

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 720-1

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 8:45 am - 8:48 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

John B. Connally

- -Meetings with the President
 - -Time
 - -Subjects for discussion
 - -Time

Butterfield left at 8:48 am.

Conversation No. 720-2

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 8:50 am - 8:51 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Tricia Nixon Cox

- -Television interview with Barbara Walters
 - -Woods's view
 - -Duration
 - -Taping

Woods left at 8:51 am.

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 720-3

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:51 am and 8:55 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-163]

Conversation No. 720-4

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 8:55 am - 10:09 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Peter J. Brennan.

[Conversation No. 720-4A]

[See Conversation No. 23-164]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 8:56 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:58 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger

- -Location
- -Meeting with the President

-Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:14 am.

Tricia Nixon Cox

- -Interview with Barbara Walters
 - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's report
 - -Walters's demeanor
 - -Tricia Nixon Cox's appearance
 - -Walters's questions

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Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

- -Anti-war hecklers
 - -George S. McGovern's appeal
 - -Tricia Nixon Cox's handling
- -Tricia Nixon Cox's appearance
- -Tricia Nixon Cox's self-assessment
- -Personal strength
- -Manner
- -Comments on the President's job
- -Manner

Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Meeting with the President

Nixons' travel

- -Mrs. Nixon
- -Ronald L. Ziegler
- -Funding
- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's public appearances
- -Woods's opinion
 - -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Democrats

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 10m 49s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Forthcoming letter to Francis E. Meloy, Jr.

- -Retirement of Donald L. Jackson
- -Dictation

Kissinger entered at 9:14 am.

Kissinger's previous speech in New York -Response

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

- -Soviet Summit
- -Asia Society
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - -Foreign Affairs Council
 - -Audience
 - -Columbia University/Time-Life sponsorship
 - -Kissinger statement on Vietnam
 - -A heckler
 - -Hedley W. Donovan
 - -Applause

Vietnam

- -Press reports
 - -President's talk with Brennan
 - -Effect of President's televised speeches
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson comparison
 - -Kissinger's Asia Society audience
 - -Statement
 - -Response
 - -Donovan

Woods's schedule

-New York

Kissinger's schedule

-Speeches

Woods's schedule

- -Camp David
 - -Visit
 - -President's trip
 - -Departure time

Woods left at 9:15 am.

Soviet Union

- -Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -The President's instructions
 - -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Irina N. Dobrynin

Vietnam

-North Vietnam offensive

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

```
-US response
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- -Planning
- -Orders to Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- -Kissinger's schedule
 - -President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting
 - -Meeting with Haig and Moorer
- -Leak on blockade
 - -Dan Rather's report
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - -John A. Scali
 - -Haldeman
 - -John D. Ehrlichman

Haldeman entered at 9:21 am.

- -Rather
- -Ehrlichman
- -Richard A. Moore
- -Charles W. Colson
- -Scali
- -News reports
 - -Rather
 - -Wall Street Journal
 - -Rather report
 - -Source
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Moorer
 - -State Department leak
 - -Robert Keatley [?] report
 - -Terms for settlement
 - -Source
 - -William H. Sullivan
 - -Cable about cease-fire
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - -Haig
 - -Rogers
- -Department of Defense [DOD] briefing
 - -Soviet arms
- -Speculation
 - -President's previous remarks
 - -Settlement
 - -Blockade

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

- -Bombing
- -Sources
- -Marvin L. Kalb report
 - -Sources
- -Rather report
 - -Sources
 - -Haig
- -Press
 - -White House staff
 - -The President's instructions
 - -Moorer
- -Plans
 - -Kissinger meeting with Moorer
 - -Attendees
 - -Time
 - -President's review
 - -Haldeman
 - -Notes

Haldeman left at 9:30 am.

- -State Department involvement
 - -Timing
 - -Rogers
 - -U. Alexis Johnson
- -Blockade
 - -Advantages
 - -Disadvantages
- -Bombing
 - -Disadvantages
 - -Peace demonstrations
- -Blockade
 - -Commitment
 - -Soviet response
 - -India's response
 - -PRC response
- -Bombing
 - -Targets
 - -Dissent
- -Blockade
 - -Advantages
 - -Alternatives
- -Ground action

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

- -Latest reports
- -Weakness
 - -Kontum
- -North Vietnam casualties
- -North Vietnam attacks
- -US response
 - -US landing in panhandle
 - -Effect
- -US bombing
 - -Effectiveness
- -Blockade
 - -Effectiveness
- -Bombing
 - -Impact
 - -Haiphong
 - -Hainan
 - -President's instinct
 - -Su Nan [Sp?]
 - -William J. Porter walkout
 - -Kissinger backgrounder
 - -Talk with Henry Hubbard, Jerrold L. Schecter, and Max Frankel
- -Blockade
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Public support
 - -Advantages
 - -Decisiveness
 - -Effect on forthcoming election
 - -End of war
- -Bombing
 - -Advantages
 - -John B. Connally's advice
 - -Advantages
 - -Soviet response
 - -Cancellation of Summit

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

-Soviet Summit

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

-Timing with North Vietnam offensive -Public perception

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

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-Hue
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-Kontum

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

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-Bombing
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-Timing

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

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-Lines of communication
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-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.

-Ellsworth F. Bunker

-Instructions

- -Abrams
- -The President
- -Kissinger
- -Bunker
- -Abrams
- -Laird
- -Moorer
- -Abrams
- -Laird
- -Abrams
- -Moorer
- -[David] Kenneth Rush
- -Bunker
- -Laird

-Actions

-Motives

- -US position
 - -Haig
 - -Moorer
 - -Connally
- -Soviet reply to US message
- -Bombing
 - -Soviet response
 - -Effect on bombing
 - -PRC summit
 - -Effect of Hanoi and Haiphong bombing
- -Blockade
- -Soviet goals
 - -Kissinger's assessment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

```
-Foreign Affairs Council speech
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- -Hubert H. Humphrey, McGovern, Edward M. Kennedy
 - -Dealings with Soviets
- -Connally's advice
- -Escalation
 - -Issues in Vietnam
 - -Communist government
 - -Control of US policy
 - -US response
 - -Peace offers
 - -North Vietnam motives
- -US long-term interests
 - -Soviet Summit
 - -Cancellation
 - -Connally's advice
 - -Public response
 - -Dwight D. Eisenhower's cancelled trip to the Soviet Union
 - -Eisenhower's cancelled trip to Japan
 - -The President's trip while Vice President to Venezuela
 - -Bombing
 - -Soviet response
 - -Summit
 - -Comparison with blockade
 - -Connally's advice
 - -Avoidance of defeat
 - -Bombing
 - -Effectiveness
 - -Blockade
 - -Effectiveness compared with bombing
 - -Commitment
 - -Soviet Union response
 - -PRC response
 - -President's foreign policy
 - -Risks
 - -Legacy
 - -PRC
 - -Compared to Laos operation
- -End of war
 - -President's efforts
- -Dealing with Soviets, PRC, Europeans, and Japanese
 - -Alternatives to President
 - -Connally
 - -McGovern

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

```
-Humphrey
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- -Kennedy
- -Ability to conduct foreign policy

-US stakes

- -President's incumbency
- -US foreign policy
 - -Rogers and Laird
- -Disentanglement from war
 - -North Vietnam terms
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -May 31, 1971 proposals
- -Forthcoming election
 - -Effect on South Vietnam
 - -Blockade compared with bombing
 - -North Vietnam actions
 - -Break-off of talks
 - -Responsibility
 - -Porter
 - -Peace groups
 - -Press coverage

Forthcoming election

- -Democrats
 - -Draft of Connally
 - -Possibility

Vietnam

- -McGovern
- -Impact on US foreign policy
 - -Humiliation
- -Blockade
 - -Necessity
- -Bombing
 - -Moorer
 - -Extent
 - -Civilian casualties
 - -Targets
 - -Petroleum, Oils, and Lubricants [POL] dumps
 - -Dikes
 - -Civilian casualties
 - -Forthcoming study
 - -President's familiarity
 - -Evacuation of civilians

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

```
-Destruction
                     -Impact
     -Questions raised by Kissinger
          -The President's view
     -Effectiveness
          -Coordination with blockade
          -Relationship to averting defeat
     -Return of prisoners of war [POWs]
-South Vietnam performance
     -Collapse
     -Losses
          -Kontum
          -Provincial capitals
                -Slow movement
          -Quang Tri
                -Capture
                     -Value
-Blockade
     -Effectiveness
     -Only sure option
-Peace terms
     -Nguyen Van Thieu
```

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

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Forthcoming PFIAB meeting -Delay
```

-Refreshments

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

-US dignity

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Vietnam
-Blockade and bombing
-Effect on South Vietnam
-Effect on North Vietnam
-Connally's comment
-Haig
-Trip to South Vietnam
-Haldeman
-Trip to South Vietnam
-Abrams
-Lt. Col. W.E. Depuy
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

- -Kissinger's view
- -Assignment
 - -Bunker
- -Responsibility to the President
- -New assignment
- -Replacement for Abrams
 - -Laird involvement
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Kissinger's call to Laird
- -President's meeting with Laird and Rogers
 - -Johnson
- -Cable from Bunker
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Contents
 - -Abrams
 - -Moorer
 - -Abrams
 - -Bunker
 - -Moorer
 - -Rush
 - -Laird
- -President's meeting with Laird about the blockade
 - -Kissinger's instructions
 - -Secrecy
 - -Rogers and Cambodia comparison
 - -President's need for Laird's support
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] comparison
 - -President's decision on blockade
- -Rogers
 - -Meeting with the President
 - -Time
 - -Day
 - -Kissinger's schedule
 - -Day
- -President's speech
- -President's meeting with Rogers
- -Laird
 - -Meeting with Kissinger
- -Briefings
 - -Congressmen
 - -Rogers
 - -John J. McCloy
 - -Announcement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

-Time

- -J. William Fulbright
- -Michael J. Mansfield
- -Rogers
- -Laird
- -Kissinger's briefings
- -Press

-Timing

-The President's view

- -Kissinger meeting with Dobrynin
 - -Manner
 - -Speculation
 - -Response to questions

-Chou En-lai

Kissinger left at 10:09 am.

Conversation No. 720-5

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 11:37 am - unknown before 11:40 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's forthcoming meeting
-Press

Gifts

-Costs

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:40 am.

Conversation No. 720-6

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 11:40 am - 11:46 am

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-5 (cont.)

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Frank J. Rauscher, Elliot L. Richardson, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and James H. Cavanaugh; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

The President's schedule

-Previous meeting with the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

Greetings

-Rauscher

-Accomplishments

Photograph

-Arrangements

Steuben crystal ["Star of the President"]

-Walter H. Annenberg gift

[Photograph session]

Cancer program

-President's support

-Instructions to Rauscher

-New approaches

-Other health fields

-Concentration of resources

Gifts

-Cuff links

-New set

Congress

- -Duplicity
- -Health program
- -Revenue sharing
- -Welfare reform
- -Social Security
- -Spending policies

Rauscher, et al., left at 11:46 am.

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 72-6 (cont.)

Conversation No. 720-7

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 11:47 am - 12:09 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule

-John B. Connally

-Meeting with the President

-Day

-Camp David

-Speechwriters

-William L. Safire

-Speech content

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-John K. Andrews, Jr.

-Safire

-The President's view

-Draft

-President's efforts

-Andrews

-Kissinger's draft

-Previous speech

-Kissinger collaboration

Vietnam

-President's forthcoming speech on the blockade

-Winston Lord

-Kissinger's follow-up briefing

-Contents

-Public acceptance

-Conclusion of war

-Blockade

-Haldeman's view

-Andrews's assistance

-Safire

-Andrews's instructions

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-7 (cont.)

An unknown man entered and left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting -Dr. Edward Teller -Dr. William O. Baker -Advice on speech -Dissent -Ivy League college presidents -Media -Networks -Los Angeles Times -University presidents -Religious leaders -William F. ("Billy") Graham -John Cardinal Krol -Press opposition -Supporters of President's policies -International Brotherhood of Teamsters -Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Joseph ("Joe T.") Trerotola -George Meany -Franklin D. Murphy -Leaders of American society -Failures -Nelson A. Rockefeller's comments -Murphy's comments -Support for People's Republic of China [PRC] trip -President of Massachussetts Institute of Technology [MIT] -Criticism of South Vietnam policy -Lack of criticism of North Vietnamese offensive

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 3m 42s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-7 (cont.)

Vietnam

-President's forthcoming speech on the blockade

-Andrews

-Trip to Camp David -Time

Haldeman's schedule

-Trip

-Return to Washington, Dc

-Time

Vietnam

-President's forthcoming speech on the blockade

- -Kissinger
- -William P. Rogers's return
- -Kissinger briefing
- -President's briefing of congressional leaders
 - -J. William Fulbright
 - -Michael J. Mansfield
- -Rogers's briefing
 - -Foreign Relations Committee
- -Melvin R. Laird's briefing
 - -Armed Services Committee
- -Mansfield's schedule
- -Hugh Scott
- -President's briefing
 - -Size of group
 - -Relationship to speech delivery

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

President's meeting with Delbert L. Latta

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

Vietnam

-Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church Amendment

- -John Sherman Cooper-Church Amendment
- -Provisions
- -Defeat
 - -Likelihood
- -Possible vote
 - -Mansfield Amendment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-7 (cont.)

```
-Delay by "doves"
-Negotiations breakdown
-Soviet Summit
-Possible cancellation
-"Hawks" position
-Democrats and "Doves"
-Blame for North Vietnam intransigence
-Publicity
-The President's instructions
-Speeches
-Encouragement of enemy
-American leader class
-Murphy
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An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

-Economic concerns

-Businessmen

-Failures

Instructions

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

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Vietnam
-Scientists
-Soviet weapons for North Vietnam
-Quality compared with South Vietnam weapons
-American scientists refusal to work on weapons
-Contrast with Soviet scientists
-MIT
-Resolution on weapons research
-Defeat
-Grants

Haldeman's schedule
-Trip
-Time of departure
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Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

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Latta
-President's meeting
-Ronald L. Ziegler's comments
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Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 72-7 (cont.)

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

Vietnam

- -President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
 - -Trip to Camp David
 - -Andrews
 - -Kissinger
 - -Alexander P. Butterfield
 - -Rose Mary Woods
 - -Kissinger

Haldeman left at 12:09 pm.

Conversation No. 720-8

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 12:09 pm –12:15 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Delbert L. Latta, Delbert Springer, Mrs. Delbert Springer, Jill Springer, and John E. Nidecker; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

- -Latta
- -Springer
- -Mrs. Springer
- -Miss Springer

Photographs

Springer's woodcarving

- -The President's praise
- -Time spent

Photographs

-Arrangement

Wood

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

-Type and amount used

Springer's hometown

- -Size
- -Small-town America
 - -The President's view
- -Latta
 - -The President's view
 - -Support for the President

Gifts

- -Cuff links
- -Bow
- -Ashtray

Jill Springer

- -First name
- -Request for President's autograph
 - -For Jill
 - -For Rose Ellen
- -Gift of pen

White House tour

Goodbyes

-Latta

Latta, et al., left at 12:15 pm.

Conversation No. 720-9

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:15 and before 12:16 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:16 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-8 (cont.)

Conversation No. 720-10

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 12:16 pm - 12:18 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, Mrs. Jerome H. Jaffe, Miriam Jaffe, Celia Jaffe, and Ari Jaffe; and Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

-Celia Jaffe

-Ari Jaffe

Photographs

Jaffe's job

-Confirmation

Photographs

- -Arrangements
- -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - -Cameras used

Gifts

- -Cuff links
- -Tie clasps
- -Bows

Jaffe's work

Jaffe, et al., left at 12:18 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-10 (cont.)

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:18 and before 12:19 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with John D. Rockefeller III group

- -Length
 - -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- -Seating
- -Refreshments
- -Length
- -Seating

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:19 pm.

Conversation No. 720-12

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 12:19 pm - 12:32 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Rockefeller III, Grace Olivarez, Dr. Christian N. Ramsey, Jr., Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and Raymond J. Waldmann; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

- -Rockefeller
- -Nelson A. Rockefeller
- -Olivarez
- -Ramsey

Photographs

- -Arrangements
- -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- -Arrangements

Father Theodore S. Hesburgh and Father Edmund Patrick Joyce

-President's acquaintance

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 720-11 (cont.)

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Commission on Population
     -Dorothy Buffum Chandler
           -Discussion with the President on population problems
                -Rockefeller's commission [Commission on Population Growth and the
                     American Future]
     -Beginning
          -President's population message to Congress
                -Daniel P. Moynihan
     -Abortion issue
          -Sensitivity
          -Differences between commission and the President
     -President's message
           -Goals
                -Means
                     -Bureau of the Budget
                     -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
     -Report
           -Service of commission
           -Abortion issue
                -Handling
     -Population problem
           -Scope
                -Elliot L. Richardson
           -Legislation
           -Latin America
                -Urban areas
                     -Rio De Janeiro
                     -Sao Paolo
                     -Buenos Aires
           -Africa
           -India
           -People's Republic of China [PRC]
           -Japan
           -PRC
           -India
                -Difficulties
                     -Political leadership
                     -Indira Gandhi
                           -Studies
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-Speeches

-Citizens committees

-Moynihan's role -Bill Draper

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-12 (cont.)

-Dwight D. Eisenhower administration

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Richardson

-Recommendations

-Citizens committees

-Representation

-West Coast

-Chandler

-Nationwide

-Youth and minority representatives

-Population problem

-Gandhi's problems

-US problems

-Minority and younger members

-President's leadership

-Reports

-Follow-up report

-Work with Cole, Ehrlichman

-Richardson

-The President's view

Gifts

-Cuff links

Walter H. Annenberg gift

-Steuben piece ["Star of the President"]

Gifts

-Bow

Commission

-Work

-President's appreciation

Doctors, lawyers

Rockefeller, et al., left at 12:32 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-12 (cont.)

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:32 pm and before 12:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Meetings

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Conversation No. 720-14

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:32 pm and before 12:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Documents for signature

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Conversation No. 720-15

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 12:34 pm - 12:41 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Tricia Nixon Cox
-Television appearance
-Follow-up call
-Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:34 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-15 (cont.)

President's schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:41 pm.

President's viewing of interview videotape

President's schedule

-Camp David

-Time

-Woods's schedule

-Speech draft

Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Schedule

-Trip to Camp David

-Time with the President

President's schedule

-Blockade of Haiphong

-Forthcoming announcement

-Timing

-William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird

-The President's view

-Number of people

Vietnam

-Blockade

-Necessity

-Soviet Summit

-Cancellation

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 17s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-15 (cont.)

Tricia Nixon Cox's television appearance

- -Call from Woods
- -Call from Carol (Crothers) Finch
- -Barbara Walters
 - -Possible letter
 - -Anonymity
- -Appearance

Camp David trip

- -Woods's preparation
- -Time of departure

Woods left at 12:41 pm.

Conversation No. 720-16

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown person's schedule

- -Lunch
- -Meeting with the President

-Time

Conversation No. 720-17

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:41 pm and before 12:43 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-17 (cont.)

Conversation No. 720-18

Date: May 5, 1972 Time: 12:43 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-Camp David
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Rose Mary Woods

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.

Bull left at 12:43 pm.

Conversation No. 720-19

Date: May 5, 1972

Time: 12:44-unknown before 1:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

Haldeman's schedule

- -Weekend
- -Camp David
 - -Day of arrival
 - -Purpose

Vietnam

- -President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
 - -John K. Andrews, Jr.
 - -The President's view
 - -Concerns
 - -Confrontation compared with compromise
 - -Assignment
 - -Schedule
 - -Instructions
 - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
 - -Compared with Price and William L. Safire
 - -John B. Connally
 - -Connally
 - -Meeting with Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Contribution to President's decision

Soviet Summit

- -Possible cancellation
 - -Kissinger's position
 - -President's previous position
 - -Connally's position
 - -Soviet position
 - -Responsibility

People's Republic of China [PRC]

- -The President's trip
 - -Dr. Franklin D. Murphy
 - -Support for the President's trip
 - -Reasons
 - -American leader class
 - -Attitude toward Nixon's stand on communism
 - -Mao Tse-tung
 - -Chou En-lai
 - -PRC relations with Soviet Union
- -President's policies
 - -Reasons
 - -American leader class

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

- -Chou En-lai
- -Expectations
- -Public's attitude
- -Decision makers' attitudes

William P. Rogers

- -The President's view
- -Relationship with Andrei A. Gromyko
- -Attitudes

Vietnam

- -Blockade
 - -Kissinger
 - -Criticism
 - -Public support
 - -Criticism
 - -Media
 - -Possible Soviet Summit cancellation
 - -Announcement
 - -Soviet Summit
 - -Kissinger's views
 - -Soviet experts
 - -Helmut Sonnenfeldt
 - -Importance
 - -Comparison with Vietnam
- -Stakes in Vietnam
- -Bombing
 - -Effectiveness
- -Blockade
 - -Impact
 - -Scope
 - -Comparison with bombing
 - -Effectiveness

Kissinger entered at 12:52 pm.

- -President's decision
 - -President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting
 - -Murphy
 - -A previous dinner
 - -Frank Pace, Jr.'s conversation with Kissinger
 - -Support for President
 - -Social circles

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
PFIAB meeting
     -The President's view
     -Nelson A. Rockefeller
     -Dr. Edward Teller
     -Rockefeller
           -Support for the President's Vietnam policy
           -The President's view
           -Possible role in an administration
                -Vice President
           -Ideas
           -Friends
           -Reactions
     -Attendees
           -National Security Council [NSC] staff
                -Jack N. Anderson
                -Leaks
     -Review of meeting
           -Discussion of strategic weapons
                -"Open skies"
           -President's instructions
                -Study of conventional US forces
                     -Weaknesses evident in Vietnam War
                     -Soviet weapons
                           -Quality
                           -Styx missiles
                           -Compared with US weapons
                                -Effect on Nixon Doctrine
     -Quality of US weapons
           -Middle East
           -Previous conversation with Nihat Erim
           -Western Europe
           -Compared with Soviet weapons
     -President's instructions for a study
     -Work by US scientists
```

-Dr. William O. Baker

-Plans for programs
-Teller
-Ivy League colleges

-Kissinger's view

-Opposition by president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT] to Vietnam policy
-Murphy's suggestion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
-Speech by the President
          -Effects
                -Young people
                     -Influences
                           -Universities
                           -Media
                                -Los Angeles Times
                                -Newsweek
                                -Time
                                -Major networks
                                -New York Times
                                -Washington Post
-Failure of leader class
-President's decisions
     -Teller
          -Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] movement
     -Opposition to the President
          -Media
                -Time
                -Newsweek
                -New York Times
                -Washington Post
                -Networks
                -Los Angeles
          -Education leaders
          -Religious leaders
                -William F. ("Billy") Graham
                -John Cardinal Krol
          -Business leaders
                -"Main Street" businessmen
                -Elite
                     -Business Council
                     -Trade with Soviet Union and PRC
                           -Products
     -Support for the President
          -Farmers
          -Southerners
                -John C. Stennis
                -James O. Eastland
                -Richard B. Russell
-American leader class
     -Labor leaders
```

-International Brotherhood of Teamsters' previous meeting with President

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

- -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
- -Joseph ("Joe T.") Trerotola
- -William J. McCarthy
- -George Meany
- -The President's view
- -Contrasted with other leaders
 - -Business
 - -Education
 - -Press
 - -Religious
- -Relation to US decline
 - -H.G. Wells
 - -Examples from history
 - -British
 - -French
 - -Romans
 - -Greeks
- -Opposition to the Presidency
 - -Pre-World War II
 - -Post-World War II
 - -George C. Marshall Plan
- -Rockefeller's report to Kissinger
 - -Kissinger's meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and U. Alexis Johnson

President's forthcoming speech

- -Kissinger's conversations with Haldeman
- -Tone
- -Tone toward Soviets
- -Rhetoric
 - -Compared to the President's November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam
- -Blockade
- -Length
- -Time
- -Tone toward Soviets
- -Tone toward PRC
- -Request for support
- -Work by speechwriters
 - -Winston Lord draft
- -Time

Rockefeller's advice

- -Similarity to Connally's advice
- -Consequences of blockade

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Effect on forthcoming election

President's decision to enforce a blockade of North Vietnam

- -Consequences
 - -For Soviet Summit
 - -For forthcoming election
- -Alternatives
 - -Consequences
- -Effect on forthcoming election
 - -Charles W. Colson
 - -John D. Ehrlichman
- -Disagreement between Kissinger and the President
 - -Bombing
 - -Civilian casualties
 - -President's attitude
 - -Kissinger's attitude
 - -Reasons
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson's actions
 - -The President's view
 - -Irresponsibility of US military
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Blockade
 - -Scope
 - -Bombing
 - -Rail lines
 - -Highways
 - -Size
 - -Gunships
 - -Use around Hue
 - -Number
 - -B-25s
 - -Kissinger's and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s position
 - -Effectiveness
 - -C-130s
 - -Use by Air Force
- -North Vietnamese offensive
 - -South Vietnam performance
 - -New South Vietnamese General
 - -Gen. Ngo Quang Truong
 - -Movement of units
 - -Hue
 - -South Vietnamese division
 - -Gen. Ngo Quang Truong

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
-Harsh measures
                     -Execution of deserters
                -Press stories
-Blockade
     -Commitment
           -Laird and Rogers's position
     -Rogers
           -Briefing
           -Meeting with the President
                -Time
     -Laird
           -Meeting with Kissinger
                -Support for the President
                     -Rogers
     -Soviet response
           -North Vietnamese delegate to Moscow
                -Proposals
                     -Ceasefire
                           -US conditions for acceptance
-Negotiations
     -Ceasefire
-Blockade
     -President's decision
           -Necessity
           -Kissinger's concerns
                -Rockefeller
                -Connally
     -Implementation
           -Intensity
                -Leaks at State Department
                     -Ceasefire
     -President's speech
           -Cessation
                -Terms
                     -Ceasefire
                     -Prisoners of war [POWs]
                     -Ceasefire
                     -POWs
-POWs
     -Wives
     -Negotiations for release
```

-Conditions

-Cessation of bombing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Lifting blockade

-Possible North Vietnamese offers

-Withdrawal of POWs

-Return of POWs

-Honolulu

-May 31, 1971 proposal

-Blockade

-Kissinger's discussion with Soviets

-Summit

Press coverage

- -Henry Hubbard
 - -Meeting with Kissinger
 - -Assessment of President's actions
- -Washington Post editorial
- -Newsweek reporter
 - -Hubbard's information
 - -Assessment of President's actions
 - -Image of irrationality

Kissinger left at 1:19 pm.

- -Washington Post editorial
 - -Negotiations
 - -South Vietnam government
- -J. Edgar Hoover eulogy
 - -Television coverage
 - -Length
 - -Camera work

-Church layout

- -Length of eulogy
- -Reception
- -Televison coverage
 - -Camera shots
- -Mrs. [Forename unknown] Gartner [sp?]
 - -Card
 - -Victor Gartner [sp?]
 - -Stamp
 - -Photograph of the President
 - -American flag sticker

President's attire

-American flag lapel pin

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Times to wear

Vietnam

- -President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
 - -Kissinger's advice
 - -Length
 - -Tone
 - -Contents
 - -Delivery
 - -Ceasefire
 - -Duration
 - -Mining of Haiphong

Kissinger

- -North Vietnamese delegation
 - -Le Duc Tho
- -Lunch with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Postponement
 - -Instructions from the President
 - -Kissinger's tenor

Vietnam

- -Blockade
 - -White House staff leaks
 - -John A. Scali
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Work
 - -Amount of information given

President's public appearances

- -Impression to be conveyed
- -Impression from media
 - -Dan Rather
 - -John F. Osborne
- -Use of television
- -Rather
 - -Instant analysis

Media

- -Kenneth W. Clawson's idea
 - -Herbert E. Kaplow
 - -Job offer
 - -Acceptance

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Reasons The President left at an unknown time after 1:19 pm. ************************* BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 43s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 ************************** The President entered at an unknown time before 1:58 pm. A previous meeting -Connally -Attendance Media -Kaplow -Clawson -Background -Kaplow -Information from Mrs. Kaplow to Mrs. Clawson -Work with National Broadcasting Company [NBC] -Conflicts over content -Attitude toward treatment -Talk with Clawson An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:19 pm. Beverage order The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm. Media -Robert D. Novak paper

-Distribution

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
-Source
                -Rowland Evans
           -Copyright
                -Cambridge College
           -Novak's revisions
           -Distribution
                -Analogy to Pentagon Papers
                     -Use of Congressional Record
                -Internal distribution and instructions
Thomas E. Kurtz's book, Programming for Conservatives
     -Distribution
     -Arguments
Media
     -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
           -Demonstrations at Kent State
                -Story
                     -Distortions
                           -United Press International [UPI] reports
                           -Number of students participating
                     -Call of protest to CBS
                     -UPI reports
     -President's belief
     -Kevin P. Phillips's comments
           -Student attitudes on Vietnam
                -Ignorance
                -Survey
                -Campus culture
                     -Students
                           -Phillips's opinion
     -Murphy
           -Report on Dorothy Buffum Chandler
Vietnam
     -Demonstrations
           -Capitol Hill rally
                -Judy Collins
                     -Identified
                -William Kunstler
                     -Identified
                -Number attending
                     -Effect on Senate "Doves"
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
-Trenton rally
     -Number attending
-New York City rally
     -Number attending
-Tucson rally
     -Number attending
     -University of Arizona
-San Diego rally
     -Number attending
-University of Maryland rally
     -Number attending
-Kent State rally
     -Cancellation of classes
          -Glenn A. Olds
     -Anniversary observance
          -Speeches
                -Number attending
          -Parade
               -Number marching
          -Media reports
                -Distribution
                     -Colson
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 5m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Vietnam

-President's forthcoming speech on the blockade

-Time

-Television schedule

- -"Gunsmoke"
- -"Laugh-In"
- -Movies

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Time

President's assessment of past week

Vietnam

-North Vietnamese offensive

-Losses

-Provincial capital

-Hue

-Nguyen Van Thieu's visit

-Gen. Ngo Quang Truong

-Image

-Command of Hue

-Evacuation of refugees

-Deserters

-Execution wall

-Counteroffensive

-Highway reopened

-South Vietnam

-Air support

-Bombing

-Hanoi

-US casualties

-Kontum

-Refugees from cities

President's public appearances

-Hoover statement and eulogy

-Image of the President

-Law and order message

-Ehrlichman's view

-Frank L. Rizzo

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 17s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
*************************
        -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] directorship
             -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
                 -Tenure
        -Rizzo
             -Meeting with Ehrlichman
                 -Job possibilities
                     -Bicentennial job
    Bicentennial
        -Scope
        -Planning
             -Delay
             -Temper of nation
                 -Effect of Vietnam
************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 47s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
**************************
    Tricia Nixon Cox's television appearance
        -Rose Mary Woods's report
        -Interview with Barbara Walters
             -"Today" show
    Patrick J. Buchanan
        -Interview with National Educational Television [NET]
             -Criticism of media
                 -South Vietnamese defeats
                 -Busing
                     -President's proposals
```

-President's meetings with press

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

```
-Press
               -Liberal domination
               -Recruitment of conservatives
                     -David Brinkley
               -Pulitzer Prize
                     -Anderson
                     -New York Times
                     -Anderson
                          -Pakistan issue
                               -President's view
Media
     -New York Times
     -Washington Post
     -Time
     -Newsweek
     -Life
     -Three major networks
Vietnam
     -Blockade
          -Navy
          -Mining
               -Functioning of mines
               -Advantages
                     -Moorer
                     -Prior warning
          -Announcement
          -Congressional criticism
               -Difficulties
                     -POWs
                     -US forces
                     -Communist government in South Vietnam
          -Purpose
          -Criticism
               -George S. McGovern
               -Difficulties
Press conference
     -Arrangements
The President's schedule
     -Executive Office Building [EOB]
```

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Rose Mary Woods -Connally

Marjorie P. Acker entered at an unknown time after 1:19 pm.

Woods

-Location -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

-President's call

Acker left at an unknown time before 1:59 pm.