



-1-

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-1

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Kennedy Center

- Use of Presidential box
- Plans by Haldeman and William E. Timmons
- Guests of President
 - Cabinet officer or White House staff member
 - Congressmen and Senators

Conversation No. 876-2

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Transcription of memorandum
-Rose Mary Woods

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Conversation No. 876-3

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-3 (cont'd)

Request that Henry A. Kissinger

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Conversation No. 876-4

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: 9:30 am - 10:29 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

France's election

- Gaullists
 - Results
 - Computer projections
- Communists and Socialists
 - Washington Post* articles by Jonathan Randall
 - Compared to *New York Times I* [?]
 - Distortions
- Gaullists
 - Losses of deputies
 - Compared to reporting on winning of majority
 - Significance
 - Reasons
 - Impact of unity between Communists and Socialists
- Message to Georges J. R. Pompidou
 - President's congratulations
 - Hot line

People's Republic of China [PRC]-US relations

- Liaison office
- Announcement by President
 - Press conference
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Format
 - Advanced notice

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Release of John T. Downey
- Publicity

Vietnam

- Press coverage
 - James B. ("Scotty") Reston
- Cease-fire
 - Criticism
 - Cambodia
 - Casualties

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National security]

[Duration: 6s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Vietnam

- Cease-fire
 - Cambodia
 - Casualties
 - Weaponry
 - Defeat
 - US Air Force attacks
 - B-52 strikes
 - Chup Plantation
 - Civilians
 - Daily report
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Elliot L. Richardson
- Infiltration
 - Cease-fire violations
 - Response by US

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Delay
- Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Message to North Vietnam
- B-52 strikes on Ho Chi Minh Trail
- Aid to North Vietnam
 - Baltimore Sun* editorial
 - Criticism of President
 - Justifications
 - National conscience
 - Congressional votes
 - Anti-war advocates
 - George S. McGovern
- McGovern
 - Meeting with Kissinger
 - Gridiron
 - Statements during 1972 campaign
 - Criticism of President
- POWs
 - Impression on public
- Book on Vietnam War
 - President's memorandum to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Robert G. K. Thompson
 - No Exit from Vietnam*
 - Publisher
 - Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis
 - Joseph Alsop
 - Nicholas P. ("Nick") Timmesch
 - Thompson
 - Knowledge of war
 - Timmesch
 - Kissinger's conversations
 - Alsop
 - Laos
- Laos and Cambodia
 - North Vietnam's withdrawal
 - B-52 strikes
 - Massive basis
 - Frequency
 - Impact on US aid to North Vietnam

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Necessity
- South Vietnam
 - Fighting with North Vietnam
 - Growing strength
 - Press reports
 - Washington Post*
 - [First name unknown] Lippman [?]
 - Distortions
 - Cambodia
- Thompson's book
 - Insights
 - US troop commitments
 - Ngu Dem Diem
 - Overthrow
 - Comments on US will
 - Consequences of withdrawal
 - Impact on role of US in world
- US policy
 - President's November 3, 1969 speech
 - Demonstration of will
- Peace settlement
 - Criticism
 - Paul Warnke's speech
 - Conversation with Gen. Alexander M. Haig and Kissinger during 1972 Campaign
 - Distortions
 - 1969 negotiations
 - South Vietnam's viability
 - US troop withdrawal
 - Press relations
 - Distortions
 - Administration's response
 - Impact on 1974 election in Vietnam
 - South Vietnam's viability
- Governor of Bermuda
 - President's acquaintance
 - Assassination
 - Suspects

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Condolences
 - Telegram
 - Edward R. G. Heath
 - Protocol
 - Elizabeth II [Elizabeth, Queen of England]

President Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru

- Death
- Condolences

Argentina

- Presidential, legislative elections
 - Peronista victory
 - Military coup
 - Alejandro Lanusse
 - Peronista government
 - Nationalism
 - Anti-Americanism

Latin America

- Extremist politics
 - State Department's assessment
- Future trends
 - Right-Wing leaders
 - Left-Wing programs
 - Argentina
 - US responsibility
 - Right, Left-Wing coalition
 - Isolationism
 - Jingoism
 - International Communist influence
 - Left-Wing
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], People's Republic of China [PRC]

International economy

- Common float
 - Great Britain
 - Success
- George P. Shultz

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

-Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt

Foreign policy

- Middle East
- Summit with USSR
- Meeting between Kissinger and President
 - Philosophical discussion
- Briefings for President
 - Hermann Kahn
 - Ability
 - US role in world
 - Abilities
 - Centrist
 - Daniel Joseph Boorstin
 - Historian
 - Smithsonian Institution
 - Meeting with President
 - Conservative point of view
 - Rand Corporation, Brookings Institution
 - Policy planners from State Department and Defense Department
 - Problems with using research groups
 - Request for money
 - Robert S. Elegant
 - [First name unknown] Hoffman
 - Liberalism
 - Talk with Kissinger
 - France's election
 - Paper on European-American relations
 - Position on European Unity
 - Midwest university representative
 - Chicago
 - Compared with "Old Establishment"
 - Kahn, Hoffman
 - Boorstin
 - US role in world
 - Support for President
 - Meetings with small groups of thinkers
 - Kahn
 - Necessity of discussions

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Need for a philosophy and formulation of goals
- French election, monetary issues
- Remainder of President's second term
- Long range thinking
 - John B. Connally
 - Charles H. Percy
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - Intelligence
 - Knowledge of foreign policy
 - Skepticism, enthusiasm
 - Speech in Europe
 - European federalism
 - Compared to New York State
- Alliance for Progress
 - Organization of American States [OAS]
 - Failure
 - State Department's reaction
- Africa
 - Token gestures [?]
- Latin America
- Japan
 - Importance
- Southeast Asia
- India-Pakistan
 - Casualties at partition
- Japan
 - Importance
 - Insularity in policies
 - Nationalistic attitudes
 - Comparison to [PRC]
 - Economic power
 - Realpolitik compared to sentimentality
 - Future role
 - Leadership
 - Kakuei Tanaka and Eisaku Sato compared to Chou En-lai
 - Respect for US
 - Diplomacy
 - Hirohito [Emperor of Japan]
 - State visits

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Involvement in other parts of the world
 - Siberia, Southeast Asia
 - Impact on PRC, USSR
- Ties to US compared to PRC
 - Economic activities in Asia
 - Impact on US
 - Compared to European Economic Community [EEC]
 - North Vietnam, Siberia, PRC
 - Impact on PRC, USSR
 - Overextension
 - Imbalance

-PRC

- Deal with Mao Tse-Tung, Chou En-lai
- Ties with US
- Letters from president
 - Delay
 - Kissinger's trip to New York
- Dr. David K. E. Bruce
 - President's announcement of appointment
 - Meeting with Kissinger
 - North Vietnam's infiltration
 - US-USSR summit

-USSR

- North Vietnam's infiltration
- Loss of tanks in PRC
 - Anatoly F. Dobrynin
- Warning to Dobrynin
 - Potential North Vietnam offensive
 - Equipment source
 - Impact on relations with US

Vietnam

- US bombing
 - Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Ho Chi Minh Train
- Opposition in Congress
 - Money, budget
 - Laos, Cambodia
 - Cease-fire violations

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Provocation
- Ho Chi Minh Trail
- Impact on North Vietnam
 - Khe Sanh
- President's critics
 - Thomas Grey ("Tom") Wicker
 - Change in mood
 - Compared to President's trip to PRC
 - Unintelligible name
 - Floundering
 - Gridiron dinner
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Speech by Spiro T. Agnew
 - Hugh S. Sidey
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - President's experience in Vietnam
 - Mollification
 - Hugh Breslin [?]
 - Support for President
 - North Vietnam's infiltration
 - Aid to North Vietnam
- Aid to Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
 - State Department and Defense Department roles
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - William P. Rogers
 - Compared to role in Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
 - Leverage
 - Memorandum
 - Committee chaired by Rogers
 - Jurisdiction
 - William E. Timmons's role compared to Rogers
 - Richardson's, Rogers's responsibilities
- North Vietnam's infiltration
 - US report to International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
 - Rogers's recommendation
 - Delays
 - Impact on US actions

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Avoidance
- US bombing
- Aid to Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
 - State Department's role
 - John Foster Dulles
 - Key Congressional figures
 - Kissinger, Ziegler [?]
 - Meeting with Kissinger, President [?]
 - Burden of work
 - Kissinger's role
 - Middle East
 - SALT
 - US-USSR summit
 - President
 - ABM issue
 - Bryce Harlow's role
 - Role of President and Kissinger
 - Timmons
 - Work with Congress
 - Comparison to Clark MacGregor
 - Rogers and Richardson
 - Work with Congress
- Middle East peace negotiations
 - Kissinger's talks
 - Rogers's knowledge
 - Rogers's statement
 - Private talks
 - Israel and Egypt
 - Egypt's response
 - Value
 - Kissinger's talk with Yitzhak Rabin
 - Golda Meir's response
 - Interim agreement compared to general principles, United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 [1967]
 - US pressure
- Meir
 - Dealings with US

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- General principles
- Hussein Ibn Talal [King of Jordan
 - Settlement
- Interim agreement
 - Egypt
- Rabin
 - Compared to Moshe Dayan
 - Character
 - Intelligence
 - Problems
 - Dayan
 - Abba Eban
 - Ambassadorial posting in US [?]
 - Cabinet posting [?]

President's administration

- Foreign policy planning
 - President's discussions with Kissinger
 - President's schedule
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Howard K. Smith's article
 - President's news summary
 - Comparison with Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration
 - World War II, Great Depression
 - Success in PRC, USSR, Vietnam
- Landslide presidential elections
 - Warren G. Harding
 - Corruption
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Vietnam War victory
 - Re-election
- President's critique
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - 1936 victory
 - Congressional results
 - Supreme Court packing attempt
 - 1938 election
 - Congressional results
 - Decline of popularity

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Impact of WWII
- Divestment of presidential power
 - Domestic programs
 - Special revenue-sharing
 - State, local government spending
 - Opposition from liberals
- Foreign policy mistakes
 - Overreach
 - Complacency
 - Postwar period
 - Campus unrest
 - Inflation
- President's legacy
 - Peacemaker
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency
 - USSR, PRC
 - Compared to peace in Vietnam
 - Negotiations
 - Revolutionary compared to nation-building leaders
 - George Washington
 - Dr. Achmed Sukarno
 - Kwame Nkrumah
 - French Revolution
 - President as peacemaker
 - Trip to PRC, SALT agreement, Vietnam settlement
 - New structure of peace
 - Need for vision, skill, permanence
 - Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Support of intellectual elite
 - Press
 - Walter Lippman
 - Support for Herbert C. Hoover
 - Chicago Tribune*
 - Iron Cross
 - Lack of opposition
 - Decision making
 - Opening with PRC
 - Opposition
 - Foreign policy establishment

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Institutionalization
- Need for President and Kissinger to stay in office

Foreign policy

- Middle East
 - Settlement
 - Progress
- Ongoing "games"
 - PRC, USSR, Japan, Europe
- USSR
 - Summits
 - Trip plans
 - President's reception in Russia
 - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
 - Gridiron dinner
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Letter
 - Kissinger's trip to PRC
 - Chou En-Lai's trip to US
 - UN
 - PRC liaison office
 - State dinner invitation
 - USSR visit
 - USSR visit
 - Scheduling conflict
 - Conference on European Security and Cooperation
 - Andrei A. Gromyko
 - Date
 - Weather in San Clemente
 - Gromyko's attendance
 - "3-corner game"
 - Delicacy of diplomacy
 - Files
 - Destruction
 - Compared to John F. Kennedy administration
 - Cuban Missile Crisis
 - Bay of Pigs
 - Sensitivity of conversations
 - Nuyen Van Thieu

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- PRC, USSR
- Disposition
 - President's library
 - President's possession
- Pentagon Papers case
 - Damage
 - McGeorge Bundy
 - North Vietnam's knowledge
 - Foreign government's concerns about US leaks

North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] [?]

- Kissinger's discussions with someone
- President's telephone call to Kissinger

Kissinger left at 10:29 am.

Conversation No. 876-5

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:30 am and 12:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] state visit to US
 - Changes
 - European Security Conference
 - USSr compared to US requests
 - Negotiations
 - Problems
 - Date
 - Preparations
 - Delay
- Prisoner of war [POWs] reception dinner
 - President's meeting with Col. Robinson Risner and Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Date
 - Memorial Day
- Coordination with H. Ross Perot
- Hollywood
- Date, day of week
 - Risner's opinion
- Ambassadorships
 - Thomas Vail
 - Haldeman's report
 - Businessman candidate
 - State department
 - Career appointees

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:34 am.

- Germany
 - Need for experience, loyalty, sophistication
 - Compared to businessmen
 - Japan
 - Problems
 - Vail
 - Strength
 - Compared to Spain
 - Businessman
 - [First name unknown] Herra
 - [First name unknown] Serridi [?]
 - Stockholder
 - Radio Corporation of America [RCA]
 - Horatio Rivero's tenure
 - [First name unknown] Taro [?]
 - Vail
 - Appointment
 - Call from Kissinger
 - Talk with President
 - Interest in Germany
 - Publicity
 - Ohio
 - Confidentiality
 - Replacement

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Cleveland Plain Dealer
 - Newhouse chain
 - Background [?]
- Appointment
 - Background check
- United States Information Agency [USIA]
 - Board member
- Pakistan
 - Sophistication
 - Robert C. Hill [?]
 - Qualifications
 - Vacancy
 - Joseph J. Sisco
 - Henry A. Byroade
 - Thailand
- Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.
 - Appointment
 - Thailand
 - Taiwan
 - PRC reaction
 - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
 - Claire Boothe Luce
- Taiwan
 - Friend of President
 - Overcapacity
- Pakistan
 - Kissinger's call to Hill
 - Canada
 - Appointment
- Sisco
 - Retention
 - Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
- G. McMurtrie Godley, [First name unknown] Cooper
- Walter Stoessel
 - Europe
- [First name unknown] Meyer
- Cooper
- David Newson
 - Assistant Secretary for African Affairs

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Pakistan
- William P. Rogers's viewpoint
- Sisco
- USSR
 - Sisco
 - Greece
 - Malcolm Toon
 - Yugoslavia
 - Ambassadorial duties
 - Sisco
 - Problem
- David K. E. Bruce
 - Peking liaison office
 - Announcement
- Joseph Simpson Farland
 - Greece
 - Henry J. Tasca
 - Latin America
 - Mexico
 - Panama
 - Experience with Pakistan
 - Mexico
 - Robert H. McBride
 - Columbia
 - Venezuela
 - Proximity to US
- Argentina
 - Businessman
- Brazil
 - Businessman
 - [First name unknown] Scarsovson [?]
 - Columbia
 - [First name unknown] Scott
 - Commerce Department
 - USSR experience
 - Problem
 - John D. J. Moore
 - Contribution
 - Columbia, Venezuela

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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Argentina
 - Businessman
 - Scott
 - Ed Fry
- Complexity of filing appointments
 - Haldeman
- John Sherman Cooper
- Kenneth B. Keating
 - Meeting with Kissinger
 - Israel
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller [?]
 - Qualifications
 - Experience in India
- John D. Lodge [?]
 - Departure
 - Timing
 - Letter
- Philip K. Crowe
 - Contributors
 - John Mulcahy, John Olin, Thomas Pappas
 - Ireland, Greece
- Greece
 - Tasca
 - Job performance
- USSR
 - Sisco
 - Businessman
 - State Department [Foreign Service] opposition
 - Sisco
 - Career Foreign Service Officer [FSO]
- Career Foreign Service compared to political appointments
 - Iceland, Malta, Yugoslavia, Venezuela, Indonesia, Malaysia, Afghanistan, Dominican Republic, Upper Volta, Chad
 - Businessman
 - Problems
 - European posts
 - England
 - France
 - John N. Irwin, II

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Germany
- Scandinavia
 - Sweden
 - Delay
 - Election
- Vail
 - Germany
 - Kissinger's telephone call

Schedule of state visits

- Date
- Summit
 - Date
 - Preparation
- Kakeui Tanaka
 - Message to Kissinger
 - Announcement
 - Japan's Diet
 - Budget debate
- Date
 - Convenience
- State visit
 - Length
- Congressional recess
 - Non-election year
 - August
 - Break for President
 - San Clemente
- Date
- Le Duc Tho
- Ivory Coast
 - Felix Houphouet-Boigny
- Mohammed Reza Pahlavi [Shah of Iran]
 - Time of visit
 - USSR summit
 - Richard M. Helms
 - Back channel
 - Invitation
- Houphouet-Boigny

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Latin America
 - Columbia
 - Mexico
- Poland
- Latin America
 - Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil
 - Uruguay
 - Problems
 - Peru
 - Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado
 - Sickness
 - Uruguay
 - Juan Maria Bordaberry
 - Tupamaros
 - Military support
- Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - [Unintelligible name]
- Columbia, Venezuela
- Giulio Andreotti
- Other state leaders
 - Lee Kuan Yew
 - Stag dinner
 - Women government officials
 - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Impact on India
 - Decision
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
 - Delay
- Europeans
 - Replacement for Shah of Iran
 - Willy Brandt
 - Brezhnev visit
 - Georges J. R. Pompidou
- Shah of Iran
 - PRC support
- Visits before USSR visit
 - Important visitors
 - Brandt, Shah, Andreotti, Tanaka
 - Africans, Latin Americans

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Fall schedule
 - Japan
 - Emperor Hirohito's visit
 - Poland
- President's foreign travel
 - Europe
 - Africa, Latin America
- Shah, Brandt
 - Kissinger's contacts
 - Alternates
 - Houphouet-Boigny
 - Latin America
 - Uruguay
 - Peru, Bolivia, Columbia, Paraguay
 - Argentina
 - Central America
 - Value
 - Uruguay, Ecuador

John T. Downey

- Release
- Thanks for President's, PRC's efforts

President's schedule

- Visits by President
 - Brazil
 - Venezuela
 - Reception in Caracas
 - Student protests
 - Mexico
 - Mexico City
 - African trip
 - Nigeria
 - Congo
 - Leopoldville [Kinshasa]
 - Reception
 - Mobutu Sese Seko [?]
 - Kenya
 - Jomo Kenyatta

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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Ethiopia
 - Haile Selassie
 - Organization of African Unity [OAU] [?] location
 - Support for US

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National security]

[Duration: 2 sec]

US-ETHIOPIA RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Sudan
 - Symbolism
 - Gen. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri
- Itinerary
- Length of trip
- Number of countries
- Timing of Africa, Latin America trips
 - Compared to state visits to US
 - Bordaberry
 - Houphouet-Boigny
 - Tanaka
- European trip
- Latin America
 - Brazil
- European trip
- Africa trip
- October
 - Brazil

Ambassadors

-Moynihan

-India

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Grain sales
 - Indira Gandhi
 - Complaints
 - Quality
 - Cancellation
- John A. Volpe
 - Cables
 - Cable response from Kissinger's office
 - Length
- Graham A. Martin
 - New post in South Vietnam
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - Retirement
 - Promised assignment
 - Wife
 - Foreign Service Institute [State Department]
 - Samuel David Berger [?]
- Nepal
 - Appointment
 - Marijuana
 - Demonstrators
 - Legalization

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm [?].

Domestic issues

Ambassadorships

- Henry Tasca
 - New assignment
 - Qualifications
 - State Department
 - Opposition
 - African Desk
 - Economic expertise
 - Replacement for Peter M. Flanigan
 - Replacement in Greece
 - Pappas's opinion

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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

Assistant Secretary of State

- Middle East
 - Sisco [?]
- Changes
 - Far East
 - Godley
 - East Asia
 - Stoessel
 - Europe
 - Jack B. Kubisch
 - Latin America
 - Africa
 - Marshall Green, Martin J. Hilenbrand, Charles A. Meyer
 - Departure
 - Newsom
- Middle East
- Newsom
 - Compromise
- Sisco
 - New post
 - USSR
 - Kissinger's opinion

President's schedule

- State visits
- USSR visit
 - Use of Camp David
 - Compared to other head of state functions
- Edward R. G. Heath's February 1973 visit to US
- State visits
 - Planning
 - Format
 - Andreotti
 - Shah of Iran

Head of protocol

- Candidates
 - Financier
 - Qualifications

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Tom Pawnall [?]
- Contributor support
- Bradford Cook
- Henry Catto
 - Wife
 - Liberalism [?]
- New post

Head of state visits

- Protocol
 - President's activities
 - Chief of protocol
 - Duties
 - Problems
 - Lesser dignitaries
 - Emil and Patricia ("Bus") Mosbacher, Jr.
 - Establishing a pattern

Use of President's Kennedy Center box seating

- Attendance at shows
 - Congress
 - Cabinet
 - White House staff
- William E. Timmons
- Number of seats
 - Availability
- Planning
 - Lawrence M. Higby[?], Timmons
 - Invitation to use
 - Tickets
 - Champagne in anteroom
 - Host for party
 - Number of guests
 - Congressman, Presidential aid
 - Possible dinner party option

Prisoners of war [POWs]

- Meetings with President
 - Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

Middlesex Club of Boston

- Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
- Award to President
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Lincoln Day dinner
 - Presentation
 - Denton
- Family member attendance
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
 - Stag
 - Edward R. F. Cox and Tricia Nixon Cox

President's meeting with William J. B. Dorn

- Veterans Affairs Committee chairman
 - Olin E. Teague
 - Science and Aeronautics Committee
 - John P. Hammerschmidt
- Veterans bills
 - Delay
 - Vetoes
 - Priorities
 - Talking paper
 - President's notes to John D. Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman

- Schedule

Domestic affairs

- Patrick J. Buchanan's news [?] summary
 - POWs
 - Criticism
 - Watergate
 - Veterans problems
 - Aid to North Vietnam
 - Indians
 - Economy
 - Phase III price, wage controls
 - Budget battle

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Harris polls
 - Alarm over prices
 - Unemployment
 - Recession
 - Disapproval of Phase III
- Need for better public relations [PR]
 - Ehrlichman
 - Rogers
 - "Meet the Press," "Face the Nation"
 - George S. McGovern

Spiro T. Agnew

- Demands for more office space
 - Roy L. Ash's space
 - Letter to Haldeman
- Problems
 - John B. Connally
 - Party switch [?]
 - Need for discretion
 - Colson, Harry S. Dent
 - President's involvement
 - Response by Haldeman
- New Executive Office Building [EOB]
 - Reassignments
- Work on Capitol Hill
 - Office space
- Amount of office space
- Staff reduction
- President's involvement in controversy
- Gridiron presentation
 - Kissinger's, Ziegler's assessment
 - Compared to President

Gridiron dinner

- Harold Brayman
 - Attendance at church service
 - Work at DuPont
 - President of Gridiron
 - Historian of Gridiron

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Opening chapter
 - President's, Agnew's piano duet
- President's, Agnew's duet
 - Publicity
 - Herbert G. Klein
 - President's composition
 - William L. Safire, Ziegler
 - Pianos
 - John L. Steele
 - Secret
 - White House staff's knowledge
 - Brayman
 - President's Checkers speech
 - President's toast to Harry S. Truman
 - Arthur H. Vandenberg's remarks in 1948
 - Loyal opposition
- Vice presidential files
 - Copies of President's speech
 - Rose Mary Woods, Loie Gaunt McGovern
- Vandenberg's remarks
 - 1948 election
 - Loyal opposition
 - Compared to remarks about McGovern
- Performances
 - George H. W. Bush
 - Speechwriters
 - Paul W. Keyes
 - Bush
 - Self-deprecation
 - Bush compared to President, Agnew, McGovern, Hubert H.
- Humphrey
 - Humphrey
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Polls
 - Gallup
 - Results
 - President's popularity
 - Level of disapproval

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

Domestic issues

- Inflation
- Veterans
 - President's case
 - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger [?]
 - Professional Vietnam veterans, disabled veterans
 - Ehrlichman
- Price freeze
 - Food
 - Phase III
 - PR approach
 - Earl L. Butz
 - Food
 - Transportation problems
 - Wheat
 - Meeting
 - Ehrlichman
 - Stockpiles
 - Copper
 - Sales
- Budget battles

Ehrlichman

- Value to administration
 - Speaking compared with writing
- Action on various issues
- Editing

President's speeches

- Editing
 - Ehrlichman
 - Speech on cities
 - Line in speech
 - Wording
 - Compared to Raymond L. Price, Jr., David R. Gergen, Lee W. Huebner
 - Price
 - Amount of work
 - Ziegler

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

-News content

President's meetings with intellectuals

-List from Kissinger

White House staff

-Buchanan's memorandum, news summary

-Sense of crisis

-Food prices [?]

-News analysis

-Negative compared with positive coverage

-Orientation toward crisis

-Negative attitude

-Congressional relations

-New approach

-Peter Drucker's advice

-Seizure of opportunities compared with problem-solving

-Follow-up on crime speech

-Amount of staff work

-Copies to law enforcement officials

-Memorandum

-Buchanan's advice on USSR and PRC

-Deficiencies

-Compared to crime, race [?] issues

-Thinking of White House staffers

-Negativism

-Overemphasis on problem-solving

-Morale

Watergate

-Ervin hearings

-Length of time

-John W. Gardner

-Possible Senate candidate

-Internal Revenue Service [IRS] investigation

-Candidate from Ohio

-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

-Background investigation

-IRS audit

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Congress
 - Timmons
- List of targets
 - Ehrlichman
 - McGovern contributors
 - Vance Hartke
- White House, Cabinet officers

Press relations

- Positive issues
 - POWs
 - End of war
- POWs
 - Publicity
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Negative stories
 - Encouragement
 - Risner, Denton
- End of war
 - Analysis
 - Cease-fire
 - Aid to North Vietnam
- USSR summit
- Foreign policy
 - Head of state visits
 - President's fall travel
 - Value
 - US-USSR summit [?]
 - President's fall travel
 - Timing
 - Battles with Congress
- Positive issues
 - POWs
 - Battle with Congress
 - Taxes
- War
 - Critics
- POWs
 - Gridiron dinner

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Introduction
- Finale of dinner
- Ovation
- President's attendance
- Issue of repression
 - Effect on public
 - Buchanan's memo
 - Perception of bias
 - Ziegler
- Newsweek* story on Haldeman
 - Ziegler's view
 - Haldeman's view
 - Robert H. ("Bob") Taylor
 - Author, Peter Goldman
 - Jew
 - Al [?] Bruno, interviewer
 - Henry Trehitt
 - Old incidents
 - Walter J. Hickel, Taylor, Watergate
 - Positive aspects
 - President
 - White House staff
- Press corp
 - Discredited program
 - Colson, Ziegler
 - Roles
 - Ziegler
 - President
 - Haldeman
 - Colson
- Accuracy in media
- Administration's program
 - Focus on factual errors
 - Newsweek* article
- Buchanan
 - Press watch
 - Op-Ed
 - Closeness to President
 - Reputation

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Honesty
- Comparison with Herbert G. Klein
- Ehrlichman
- Washington Post* story
 - Ehrlichman's television [TV] appearance [?]
- Gridiron dinner
- Washington Post*
 - Ehrlichman's briefing, Harris poll
 - Lack of coverage
 - Carroll Kilpatrick
 - New York Times*
 - Ziegler
- Gridiron dinner
 - Philip Geylen [?]
 - Colson's analysis
- William Paley's meeting with Haldeman
- Arthur R. Taylor of Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - Meeting with Ehrlichman
 - Support for President
 - Broadcasting experience
 - Business manager
- Dealing with press
 - Confrontation
 - Haldeman's, Colson's viewpoint
 - Focus on economic issues
 - Ehrlichman's viewpoint
 - President's stance
 - Aloofness
 - President's attendance at White House Correspondent's dinner
 - Compared to Agnew at Gridiron dinner
 - Press hostility
 - Appearance of fairness
 - Colson's view
 - Success in foreign policy, failure on domestic policy
 - Steadfastness
 - Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead's program on TV
 - Howard J. Phillips, Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
 - Skillfulness
 - Colson, Buchanan

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Overreaction
- Bluntness
- Whitehead
 - Local control of media
 - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
 - National Broadcasting Company [NBC], CBS
 - Impact on networks
- Press hostility
 - Lack of coverage of positive aspects
 - Radio speech

Congressional relations

- Republican leadership meeting
 - Crime issue
 - Revenue sharing
 - Briefing on crime
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr [?]
- Price freeze
 - Herbert Stein
 - Benefits
 - Short term
 - Costs
 - Production cutbacks
 - Beef, chicken
 - Shrinkage of supply

White House staff relations

- George P. Shultz
 - Problem
 - Free market philosophy
 - Political implications
- Crisis compared to opportunity orientation
 - Buchanan
 - News analysis [?]
 - POWs
 - Impact on morale
 - Problems

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:06 am.

Arrival of Kleindienst
-Manfredi Award ceremony

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

White House staff relations
-Handling of Watergate hearings
-Buchanan
 -Hostility to media
-Media
 -Provocation
 -Hostility to administration
-News summary
 -Balanced analysis
 -Length
 -Content
 -Indians
 -Shortening

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm; an unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:30 am.

President's meeting with family of slain narcotics agent
-Format, introduction
-Award
 -Presentation
-Mothers
-Fiance
-Photographer
-Navy film crew

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-6 (cont'd)

Conversation No. 876-6

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 12:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Phone call to Adele Rogers
-Background information

Conversation No. 876-7

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 12:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Phone call to Adele Rogers
-Time

Conversation No. 876-8

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:21 and 12:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Samuel Tummillo, Clara Tummillo, Mary Ann Tummillo, Connie Fletcher, Thomas Devine, Mrs. Thomas Devine, Thomas Devine [Jr.], Michael Devine, Mary Rita Devine, W. Robert Devine, Richard G. Kleindienst, Jack Ingersoll and Geoffrey Shepard/the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Boehm birds

Frank Tummillo
-Circumstances of death

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-8 (cont'd)

-Awards

Presentation of Henry L. Manfredi Award

Photograph

Frank Tummillo

-Loss to family

-Sacrifice

-Significance

War on narcotics

-Importance

-Comparison to war against North Vietnam

-Significance

-Future generations

-President's speech on law enforcement

-Death penalty

-Death of officer

-Pushers

-Thanks

Award to Thomas Devine

-Appreciation

-Handicap

-Comparison to war veterans

Photographs

-Arrangements

White House tour

-Accommodations for Franklin D. Roosevelt

Rose Garden

-Flowers

Children

-Age

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-8 (cont'd)

Frank Tummillo characterized

Crime legislation

- Congress
 - Passage
- Nelson A. Rockefeller's crime bill
- Meeting with Republican leaders

Samuel Tummillo, et al., left at 12:34 pm; Kleindienst remained.

Schedule

- Kleindienst
 - Rogers C. B. Morton
 - Donald Santarelli

Kleindienst left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm.

Conversation No. 876-9

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 12:34 and 12:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

- Telephone call to Adele Rogers
- Meeting with Republican Congressional leaders
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Agenda
- Tuesday
 - Farewell call to John J. McCloy
 - US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
 - General Advisor Committee
 - Resignation
 - President's call
 - Reasons

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-9 (cont'd)

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Letter to McCloy
- Meeting with Cost of Living Council [COLC]
 - Timing
- Farewell meeting with McCloy
 - Reasons
 - Hearings
 - Vacancies on committee
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
 - Kissinger, William E. Timmons, and [First name unknown] Jones
 - President's reluctance
- Crime and Drug speech
 - Meeting with customs agents
 - Arrest and conviction of Auguste J. Ricord
 - Heroin
 - Press
- Friday
 - Hermann Kahn
 - Meeting with President
 - Support for President
 - Think tank
 - Lawyer [?]
 - Briefing for President
 - Kissinger
 - Meeting with President
 - Kissinger's attendance
 - Haldeman's opinion
 - Meeting with departing staffers
 - Hebert G. Klein [?]
 - Number
 - Necessity
 - Circumstances
 - Length
 - Dinners [?]

Protocol

- Receiving line
- Unnamed aide's work
- Cards

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-9 (cont'd)

- Dinners
 - Cards
 - Unnamed aide's work
 - President's role
- Reception lines
 - Civilian aides
 - Appointments
 - Military aides
 - Secret Service Agents
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's viewpoint

President's schedule

- Meeting with McCloy
 - Kissinger
 - Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft's attendance

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm.

Conversation No. 876-14

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 3:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift

President's location

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 3:06 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-10

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:06 pm and 3:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

William E. Timmons

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:08 pm.

Conversation No. 876-11

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: 3:08 pm - 4:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Col. Robinson Risner. Stephen B. Bull and the White House
photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introduction

Photographs
-Arrangements

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez
-Introduction to Risner

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:34 pm.

Sanchez's background
-Refugee

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Cuba
- Spain

Prisoners of war [POWs]

- President's appreciation
- Character
- Leadership
- Risner
 - Length of captivity
 - Missions
 - Number
 - Than Hoa
 - Ham Rong bridge
 - Encounter with MiG aircraft
 - Downing of airplane
 - Type of weapon
 - Missile site
 - Ground defense
 - Ejection from plane
 - Parachute
 - Escape from plane
 - Wingman
 - Escape

Risner's captivity

- Imprisonment
 - Isolation
 - Impact
 - Roommates
 - Isolation
 - Length
 - Contact
 - Exercise
 - Bathing
 - Food
 - Cell
 - Windows
 - Beds
 - Ceiling

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Brainwashing
 - Communism
 - Capitalism
 - Contradictions
 - Methods
 - Writings
 - Camp radio
 - Speakers
 - Tape recorders
 - Programs
 - Length
 - Volume
 - American music
 - Ills of American society
 - Studies of North, South Vietnam
 - “Voice of Vietnam”
- Contacts with other POWs
 - Communications
 - Knowledge of other prisoners
 - Whistles
 - Morse code
 - Tapping on walls
 - Codes
 - Capt. Carlyle ("Smitty") Harris
 - Tap code
 - Sweeping
 - Laundry
 - Exercise
 - Body signs
 - Mute code
 - Semafor

POWs

- South Vietnamese prisoners

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

[Duration: 1m 26s]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Communication
 - Walls
 - Cups
 - Morale
- Reassignment
 - Risner
 - Son Tay prison
 - Col. [First name unknown] Huber [?]
 - Approval of rescue
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - President's decision
 - Henry A. Kissinger [?]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security]

[Duration: 5s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

- Hanoi Hilton [Wah Lo?]
- Consolidation of prisoners

Risner's captivity

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Isolation
 - Length
- Roommate
- Publicity for North Vietnam
 - Meetings with visitors
 - Refusal
 - Personal photographs from Risner's wife
- Letters received
- Publicity for North Vietnam
 - Risner's cooperation
 - Meeting with East German film crew
 - Dissatisfaction with Risner
 - Punishment
 - Interrogation room
 - Major [first name unknown] Bai
 - Loss of face
 - Destruction of personal photographs
 - Physical abuse
 - Anger
 - Destruction of personal photographs
 - Repetition
 - Injuries
 - Destruction of letters, personal photographs
 - Latrine
 - Physical abuse
 - Memory failure [?]
 - Capitulation
 - Apology, newspaper writing, tapes
- Period of isolation
 - Contacts
 - Reading
 - Writing
 - Denial
 - Reading materials
 - Propaganda
 - Atrocity stories
 - Recitation
- Brainwashing
 - Realization of failure

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- North Vietnamese expectations
- Consolidation of prisoners
 - Roommate
 - Risner's isolation
 - Time* magazine photograph
 - Notoriety compared to Lyndon B. Johnson, Dean Rusk
- Use of Risner
 - Delegations
 - Statements
 - Propaganda
 - Fellow POWs
 - Torture
- Period of isolation
 - Morale
 - Religious faith
 - Hope in government
 - American people
 - Family
 - Mental, physical health
 - Kidney stones
 - East German film crew
 - Medical care
 - Windowless room
 - Vents
 - Effect on vision
- Consolidation of prisoners
 - December 26, 1969
 - 1969 election
 - Number of prisoners
 - Beds
 - Matting
 - Clothes
 - Washing
 - Shaving
 - Frequency
 - Razor blades
 - Cold water
 - Soap
 - Toilet papers, toothpaste, toothbrush

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Dispossession
- Punishment
- Meals
 - Timing
 - Soup
 - Contents
 - Bread
 - Variety
 - Vegetables
 - Meat
 - Pork fat
 - Fish
 - Lean quality
 - Fish meal
 - Alcoholic beverages
 - Holidays
 - Tet, independence day, Christmas
 - Beer, liquor
 - Risner's home in Oklahoma
- Mental activities
 - Math problems
- Physical exercise
 - Frequency
 - Kinds

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[Privacy]

[Duration: 2m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Personal plans

- Age
- Experience compared to President

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

-Fitness

Risner's captivity

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[Personal returnable]

[Duration 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Teeth

-Condition

-Compared to Holocaust survivors

-Dr. William O. Chase

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Privacy]

[Duration: 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Diet
 - Rice compared to bread
 - Effect on teeth

- Watch
 - Passage of time
 - Gongs
 - Bells of Hanoi

Personal plans

- Military service
 - Fighter pilot
 - Compared to Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Privacy]

[Duration: 23s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Corrective eyewear
- Flying

Oval Office

- Risner's first visit
- Theodore Roosevelt
- Seal
- Flags
 - President's possession
 - Library

Risner's family

- Wife
- Preparation for homecoming

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Detail
- Pride
- Help

Risner's captivity

- Women
 - Kitchen help
- Medical care
 - Doctors
 - Competence
 - Medics
- Quality

Risner's family

- Wife
 - Faith
- Children
 - Boys
 - Number
 - Ages

US culture

- Gratitude for POWs' contributions
- Changes in nation
 - 1960s
 - Revolutionary decade
 - Decline of patriotism
 - 1968 election
 - Eugene J. McCarthy candidacy
 - Radicals
 - Mainstream viewpoint
 - Campuses
 - Media
 - Television [TV], radio, newspapers
- Splits in religious groups
 - President's, Risner's religious affiliation
 - Catholics
 - Anti-Communist
 - Protestants

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - Fundamentalist
 - Demographics
 - Support for war [?]
- Quakers
 - Pacifism
 - Conscientious objectors [?]
- Presbyterian
- Loss of faith in nation
 - University teachers, students
 - Elite
 - Business leaders [?]
 - Vietnam
 - Isolationism
 - Federal budget
 - Ghettos
 - Armed forces
 - Prevalence
- Impact on POWs
 - Loss of values
- General public's view
- End of Vietnam War
 - Duration
 - Reasons
 - South Vietnam's integrity
 - Credibility of US
 - Domestic impact
- Method
 - Nuclear option
- Sense of national spirit
 - Impact of returning POWs
 - Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
 - Public statement
 - Press manipulation
 - Brainwashing comment
- Asset to nation
- Exploitation of POW's
 - Criticism by press
- New role on return

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Suffering
 - Significance
- Impact on American spirit
 - Revitalization
- Survival
 - Significance for nation
- Continued military service
 - Return to civilian life
- Reception from public
 - Discouragement
 - Criticism
 - GI program
 - Vietnam War
 - Encouragement
 - POWs' leadership
- Role in nation's future
 - Attempts to isolate nation from world's problems
 - Cutbacks
 - Europe, Asia
 - Opportunity for Communists
- Risner's reaction to US
 - Youth
 - Searching
 - Unrest
 - Optimism
 - Talks to students
 - Reassessment of values
 - Religious faith, patriotism
 - Reassertion
 - Letter from Oklahoma high school counselor
 - Copy for President
 - Students' reception
 - Ovation
 - Talks with school children, college students
 - Nazarean College
 - Oklahoma
 - Fundamentalist
 - Reception
 - High school

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Size
- Effects of college

POWs

- Reception at White House
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Denton
 - Date
 - Announcement
 - Plans
 - Attendees
 - Children
 - POW's wife, mother, fiancée
 - Briefing on foreign policy, national security
 - Kissinger
 - President, Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Evening dinner party
 - Entertainment
 - Numbers
 - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
 - Vietnam Christmas show
 - Les Brown Band
 - Hollywood celebrities
 - TV broadcast
 - Briefing
 - State Department
 - Wives
 - Attendance
 - Value
- POWs charged with collaboration
 - President's news summary
 - Sensitivity
 - Risner's viewpoint
 - Defense Department's recommendations
 - Numbers
 - Acts
 - Code-of-conduct violations
 - Antiwar statements
 - Torture

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Charges
 - Col. John Flynn
 - Senior officer
 - Repatriation to US
 - Rank compared to Risner
 - Confidentiality
 - Risner's briefing of POWs
 - Debriefing of misconduct
 - Timing
 - POW returnees
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - POWs' preference
 - Leaks
 - Defiance of orders
 - Taped statements
 - Writings [?]
 - Meetings with delegations
 - Correspondence with "peaceniks"
 - Three who accepted early release
- Aid to North Vietnam
 - Problems
 - Vietnam
 - Communism
 - Cruelty
 - Destruction
 - POW treatment
 - Reasons
 - Reparations
 - National interests
 - Cease-fire
 - Laos
- Reaction of POWs
 - Clark Air Force Base press conference
 - Risner's comments
 - Previous discussion
 - Risner's discussions with high-level official
 - POW statements
 - Kissinger's visit to Hanoi
 - President's visit to North Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Risner's discussion with Maj. [first name unknown] Bai
 - Threats
 - Denton, James B. Stockdale
- Attitude towards Vietnam
- Support for President
- Purpose
 - Level of negotiation
 - Cease-fire violations
 - Aid restrictions
 - Ho Chi Minh Trail
 - US reaction
 - Influence over North Vietnam
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Sino-Soviet rift
 - US diplomacy
 - High councils
 - Threats compared to aid
 - Pragmatism

Vietnam

- President's meeting with Moorer
- Peace marches
 - October 1969
 - Cambodia invasion
- Cambodia invasion
 - Purpose
 - Risner's knowledge
- May 8, 1972 decision on bombing Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor
 - Impact on summit with USSR
 - US standing
 - Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - Soviet tanks in Hue
 - Position of strength
- December 18, 1972 decision on bombing
 - 1972 election
 - Cease-fire
 - Breakdown of negotiations
 - Conditions

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Release of civilian prisoners
 - South Vietnam
- Impact on POWs
- Use of airpower
 - B-52s
 - Moorer's reluctance
 - President's decision
 - Losses
 - Criticism
 - Chicago Tribune*
 - Message to North Vietnam
 - Resumption of talks
- December 26, 1972 bombing
 - State Department's viewpoint
 - President's conversation with Moorer
 - Kissinger
 - B-52s
 - Number
 - Impact on negotiations
- Bombing
 - POWs' knowledge
 - Proximity of bombers
 - Reaction
 - Damage to structures
 - Support of POWs
 - Dr. Roger E. Shields
 - Responsibility of President
 - President as "mad bomber"
 - Necessity of bombing
 - Critics
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's decision
 - Bombing and mining
 - Military training
 - Peace negotiations
- Accuracy of B-52s
 - Civilian casualties
 - Risner's knowledge
- POW support
 - Night vigil

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
- Damage to Hanoi
- Reaction of captors to B-52s
 - Psychological effect
 - Talk with Risner
 - Accusations
 - Change in attitude of guards
 - Fear

POWs

- B-52 crews in captivity [?]
 - Attitudes
- Generational differences
 - Torture
- Risner's strength

Presidential gifts

- Golf balls

Risner's support for President

- Conversations with POWs
 - Reconstruction aid
 - Stories of treatment
 - Delay
 - POW repatriation
 - Torture
 - Public knowledge
 - Support for aid
 - POW leaders

POWs

- Reunions
 - Harry S. Truman's artillery unit from World War I [WWI]
- Bond

President's thanks

Risner's hat

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Risner left at 4:34 pm.

Conversation No. 876-12

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:24 pm and 6:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

-Signature

-Disaster assistance for Texas [?]

-Telephone call from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

President's meetings with Prisoners of war [POWs]

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:24 pm and 6:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr. Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Photo session

-Flags

-Seating

Legislation

-President's signature

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:24 pm.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1 (cont'd)

Sanchez

- Return to Cuba
- Visit to North Vietnam

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Oval Office

- Previous visits
- White House tour

Denton

- Public statement
 - Effect on nation
- Letter to President
 - Publication
 - Respect for privacy
- Experience as Prisoner of war [POW]
- Plans for White House dinner for POWs
 - Wives
 - Discussions
- Reaction
 - Repatriation
- Captivity
 - Length

President's conversation with Col. Robinson Risner

- Honorable conclusion to war
 - Reasons
 - POWs
 - Fate of South Vietnam's people
 - War casualties
 - US credibility
 - People's Republic of China [PRC], Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

President's trip to PRC

- Peking

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1 (cont'd)

- Meeting with Chou En-lai
 - “Handshake around the world”
- State dinner
 - Reputation as anti-Communist

Vietnam

- Honorable conclusion to war
 - South Vietnam’s integrity
 - US credibility
 - President’s advisors
 - Withdrawal
 - 1969
 - John F. Kennedy’s, Lyndon B. Johnson’s responsibility
- President’s November 3, 1969 speech
 - US defeat
 - Loss of power, pride
- US as great power
 - Compared to France, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, USSR, PRC
- US self-image

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:24 pm.

Schedule

- Buzzer

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Denton’s letter to President

- Effect on nation
- American spirit

POWs

- Ordeal in prison
 - Mohandus K. [Mahatma] Gandhi, Dr. Achmed Sukarno, Radha Krishna [?]
 - Significance
 - Personal strength
 - Adversity
- Meaning for US
 - Sense of pride

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 876-13/877-1 (cont'd)

- Sense of shame
 - Retreat
- Denton's captivity
 - Survival
 - Reasons
 - Solitary confinement
 - Length
 - Means of survival
 - Curiosity
 - Mental, physical activity
 - Awareness of time
 - Prayer
 - Solidarity [?]
- Reception at White House
 - Scheduling
 - Plans
 - President's meeting with Risner
 - Briefing on national security
 - State Department
 - Wives
 - Henry A. Kissinger, President, William P. Rogers
 - Changes in world
 - Dinner on White House lawn
 - Tent
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Greeting
 - Blue Room
 - Dress
 - Long dresses
 - Uniforms
 - Arrangements
 - Entertainment
 - Television [TV]
 - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
 - Other celebrities
 - Les Brown Orchestra
 - Dancing
- Captivity
 - Treatment

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1 (cont'd)

- Torture
- Risner
 - Exercise
 - Notoriety
 - Isolation
- Denton's leadership [?]
 - Communication
 - Isolation [?]
- Communications
 - System
 - Tapping on walls
 - Code
 - Dangers
 - Coughing
 - Code

President's foreign policy

- Denton's support
- US history
- Benefits for nation, world
- Opening to PRC
- US aid to North Vietnam
 - POWs' support
 - Reasons
 - Opposition to PRC, USSR
 - Influence in Hanoi
 - Communist revolution
 - US restraint
 - Situation in Laos
 - Condition for withdrawal
 - Cease-fire violations
 - Condition for adherence
 - World War II precedent
 - Differences
 - Japan, Germany
 - Regime change
 - Economic pursuits
 - Peaceful pursuits
- Questionable effectiveness

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1 (cont'd)

- Alternatives
 - Bombing
 - North Vietnam's impressions of President
- December 1972 bombing
 - Difficulty
 - Compared to Denton's captivity
 - Survival
 - Impression of irrationality
- Liberal critics
 - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid, *Washington Post*
 - Questions about President's sanity
 - “Mad bomber”

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 6:34 pm. The conversation continues on a subsequent tape [Oval Office Tape 877-1].