



-1-

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1

Date: April 9, 1973
Time: 9:47 pm - 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman. This recording began while the conversation was in progress.

Unknown issue [abortion?]

- Public opinion
- Clergyman's statement

President's schedule

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Economy

Press relations

- Carl T. Rowan's column
- President's weekly reading
 - Stanley S. Scott's rebuttal
 - Black
 - Quality
 - Poverty professionals
 - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
 - Past abuses
 - Community action programs
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
- News summary
 - Vietnam
 - Cambodia and Laos
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - Torture
 - Jane Fonda

Watergate

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- National interest
- Forthcoming Senate hearings
 - Network coverage
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Time*
- Press coverage
 - New York Times*, *Washington Post*
 - New York Times* story
 - James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Kenneth W. Parkinson
 - Newsweek* story
 - John N. Mitchell
 - New York Times* story
 - Fear of libel
 - Possible suit
 - Depositions
 - Statute of limitations
 - Haldeman's suit against Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
- Mitchell's denial
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Ehrlichman
- Colson
 - Lie detector test
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Bugging of Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- Haldeman's conversation with John W. Dean, III
 - Retention of attorneys
 - Colson
 - Jeb Stuart Magruder
 - Dean
 - Obligations
 - President
 - Nation
 - Truth
 - Dean's response
 - Appearance before grand jury

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Fifth Amendment
- Imprisonment
- Position on White House staff

National news stories

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Rogers C. B. Morton
- L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
- Government stories
 - Government's role
 - White House
 - Departments
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - White House correspondents
- President's role
 - John B. Connally's theory
 - Vacuum of leadership
- Popular interest
 - Television [TV]
 - Government stories
 - Baseball
 - Local news
 - Fires, crime
 - Weather

Watergate

- Popular interest
- Letter in *Washington Post*, April 9, 1973
 - Bugging
 - Illegality
 - Harmlessness
 - Sentences for burglars

White House taping system

- Access to recordings
- President's uneasiness
- Duration

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Value
 - Memorandums for file
 - Difficulty in using

[A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared for Special Access 57, *Harry R. Haldeman v. Rowland G. Freeman, III, et al.*, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 80-325. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy. Please refer to the logging below.]

White House taping system

- Value
 - Notes of participants
 - Ehrlichman
 - Haldeman's practice
 - Dictation
 - Arthur F. Burns
 - Memorandums for file
- Utility
 - People who could listen
 - Contents
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Rose Mary Woods
 - Haldeman
 - Kissinger

White House taping system

- Destruction
- End of taping
- Knowledge
- Operation
 - United States Secret Service [USSS]
 - Alexander P. Butterfield
 - Stephen B. Bull
 - Copies
 - Monitoring
- Instructions for Haldeman

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- San Clemente
- End of taping
- Destruction
 - Excess of material
- Notes compared with tapes
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Improved file keeping
- Journalists
 - Earl Mazo [?]
- Destruction
- President's future writing
 - Tapes as burden
- Options for President
 - Control of system
 - Switch activation
 - Foreign visitors
 - Herman Kahn
- Operation
 - Sound activation
 - Switch activation
 - Cabinet Room
 - Bull
 - Mayors
 - Ehrlichman
- Instructions for Haldeman
 - Destruction
 - Dismantling
 - Al Wong
 - Destruction
 - Erasure
- Storage
- Alternative recording system
 - Oval Office
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
 - Kissinger
 - Lincoln Sitting Room
 - Meetings to be recorded

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Note taking
- Foreign visitors
- Possible leaks
 - Pentagon papers
 - USSS
 - Duplication
 - Selling
 - Effects
 - Radio broadcasts
 - President's swearing
- Instructions for Haldeman
 - Destruction
 - Cabinet Room
 - Switches
 - Bull
 - Continued recording
- Material documenting past years
 - 1972
 - Cambodia
- Utility
 - Access
 - Transcription
- Cambodia
 - Kissinger's notes
 - Haldeman's notes
 - Retention of tapes
 - Vietnam War
 - May 8, 1972, decision
 - 1972 Moscow Summit
 - November 1969
 - Installation
 - Retention of tapes
 - Cambodia
 - Connally
 - Significant meetings
 - May 8, 1972 decision
- EOB office

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Installation
- May 8, 1972 decision
 - EOB meetings
 - Oval Office meetings
 - Kissinger
 - William P. Rogers, Melvin R. Laird
- Retention of tapes
 - Cambodia
- Removal of system
 - Storage of tapes
- Retention of tapes
 - Cambodia
 - May 8, 1972 decision
 - December 1972 bombing
 - Florida
 - Camp David
- Dictabelts for President's private file
 - President's notes
- Haldeman's diary
 - Dictation
- President's dictations
 - Value
 - Comparisons with Henry Morgenthau, Jr. diaries
 - Privacy
 - Destruction
- Retention of tapes
 - November 3, 1969 speech
 - August 15, 1971 decision
 - Camp David
 - Cambodia
- May 8, 1972
 - Vietnam settlement
 - January 1973
 - December 1972 bombing
 - Kissinger
 - India-Pakistan War of 1971

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

Case against unknown woman

- Evidence
- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Spying
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
- Jack M. Anderson

Internal Revenue Service [IRS] commissioner

- Confirmation

Watergate

- Colson
 - David Shapiro
 - Lie detector tests
 - Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers

White House taping system

- Instructions for Haldeman
- Retention of tapes
 - May 8, 1972 decision
 - November 3, 1969 speech
 - Laos
 - Analysis of President's daily diary
 - Poll analysis
- Destruction
 - Watergate
 - Kissinger
 - Rogers
- Utility
- 1972 campaign

Watergate

- White house taping system
 - EOB office
- President's first impression of break-in
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- Ronald L. Ziegler's initial statement

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Ehrlichman's report
- Dean's concerns
 - Coaching of witnesses
 - Money
 - Mitchell
- Grand jury
 - Ervin Committee
 - McCord's testimony
 - Parkinson's response
- Press coverage
- Mitchell
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Dean
 - Ehrlichman
- Magruder
 - Lawyer
 - Appearance before grand jury
 - Perjury
 - Dean
 - US Attorney
- Editorials
 - Dean and Magruder
 - Procedures
 - Hearsay
 - Magruder, Dean, Mitchell, Haldeman
 - Colson
- Colson
 - Lie detector test
 - Involvement
 - Hunt
 - G. Gordon Liddy
- Liddy
 - Relationship with Magruder
 - Procedures
 - McCord
 - Hunt
 - Bernard L. Barker

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Conversation with Dean after break-in
 - Magruder
 - Mitchell
 - White House involvement
 - Pressure from Magruder
 - Break-in
 - White House involvement
 - Magruder
 - Mitchell
 - Magruder
- Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.'s story in *Washington Post*
 - Robert U. ("Bob") Woodward
 - Haldeman and staff
 - Responsibility
 - White House response
 - Haldeman's possible statement on 1972 campaign
 - Demonstrations organized by George S. McGovern supporters
 - Campaign financing
 - McGovern's contributors
 - Haldeman's possible statement
 - Press corps
 - Haldeman's involvement
 - Dean's involvement
 - Dean's conversation with Liddy
 - President's involvement
 - Conversations with Haldeman
 - Murray M. Chotiner
 - [Horace] Chapman ("Chappie") Rose
 - Rose's friend
- Editorials
 - Mitchell
 - Haldeman
 - Weicker
 - New York Times*
 - Haldeman
 - Points of attack on Administration
 - Wounded Knee incident

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Donald H. Segretti
 - Edward M. Kennedy's interest
 - Effect in Administration
- People to testify
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - Haldeman
 - Chapin
 - Letter on Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's stationery
 - Segretti
 - Violent demonstrations against President
 - San Francisco
 - Republican Party Convention
- Editorials
 - Methods
- Dean's view
 - Problem for prosecutor and Senate committee
 - President's knowledge of break-in
 - Haldeman's knowledge of break-in
 - White House involvement in break-in
- Haldeman's response
 - Liddy
 - Investigations
 - Justice Department
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
 - Dean
 - Knowledge of Magruder's involvement
- Moore
- Mitchell
 - Possible statement
 - Questions on involvement
 - Allocation of money
 - Haldeman's involvement
 - Magruder's role
 - Contact with Dean
 - Role in campaign
 - Frank Dale
- Dean's testimony

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Magruder
 - Possible immunity
 - Ehrlichman
 - Trial
 - Liddy's possible testimony
 - Prosecutors
 - Ehrlichman
 - Dean
 - Motives
 - Magruder
 - Prosecutors
 - McCord's statements
 - Interests
 - Haldeman
 - Colson
 - Ehrlichman
 - Dean
- Dean's view
 - Mitchell
 - Future subpoenas
 - Magruder
 - Date book
 - Meeting with Mitchell
 - Paul L. O'Brien [?]

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:47 am.

President's schedule

- Filming
 - Arrangements
 - Timing
 - Cameras
 - EOB
- Diplomatic credentials
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting
 - Kissinger
 - Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- Elliot L. Richardson, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Testimony to Congress
- Economic meetings
- White House Correspondents dinner
 - Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:47 am.

Watergate

- Dean's view
- Mitchell
- Magruder
- Mitchell
 - Possible statement on responsibility
 - Rejection of illegal activities
 - Dean
 - Magruder
 - Possible testimony
 - Magruder
- Magruder
 - Haldeman
 - Buchanan
 - Colson
- Moore
- Mitchell
 - Colson

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II's possible Congressional race
 - Haldeman's call to George H.W. Bush
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Historical significance
 - Residence
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-1 (cont'd)

- White House
 - Appearance to public
- Kennedy
- John D. Rockefeller, IV
 - Race for governor of West Virginia
- Bush's role

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Watergate

- Ervin Committee hearings
 - Weicker
 - Mitchell
- President's conversation with Mansfield
 - TV broadcast of hearings
 - Dean
 - Haldeman
 - Length of hearings
- Connally's line
 - Scapegoat
- Administration's position
 - Magruder's involvement
 - Mitchell's involvement

Haldeman left at 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 891-11

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: Unknown between 11:49 pm and before 3:01 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-11 (cont'd)

President's schedule

Sanchez [?] left at an unknown time before 3:01 pm.

Conversation No. 891-2

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: 3:01 pm - 3:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and unknown members of a film crew.

Filming

-Preparations

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and unknown members of a film crew.

[A transcript of the following portion of conversation may be found in *Public Papers of the President*, 1973, page 258.]

[Begin recorded remarks]

[End of recorded remarks]

Filming

-Length

-Thanks

The President left at 3:03 pm.

Equipment

-Cameras

-Teleprompter

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-2 (cont'd)

Film crew's schedule [?]

Conversation No. 891-3

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:03 pm and 3:31 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and an unknown man.

President's signature

President's schedule

- Meeting with Adm. James B. Stockdale
- Arrival
- Promotion
- Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
- Barber
- Meeting with Stockdale
- Ending

Bull and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:31 pm.

Conversation No. 891-4

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: 3:31 pm - 4:39 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Adm. James B. Stockdale and Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Arrangements for photograph

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam War

- Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - Return
 - Attitude
 - Pride
 - Press coverage
- Stockdale's experience
 - Solitary confinement
 - Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr. and Col. Robinson Risner's experience
 - Solitary confinement
 - Types
 - Organization of POW camps
 - Isolation of POW leaders

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:31 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:39 pm.

Vietnam War

- Communist Party organization in North Vietnam
 - Qualifications for membership
 - Age
 - Intellect
 - Selflessness
 - Ability to influence others
 - Attitude toward leadership
 - Compared with US
- Communist leader class
 - Politburo
 - Imprisonment by France
 - Effects on organization of POW camps
 - Propaganda literature
 - Experiences
- POW wives and families' experience

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Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Stockdale's wife
 - Leadership
- Press coverage
 - Divorce rates
- President's efforts
- Peace groups
- Stockdale's wife
 - Support for President
- Stockdale's expectations for POW release
 - Schedule of releases
 - Effects on prisoners
 - Morale
 - Support for December 1972
- President's decision
 - Cambodia
 - November 1969
 - Peace demonstrators
 - Cambodia operations
 - Sanctuaries
 - Sihanoukville
 - May 8, 1972 decision
 - Bombing and mining of Haiphong
 - POWs awareness
 - Peace negotiations
 - 1972 election
 - North Vietnam's obstructionism
 - December 1972 bombing
 - Difficulty of decision
 - B-52s
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Losses
 - Laos
- Use of B-52s in December 1972 bombing
 - Effects on North Vietnam
 - Negotiations
 - POW reactions
 - Risner, Denton

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Destructive power
- Safety from bombing
- North Vietnamese reaction
- Civilian targets

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 5 s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Vietnam War

- Use of B-52s in December 1972 bombing
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Hospital
 - Press criticism
 - Chicago Tribune*
 - Los Angeles Times*
 - President's reasons for bombing
 - New York Times*
 - Senate
 - Portrayal of President's actions
 - "Mad bomber"
 - Carpet bombing
 - Effects on Hanoi
- Stockdale's knowledge of game theory
 - Credibility of threats

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Cyrus L. ("Cy") Sulzberger's column
- Cease-fire agreement
 - North Vietnam violations
 - Withdrawal of troops
 - Laos
 - Cambodia
 - Infiltration
 - South Vietnam's violations
 - Sulzberger's column
 - New York Times*
- Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - Congress
 - Pacifism
 - Europe
- Cambodia
 - Thailand and Vietnam
 - Authority for President's actions
 - Congress
 - Authority for Vietnam intervention
 - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 - National security
 - John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Authority for President's actions
 - 1970 Cambodia operation
 - Protection of US forces
 - Violation of Agreement
 - Lack of treaty
 - Future
 - Possible collapse
- Infiltration by North Vietnam
 - Possible offensive
 - Nguyen Van Thieu's visit
 - Need for US troops
 - Congressional reaction
 - Capabilities of South Vietnam
 - Possible use of US air power
 - Targets

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Ho Chi Minh Trail
- Quan Tri area
- Possible impeachment of President
- Spiro Agnew
- Public reaction
 - Peace with honor
- POWs
 - Possible trade for US withdrawal
- Thieu's government
 - Viability
 - Coalition government
 - Communist government
 - Military capabilities
- Resumption of hostilities
 - Effect on US public opinion
 - Possible use of US air power
 - B-52s
 - Need for provocation
 - Thieu
 - Effect of South Vietnam's collapse
 - US public opinion
 - South Vietnam's military capabilities
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Battle of An Loc
- Aid to North Vietnam
 - US public reaction to torture
 - Compliance with Vietnam settlement
 - Withdrawal from Laos and Cambodia
 - Reduction of infiltration
 - Purpose
 - Rebuilding
 - Influence
 - Necessity
 - US Public opposition
 - President's foreign policy philosophy
 - Incentives
 - North Vietnam's desire for aid

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Central Committee
- Congressional action
 - Request for appropriations
 - Stockdale support [?]
- Soviet Union, PRC
 - Role in Vietnam settlement
- North Vietnam
 - Primitive Communism
 - Soviet Union, PRC
 - Technical experts
 - Surface to air missile [SAM] sites

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National security]

[Duration: 6 m 50 s]

POW CAMPS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Vietnam War

- Stockdale's experiences
 - 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident
 - US air operations
 - North Vietnamese patrol boats
 - Oil refinery
 - Stockdale's role
 - August 4 operation
 - US press coverage

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Potential effect of Stockdale's role on his prison experience
- Adm. Wesley L. MacDonald
 - Western Pacific [WESTPAC]
- North Vietnamese patrol boats
 - Lack of sightings
 - US destroyers
 - Lack of certainty
- Debriefing
- Messages from USS Turner Joy
 - Wing commander

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National security]
[Duration: 5 s]

COMMUNICATION CAPABILITIES

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- Vietnam War
 - Stockdale's experiences
 - 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident
 - US air operations
 - North Vietnamese patrol boats
 - August 4 operation
 - Messages from USS Turner Joy
 - North Vietnamese patrol boats
 - Lack of sightings
 - Visit by Assistant Secretary of Defense

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- McDonald
- Verification of patrol boat sightings
- August 5 operation
- Stockdale's knowledge
 - Exploitation by North Vietnamese
 - Press coverage
 - Life, New York Times*
 - Cara Weiss
 - [unintelligible name]
 - Congress, press
 - Possible headline
 - August 4 operation
 - USS Maddox
 - North Vietnamese patrol boat
 - Lack of sightings
- Antiwar movement
 - Stockdale's knowledge
 - Cora Weiss
 - Jane Fonda
 - W. Ramsey Clark
 - North Vietnam propaganda
 - Stockdale's wife
 - Strength
 - Virulence, bitterness
 - President's 1968 campaign
 - Hecklers
 - Stockdale's conversation with unknown man
 - Respectable intellectuals
 - San Diego
 - Stanford University
 - Stockdale's graduate studies
 - Political orientation
 - Philip H. Rhineland
 - Thomas A. Bailey
 - Scholars at colleges and universities
 - Conservative political orientation

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Elite schools
 - Stanford University
 - Ivy League
 - Law schools
 - Opposition to war
 - President's meeting with Ivy League presidents
 - Cambodia
 - May 8, 1972 decision
 - Mining and bombing of North Vietnam
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] [?]
- Elite press
 - Television [TV] and radio
- Reasonable press
 - James S. Copley
 - George Randolph Hearst, Jr.
 - Scripps-Howard
 - Dallas Morning News*
 - Columbus newspaper
 - Southern newspapers
- Leader class
 - Downfall of civilizations
 - Common people
 - Reliability
 - Corruption of leaders
 - Weakness
 - Great Britain
 - France
 - Germany
 - Neo-isolationist view in US
 - America First
 - World War II
 - Patriotism
 - Disarmament sentiment
 - Trident
 - Antiballistic missiles [ABM]
 - Troop withdrawals from Europe
 - Soviet Union

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Eastern bloc
- Withdrawal from Asia
 - Dismantling of fleet
- Focus on domestic problems
- Responsible class
- Role in World War II
 - Japan
 - US preparation
 - Support of eastern international set
- Role in Korean War
 - Invasion by North Korea
 - United Nations [UN]
- US role in world affairs
 - US burden
 - World War I
 - World War II
 - Korean War
 - Vietnam War
 - Comparison with Great Britain
 - World War I casualties
 - Neo-isolationist view
 - Intellectuals
 - Clergy
 - Business community
 - Press
 - Cambodia
 - Cuts in defense budgets
 - Spending on ghettos
 - Leadership of free world
 - Avoidance of fear
 - Japan
 - Europe
 - Soviet Union
 - Superpower
 - Aggressive intentions
- PRC
 - Future superpower

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Population
 - World conquest
- US role in world affairs
 - Importance for peace
 - US relations with Soviet Union, PRC
 - Negotiation, confrontation
 - Vietnam settlement
 - Avoidance of dishonor, humiliation
 - Bugout from South Vietnam
 - US public frustration
 - Korean War
 - Second class power status
- Leader class
 - Resolve of American people
 - Labor unions
 - Farmers
 - Small businessmen
 - Wall Street
 - Support for President
 - 1972 election
 - Press endorsements
 - Support for George S. McGovern
 - Isolationism
 - Withdrawal from Vietnam
 - McGovern's shortcomings
 - Mistakes
 - Competence
 - Effects of lack of resolve on lower class, youth
 - Education
 - Press
 - Political speakers
 - Peaceniks
- US dedication to peace
 - PRC
 - Dangers of war
- Colleges and universities
 - Strong people

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Scarcity
- Liberals' conduct
 - Conservatives
 - Lack of charisma
- President's role
 - Risner
 - College graduates
- Stockdale's conversation with Art van Dorn of *New York Times*
 - Stockdale's article
 - Stockdale's son
 - Intended audience
 - Origins of strength as POW
 - Military ethic
 - Selflessness
 - Reprints
 - Stanford University's Alumni Magazine
- Importance
 - Comparison with popular masses
 - Baseball games
- Needs
 - Religion
 - Philosophy
 - World affairs
 - Leadership vacuum
- Leadership in world affairs
 - US, Soviet Union
 - Potential dangers
- Communist system
 - Soviet Union, PRC
 - Viciousness
 - Destruction of American values
- Adm. Henry S. Monroe
 - Conversation with liberal professor
 - Stanford University
 - Life in Communist system in US
 - Incarceration of liberals
 - Military influence

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

-Intolerance toward liberals

University education

- Stockdale's outreach
- Effects on youth
- Stockdale's son
 - Ohio Wesleyan University
 - Views on war
 - Relationship with Stockdale
 - Advisor
 - San Diego
 - Employment in steel mill
 - Plans
 - Travel in Europe
 - Time off
 - Young military officers
 - Career pressures
 - Speaking engagement at Los Angeles college
 - Fonda
 - Comparison with fighting Joe Louis

White House Dinner for POWs

- President's conversations with Denton and Risner
 - Defense Department [?]
- Guests
- President's role
 - National Security briefing
- Tour by Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
- Reception
- Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
 - Master of ceremonies
- Entertainment
- POW families
- Meetings with Denton, Risner, Gen. John B. Flynn

George Bond

- California Republican

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-4 (cont'd)

- Stockdale's cousin
- Farm near Galesburg, Illinois
 - Early aviation
 - Knox County
 - Bond family

Rose Garden
-Tulips

Stockdale's visit to Connecticut

Stockdale and Scowcroft left at 4:39 pm.

Conversation No. 891-5

Date: April 9, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:39 pm and 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft.

Folder on Gen. John B. Flynn

Scowcroft [?] left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

Conversation No. 891-6

Date: April 9, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:39 pm and 5:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft.

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-6 (cont'd)

Delivery [?]

Scowcroft [?] left at an unknown time before 5:03 pm.

Conversation No. 891-7

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: 5:03 pm - 6:21 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. John B. Flynn and Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Photographs

-Arrangements

President's schedule

Photograph location

-Hands of state

Refreshments

-Coffee

-President's habits

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:03 pm.

Flynn

-Meeting with President in 1964

-National War College

-Manila, Philippines

-President's private trip

-Hotel

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:13 pm.

Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes

- Acquaintanceship
- Thailand
 - 13th Air Force [?]
- White House dinner for Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Role as President's military aide
- National League of Families of American POWs and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia
 - Liason

White House dinner for POWs

- Guests
 - Absence of Cabinet members, VIPs
 - POW families
- President's conversations with Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr. and Col. Robinson Risner
 - Scheduling
 - POWs' readjustment to US
- Arrangements
 - Weather
 - Tent
 - Capacity

President's trips to Philippines

- Bataan survivors
- Flynn meetings with past Presidents
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Meeting with Flynn
 - President's kindness
 - Vietnam
 - National War College trip

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:03 pm.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

Spanish language

- Sanchez's background
- Spain
- Transportation to United States
 - Cuba
 - Possible return

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:13 pm.

Vietnam War

- Flynn's role as POW leader
 - National morale
- National weariness
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Antiwar riots, demonstrations
 - [October Moratorium] [?]
 - Cambodia
- Opponents of war
 - Peaceniks
 - Appearance
 - Quakers
 - Presidential travel in US
 - 1972 campaign
 - Demonstrators
 - Viciousness
 - Young women
 - Attitude
 - Future of US
 - Leader class
 - Press
 - Intellectuals
 - Business lenders
 - Congress
- Attitude of common people
 - Support for President's policies
- Vietnam settlement
 - Violations

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Laos
- Cambodia
- Infiltration
- South Vietnam
 - Non-Communist government
- End of war
- Return of POWs
- POWs' understanding of situation
 - POWs' political orientations
 - Political pressures on President
- Return of POWs
 - Honor
- US role in world affairs
 - Peacemaker
 - Importance
 - Allies
 - Enemies
 - Chance of peace
- POWs
 - Treatment
 - Pride
 - “Return with Honor”
 - Commemorative plaque
- White House dinner for POWs
 - Plaque presentation to President
 - Arrangements
 - Foreign policy briefing by President
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Soviet Union
 - Arms control
 - Vietnam
 - Attire
 - Dinner
 - Reception
 - Receiving line
- POWs' feelings for President
 - President's appreciation

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- POWs
 - Effect on nation
 - Antiwar movement
 - Character
 - Lack of faith in country
 - “Peace at any price”
 - Pride
 - Caliber of servicemen
 - Air Force
 - December 1972 bombing
 - B-52 raids
 - POW recognition
 - Sound
 - Bomb loads
 - Effects on North Vietnamese
 - Fear
 - POW reaction
 - Cheering
 - Threat of bayoneting
 - Camp commander
 - End of war
 - Prior attacks
 - Selectivity
 - B-52s
 - Selectivity
 - Devastation
 - Carpet bombing
 - Opponents of President’s war policy
 - Press reaction
 - President’s insanity
 - Carpet bombing
 - Genocide
 - Effects on North Vietnamese
 - Attitude towards President
 - Continued bombing
 - President’s determination
 - Henry Kissinger’s theory

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- North Vietnamese ignorance of Western attitudes
- 1972 election victory
- Mining of Haiphong
- October 26 agreement
- December 1972 bombing
 - Difficulty of decision
 - Christmas
 - Chicago Tribune*
 - Criticism of President
- Flynn's promotion in 1971
 - Rank
 - Backpay
- Vietnam settlement
 - North Vietnam's violations
 - Cambodia
 - Infiltration
 - Terms for aid to North Vietnam
 - Congress
 - Compliance with settlement
 - Investment
 - POW atrocities
 - Public opposition
 - Leverage
 - Uneasy peace
 - Survival of South Vietnam
 - War's goal
 - Survival of Laos and Cambodia
 - Uncertainty
 - Thailand
 - Treaty
 - Obligation to protect
- Testing of US will
 - Possible US military response
 - Congress
 - Ho chi Minh Trail
 - Mon Tri
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s mission to Southeast Asia

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Cambodia, North Vietnam, South Vietnam
- US war goals
 - Lack of public support
 - Non-Communist government in South Vietnam
 - International misunderstanding
 - Flynn's leadership
 - Morale
 - US objectives
 - Achievement
 - Flynn's prediction for POW release
 - May 8, 1972 decision
- 1970 Cambodian operation
 - Campus protests
 - Kent State University shootings
 - Antiwar demonstration
 - Riots
 - Effects of closing Sihanoukville
 - Elimination of sanctuaries
- 1971 Laos operation
 - Historians' misinterpretation
 - South Vietnamese armed forces
 - US air support
 - Prevention of 1971 offensive by North Vietnam
- 1972 North Vietnamese offensive
 - 1972 election
 - 1972 Moscow Summit
 - Pressures for conciliation
 - Compromised negotiating position
 - Soviet tanks
 - Hue
 - Popular support for President's reaction
 - Press reaction
- December 1972 bombing
 - Popular reaction
 - President's explanation
 - Effect on negotiations
 - Opposition to bombing

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- President as "madman"
- North Vietnam's refusal to negotiate
 - US Congress
- Weather
 - B-52s
- Role of fighters
 - Surface to air missiles [SAM]
- Effect of B-52s
 - Fear among North Vietnamese
 - Treatment of POWs
- Goals of North Vietnam
 - Topples US leadership
 - Compared to France
 - Pierre Mendes-France
 - 1968 Tet Offensive
 - 1972 North Vietnamese offensive
 - 1972 election
- 1972 North Vietnamese offensive
 - Scale of attack
 - US mining and bombing
 - Attack across Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)
 - Mistake
 - Tanks
 - Press reaction
- US goals
 - Defense against Communism
 - North Vietnam's soldiers in South Vietnam
 - Viet Cong
 - North Vietnam's support
 - Socialist world's support
 - Denials
 - US advantage
- Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Motives
 - Staff
 - Mistakes
 - Involvement in Vietnam

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Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- President's Silent Majority speech
 - November 3, 1969
 - Defense of US role
- President's public war goals
 - Legitimacy of course
- President's visits to Vietnam
 - Gradual escalation
 - Opinion of US military intervention
 - Primitive Communism
 - North Vietnam
 - Bombing of North Vietnam
 - Selective targeting
 - Diplomatic purposes
 - Military purposes
- 1968 bombing halt
 - Effects on Johnson's successor
 - Paris peace negotiations
 - Charade
 - 1970 Cambodia operation
 - May 8, 1972 decision
 - Provocation
- North Vietnam's attack across DMZ
 - Effect on conduct of war
- December 1972 bombing
 - Psychological effects
- POWs
 - Effect on US policy
 - President's determination
 - POW attitudes
 - North Vietnamese attitudes
 - Mistakes
 - Lack of reasoned judgment
- President's previous meetings
 - Adm. James B. Stockdale
 - Risner
 - Denton
 - North Vietnam's desire for US aid

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Compliance with Vietnam Settlement
- North Vietnam
 - Shrewdness
 - Possible future actions
 - South Vietnam
 - Strategy
 - Economic aid
 - Laos And Cambodia
 - Soviet Union and PRC
 - Support
- Soviet Union and PRC
 - Role in world
 - Leadership of Communist movement
 - Competitors
 - Relations with US
 - Improvement
 - US influence interests
 - North Vietnam
 - North Vietnam
 - Violations of Vietnam Settlement
 - Notification of Soviet Union and PRC
- Soviet Union
 - Military aid to North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam's capabilities
 - Manpower
 - Tanks
 - Airforce
 - Navy
 - Commitment
 - Soviet message
 - Trustworthiness
- President's visit to Soviet Union and PRC
 - Peking
 - Moscow
 - US foreign policy goals
 - Competition between Soviet Union and PRC
 - Communist leaders

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- US friendship
 - Price
 - Vietnam
- North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam's role
 - Stability
 - Military capability
 - US reaction to invasion by North Vietnam
 - Air strikes in South Vietnam
 - External aid for North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam's government
 - Autonomy
 - US interests
 - Possibility of collapse

US role in world

- Neo-isolationism in US
 - American First
 - World War II
 - Fortress America
 - Disarmament sentiment
 - Unilateralism
 - US defense capabilities
 - Soviet Union
- World War I
 - Possibility by Germany
 - Benefits for Europe
- World War II
 - Germany's occupation of France
 - Great Britain
 - US assistance
 - Japan
 - Attack on Pearl Harbor
- Great Britain, France
 - Role of great powers
 - Germany
 - Japan's potential

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Collapse as great powers
- Gen. Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
 - Withdrawal from Algeria
- Italy
- Germany
 - Divided nation
 - Willy Brandt
 - Socialism
 - Policy toward Eastern Bloc
 - Anti-Americanism in West Germany
- US brokering of peace
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev's goals
 - Georges J. R. Pompidou, Edward R. G. Heath, Brandt
 - Division of Europe
 - PRC's relationship with Europe
 - PRC's relations with US and Soviet Union

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 2 s]

US-PRC RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

US role in world

- US brokering of peace
 - PRC's relationship with US and Soviet Union
 - Restraint
 - Soviet Union's relations with US
 - US wealth

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- US deterrent
- Need for US strength
- Soviet Union
 - Toughness
 - History of expansionism
- Western Europe
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Dissolution
 - Soviet Union's role
 - European Economic Community [EEC]
 - Withdrawal of US forces
 - US Congress
 - Possible negotiations with Warsaw Pact
 - Mutual force reduction
 - Soviet Union's goals
 - Destruction of NATO
 - Effects of détente
 - Perceptions of Soviet threat
 - NATO's strength
 - US diplomacy
 - Arms reduction
 - Trade
 - President's meetings with European leaders
 - Brandt, Pompidou, Giulio Andreotti
 - Purpose
 - NATO strength
 - Warsaw Pact
- Future
 - Europe's role
 - US role
 - US strength
 - Military
 - Leadership
 - Balance to Communist threat
- Great Britain
 - Reserve
 - Heath

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Economic problems
- Leadership
 - World War I, World War II
- Germany
 - Leadership
- France
- Need for US strength
 - Europe's lack of resolve
- Life in US
 - Wealth
- Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark
 - President's visits
 - National goals
 - Youth
 - Cheese
 - Weakness
 - Comparison with US
 - Vietnam War
 - Respect
- Uruguay
 - Significance of citizenship
- South America
 - Extension of Western democracy
 - POWs' concern
 - Communists' program
 - US response
 - Use of military
 - Land reform
 - Enhanced medical care
 - Education
 - US approach
 - Freedom
 - Brazil
 - Emilio Garrastazu Medici
 - Political system
 - Economic health
 - Land reform

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Medici
- Land reform, education, health care
- Dehumanization
- Soviet Union, PRC
- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania
- President's visits
- Standard of living
- Freedom
- Negotiations with PRC and Soviet Union
 - Economic relations with US
 - Communist leaders' responsiveness
 - Communist ideology
 - Cadre
 - Russian people
 - Strength, rigor
 - Chinese people
 - Sophistication
 - Value of contact with Communist world
 - Potential for change
 - Avoidance of world destruction
 - Gradualness
 - Alternative of US isolation
 - Anger
 - Potential for violence
 - Irrationality in leaders
 - US presidents
 - Josev Stalin
 - Insanity
 - Adolf Hitler
 - Insanity
 - US system
 - Removal of unstable leaders
 - Dialogue with Soviet Union
 - Understanding
 - Trade
 - Economic strength of Soviet Union and PRC
 - Soviet military expenditures

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Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Consumer goods
- Soviet industrial productions
 - Flynn's thesis
 - Cost
 - Comparison with US
- Communist exposure to West
 - Indoctrination
 - Conditions in US
 - Western Europe
 - Spain
 - Gen. Francisco Franco
 - Poverty
 - Madrid
 - President's welcome during visits
 - Compared to Budapest
- Popular response to President's visits to Communist nations
 - Soviet Union and PRC
 - Effects of US strategy in Vietnam
 - Romania
 - Poland
 - Hungary
 - President's visit as private citizen
 - Youth
 - Czechoslovakia
 - Eastern Europe
 - Concerns for Soviet Union
 - East Germany
 - Organization
 - Success of Communism
 - Soviet Union
 - Leningrad
 - Kiev
 - President's future trip
 - End of Vietnam War
 - Crowds
 - Russians' attitude toward Americans
 - World War II

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Cooperation
 - Brezhnev
- President's trips to Soviet Union and PRC
 - Improved communications
 - POWs' reaction
 - Soviet and Chinese magazines for POWs
 - Soviet*
 - Sophistication
 - China*
 - Revolutionary tone
 - Publication quality
 - Life*
 - James Keogh
 - United States Information Agency [USIA]
 - Time*
 - Effectiveness of Communist propaganda
 - Prison guards
 - Discipline
 - Insight into Communist world
- Efficacy of Communist propaganda
 - Latin America
 - Education
 - Health care
 - Land reform
 - Literacy for indoctrination
 - Communist doctors
 - Quality
 - Doctors during France's rule in Vietnam
 - South Vietnamese programs
 - Schools
 - Doctors
 - Land reform
 - Thieu
 - Possible U.S. response in Latin America
 - Radio
 - Loudspeakers
 - Villages in Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

- Television [TV]
- Youth
- Language classes
- Local governments' role
- Ease

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 5:03 pm and 6:13 pm.

Request for call

[Conversation No. 891-7A]

[Begin telephone conversation]

[See Conversation No. 44-113]

[End telephone conversation]

Keogh's schedule

- Travel
- Potential meeting with Flynn

Flynn's schedule

- Joint chiefs of Staff [JCS]

The President talked with Keogh between 6:13 pm and 6:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 891-7B]

[Begin telephone conversation]

[See Conversation No. 44-114]

The President conferred with Flynn.

[Begin conferral]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(*rev. April-2011*)

Conversation No. 891-7 (cont'd)

Flynn's schedule
-Call to Keogh

[End conferral]

[End telephone conversation]

Keogh
-Reliability
-Anticommunism
-Time-Life

US role in world affairs
-Competition with Communists
-Ideas
-Military
-US strength
-Latin America
-US ingenuity

POWs' experience

Flynn's meeting with President
-Photograph

Rose Garden
-Plants

Red River Raiders
-Invitation to President
-Reunion
-Dinner in President's honor

Flynn and Scowcroft left at 6:21 pm.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-8

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: Unknown between 6:21 pm and 6:29 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's request for unknown man

-Unknown man's schedule

-Symphony

President's request

-Paper for tomorrow [?]

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:29 pm.

Conversation No. 891-9

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: Unknown between 6:21 pm and 6:29 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown man's report

-Executive Office Building [EOB]

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-10

Date: April 9, 1973
Time: Unknown between 6:21 pm and 6:29 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule

Conversation No. 891-12

Date: April 9, 1973
Time: Unknown between 6:21 pm and 6:29 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with unknown persons.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President's schedule
-California [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President and unknown persons left at an unknown time before 9:09 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. April-2011)

Conversation No. 891-13

Date: April 9, 1973

Time: Unknown between 6:21 pm and 6:29 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with unknown persons and Rose Mary Woods [?].

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Greeting

Nice day

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman [?]

Location

President's location

-Telephone line

-Machine

-Speaker

Group location

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 9:09 pm.