Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: 9:20 am - 10:13 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

President's schedule -Leonid I. Brezhnev visit -Henry A. Kissinger -Beltsville, Maryland -Signing ceremony -Signing of agreements -Cultural, scientific -Tax, agriculture -Camp David -Andrei A. Gromyko, William P. Rogers -Travel arrangements -Middle East communique -Private meeting between President and Brezhnev -Blair House -Impromptu meeting -Kissinger -4:00 pm meeting -Private meeting between President and Brezhnev -Rogers, Kissinger, Gromyko -President's concerns about Rogers -President's forthcoming toast, June 18, 1973 -Coverage -Text of toast -Preparation -San Clemente -Departure time -Blair house -Dinner arrangements

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Air Force One -El Toro Air Force Base -Farewell ceremony -Helicopter trip -Signing ceremony -Communique -Housing arrangements -Gromyko, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Kissinger's evaluation -Release of dissident Jewish leaders -Leak to media -Afternoon meeting -Time, location -Media coverage -Meeting at Blair House Watergate -Washington Post story, June 18, 1973 -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman -J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.'s forthcoming conversation with John J. Wilson -News summary -Gordon C. Strachan -Haldeman -Possible leaks -Leonard Garment -Telephone call from Haig -David R. Gergen -Relationship with Robert U. ("Bob") Woodward -White House employment -Capabilities -President's view -Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright -Gergen -Forthcoming conversation with Haig -Capabilities -Haig's view -Washington Post story, June 18, 1973

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Wilson -President's strategy -President's knowledge -John N. Mitchell -Martha (Beall) Mitchell, Helen A. Thomas

Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President's schedule

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

Watergate -Brezhnev visit -Editorials -President's negotiating position -Content -Roman L. Hruska's editorial -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's statement -Allegations concerning President's role -Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr. -John W. Dean, III -Break-in of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office -Krogh's letter concerning Ehrlichman -President's knowledge -Effect on Brezhnev visit -Dean -Fred D. Thompson -Possible immunity -Buzhardt

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President's schedule -Meeting with Kissinger [?]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log (rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

Watergate
-Washington Post story, June 18, 1973
-Buzhardt's view
-Goal
-Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean
-White House strategy
-Haig's forthcoming call to Wilson
-Dean
-Allegations concerning President's role in funds for defendants
-Krogh
-Buzhardt's view
-Possible cross-examination
-Meeting with President, Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, March 21, 197
-Need for full disclosure
-Haldeman's possible statement
-Buzhardt's conversation with Wilson
-Ervin Committee hearings
-Witness schedule
-White House strategy
-Buzhardt
-Haldeman's possible statement
-White House strategy
-Buzhardt, Garment, Ronald Ziegler
-President's schedule
-Dean's possible allegations
-Buzhardt's statement
-Dean
-March 21, 1973 conversation with President concerning funds
-Possible documents
-Buzhardt's views
-Statement
-Possible effect on Brezhnev visit
-Press
-Washington Post, Baltimore Sun
-Jackson
-White House statement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Buzhardt -Haldeman's possible statement -President's possible statement -President's March 21, 1973 meeting with Dean -President's investigation -Buzhardt and staff -President's methodology -William O. Bittman -Howard H. Baker, Jr.'s statement, June 17, 1973 -Buzhardt's reply -Ervin Committee hearings -President's possible appearance

Melvin R. Laird's schedule -Visits to officials

President's schedule -Brezhnev -Planes to California -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -Idanell(Brill) ("Nellie") Connally, Adele (Langston) Rogers, John B. Connally -San Clemente -Arrival -Tour

Watergate

-Buzhardt -Thompson's views concerning Dean -Questions

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President's schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President's schedule -Kissinger

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:45 am.

Brezhnev visit -Story concerning 17 soviet journalists -Kissinger -President's conversation with Dobrynin -Arrangements for photos -Media coverage -Comments during photos -President's forthcoming toast, June 18, 1973 -Coverage -Length -Preparation -Transcript for translation -President's composition of the toast -Kissinger

Kissinger entered at 9:49 am.

Brezhnev visit -Length -Preparation, length -President's assessment of the toast -Gergen -Speechwriters -Toast prepared by Kissinger's staff -Length -Brezhnev's toast -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Advance copy for the President

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Length -Interpretation -President's toast -Length

Ziegler left at 9:50 am.

Brezhnev visit -President's meeting -Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt -Note taking -Soviet interpreter -Brezhnev's children's letter to Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox -Fatherly advice -Graduation ceremony -Blair house meeting -Time -Improvised meeting -Rogers's possible meeting with Gromyko -European Security Conference -Media coverage -Photographs -Gromyko, Dobrynin, Kissinger, Rogers -Release of Jewish dissidents -Kissinger's conversation with Garment -US Jewish leaders -Possible meeting with President, Kissinger, or Garment -Previous meetings with Jewish leaders -Credit for release -Previous meeting with Kissinger -Garment's request for President -Jewish support for President -Jewish emigration -President's image -Effect on Soviet policy -Demeanor -Soviet actions toward PRC

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Strength -US domestic situation -President's visit to Soviet Union in 1972 -Toughness -Soviet goals -Europe -China

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [National Security] [Duration: <u>1 s</u>]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Brezhnev visit -Sequoia -Brezhnev -State dinner, June 18, 1973 -Kissinger's discussion with Dobrynin -Lincoln memorial -Rogers's possible meeting with Gromyko -Camp David -Assignments -European Security Conference -Communique -Middle East -Schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Brezhnev's schedule -Invitation to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] -Forthcoming toast -Transcript for President -President's forthcoming toast -Content -Family -Diplomacy -Results of summit -Schedule -Brezhnev's evaluation of president -Effect of Dean's Ervin Committee testimony -Kissinger's assessment -Patriotism -Dean -Goals of Soviets -US national interest -Publicity of summit -Press coverage -*Time* and *Newsweek* -Final summit agreements -Oceanography -US and Soviet Agreements -Oceanography -Number of agreements -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] -Negotiations -Principles -Compared to President's 1972 visit to Soviet Union -Preliminary work for summit -Agreements -Communique -Nuclear treaty -Principles -Speed of negotiations -Brezhnev's forthcoming toast -President forthcoming toast

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Kissinger's staff -Length of toast -Speechwriters -Quality -Private meeting between President and Brezhnev -Dobrynin, Gromyko -President's forthcoming toast -Length -Schedule -President's remarks -Soviet and American relations -Future negotiations -SALT -Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR] -Dates -Nuclear treaty -Brezhnev's toast -Rogers -European Security Conference -SALT agreement -1974 -Southeast Asia -Cambodia -Vietnam -Cease-fire violations -Middle East -Far East -China -Japan -Economics -Long term relationship -Reaction of Politburo -Lunch -Photographs -Sonnenfeldt, Dobrynin -Blair House meeting -Brezhnev

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-1 (cont'd)

-Remarks -Support for President -Watergate -Brezhnev reaction -Future visits -Form of address -President's remarks -US-Soviet relations -Europe -Brezhnev's trip -France, Warsaw, Poland -SALT -Far East -Middle East -Economics relations between US and USSR -Forthcoming nuclear agreement -Letter to Brezhnev from President -Brezhnev's forthcoming trip to Paris -French criticism -President's forthcoming toast -Text of toast -President's preference for extemporaneous speech -Pravda -Zielger [?] -Kissinger's efforts

Watergate

-Kissinger's outrage

President's schedule

Kissinger and Haig left at 10:13 am.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-9

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:35 am Location: Oval Office

Two unknown men met at an unknown time after 10:13 am.

President's schedule -Photographs -Leonid I. Brezhnev -Meeting schedule

The two men left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-2

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:35 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Watergate

John W. Dean, III
President's previous conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
White House strategy

Press reports
Press coverage
William Safire's column, June 18, 1973

White House response

J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
Fred D. Thompson
Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony

Statement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-2 (cont'd)

-White House response -\$1,000,000 -Washington Post story, June 18, 1973 -David R. Gergen -Haig -Leonard Garment -Dean -Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony -Possible White House response -\$1,000,000 -March 21, 1973 meeting with President -Funds for defendants -President's response -Clemency offer -Dean's March 22, 1973 meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and John N. Mitchell -Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony -Possible responses -John J. Wilson, Haldeman -Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright -White House response -Specificity vs. generality -Haldeman -Washington Post story, June 18, 1973 -Haig -Robert U. ("Bob") Woodward and Carl Bernstein -Source(s) -New York Times -Dean -Possible allegations concerning President -White House response -Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.'s comments to Dean concerning Ellsberg breakin -Ellsberg break-in -Dean's conversation with President, March 1973 -Krogh's statement concerning Ehrlichman's knowledge -Dean

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-2 (cont'd)

-Possible allegations concerning President -White House response -Counsel's office, Buzhardt -Howard H. Baker, Jr. -Statement concerning President -Dean -Strategy

Henry Kissinger entered at 10:26 am.

Leonid I. Brezhnev's visit -Press statement -World domination -Superpower condominium

Watergate

-Dean -Strategy -White House response -\$1,100,000 -Safire's column, June 18, 1973 -Compared to President

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-3

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:27 am and 10:35 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit -Brezhnev's schedule

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-3 (cont'd)

-Television [TV] coverage -Location of media

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-4

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:27 am and 10:35 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit -Schedule -Helicopter delay -Weather -Maj. John V. ("Jack") Brennan

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-5

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: 10:35 am - 10:40 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Watergate -John W. Dean, III -J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr. -\$4,000, \$12,000

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-5 (cont'd)

-Charles W. Colson -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -White House statement -David R. Gergen -Raymond K. Price -June 18, 1973 *Washington Post* story -Ronald L. Ziegler

President's schedule -Leonid I .Brezhnev visit -Signing of agreements -Schedule -Economic agreements -Sequoia

Watergate

-Dean

-White House response -Colson -Ziegler's views -Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright -Haldeman's possible testimony -\$12,000 -Colson -Possible Larceny of \$4,000 -Fred D. Thompson -Colson -Buzhardt's view -Story concerning President's role in break-in -Internal Revenue Service [IRS] audits -Lawrence F. O'Brien -\$200,000 -George P. Shultz -Dean -Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony -Buzhardt's view -Thompson

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-5 (cont'd)

-Edward J. Gurney

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:35 am.

Brezhnev visit -Weather delays

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Brezhnev visit

Haig left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Conversation No. 943-10

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:40 am Location: Oval Office

An unknown man and unknown woman met.

President's schedule [?]

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.

Conversation No. 943-6

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:40 am and 10:54 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-6 (cont'd)

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.

Conversation No. 943-7

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:40 am and 10:54 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit -Arrangements for arrival ceremony

The President and the unknown man left before 10:54am.

Conversation No. 943-11

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 10:40 am - 10:54 am Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

Arrival ceremony

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

Conversation No. 943-8

Date: June 18, 1973 Time: Unknown between 11:31 am and 3:12 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Leonid I. Brezhnev and Viktor M. Sukhodrev.

Oval Office -Description

Weather -Camp David

Ronald L. Ziegler

Seating arrangements

Reporters

Ziegler and members of the press entered at 11:33 am.

[Photograph session]

Ziegler and the press left at 11:37 am.

Weather

-Rain -Athens -Russian folklore -Moscow and Washington, DC

Well wishes -Brezhnev's colleagues -Moscow airport

Smoking in the Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-Cigarette case timing mechanism -Discipline

Brezhnev's send-off in Moscow -Brezhnev's speech -Brezhnev's colleagues -Support for summit

June 14, 1973 politburo meeting -US-Soviet relations -Achievements -Future goals -Agreement with Politburo -Talks with President -Developments

Brezhnev's expectations from visit -High hopes -Resolution of difficult questions

Brezhnev's itinerary -Casa Pacifica -President's invitation -Brezhnev's reaction -"House of peace" -Symbolism

Brezhnev's family -Wife's health -Grandson's graduation from high school -Entrance exams -Moscow University -Student exam reactions -Children -Meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox -Positive impressions -Schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-Letter to Tricia Nixon Cox
-Brezhnev's son, daughter, daughter-in-law
-President's personal delivery
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia and Edward R. F. Cox
-Reception in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Welcome to the Brezhnev family in the US

Future of US-Soviet relations -Future visits -President's relationship with Brezhnev -President's remaining three years in office -Keys to US-Soviet relationship -Ability to change the world -Brezhnev's meeting with American Senators -Respect for President -Party affiliation -Vance Hartke -Hopes for US-Soviet relations -Brezhnev's reaction -Democratic Senator

Brezhnev's visit

-Press interest in Brezhnev's trip to US

-Brezhnev's meeting with Georges J. R. Pompidou

-Brezhnev's meeting with Willy Brandt -Brezhnev's reaction to questions

-Brezhnev's meeting with US Senators

-Brezhnev's meeting with 11 American correspondents

-President's role in diplomacy

-Brezhnev's conversation with an unknown Soviet diplomat in 1961

-Advice to Brezhnev

-Personal relationships in diplomacy

-Handshake

-Gestures of respect

-President's in 1972 Moscow trip

-Brezhnev's 1973 US trip

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

Brezhnev's conversation with Henry a. Kissinger, June 17, 1973 -Request for President to return to USSR in 1974 -Brezhnev's trip to US in 1975 -Invitation from the Politburo -Unanimous support from Soviet leadership -President's visit to USSR in 1976 -Relationship between US and USSR

US-Soviet relations

-Importance of head of state visits -Future summits -Planning -Travel -Caucasus region -President's relationship with Brezhnev -Assessment of Brezhnev -Cooperation -Benefits -Detriments of non-cooperation

Soviet Union

-Resources -Geography -Military -Population -Agriculture -Minerals -Industry -Compared to US -Strengths of US

US-Soviet Union

-Brezhnev's comments to central committee -Respect for US -Role in world -Superpowers world peace Reduction of importance

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-Guinea -Third parties -Disruption of relations -Luxembourg -Size -Police -Brezhnev's possible speeches -Battle against dissent -Relations -Peace seeking future -Friendship -Respect for populace

Brezhnev's schedule -President's suggestions

Camp David -Meeting -Attributes

San Clemente -Attributes -Pacific Ocean

Agenda for visit -Attendees -Andrei A. Gromyko, William P. Rogers, Henry A. Kissinger -Plenary session -Moscow trip 1972 -Gromyko, Nikolai S. Patolichev [?] -Economic meeting -Camp David -Nuclear agreement -Press leaks -Media coverage -Brezhnev's forthcoming statement -President's preference

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-President's response -Schedule -Breaks -State dinner, June 18, 1973 -Time difference between Washington, DC and Moscow

Kissinger, Rogers, Gromyko, Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt, and Anatoliy F. Dobrynin entered at 12:32 pm.

Arrangements for photos and seating

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:32 pm.

Arrangements for photos

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

President's previous conversation with Brezhnev -Successful negotiations -Rogers, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Gromyko -Advice -Value -Friendship between leaders and nations

Negotiation strategy -Discussions -Mutual advantage -Mutual compromise

Oval office -Placement of gift from Brezhnev

Agenda for visit -Signing ceremony -Plenary session -George P. Shultz -Brezhnev's assistants

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

Rogers and Gromyko -Forthcoming communique -Middle East -Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] -Camp David -Brezhnev's demand for agreement -Importance **US-Soviet** relationship -History -Focus on present and future -Uneven development of relations -Battles against fascism in 1940 -Roles of President and Brezhnev -President's visit to Moscow in 1972 -Brezhnev's visit to Washington -Relationship of American and Soviet people -World peace -Agreement signed in Moscow 1972 -Endorsement of American and Soviet people -President's schedule -Return visit to Moscow in 1974 -Announcement of trip -President's visit to Moscow in 1972 -World response -Importance of confidence -Trust of people -Views of soviet people -Variety of citizens -Letters to Central Committee -Importance of summit -Volume -Brezhnev's sharing of letters -Letter containing poetry -Creation of historical narrative -President's visit to Moscow in 1972

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-Epoch-defining -Need for peace World history -Study of conflict -Wars between monarchs -Roman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire -Future generations study of peace -Historians **US-Soviet relationship** -Views of soviet communists -Support for Brezhnev -Communist Party -Workers -Brezhnev's representation of Soviet people -Agreements -Brezhnev's visit -Signature of agreements -CSCE -US-Soviet Union -Relationship -Strengths -Role in world -Influence -President's visit to Moscow in 1972 -Support from Europe -France -West Germany

Time difference between Moscow and Washington -Brezhnev's watches -Moscow time -Washington time -Help from Ministry of Foreign Affairs

US-Soviet relationship

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-President's visit to Moscow in 1972 -View of European political parties -Social Democratic parties, Communist parties -Value -Peaceful relations -New phase in relations -Brezhnev's visit -Cooperativeness -Interest of the world World progress -Political importance of the age -Cooperation -Role of Europe -US, USSR, France, West Germany -World War II -Cooperation to defeat fascism -Progressive ideals -Will of people -President's and Brezhnev's visits -Assessment of goals -Progressive ideas -Peace -Destruction of war-making capabilities **US-Soviet** relationship -Politics and economics

-Progress -Future goals -Principles of Soviet foreign policy -Party Congress -Relations with US -President's visit in 1972 -Central committee's resolution -Future goals -President's goals -Brezhnev's visit

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-President's welcoming remarks -Value -Political and economic progress -Creation of peaceful and progressive qualitites -Criticism of US and USSR -Luxembourg military

Schedule

-Brezhnev's concern over remarks -Rogers -Protocol -Kissinger -Watch

US-Soviet relationship
-Pride
-Strength of each nation
-Vladimir I. Lenin
-Importance of confidence
-Leaders and people throughout the world
-President's and Brezhnev's visits
-Creation of trust
-Lasting peace
-World War II
-Bonn, West Germany
-Brezhnev
-Experience
-Reception in West Germany
-Veterans
-Confidence
-Agreements to be signed
-Importance of world peace
-Possibility of future wars
-Destruction
-President's schedule
-Future visit to USSR
-Development of relations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. August-2011)

Conversation No. 943-8 (cont'd)

-Continued communication -Discussion of future agreements -Future meetings in 1974, 1975, 1976 -President's interest in remarks -Most-Favored Nation [MFN] status -Future negotiations -US Trade center in Moscow -Construction agreement -Brezhnev's report to Central Committee on foreign policy -Distribution to local Soviets -Support for Brezhnev's policy -Lasting effect of policy -Soviet foreign policy -Support for Brezhnev -Economics -Contact between US and Soviet officials -Goals -Expectations -Isaac Newton -Discovery of gravity -Creation of cooperation policies -Attractiveness for nations -Possible opposition to peace -Brezhnev's influence -Personal opinion -Struggle for Detente -Peace, progress, co-operation -Brezhnev's goals

The recording cut off at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

An unknown portion of conversation was not recorded while the audiotape reels were changed.

[Continued on Conversation No. 944-1]