12:31 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

The President talked with the White House operator at 12:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 709-20A]

[See Conversation No. 23-3]

[End of telephone conversation]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-20 (cont.)

The President's schedule
-Call to William P. Rogers
-Meeting with William M. Colmer
-Trip to and from Capitol Hill
-Clark MacGregor
-William E. Timmons

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:31 pm.

Conversation No. 709-21

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:28 pm and 12:31 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

President's schedule [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:31 pm.

Conversation No. 709-22

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:31 pm and 4:53 pm

Location: Oval Office

Manolo Sanchez met with an unknown person.

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Non-historical] [Duration: 40s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:53 pm.