

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 723-1

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 10:03 am - 10:04 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger,

Soviet trade delegation -Seating arrangements -Meeting with the President -Length

Kissinger left at 10:04 am.

Conversation No. 723-2

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 10:04 am and before 10:06 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Alexander M. Haig. Jr. -Telephone call -Time -Purpose

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 723-3

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 10:06-10:07 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Soviet trade delegation -Press picture -Ziegler's presence -Size of group

Ziegler left at 10:07 am.

Conversation No. 723-4

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 10:07 am and before 10:08 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Gifts to Soviet representatives -Cuff links -Time to present

Meeting with Soviet representatives -Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:08 pm.

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 723-5

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 10:08-11:01 am Location: Oval Office

<u>The President met with Nikolay S. Patolichev, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Peter G. Peterson, Henry A. Kissinger, and Peter M. Flanigan; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.</u>

Greetings

President's knowledge of Russian

President's forthcoming Soviet trip -Russian language

Photographs -Seating arrangements

Dobrynin

Interpreter

US-Soviet Union relations

-Trade

-Peterson's report

-Previous meetings between Kissinger and Leonid I. Brezhnev, Kissinger and Dobrynin

Photographs

-Arrangements -Copies

[Photograph session]

Russian language -Compared with Polish

Seating

Soviet Union

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-5 (cont.)

-Meetings with the President -Patolichev report to Politburo -Central Committee -The President's view -Trade relations with US -Peterson's meetings with Patolichev -Expansion -New era -Discussion between US and Soviet officials -Peterson -Meetings with Maurice H. Stans -Patolichev -Dealings with Peterson -Benefits -Economic relations -Expansion -Recent figures -Obstacles -Most Favored Nations [MFN] status for Soviet Union -Importance -Political problems in US -Other nations -Patolichev -Report to Central Committee -Value of US trip -Economic relations -Credit -Current problems -Benefits -Expansion -Current problems -Soviet problems -Resolution of problems -Reciprocity -Foreign trade -Cost of machinery -Need for credit -Machinery -Imports -Amount of credit -Credit in foreign countries -France

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-5 (cont.)

-Italy -West Germany -Great Britain -Japan -Amounts -Bargaining -Oil pipelines -Gas pipelines -Copper ore -Problems -Private solutions -Example of Far East seaport -Construction -Credit for Soviet Union -Orders for goods -Effect on US-Soviet trade -Economic relations with US -President's trip to Soviet Union -Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev -Grain trade -Terms -Credit for Soviet Union -Agricultural problems -Patolichev's view -Current conditions -Frost in Siberia -Seasons -Patolichev's work during World War II -Location -Credit for Soviet Union -Grain -Purchases by Soviet Union -Exports -Amounts -Costs -Future trade -Problems -US-Soviet resolution -Credits -Terms -President's comments -President's approval of previous meetings

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-5 (cont.)

-Patolichev, Earl L. Butz, Stans, and Peterson -Kissinger, Brezhnev and Dobrynin

**US-Soviet relations** -World War II alliance -Cooperation among leadership -Military might -Economic strength -Differences -Philosophy -Areas of conflict -Resolution -Future relations -Reciprocity -Trade development -Long-term interests -Resolution of differences -Objectives -Tactics -US-Soviet Union Summit -Significance -Soviet leadership and people -President's respect -President's meetings with Brezhnev -Goals -Future cooperation -Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank credits -MFN status -Congressional approval -President's position -Differences -Resolution -Mutual interests -Long-range goals -Economic relations -Distractions -Areas of conflict -Economic agreement -Importance -President's meeting with Brezhnev -President's authority -Patolichev's report to Brezhnev and other leaders

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-5 (cont.)

-A joint commission

Gifts

-Cuff links -President's seal

Artifacts in Oval Office -Walter H. Annenberg's gift ["Star of the President"] -Steuben glass design -Crewelwork by Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Patolichev, et al., left at 11:01 am.

Conversation No. 723-6

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 11:01 am and before 11:02 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signatures

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:02 am.

Conversation No. 723-7

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 11:02-11:21 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President's previous meeting with Nikolay S. Patolichev -Ziegler's statement -Meeting description

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

-Trade relations -Agriculture -Industrial products

Vietnam

-Blockade -President's decision -Press commentary

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:02 am.

President's previous meeting with Soviet trade representatives -Ziegler's briefing -Soviet summit -Questions

Refreshment order

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:08 am.

President's previous meeting with Soviet trade representatives -Ziegler's statement -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s suggestion -Bilateral discussions -Arms limitation -Trade -Leonid I. Brezhnev -Purpose of meeting -Trade -Wording of statement -Progress -Trade expansion -Vietnam discussion -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:08 am.

-Wording of statement -Kissinger's view -Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin, Maurice H. Stans -Exchange of representatives -Vietnam topic

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-7 (cont.)

-Ziegler's comment -Soviet Summit -New announcements -Significance for North Vietnam

#### Ziegler left at 11:10 am.

Soviet summit -Poland's prediction -Significance -Kissinger's call to Jerzy Michalowski -President's meeting with Patolichev and Dobrynin -US-Soviet relations -President's comments on World War II alliance -Winston S. Churchill's experience -Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev -Adolph Hitler -Kissinger's call to Michalowski -Ships in Haiphong -Polish response -Significance -President's trip -Likelihood of cancellation -Press comments -Alarmist -Ziegler's reports -The President's view

#### Vietnam

-Blockade -President's letters to Brezhnev and Chou En-lai -People's Republic of China [PRC] statement -Tone -Wording -Message to Chou En-lai -US goals -PRC statement -Restraint -Soviet statement -Wording -PRC statement -Wording -PRC statement -Kissinger's view

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-7 (cont.)

-Press reaction -Soviet summit -Political repercussions -Press -Democrats -Agreements -Benefits for president -Blockade -Decision -Kissinger's view -Kissinger staff's assessment -William P. Rogers -Soviet summit -President's previous decision -Risks -Election -Soviet response -Motives -Previous decisions -Cambodia -India-Pakistan war -Risks -Soviet summit -Likelihood of Cancellation -North Vietnam offensive -Military region one -B-52 strike -Time -Extent -Location -South Vietnam marine landing -Number -World War I and II -President's expertise -Suggestion for Haig and military -Tanks -Use in World War I -US tanks -Use in South Vietnam -The President's suggestion -An loc -B-52 attacks

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-7 (cont.)

# -Time -Impact -Forthcoming Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting -Kissinger's view

-Hue

-Use of President's suggestions -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

-Soviet summit -President's preparations -Kissinger meeting with Dobrynin -Likelihood of Cancellation -Kissinger's view -Previous meeting with Patolichev -Significance -President's preparations

Kissinger left at 11:21 am.

Conversation No. 723-8

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 11:21 am until 11:22 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

President's schedule -Executive Office Building [EOB]

The President and the unknown person left at 11:22 am.

Conversation No. 723-9

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown between 3:03 pm and 3:09 pm

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

An unknown person's return -Return call

Conversation No. 723-10

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 3:09 pm - 3:24 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

-Soviet Union response to the blockade -Kissinger's previous meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Leonid I. Brezhnev message -Content -Meanings -Wording -Major point -Soviet ships -US attacks -Interference -Kissinger's reassurance

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:09 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:24 pm.

US-Soviet Union relations -Brezhnev's message -Soviet Summit -Reply by Dobrynin -US statements

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-10 (cont.)

-German Treaty -Dobrynin references -US position -Soviet Summit -Cancellation -Timing -Likelihood -Kissinger's view -Dobrynin's assessment of diplomatic moves -President's letter -Comparison to Cuban missile crisis -Public statements -President's peace proposals -Soviet Summit -Impact on North Vietnam Vietnam -North Vietnamese offensive -US countermeasures -Effect -President's trip to Soviet Union -Kissinger's trip to Peking -Blockade -Press response -Ronald L. Ziegler's report -World War III predictions -President's meeting with Nikolay S. Patolichev -Significance -Politburo decision -Mining -US air strikes -Cessation in Hanoi and Haiphong -Time -Damage -Timing -Soviet Summit -Soviet ships -Instructions to Adm. Thomas H. Moorer -Reason -Soviet Response -Soviet Summit -Demonstrations

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-10 (cont.)

-Inspiration -William P. Rogers -Forthcoming meeting with the President -Time -Substance -Peace proposals -Instructions for Rogers -Comments before Soviet Summit -Soviet Summit -Rogers's knowledge of Polish response

President's forthcoming meeting with Rogers -Time -Substance of discussion -Soviet response to blockade -State Department -Statement -Release -Time

#### Vietnam

-Blockade -Soviet response -Tone -US response to Soviet note -Timing -Delivery -Study -Dobrynin -Attitude -Soviet Summit -Dobrynin's stake -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Dobrynin -Soviet note -US response -Time -German Treaties -Ratification -Soviet moves -Time -Cancellation -Likelihood

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-10 (cont.)

-Kissinger's view -Polish response -Interpretation -Timing -Press response -German Treaty vote

President's meeting with Rogers

Kissinger left at 3:24 pm.

Conversation No. 723-11

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 3:24 pm and before 3:25 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule -Meeting with William P. Rogers -Time -Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger -Camp David helicopter -Time -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:25 pm.

Conversation No. 723-12

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 3:25pm - 3:39 pm Location: Oval Office

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

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Meeting with William P. Rogers -Time -Henry A. Kissinger

Manolo Sanchez -Health -Schedule -Key Biscayne

#### Vietnam

-Blockade -President's meeting with Rogers -Rogers's public statements -Peace offer -Kissinger's view -President's line -Rogers's line -Melvin R. Laird's line -Administration's stance -Prisoners of war [POWs] wives -Forthcoming events -Locations -Boston, Richmond, Washington -President's presence -Meeting with the President -Timing -Press reaction -Congressional strategy -Clark MacGregor's recommendation -Sense of Congress resolution -Similarity to Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church Amendment -Fund cutoff -Timing -Advantages for administration -Kissinger's advice -Instructions to Haldeman -MacGregor -"Hawks" -President's goals -South Vietnamese morale -Nguyen Van Thieu

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-12 (cont.)

-Effect of Congressional actions -Congressional actions -Administration actions -Case-Church Amendment -John Sherman Cooper-Church Amendment -Resolution to cut off funds -Administration response -Kissinger's advice -President's decision -Time -Rogers meeting -Delay -Blockade -Thomas W. Benham poll results -Difference between student demonstrators and general public -Demonstrations -Administration response -Minnesota -President's meeting with Rogers -Haldeman's and Kissinger's presence -Press conference -Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger -Strategy with Congress -Lyndon B. Johnson's policies -Concern for Senate, Soviet Union -Congress -Administration stance -Blockade -Press response -Alarmism -Ronald L. Ziegler's report -Fear of World War III -Laos -Cambodia -People's Republic of China [PRC]

Haldeman left at 3:39 pm.

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-12 (cont.)

Conversation No. 723-17

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 3:39 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-79]

Conversation No. 723-13

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown between 3:39 pm and 3:40 pm Location: Oval Office

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

[See Conversation No. 24-80; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Conversation No. 723-14

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: Unknown after 3:40 pm and before 3:45 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's trip to Camp David -Arrangements for secretarial services

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 3:45 pm.

Conversation No. 723-15

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 3:45-3:51 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Woods's location -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

President's schedule -Camp David -Departure time

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:\_42s\_]

## END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Manolo Sanchez -President's previous visit -Sanchez's response -Sanchez's health -Knee operation -Recovery time -Possible trip to Florida

Vietnam -Blockade -Elmer H. Bobst's letter -Support for the President -Support for peace -Walter Williams -President's speech -Message to the President

Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-15 (cont.)

-Public support -Public support for the President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal-Returnable] [Duration:\_41s\_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:45 pm.

The President's schedule -Forthcoming meeting with William P. Rogers -Rogers's arrival -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's attendance -Arrival

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:51 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: <u>2m 7s</u>]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Soviet Summit -President's attitude -Possible cancellation

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-15 (cont.)

President's meeting with Rogers -Instructions to Woods -Bull

Woods left at 3:51 pm.

Conversation No. 723-16

Date: May 11, 1972 Time: 3:51-4:44 pm Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with William P. Rogers, Henry A. Kissinger, and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Greetings

Weather

-Lack of privacy for the President -Lyndon B. Johnson's greeting tourists

#### Vietnam

-Rogers's statements -Business Council -Forum -Support for the President -Peter G. Peterson -Peter M. Flanigan -Problems in getting support -Plans -Similarity to subcabinet meeting -Response -Difficulty of decision to blockade -Political risks -Effect on business market morale -Need to support the President -Peterson and Flanigan's roles -Congressional testimony -Timing

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Kissinger -Melvin R. Laird -Press conference -Timing -Reason -Soviet Summit -President's meeting with Nikolay S. Patolichev -Significance -Politburo awareness -Polish message -President's suspicions -Parallel to John F. Kennedy and Cuban missile crisis -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -President's meeting with Patolichev -Substance of discussions -Vietnam -Ronald L. Ziegler's questions -Length -Previous discussion by Patolichev with Peterson, Maurice H. Stans -Patolichev's statements -The President's view -Peterson -Flanigan -Control of Peterson and Earl L. Butz -Possible change in Soviet policy -Bank credits -Most Favored Nation [MFN] status -Official statements compared with action -Soviet response to the President's letter -Official Response -US response -Delay -Interim response -Soviet statement -Tenor -Richard M. Helms's view -Alfred L. Atherton draft -Distribution by Ziegler, Robert J. McCloskey -Soviet statement -Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union [TASS] -Coordination between Rogers and Kissinger

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Timing -Soviet Statement -Method of distribution -Motives -Summit cancellation -Timing -Risks -Challenge to blockade -Soviet statements -US official's response -Media reports -Leaks -White House sources -National Broadcasting Company [NBC] -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] -Check of Kissinger's office -John A. Scali -Ziegler -National Security Council [NSC] staff -Robert B. Semple story in New York Times -NSC meeting details -Kissinger, John B. Connally -Handling of leaks -Official comments -State Department -President's schedule -Camp David -United Nations [UN] Security Council action -Soviet Union, People's Republic of China [PRC] positions -Incidents at sea -Negotiations with Soviets -Department of Defense [DOD] position -John W. Warner -Soviet ships -US ships and aircraft proximity to Soviet ships -Limitations on US forces' overflight -Problems -Intelligence units' position -Negotiations With Soviets -Dangers -Delay -Paper For The President

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Negotiations -Indochina -Ceasefire -Other parties -Cambodia, Laos -Blockade -British statement -Pierre E. Trudeau's statement -Belgian statement -Malaysian statement -Negotiations -Geneva-type convention -Participants -British -French -Soviets -PRC -US -Laos -Cambodia -North and South Vietnam -Timing -British proposal -Sir Alec Douglas-Home -Soviet response -PRC -US stance -Soviet Summit -President's previous offers -Details -Laird -Public comments -Soviet Summit discussions -1954 Geneva Convention -Issue -Ceasefire -Guidelines -Soviet response to Geneva-type conference -Paris negotations -Limitations -Scope of conference -Laos

## Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Cambodia -British proposal -Possible response -Rogers's and Kissinger's advice -1954 conference -French role -Study of proposal -British initiative compared with French initiative -US response -Previous negotiations -Supporters in Congress -John C. Stennis -Funds termination -Current proposal -President's terms -White House reaction to funds cut-off proposals -Possible effects of cutoff -Ceasefire -Withdrawal of US troops -Prisoners of war [POWs] -Timing -Negotiations -President's stance -Actions in Congress -Problems for South Vietnam -Nguyen Van Thieu -President's proposals -Congressional proposals -Problems -Blockade -President's decision -Potential opposition -Effect on South Vietnam -Support for President's peace proposals -Stennis and Robert C. Byrd's stance -Public statements -Wording -Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church amendment -Stennis's position -Byrd proposal -Congressional action -Sense of Congress resolution

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Provisions -Support for President -President's concerns -Public opinion -Negotiating position -House Armed Services Committee -Need for Congressional appropriations -Delay in White House response -Stennis and Byrd -Importance -Public statements -Adm Thomas H. Moorer [?] -Instructions to Haldeman for White House staff -Laird -Military action -Plans for weekend -Railroads -Petroleum, Oil, and Lubricants [POL] -B-52 strikes -Number in South Vietnam -An Loc -Kontum -An Loc -Kontum -Plans for future -Haiphong -Soviet ships -Railroads -POL -Power plants -Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] discussions -U. Alexis Johnson -Limitations -B-52s strikes -Public support -Erosion over time -Effect on North Vietnam -Congressional action -Time -Threat to negotiations -Danger to Summit -Message to Congress from White House

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Effect on President's negotiations -Incentives to North Vietnam

# Rogers left at 4:27 pm.

Vietnam
-A Geneva-type conference
-Kissinger's assessment
-British, French, Cambodian, Soviet, and Chinese roles
-Congressional action
-Stennis
-Blockade
-Public support
-Congressional support
-Press comments
-Soviet Summit
-Congressional resolution effect
-Timing of Patolichev's visit
-NBC news report
-Distribution
-Jerrold L. Schecter's comment
-Dobrynin
-Rogers's comments
-Kissinger's view
-Cancellation
-Timing
-German treaties
-Public support for the President in event of cancellation
-Timing
-Damage to Soviets
-Timing
-Leonid I. Brezhnev note
-Rogers's knowledge
-Tenor
-Soviet ships
-US guidelines
-Dobrynin letter
-Interpretations
-Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
-Soviet Summit
-Parallel to John F. Kennedy and Cuban missile crisis -Cancellation
-Cancentation

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Timing -German treaties -Soviet actions -Possible scenarios -Press campaigns -Demonstrations in US -Effectiveness -Soviet Summit -Soviet response -Tone -Cancellation -Kissinger's expectations -Press reports -Rogers's report about leaks -Connally at NSC meeting -Leaks -Rogers's knowledge -Marvin L. Kalb story -Sources -White House -State Department -Content -Stories on Summit -Kalb story -Ziegler -Soviet Summit -Cancellation -Time -Likelihood -Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin -Advance party in Moscow -Preparations -Cancellation -Timing -Likelihood -Blockade -Press relations -Connally -White House staff -Strategy for Congress -Kissinger's forthcoming call to Stennis -Appeal for support

# Tape Subject Log (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-16 (cont.)

-Congress -Role in foreign policy -Support for President -Church -Motives -Blockade -North Vietnam response -Necessity for US -North Vietnamese offensive -South Vietnam collapse -The President's efforts -Likelihood -North Vietnam collapse -Likelihood -An Loc -Capture of North Vietnamese commander -Interrogation in Saigon -Similarity to *The Godfather* -Soviet Summit -Patolichev -Kissinger's view -NBC -Dobrynin

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:41 pm.

Haldeman left at 4:43 pm.

Trip to Camp David

The President, Kissinger and Butterfield left at 4:44 pm.