

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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



Conversation No. 944-1

Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: 12:32 pm - 3:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

[Continued from Conversation No. 943-8]

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

The President met with Leonid I. Brezhnev, Viktor M. Sukhodrev, Henry A. Kissinger, William P. Rogers, Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, and Andrei A. Gromyko.

[Unintelligible]

US-Soviet Union relations

- Negotiations
- Brezhnev’s visit
  - Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]
  - Middle East
  - Agreements
    - Preparations
  - Officials assisting in preparations
  - Kissinger, Rogers, Sonnenfeldt
  - 1972 summit

Soviet Union

- Agriculture
  - Drought
  - Weather forecasts
  - Products
    - Grain
    - Wheat
    - Cotton
    - Sugar beet [?]
  - Positive outlook

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Conversation No. 944-1 (cont'd)

- Industry
  - Capital allocation
    - Expenditures
      - Metal
      - Manpower
  - Visit of Soviet minister to US
    - Evgeny Evgenyovich Alexeyevsky
      - Report on US industry
      - Meetings with Brezhnev
      - US cooperation
- Agriculture
  - Climatic zones
    - Difficulty
  - Forthcoming agreement with US
    - Negotiations
- Gas and oil exploration
  - Negotiations
- Negotiations with US
  - Brezhnev's background
    - Metallurgic engineering
  - Role of experts
- Soviet food minister
  - Visit to US
    - Pepsi-Cola
    - Estonian heritage
  - Armand hammer
  - Occidental petroleum
- Economic relations with US
  - Trade
  - Credits
  - Results of 1972 summit
  - Duration of relationship
    - Brezhnev's meeting with senators
    - Natural gas trade

Brezhnev's visit

- Officials assisting in preparation

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Conversation No. 944-1 (cont'd)

-Gromyko, Dobrynin

US-Soviet Union relations

- Brezhnev's comments
  - President's appreciation
- Brezhnev's visit
  - President's approach
    - Spirit of appreciation
- Dwight D. Eisenhower's meeting with Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1960
  - Contrasts
    - Temper of the times
    - Nuclear weapons
- Foundation
  - Mutual respect and equal strength
- Other nations' views
  - Brezhnev's visit to France
    - French views of US-Soviet Union cooperation
- Forthcoming nuclear agreement, June 22, 1973
  - Brezhnev's role

Brezhnev visit

- Agenda
  - Europe
    - CSCE
      - Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
  - Middle East
    - Influence on negotiations

President's visit to Moscow in 1972

- Agenda
  - Vietnam
    - Prior discussions

Vietnam

- Paris Accords
  - Adherence

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Conversation No. 944-1 (cont'd)

Cambodia

- North Vietnamese
- Quest for peace

US-Soviet Union relations

- Role in world
  - Influence on war and peace
- Economic relationship
  - President's goal
    - Support
    - Expansion of trade
  - Goals of Soviet government
    - Shared goals with US
    - Expansion of trade
    - Most-Favored Nation [MFN] status
- Adaptation of systems
  - US-Soviet Union cooperation
- Boeing
  - Soviet negotiations
- Mutual advantage
  - Profits

Time difference between Moscow and Washington, DC

US-Soviet Union relations

- Air transportation and communication
- Forthcoming nuclear agreement, June 22, 1973
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Progress of talks
- Views of American people
  - Support for the summit
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Kissinger
    - Meeting with Brezhnev
  - Brezhnev's opinion of Jackson
- Peace, friendship, co-operation
  - Jackson

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Conversation No. 944-1 (cont'd)

- Aspirations of the American people
- Brezhnev's assessment
- International hope
- Brezhnev's nature

Brezhnev's schedule

- Camp David
- Adjustment to time change
- Kissinger
- Dobrynin
- State dinner
- Brezhnev's possible telephone calls to Moscow
- Sense of humor

President's schedule

- Meetings
- Signing of documents
- State dinner

The President, Brezhnev, *et al.* left at 3:12 pm.

Conversation No. 944-8

Date: June 18, 1973

Time: 3:12 pm and 3:19 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met in Oval Office.

President's schedule

- Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev

Unknown men left at an unknown time before 3:19 pm.

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**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 944-2 (cont'd)

Conversation No. 944-2

Date: June 18, 1973

Time: 3:19 pm - 3:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Ronald L. Ziegler.

US-Soviet Union relations

- US capabilities
  - Soviet view
- Henry A. Kissinger's comments to media
  - Perception of US role
  - Strength during crises
  - Soviet perception of American strength
    - American media
      - Attacks on the President
  - Television coverage of arrival ceremony
    - Haig's viewing
- Conversation with President
- Camp David
- Andrei A. Gromyko's forthcoming meeting with William P. Rogers
- President's previous meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - Preparations for Ronald L. Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing
- Preparations for Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing
  - Review of forthcoming agreements
    - Development since the 1972 summit
  - Forthcoming bilateral agreements
    - Timing
- President's previous meeting with Brezhnev
  - Forthcoming agreements
    - Cultural exchange
    - Oceanography
      - Timing
    - Transportation
    - Agriculture

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Conversation No. 944-2 (cont'd)

- Timing of ceremony
- General review of world situation
  - Southeast Asia
  - Middle East
  - Europe
  - Coexistence
  - Peaceful relations
    - US-Soviet Union relations
    - International peace
- June 22, 1973 agreement
  - Possible foreign response
    - Europe
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - Nuclear weapons
    - US diplomacy
- Preparations for Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing
  - Forthcoming agreements
  - Presidential remarks
  - Gromyko, Rogers
- Forthcoming briefings
  - Congress
    - Departmental representatives
    - Timing
  - Press
  - Location
    - Documents signings
- Preparations for Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing
  - Plenary session, June 19, 1973
  - Camp David
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Agenda for President's discussions with Brezhnev
    - Economic matters
    - SALT
    - Regional discussions
    - Timing

Ziegler left at 3:31 pm.

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Conversation No. 944-2 (cont'd)

US-Soviet Union relations

- President's meetings with Brezhnev
  - Kissinger's assessment of Brezhnev
  - Chou En-lai
  - President's assessment of Brezhnev
- Brezhnev
  - Compared to Nikita S. Khrushchev
    - Khrushchev's retirement
  - Foreign policy
  - Party politics
    - Kissinger's trip to Zavidovo
    - Comparison to Khrushchev
  - US interests
  - Relationship to Politburo
- Kissinger's forthcoming trip to PRC
  - Chou's schedule
    - Visit to US
- President's previous conversation with Brezhnev
  - Relations with Soviet Union
    - SALT
    - Cambodia
    - Europe
    - Superpower condominium

Kissinger left at 3:35 pm.

Watergate

- White House response
  - Patrick J. Buchanan, Ziegler, J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr., and Charles A. Wright
- David R. Gergen
  - Possible conversation with Haig
- Washington Post* article, June 18, 1973
  - Leonard Garment
  - Buzhardt's view
- John W. Dean, III
  - Forthcoming statement to Ervin Committee



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Conversation No. 944-2 (cont'd)

- Length
- Preparation
- Press handling
  - Washington Post, New York Times, and Newsweek*
- Dean
  - Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
    - Compared to Maurice H. Stans
    - Fred D. Thompson's possible cross-examination
      - Buzhardt
      - Haig's view
- Howard H. Baker, Jr.
  - President's view
- Dean
  - Possible testimony
    - White House response
      - Buzhardt
      - Buchanan
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's possible response
    - President's May 22, 1973 white paper
    - Perjury
    - Leaks

President's schedule

- Televised coverage of remarks

Haig left at 3:45 pm.

Conversation No. 944-3

Date: June 18, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:45 pm and 3:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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Conversation No. 944-3 (cont'd)

Presidential remarks  
-State dinner

President's schedule  
-State dinner  
-Guest list  
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon  
-Receiving line  
-Leonid I. Brezhnev  
-Rose Mary Woods

Presidential remarks  
-State dinner  
-Timing

Brezhnev's arrival ceremony  
-Television [TV] networks  
-Coverage  
-Presidential signature

President's remarks  
-Preparation  
-Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:46 pm.

Conversation No. 944-9

Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 3:45 pm and 5:49 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Henry A. Kissinger met with an unknown man.

President's location

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Conversation No. 944-9 (cont'd)

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 5:49 pm.

Conversation No. 944-4

Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 5:49 pm and 6:14 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule  
-*Sequoia*

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:14 pm.

Conversation No. 944-5

Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: 5:49 pm - 6:14 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John A. Love and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Love's conversation with Henry A. Kissinger  
-President's previous meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev  
-President's confidence with negotiations  
-Time consuming negotiations

Watergate  
-President's appearance

Energy

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Conversation No. 944-5 (cont'd)

- President's offer to Love
  - Clarification
    - President's view of Energy crisis
- Popular perception
  - Crisis
- President's view
- Cabinet officers
  - Agency rivalries
    - Interior Department
    - Treasury Department
    - White House

Henry A. Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 5:49 pm.

- President's forthcoming toast at State Dinner
  - Edits to toast

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 6:01 pm.

Energy

- Administrative handling
  - Rank of head of program
    - Kissinger, Melvin R. Laird, Haig
    - White House posting
    - Accountability to the President
  - Access to President
    - Rogers C. B. Morton, George P. Shultz, William E. Simon, Dixy Lee Ray
  - Advisors
    - John B. Connally
      - Meeting with Soviet representatives
    - Range of expertise
      - Oil power
      - Coal power
      - Atomic power
- Range of activities
- Difficulties

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Conversation No. 944-5 (cont'd)

- Congressional liaison
  - ESSO Corporation
- Energy policy planning
  - Foreign policy
    - Middle East
    - Soviet gas deal
  - Alaska pipeline
  - Environmentalism
    - Energy vs. the environment
    - Colorado, New York
    - Power supply for US
- Effect of possible allocation
  - Dependence on foreign energy
  - Importance of energy matters
    - World power
- Research and development [R&D]
  - Focus
- Hydrogen power
  - Love's conversation with Dr. Edward Teller
  - Water production
- Influence of big business
  - Oil producers
    - Connally
  - Power companies
    - Continental Edison
    - Southern California Edison
- Regional creation of power
  - Midwest
  - Mountain states
- Supreme Court decision on environment
- Love
  - Record on environment
    - Perception of love
  - Conference on human environment in Stockholm
    - Developed compared to undeveloped nations

An unknown man entered at 6:01 pm.

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Conversation No. 944-5 (cont'd)

Haig's schedule

Haig and the unknown man left at 6:01 pm.

Watergate

- Love's possible press conference
- President's May 22, 1973 white paper
  - John N. Mitchell
- Press
- Duration
- Ervin Committee hearings
- Allegations concerning President
- President's May 22, 1973 white paper
- Ervin Committee hearings
  - White House cooperation
  - John W. Dean, III's forthcoming testimony
    - Postponement
    - Reason
- Dean
  - Role on White House staff
  - Role
    - Jeb Stuart Magruder's perjury
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - Cover-up
    - Handling of funds
    - Honeymoon

Energy

- Situation in Persian Gulf
  - Kissinger
  - Libya
- Ann (Daniels) Love statement
  - Remarks

Middle East

- Israel

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Conversation No. 944-5 (cont'd)

- Love's trip
- Saudi Arabia
- Iran
- Israel
  - Israelis
    - Capabilities
- Soviet Union
  - Future collapse
- Arabs
  - Military capabilities
- President's conversations with Golda Meir
  - Negotiations
- Israelis characterized
- Israel
  - Views of American people
    - Anti-Semitism
    - Support for Middle East War
- Importance of oil to US

US readiness for war

- Middle East
- Western Europe
- Nuclear destruction

Soviet Union

- Interests
  - Economic problems
  - Military capability
    - Nuclear arsenal
      - SS-9 missile
      - Multiple Re-Entry Vehicle [MRV]
- Brezhnev
  - Health
  - Possible successor
  - Diplomacy

People's Republic of China [PRC]

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Conversation No. 944-5 (cont'd)

- Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai
  - Age
  - Health
  - Successors
- Capabilities
- Relations with Soviet Union
  - US diplomacy

Haig entered at 6:08 pm.

Energy

- Love's possible role
  - Qualifications
  - Location of office
    - Executive Office Building [EOB]
  - Schedule
    - San Clemente
- Announcement
- Staff

Love

- Possible contacts with President
  - Cabinet meetings
- Salary

Haig and Love left at 6:14 pm.

Conversation No. 944-6

Date: June 18, 1973

Time: 6:15 pm - 6:16 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.



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Conversation No. 944-6 (cont'd)

Watergate

- White House response
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Ervin Committee
  - Unidentified person
    - State Department
    - Television [TV] networks
- Ziegler

Haig left at 6:16 pm.

Conversation No. 944-7

Date: June 18, 1973

Time: 6:19 pm - 6:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

John A. Love

William W. Scranton

- Telephone conversation with Haig

Love

- Ann (Daniels) Love
- Travel plans
  - Israel
- Job offer
- Environmentalism
  - Compared to Scranton
  - US need for energy
- Views on controls
- Political views

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Conversation No. 944-7 (cont'd)

Briefing at State Department

- Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
- Henry A. Kissinger, Ronald L. Ziegler

Ziegler entered at 6:21 pm.

Watergate

- John W. Dean, III's possible Ervin Committee testimony
  - White House response
    - Statement
      - Content and phraseology
      - Dean
      - Value
      - Content and phraseology
      - Dean
  - Leaks
    - J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
  - Statement
    - Gerald L. Warren
- Effect of Leonid I. Brezhnev summit
- President's conversation with Buzhardt
  - Dean
- Timing
  - Ziegler and Haig conversation
- White House response
  - Warren

State Department briefing

- Leonid M. Zamyatin

Watergate

- White House statement

Ziegler left at 6:27 pm.

Watergate

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Conversation No. 944-7 (cont'd)

- Dean
  - Buzhardt
  - Effect on credibility
- Charles W. Colson
- Dean
  - Handling of funds
    - \$4,000
    - \$16,000
  - Possible investigation
- Buzhardt
  - Activities
- Ervin Committee
  - Republican members
  - Fred D. Thompson's conversation with Buzhardt
  - President's opponents
    - Compared to Cambodian actions
    - Compared to the December Bombings
- Ervin Committee
  - Scheduling of Dean's forthcoming testimony
  - Possible statements

Ziegler entered at 6:40 pm.

Watergate

- Ervin Committee
  - Scheduling of Dean's forthcoming testimony
  - Content of Dean's forthcoming testimony
  - Press coverage

Brezhnev's visit

- Media coverage
  - Ziegler's impressions of Russian customs
  - President's speech
- Arrival
  - President's assessment of the media
- Signings
  - Schedule

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Conversation No. 944-7 (cont'd)

- Camp David
- Photographs

Photographs

- President and Kissinger in Florida
- Media coverage
- President and Brezhnev at Camp David

Brezhnev's visit

- Agenda
  - Press coverage
  - San Clemente
    - Communiqué
  - Timing of Brezhnev's speech
    - Sunday morning newspapers
  - Press coverage
    - Photographs at the Grand Canyon

Watergate

- Ervin Committee hearings
  - Dean's possible testimony
    - Popular response
    - Timing
      - Brezhnev visit
    - Content
  - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
  - Dean's documents
  - Dean
    - Attacks
      - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
      - John N. Mitchell
  - Mitchell
    - Buzhardt's view
  - Dean
    - Attacks
      - Richard A. Moore
    - March 20, 1973 meetings with President and Moore

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Conversation No. 944-7 (cont'd)

- Possible attacks
- Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
- Unknown man's articles
- Ervin committee
  - Scheduling of Dean's testimony
    - Brezhnev's visit
  - Ervin
  - Scheduling of Dean's testimony
    - Possible influences
- White House response
- Dean
  - Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
    - Media coverage
      - Compared with energy story
    - White House response
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s allegations
- Dean
  - Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
- William L. Safire
  - Columns
  - Compared to Victor Lasky
- Dean
  - Credibility
  - Handling of funds
    - Buzhardt's possible release of story
    - Colson's views
    - \$22,000
      - Payment of advertisements
      - W. Richard Howard
      - Gordon C. Strachan
    - \$15,000
      - President's view
        - Payoffs to defendants
      - Colson's view
    - Disposition
- Buzhardt
- Dean

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Conversation No. 944-7 (cont'd)

- \$4,000
- Ehrlichman, Colson and Mitchell
- Buzhardt
  - Possible release of story to press
- \$4,000
- Forthcoming conversation with Samuel Dash
  - Dean's bank records
- Possible release of story
  - Colson

President's schedule

- State dinner

Brezhnev

- Ziegler's assessment
- Media coverage
- Crowd reaction

The President, Haig, and Ziegler left at 6:54 pm.

Conversation No. 944-10

Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 6:54 pm and 11:59 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Ronald L. Ziegler met with an unknown man.

President's schedule

Ziegler left at an unknown time after 6:54 pm.