

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

Conversation No. 717-1

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 10:54 am – 10:55 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler; the recording began at an unknown time while the conversation was in progress.

A statement  
-Release

Ziegler left at 10:55 am.

Conversation No. 717-2

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 and 10:57 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-105]

Conversation No. 717-3

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 10:57-10:58 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 23-106; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation.]

Conversation No. 717-4

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:58 and 11:04 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-107]

Conversation No. 717-5

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:04 am  
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 23-108]

Conversation No. 717-6

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:04 and 11:10 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

- J. Edgar Hoover
  - President's call to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Return call to Rose Mary Woods
  - Death
  - Announcement

Conversation No. 717-7

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:10-11:11 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

J. Edgar Hoover  
-President's statement  
-Public appearance

The President and Ziegler left at 11:11 am.

Conversation No. 717-8

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:16-11:17 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Lyndon B. Johnson.

[See Conversation No. 23-109]

Conversation No. 717-9

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:17 and 11:19 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:19 am.

Conversation No. 717-10

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:19-11:40 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

- J. Edgar Hoover
  - President's call to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Richard G. Kleindienst
  - Death
    - Announcement
    - Timing
  - Notification of President

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 11:24 am.

- President's statement
  - Wire stories
- Criticism
- President's statement
  - Written statement
  - Oral statement
  - Publicity
- Family
- Burial
  - Instructions
  - Family
  - Arlington National Cemetery
    - President's orders
      - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Kennedys
      - Robert F. Kennedy
    - Parents
      - Possible relocation
- Memorial service
  - Clyde A. Tolson
  - Ceremonies
    - The President's view
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Capitol Hill
  - White House

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-10 (cont.)

- John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
- National Cathedral
  - Dean Francis B. Sayre
  - Catholic Cardinal
  - Sayre
  - The President's view
- Arlington National Cemetery

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time before 11:25 am.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
-Telephone call

Butterfield and Ziegler left at 11:25 am.

An unknown person talked with the President at 11:26 am.

[Conversation No. 717-10A]

President's Schedule  
-Haig

[End of telephone conversation]

Hoover

- Memorial service
  - Public response
  - Place
    - Congress
    - Arlington National Cemetery
      - Amphitheater
    - Tolson
      - Call from Haldeman
- Charles W. Colson
  - Meeting with President
  - Cancellation
  - President's meeting with delegation from the Rebild National Park Society of Denmark
- Memorial service
  - Place
    - Arlington National Cemetery

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-10 (cont.)

Haig entered at 11:27 am.

Haldeman left at 11:27 am.

Vietnam

- Meeting with North Vietnamese
  - Message from Henry A. Kissinger
  - Value
- North Vietnamese offensive
- Negotiations
  - North Vietnamese positions
    - Troop withdrawal date
    - Nguyen Van Thieu overthrow
    - South Vietnamese notification
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker Thieu
  - William J. Porter
    - Forthcoming walkout at plenary session
  - Private meeting announcement
    - Public expectations
  - Kissinger's statement
- Kissinger
  - Return to US
- Soviets
  - Position
    - The President's view
    - Haig's view
- Negotiations
  - North Vietnamese posture
- Soviet Summit
  - Soviet reaction to strikes
- US military action
  - Blockade
    - Soviet Summit
      - Possible cancellation
        - Air strikes
    - Haig's view
  - Bombing
    - Haiphong
      - Closing of port

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-10 (cont.)

- Soviet ships
- Haiphong
  - Mining
  - South Vietnamese
- Soviets
  - Possible assistance to US
    - Incentive
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] announcement
  - Reaction to bombing
    - Kissinger's assessment
    - Risks to Summit
- B-52 strikes
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Plans
    - Time
    - Extent
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Air strikes
  - Carriers
  - Extent
  - Impact on North Vietnam
    - Stories

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 13s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- Military situation

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-10 (cont.)

- President's public relations advisors
  - Colson, John A. Scali, Ziegler
  - Negotiations
    - John D. Erhlichman's view
- Negotiations
  - News reports
    - Marvin L. Kalb
    - Kissinger on coalition government
    - Kissinger's position
      - Press reports
    - Sources
      - Peace groups
      - Press
      - State Department
    - Divisions within Administration
      - Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration
        - Clark M. Clifford
  - President's position
    - Note to Thieu
      - Delivery
      - US support

Ziegler entered at 11:38 am.

Meeting with President

Vietnam

- President's note to Thieu
  - North Vietnamese invasion
  - Course of battle
    - Spirit of South Vietnamese
  - Thieu's leadership
  - US support
  - Delivery
- Coalition government
  - State Department statement
    - Press reports
    - Denials
      - Gerald L. Warren

Haig and Ziegler left at 11:40 am.



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-10 (cont.)

Conversation No. 717-11

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:40 and 11:42 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-Meeting with Vernon A. Walters  
-Arrival

Meeting with Walters  
-Mrs. Lauren Jones

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:42 am.

Conversation No. 717-12

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:42-11:50 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-Signing of document

Vernon A. Walters, Judge Edward Tamm, Mrs. Lauren Jones, Mrs. Frederick J. Walters, James Walters, Vincent C. Walters, Mrs. Vincent C. Walters, Richard Walters, Peter Adams, Richard M. Helms, Rose Mary Woods, Major General Walter R. Tkach, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Mrs. Muriel Hartley and Nancy Ovellette entered at 11:43 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Meeting with President

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

-Arrangements

Bull left at 11:44 am.

Vernon A. Walters's promotion

Photographs

Swearing-in ceremony

-Instructions

-Oath

Walters's promotion

-Anniversary of military service

Walters's career

-President's trip to Caracas

-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

Photograph session

-Arrangements

-Helms

Introductions

President's gifts

-Cufflinks

-Rose Mary Woods

Walters

-New job at CIA

[General conversation]

Walters, et al., left at 11:50 am.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-12 (cont.)

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 11:50-11:51 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Stephen B. Bull.

J. Edgar Hoover  
-White House flag  
-Clyde A. Tolson

Next meeting  
-Attendees  
-Henry A. Kissinger

Butterfield and Bull left at 11:51 am.

[IN NUMBERING CONVERSATIONS, THE NUMBER "14" WAS INADVERTANTLY SKIPPED]

Conversation No. 717-15

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown after 11:51-11:57 am  
Location: Oval Office

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

President's meeting with Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters  
-New job at Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]  
-Richard A. Moore  
-L. Patrick Gray, III  
-Appointment  
-Clyde A. Tolson  
-Position at FBI  
-Administration  
-Appointments  
-Control of files

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

- Reasons
- J. Edgar Hoover
  - The President's view
  - Successor
- Gray
  - Tolson's approval
  - Moore's idea
  - Interim period

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:51 am.

President's meeting with Rebild National Park Society of Denmark

- Arrival
- President of Society
  - Erik Emborg
  - Introductions
  - Photographs
- White House tour
- Number
  - Ancher Nelsen

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:57 am.

FBI

- Directorship
  - John Moore
    - Background
    - Loyalty
    - Acting directorship
      - Richard G. Kleindienst
    - Work with Tolson

Haldeman left at 11:57 am.

Conversation No. 717-16

Date: May 2, 1972

Time: 11:57 am-12:06 pm

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-15 (cont.)

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Erik Emborg, Marshall Frederics, Borge Rosing, Christian Castenskjold, Jens Nicolaisen, J. U. Kari-Neilsen, Hein Christensen, Marius Andersen, Holger Larsen, Ancher Nelsen and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; members of the press and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Introductions

Photograph session

Americans traveling to Denmark

Ancher Nelsen

-Family background

Denmark

-President's visits

-Drinks

-People

-Farming

-People

-The President's view

-A visit by unknown person

President's gifts

-Memento

-Cufflinks

An unknown person

-The President's view

Denmark

White House

-Tour by Michael J. Farrell

Meeting with President

-Farewells

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 717-15 (cont.)

Emborg, et al., left at 12:06 pm.

Conversation No. 717-17

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 12:06-unknown before 12:08 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:08 pm.

Conversation No. 717-18

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:06 and 12:08 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-Meeting with Charles W. Colson  
-Cancellation

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:08 pm.

Conversation No. 717-19

Date: May 2, 1972  
Time: 12:08-12:42 pm  
Location: Oval Office

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

President's schedule

- President's meeting with Richard A. Moore and Richard G. Kleindienst
- Preparations
- Recommendations

J. Edgar Hoover's funeral

- Arrangements
  - Law enforcement officials
  - Television coverage
    - Setting
      - Arlington National Cemetery
      - Church
- President's eulogy
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - John K. Andrews, Jr.
- Setting
  - President's presence
  - The Kennedy family
    - John Foster Dulles
  - Outside
    - Weather
    - Television problems
    - Crowds
  - Arlington National Cemetery
    - Beauty
    - Ceremony
      - Police chiefs
      - Guard of honor
    - Airplanes

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Henry A. Kissinger's meeting with Melvin R. Laird
    - Expectations
  - President's meeting with Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - North Vietnamese demands
    - Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

- Kissinger's record
  - The President's view
  - Haig's view
  - Dealings with North Vietnam
- Raising hopes of the public
  - President's position
- Demands
  - Ceasefire
  - Coalition government
  - President's response
    - American public opinion
    - South Vietnamese morale
- Soviet Summit
  - Possible cancellation
    - Kissinger's response
  - Possible postponement by the President
    - Conditioner
  - US options
    - Possible public reaction
- Soviet trip
  - Mohammed Reza Pahlavi [Shah of Iran]
- Soviet Summit
  - Kissinger
    - Haig
  - President's critics
  - Public support
  - Postponement
    - Conditions
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] response
- Negotiations
  - North Vietnamese demands
    - Thieu
      - US response
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US air strikes
    - Hanoi-Haiphong area
      - Impact on negotiations

Soviets

- Kissinger's visit



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

- Gains
- Strategic Arms Limitations Talks [SALT]
  - Haig
  - Announcement
  - Kissinger
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Gerard C. Smith
  - Public appeal
    - Ziegler

Vietnam

- US policy
  - Press reports
    - Divisions within the Administration
      - Kissinger
      - William P. Rogers
    - Kissinger
    - The President's view
      - Role of the press
  - John A. Scali
    - Statements on President's role

Press

- Criticism
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Spiro T. Agnew
    - Location
    - Secrecy issue
    - New York Times*
      - Pulitzer Prize
  - Clark MacGregor

Vietnam

- Public relations efforts
  - Congress
- Haiphong strikes
- Public relations efforts
  - Press
  - Critics
    - Visibility
    - Democratic caucus

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

## Hoover

- Eulogy by the President
  - Length
- Criticism
- Previous replacement efforts
  - The President's view

## Stock market

## Economy

- General situation
- Wholesale Price Index [WPI]
- Unemployment
- Prices
- Employment

## Vietnam

- Soviet Summit
  - Impact of North Vietnamese offensive
    - Public relations problems
      - Toasting of Leonid I. Brezhnev
      - Signing of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Polling of public response
    - Relation to North Vietnamese offensive
    - President's cancellation of Summit
      - Statement
      - Wording
    - Public opinion
    - Conditions for Summit
  - Poll
    - Question
      - Relation to Summit
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - State at time of President's trip
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Populated areas
- US morale
- Public relations efforts
  - Charles W. Colson
    - Release of poll results

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

Hoover

- Funeral at Arlington National Cemetery
  - Qualifications
  - Amphitheater
    - Seating
    - Haldeman's view
  - Marine Band
    - Music scores
  - John Foster Dulles
- Military services
- Funeral
  - Military funeral
    - President's waiver
  - Location
    - Arlington National Cemetery
      - Demonstrators
      - Crowd control
- President's announcement
  - Kleindienst
- Death
  - Announcement

President's radio speech

- Subjects

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:08 pm.

President's meeting with Haig

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:42 pm.

Radio speech by President

- Price
- Timing
- Tenor of speech
- Timing
  - Moscow trip

President's schedule

- Trips

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

- Ehrlichman
- Naval Academy visit
- Trip to Texas
  - Dallas
  - John B. Connally ranch
    - Press focus
  - Television coverage
    - Size of crowd
    - Meeting with press
- Naval Academy visit
- Ehrlichman's view

Public relations

- Vietnam issue
  - Ehrlichman's and Colson's view
- Headlines
  - Meeting with Connally
  - Hoover
  - Unemployment
    - President's moves
  - Food prices
    - President's identification
    - Visit to supermarket
      - Colson
      - Marina von N. Whitman
  - Unemployment
    - Visit to jobless line in Buffalo, New York
  - President's efforts
    - Personal identification
- Vietnam

Haldeman left at 12:42 pm.

Conversation No. 717-20

Date: May 2, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:42-1:20 pm

Location: Oval office

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-19 (cont.)

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam

- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Trip from Paris
    - Time of arrival
  - Dinner with President
  - Arrival
    - Time
    - Trip to Navy Yard
      - Sequoia*
- Soviet summit
  - Timing
  - Decision
  - Hue battle
    - Kissinger's prediction
      - Haig's view
    - Outcome
      - Haig's view
    - North Vietnamese intentions
- Hue
  - Military value
  - Previous battle
  - Symbolism
- Soviet trip
  - Public perception of President's trip
    - Toasting of Leonid I. Brezhnev and Aleksei N. Kosygin
    - Signing of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - Compared with North Vietnamese victories in Vietnam
- Air strikes
  - Message for Kissinger
  - Length
  - Rationale
    - Domestic opinion
    - Diplomatic bargaining position
    - South Vietnamese morale
- Soviet trip
  - President's meeting with Kissinger
  - Possible cancellation
    - Timing

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-20 (cont.)

- Critics
- Public perception
  - Problems
  - Soviet aid to North Vietnam
- President's alternatives
- Kissinger's judgment
  - Soviet Union and People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - North Vietnam dealings
    - The President's view
    - Optimism
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Choices for President
  - South Vietnamese morale
    - US response
      - Importance
      - Attacks on North Vietnam
  - Blockade
    - Risks
      - Political problems
    - Possible failure
      - Reasons
      - North Vietnamese strengths
  - North Vietnamese alternatives
    - PRC
  - US bombing
    - Soviet involvement
      - Possible influence on North Vietnam
- Soviets
  - [Forename unknown] Rosehill's [sp?] previous view
  - Response to US
    - Choices
      - Humiliation of US
      - Détente
        - Brezhnev
      - US-PRC relations
    - Evaluation of motives
      - Haig's view
    - Commitment to North Vietnam
      - Berlin
      - Cuba
        - Nuclear submarines

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-20 (cont.)

- US alternatives
  - Summit
  - Loss of South Vietnam
    - Consequences for US
- North Vietnamese terms
  - Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Impact on US
      - International consequences
      - Domino theory
      - Thailand
      - Cambodia
      - Laos
      - Indonesia
      - Singapore
      - Malaysia
      - South Koreans
      - Middle East
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - Air strikes
      - Length
      - Resumption
      - Value
      - Impact on North Vietnam
        - Bargaining position
    - Continuation
      - Acceptance of losses
        - Compared with South Vietnamese
    - Air strikes
      - Sorties
        - Number
      - Targets
        - Problems
    - Hue
      - Attrition on North Vietnamese
        - Compared with An Loc
        - Thieu's view
          - Ellsworth F. Bunker
          - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    - An Loc
      - Air strikes
      - North Vietnamese losses

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-20 (cont.)

- Hue
  - Abrams
  - South Vietnamese efforts
    - Support of US
- Air strikes
  - South Vietnamese morale
- Thieu
- Impact on Soviet Summit
  - Kissinger
  - Blockade
  - Possible cancellation
- Air Strikes
  - Targets
    - Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Military targets
- Civilian casualties
  - Hue and An Loc
    - Public relations
      - John A. Scali
- Air strikes
  - Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Casualties
      - French reports
    - Possible sinking of Soviet ship
      - Abrams
      - Polish attaché
- Soviet Union
  - Reactions
  - Opinion of the President
  - Summit
    - Brezhnev
  - The President's view
    - William P. Rogers
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - International opinion
  - Motivation
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Success
    - Consequences for South Vietnam
      - South Vietnamese public officials
  - Communist methods of operation



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-20 (cont.)

- Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Soviet Union, PRC
- Alternatives for US
- US policy
  - Possible withdrawal
  - Soviet Summit
  - William J. Porter
    - Possible walkout at plenary session
- Kissinger
  - Statements
  - Forthcoming meeting with President
    - Haldeman
- President's policies
  - Previous alternatives
  - Withdrawals
    - Necessity
    - Vietnamization
- South Vietnam
  - Morale
  - President's message to Thieu
    - Bunker
    - Laird
- Air strikes
  - Thieu's knowledge
    - Laird
  - Haig's view
    - Abrams
      - Quang Tri
      - Meeting with Thieu
- Thieu
  - The President's view
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - South Vietnam
    - Commanders
      - Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam
      - [Forename unknown] Foo [Sp?]
  - Air sorties
  - Kontum
    - B-52s

Kissinger's meeting with Porter

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 717-20 (cont.)

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - North Vietnamese
    - The President's view
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Reasons
- Costs of war
- Soviet Summit

Haig left at 1:20 pm.