

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[709-001-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 25s]

- D. Roland Michener
  - Ancestry
    - England and Pennsylvania
    - Quakers
  - The President's maternal line
    - Ireland and Pennsylvania
  - James A. Michener
    - Background

- Gordon Robertson [?]
  - Conversation with Pierre E. Trudeau
    - Civil service policies
    - Changes in administrations

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Meeting with the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am  
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

The President dictated notes for the file.

[*This is the original beginning of Conversation No. 709-003, which has been merged with Conversation No. 709-002.*]

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[709-003-w001]

[Duration: 5m 29s]

The President's previous trip to Canada

William P. Rogers

- Conversation with the President
  - April 16, 1972
  - The President's meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, April 16, 1972
    - Richard G. Kleindienst nomination
    - Telephone calls
  - Vietnam negotiations
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Conditions
    - United States position
      - William P. Rogers's reaction
      - United States senators
        - Edmund S. Muskie
    - North Vietnamese invasion
      - Laos and Cambodia
      - United States troop withdrawals

Richard G. Kleindienst confirmation hearings

- John N. Mitchell
  - Paul J. Fannin
    - Suggested conversation with Samuel J. Ervin
      - White House staff testimony
      - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Motives
    - Jack Gleason testimony
    - Role in 1970 campaign
      - International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
- Withdrawal of name

- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's work
- Charles W. Colson's and staff's work

Issues

- John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Cabinet meeting

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

John B. Connally

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
- Resignation
- Timing

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 709-4

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/12/2023. 3m 36s segment cleared for release. 14s remain closed as 709-004-w001.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[709-004-w001]

[Duration: 3m 36s]

William F. ("Billy") Graham

- Conversation with the President
- Conversation with Chancellor of the University Of North Carolina at Charlotte
- Student reaction to United States bombing in Vietnam
- Troop withdrawals
- Negotiations

Nelson A. Rockefeller

- Telephone call with the President
- Compared with previous telephone call
- Cambodia operation
- Support for the President's policies
- Margaretta ("Happy") Rockefeller
- Possible telephone call to Henry A. Kissinger
- Henry A. Kissinger's request

Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Telephone calls with the President

-Moon launch

The President's schedule

-Dinner

-Tricia Nixon Cox

-Old Executive Office Building [OEOB]

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[709-004-w001]

[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

-Dinner

-Old Executive Office Building [OEOB]

-Meal

-Evening

-Telephone calls

-Rest

-Notes

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 709-5

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated notes for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[709-005-w001]

[Duration: 1m 18s]

Organization of American States [OAS] event

-The President's toast

-The method of delivery

-Ad-lib

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Translation

-Chou En-Lai

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 709-6

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

-William M. Colmer luncheon

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Conversation No. 709-7

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape of memoranda for the file

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:58 am.

Conversation No. 709-8

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 8:58 am - 9:34 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s cable
  - Possible US action
  - Military situation
    - Predictions
  - Troop withdrawals
    - Conversation with Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    - Figures
    - Announcement
      - Timing
        - Numbers
        - Kissinger's recommendation
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Message to the President
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Hanoi
    - US response
      - Soviet reply
  - Summit
    - The President's trip
      - Impact on domestic issues
    - Kissinger's trip
      - Timing after bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Soviet message from Dobrynin
      - Hanoi
        - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Chou En-lai

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-035. Segment declassified on 5/29/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[709-008-w001]

[Duration: 1m 43s]

Vietnam

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] message
  - Public statement
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] analysis
      - Bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi
        - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] ships
        - US- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
- Chou En-lai remarks

- Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] analysis
- Hanoi's statement
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] analysis
  - Support from Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Negotiations [?]

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- William P. Rogers
  - The President's conversation with Rogers
  - Kissinger's conversation with Rogers

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 8:58 and 9:03 am.

[Conversation No. 709-8A]

Request for a call to Rogers

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Resumption of Paris Peace Talks
    - Le Duc Tho
      - Plenary sessions
      - Cessation of bombing

The President talked with William P. Rogers between 9:03 and 9:10 am.

[Conversation No. 709-8B]

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Resumption
    - Cessation of bombing
    - US response
- Blockade
  - Rogers's statement
    - Delays
    - Wording
    - Military targets
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
      - Necessity of weapons
- Military operations
  - South Vietnam
    - Courage
    - Air sorties

- Figures
  - Negotiations
    - Statement
  - USSR and PRC protests
    - US replies
    - CIA analysis
      - Nature of responses
    - Summit
      - Cancellation
  - Rogers's statement
  - William F. ("Billy") Graham
    - Conversation with the President
      - Conversation with University of North Carolina Chancellor
        - Student protests
        - Students
          - Acceptance of US policies
          - Support for the President
          - The President's trips to the PRC and USSR
- Military operations
  - An loc
  - Ground action
    - Newspaper reports
  - Air power
    - Abrams
    - Military targets

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

#### Vietnam

- Blockade
  - Necessity
  - Legality
  - Timing
  - US commitment
    - Kissinger's trip to USSR
      - Return
        - Timing
      - Soviet responses
- The President's Administration
  - Kissinger' analysis
  - Impact of war
  - Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration
    - Confidence in government
    - John F. Kennedy's Administration
      - Foreign policy
        - Advisors
    - Johnson's Administration
      - Foreign policy
  - Successor
    - Democrats
      - Edmund S. Muskie



- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Edward M. Kennedy
- Republicans
  - Spiro T. Agnew
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Possibilities for the nomination
- Legacy
  - US strength
    - Possible successors' strength and experience
    - Leadership evaluated
  - Muskie
  - Kennedy
  - Successors
    - Strength in foreign policy
- US credibility
  - North Vietnamese victory
  - Foreign policy initiatives
  - Policies
    - Criticism
      - Hue
      - Vietnamization
      - Muskie
      - Statements
- World War I
  - Verdun
    - Comparisons
      - France and Germany
    - Costs
    - South Vietnamese losses
      - Hue
      - An loc
      - Hue
        - New York Times* article
        - Unknown reporter
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Hugh S. Sidey article
    - The President's demeanor
  - Jerrold L. Shechter
    - Conversation with Kissinger
      - Location
      - The President's instructions to Kissinger
  - Robert B. Semple, Jr.
    - New York Times*
  - Max Frankel
    - Leads
- Victory
  - Consequences
    - Soviets
    - Middle East
      - Message for Golda Meir

- Kissinger's call to Yitzhak Rabin
  - Military operations
    - Kissinger's upcoming conversation with Dobrynin
      - Soviet Message
        - US reply
          - Wording
            - Kissinger's upcoming trip to the USSR
- Summit
- Chou En-lai
- Soviet message
  - Private talks
    - US reply
  - Dobrynin
  - US response
    - Rogers's cable
- Kissinger's trip to USSR
  - Possible agenda
  - Reasons
  - Compared with PRC trip
- Press conference
  - Announcement
  - The President's statement
    - Kissinger's television appearance
      - Democrats' responses
  - Kissinger's trip to USSR
    - Possible North Vietnamese presence in Moscow
      - Announcement
- The President's schedule
  - Camp David
    - Kissinger's presence
      - Low key
    - Return to Washington
    - Meeting with Kissinger
      - Arrangements
        - Meeting in Paris
  - Meeting with Kissinger
    - Trip to Moscow
    - Timing
    - Place
      - The Executive Office Building [EOB]
- USSR
  - Dealings with US
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Bombing
    - Target areas
    - Scheduling
    - B-3
      - South Vietnam
      - Timing
    - Public reception
    - USSR and PRC protests

- Intensity
    - Kissinger's return to US
  - Soviet talks
    - Kissinger's trip
    - Blockade
      - Soviet Summit
        - Possible cancellation
        - US stance
          - Impact
            - Tone to be used witho the Soviets
- Johnson
  - Differences
- North Vietnamese troop levels
  - Possibility of cease-fire during USSR trip
  - US conditions
    - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
  - Cessation of bombing
  - Domestic opinion
  - Abrams
    - Air attacks
      - Intensification
- Military operations
  - Number of sorties
  - Naval action
    - Number of destroyers, cruisers and carriers
      - Location
  - Bomb damage
    - Haiphong petroleum, oil, and lubricants [POL]
      - Photographs of damage
    - Rail cuts
    - Railroads
    - Hanoi POL
    - Railroads in Hanoi
    - Haiphong
      - Warehouse
      - Naval base
      - Shipyards
      - Warehouse
    - Truck parks
      - Photographs

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Frank J. Shakespeare

- Withdrawal of resignation

Vietnam

- An Loc
  - North Vietnamese tank losses
  - Noth Vietnamese maneuvers
    - Losses
- Hue
  - Military action

- Quang Tri
  - South Vietnamese movements and offensive
  - South Vietnamese tanks
  - Damage against North Vietnam

Kissinger left at 9:34 am.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Conversation No. 709-9

Date: April 17, 1972  
 Time: 9:35 am - 10:32 am  
 Location: Oval Office

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

Richard G. Kleindienst confirmation

- Meeting with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
  - Clark MacGregor
    - Call to Ervin
      - Reason
        - Paul J. Fannin
  - Next move
  - Likely result
    - Options
- Russell B. Long's statment
- John N. Mitchell
  - Belief in success
- MacGregor
  - View of Kleindienst's chances
- Democrats' strategy
  - Washington Post* story
- Replacement
  - Caspar W. Weinberger
    - Risks
      - Rejection
  - Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
    - Risks
  - William French Smith
    - Interests
      - Oil
        - International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
    - Prestige
  - Dean at Duke Law School
    - Qualities
      - John D. Ehrlichman
      - Charles S. Rhyne
  - Washington Post* story

News summaries

- The President's instructions
  - Cambodia and Laos
  - Screening
  - Vietnam
  - Developing stories
    - Republican National Convention [?]
    - The President's attention
    - Haldeman's review
      - Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### Issues

- ITT
  - Colson
- Busing
  - Ehrlichman's project
- Vietnam
  - Cabinet meeting
    - Publicity
      - Alarmism

#### The President's schedule

- Camp David
  - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Length of stay
- Monday
  - Kissinger's Paris meeting
- Kissinger's Soviet trip
  - Public statements
    - Cover
      - Ehrlichman and Ronald L. Ziegler
        - Comparisons to Key Biscayne
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Return to US
- Kissinger's trip
  - Meeting with Haig
    - Report to the President
- Camp David
  - Time
- Press conference
  - Troop withdrawals announcement
- The President's trip to Capitol
  - The President's instructions
  - Press coverage
    - Ziegler
      - Problems
  - Entrance to building
    - Blocking reporters

#### Kleindienst nomination

- Mitchell
  - Support for Kleindienst

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:49 am.

William P. Rogers's television appearance

-Time

Pandas

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

-Photographs

-Ziegler's conversation with Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Conflicts with table tennis event

-Two People's Republic of China [PRC] stories

-Ziegler's call to Mrs. Nixon

-Mrs. Nixon's location

-*Washington Post* story

-Musk oxen from the PRC

-Sickness

-Treatment in zoo

-*Washington Post* story

-Photographs

-Associated Press [AP] story

-Postponement

-Theodore H. Reed

-Musk oxen

-Sickness

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

-Photographs with pandas

-Table tennis match

-Publicity

-Schedule of team

Table tennis

-PRC's team visit

-Publicity value

-Mrs. Nixon's schedule

-Ziegler's call

-Historic significance

-Postponement of appearance with pandas

-Scheduling problems

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Polish Ambassador, Witold Trampczynski

-Photographs

-Kissinger

-Arrangements

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip

-The President's upcoming conversation with Kissinger

-Ramifications

Soviet summit

-Ziegler's line

- Answer to USSR and PRC protests on Vietnam
- Rogers
  - Melvin R. Laird
- Bombing
  - Impact
  - Ziegler's statements
    - Guidelines
    - Possible questions
- New York Times*
  - Terence F. Smith
    - Story about Hue
- World War I
  - France and Germany
  - Verdun
    - Losses
    - Symbolism
- White House staff
  - Conversations with *New York Times* reporters
    - Prohibitions
    - Robert B. Semple, Jr.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### Vietnam

- Ziegler's comments
  - Protests
  - Edmund S. Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey
    - Counterattacks
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Failure
      - Resolutions in the US Senate
- Critics
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Lack of criticism
    - US policies
    - Rhetoric
      - Criticism
  - Support for the enemy and hostility toward South Vietnam
  - Rogers's statement
    - White House support
- Negotiations
  - Ziegler's statements
- Bombing
  - Limitations
    - The President's previous conversation with Rogers
  - Cessation
    - Nuclear weapons
    - Withdrawal of US forces across the demilitarized zone [DMZ]
    - Conditions
      - Wording
- South Vietnam
  - Praise
- US Air Force [USAF]

- Praise
- Defensiveness
- Bombing
  - Escalation of debate
    - Colson and Kissinger
      - Kissinger's view
    - Democrat attacks
- Critics
  - Answer
  - Need to defend South Vietnam and US airmen and seamen
  - Current line
  - Muskie
    - United Nations [UN] consideration
      - UN Security Council
        - Humphrey's resolution
          - President's view
        - Soviet and PRC vetoes
          - Humphrey as Vice President
    - Muskie's resolution
      - Cessation of all operations by US
    - Ziegler's responses
      - Individual attacks
    - Rogers
  - The President's decision to bomb
  - The President's instructions to Ziegler
  - Press
    - Hugh S. Sidey and John F. Osborne
      - Boycott
  - The President's decision to bomb
    - Ziegler's response
  - Soviet summit
    - The President's previous conversation with Kissinger
      - Possible comments by Kissinger
  - US policies
    - Hard line
    - Defense of policies
      - Attack from Democrats
      - Counterattack
      - Posture of confidence
  - Negotiations
    - Ziegler's statement
      - The President's November 25th speech
      - US policies and record of Administration
      - Private channels
    - Release of record
      - Embarrassment of press
        - “Red faces”
      - Rogers's statement

Mrs. Nixon

- Ziegler's upcoming telephone call



- PRC related stories
  - Number
  - Pandas
  - Table tennis game

Ziegler left at 10:12 am.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Vietnam

- Public relations
  - Press reports
    - Embarrassment
    - Colson
    - Spiro T. Agnew
      - Attacks
      - Patrick J. Buchanan speech
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald W. Reagan
    - Joint statement
  - Agnew
    - Schedule and location
    - Buchanan
      - Draft of speech
      - Criticism of critics

Rogers

- Relations with Kissinger
  - Conflict
    - Possible action taken by Kissinger

Unknown treaty

Vietnam

- Unknown lieutenant colonel
- North Vietnam
- Press
  - President's view

Press

- Quality
  - Decline
  - Richard ("Dick") Wilson
  - William S. White
    - Public relations
- White House
  - Indifference to press hostility
- An Loc
  - Television media reports
- Terence F. Smith
  - Conversation with unknown White House aide
    - Identity of aide
      - Story of Hue loss
- Joseph W. Alsop

## Moon shot

- Audience
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - Diplomatic Corps
    - Invitations
    - Acceptances
  - The President's daughters
  - Haldeman's children [?]
- Television equipment
  - Increase in amount of coverage

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

## The President's schedule

- William M. Colmer luncheon
- Bicentennial Gardens
  - Location
- Frank T. Bow
  - Meeting with the President
  - Future plans
- Colmer luncheon
  - Seating
  - Bow
  - Age

## Vietnam

- Edward M. Kennedy
  - Criticism about Vietnam
  - White House strategy
- White House position
  - Public opinion
  - Hawkishness
- Supporters
  - Rockefeller
  - Kissinger [?]
  - Young Americans for Freedom [YAF]
  - Input
- White House staff
  - Buchanan
  - Timidity
  - Show of pride for administration
  - Support for the President
- Criticism of administration
- Public reactions of leaders
  - British view [?]
- Public support for administration
- Leaders
  - Rockefeller
  - William F. ("Billy") Graham
    - Chancellor of University of North Carolina
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - State Department
  - Public relations value

- Press reports
  - Compared with Cambodian invasion
  - North Vietnamese violations
    - Horror stories on television
    - Refugees
  - US-South Vietnamese atrocities
    - Reports
- North Vietnam
  - Propaganda about US advisors
  - Truck driver incident

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:12 am.

- US bombing of Haiphong
  - Sanchez's view
    - North Vietnamese and Soviet complaints
    - US responses

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:32 am.

- North Vietnamese invasion
  - US responses
    - Softness of American Society
- White House staff
  - Problems
- Soviet Summit
- The President's instructions to Haldeman

White House staff

- Problems
- Dealings with aides
  - Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz and Herbert G. Stein
- Dealings with Cabinet officers
  - John B. Connally
- Ehrlichman and Haldeman
  - Dealings with Connally
    - Meetings with the President

Weather at Camp David

- Spring
- Sunlight
- Rain and thunderstorms

White House staff

- Kissinger's staff

Vietnam

- Haig
- B-52s
- Navy
- Success

- Vietnamization
- Muskie's criticism
- Cease-fire
- Problems

Haldeman left at 10:32 am.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Conversation No. 709-10

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: 10:32 am - 10:47 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- The President's schedule
- Meeting with Witold Trampczynski
- Photographs
- Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Press

Henry A. Kissinger entered and Bull left at 10:32 am.

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Message to US
- Analysis

- The President's forthcoming trip to Poland
- Announcement
- Trampczynski
- Soviets
- Possible cancellation

- USSR
- Soviet Summit
- Collapse
- Initiative
- U-2 incident
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Possible similarities
- Joseph C. Kraft
- Conversation with Kissinger
- Soviet response

Trampczynski entered at 10:34 am.

Greetings

Photographs

- Arrangements
- Message for the President

Warsaw

- Kissinger's visit

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Poland

- The President's last visit
  - Meeting with Wladyslaw Gomulka
    - Chou En-lai
    - Nikita S. Khrushchev
- Letter inviting the President to visit Poland
  - Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz
- Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski
  - Visit to US

US-Poland relations

- US aspirations
  - Differences
  - Similarities to the President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and USSR
- Polish-Americans
  - Special ties
- Mutual agreement
- Polish-Americans
  - The President's Polish acquaintances
    - Locations
    - John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia
- The President's forthcoming visit to Poland
  - Lodgings
    - Size of party
      - Request from the Polish government
    - President and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
      - Arrangements
  - The President's stop in Teheran
  - Meetings with officials
  - Mrs. Nixon
    - Tours
      - Schools
      - Hospitals
      - Areas of interest
      - Culture
- Poznan Boys' Choir
  - Past performances
  - Future performances
- Trampczynski's home town
  - Warsaw
  - Historic site
    - Memories
- Kissinger's visit in 1964

- Visit of Polish Jews
  - Kissinger's reaction
- Trampczynski's stay in US
  - Berkeley, California
    - University of California at Berkeley [?]
    - Return visit
- The President's trip to Poland
  - Symbolism
  - Benefits
    - Economic cooperation
    - Warsaw

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Trampczynski left at 10:45 am.

Vietnam

- Haiphong
- Kissinger's meeting with press
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- US bombing
  - Haiphong and Hanoi
    - Visit of Polish Ambassador with the President
      - Invitation to visit Poland
    - Soviet attitude
    - Press reports

Kissinger's schedule

- Meeting with press
  - Robert J. McCloskey, Daniel Z. Henkin and Ziegler
- Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting
- Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- WSAG meeting
  - Kissinger's attacks on Democrats
    - Support for North Vietnamese invaders

Kissinger left at 10:47 am.

Conversation No. 709-11

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:51 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons met.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment

*cleared for release.]*

[Non-Historical]

[709-011-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 709-12

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:51 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons met.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Non-Historical]

[709-012-w001]

[Duration: 33s]

The President's location

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 709-13

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 10:51 am - 11:03 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Daniel Z. Henkin's speech
- Democrats' criticism
  - White House response
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Defense of the President
    - Attacks on Democrats
      - Escalation in rhetoric Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)
      - [Forename unknown] Coleman [?]
      - Previous conversation with the President
  - Resolutions in Senate
    - Curtailment
    - Hanoi's response
    - Charge of defeatism
    - Administration's attacks
  - Press coverage
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Hugh Scott and Michael J. Mansfield
    - Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - PRC statement
      - Mansfield statement
- The President's Soviet trip
  - Kissinger's conversation with PRC Ambassador
- Mansfield
  - Administration attacks
- Soviets
  - Kissinger offer
    - Interim solution
    - Le Duc Tho
    - Paris Peace Talks
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Defeats
    - Attitude after bombing
  - US conditions for negotiations
  - North Vietnamese refusal
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Exchange
  - Sick and wounded
- Democrats
  - Criticism
  - US policies
    - Possible hardline
    - Blockade
    - End of war
    - Involvement of Soviets
- Negotiations
  - May announcement
    - Timing
      - Kissinger's view
      - Upcoming press conference
    - Troop reductions
    - Show of confidence



- Paris Peace talks
- Public impact
- Upcoming press conference
- Number
- Soviets
  - Kissinger's trip
  - Conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Message for the President
  - Reason for the talks
  - Reply
    - Administration's position
    - Soviet summit
- Blockade
  - Joseph C. Kraft
  - Soviet response
  - Option

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Ziegler entered at 11:01 am.

Soviet summit

- United Press International [UPI] story
- The President's itinerary
  - Locations
  - Ziegler
- Source from the Kremlin

Kissinger left at 11:02 am.

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese invasion
- William P. Rogers's televised statement before Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Number of North Vietnamese tanks with equipment
  - Frank F. Church
  - Criticism of Congress
  - Length

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

- Schedule
  - Visit to National Zoo
    - S. Dillon Ripley III
  - Table tennis game
  - Planning

PRC

- Table tennis game
  - The President's schedule
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Changes in schedule

Ziegler left at 11:03 am.

Conversation No. 709-14

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: 11:07 am - 11:33 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

- The President's schedule
  - Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Edward C. Nixon
  - Dinner

Weather

Vietnam

- William P. Rogers's statement
  - President's view
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Rogers's difficulties
- Democrats
  - Woods's opinion

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/06/2022. 25s segment cleared for release. 19s remain closed as 709-014-w001.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[709-014-w001]  
[Duration: 25s]

- Edward R. F Cox and Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Schedule
    - The President's previous conversation with Tricia Nixon Cox
    - Texas

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]  
[709-014-w001]  
[Duration: 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Pandas

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
  - Table tennis team visit
- Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart
  - Conflicts with Ziegler
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - John B. Connally
    - Trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      - Ziegler
  - President's view

Soviet Trip

- Mrs. Nixon
- Schedule
- John V. ("Jack") Brennan
- The President's schedule
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - White House staff
      - President's instructions
      - Rogers
      - Mrs. Nixon

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/06/2022. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[709-014-w004]

[Duration: 8m 41s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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The President's schedule

- Meeting with retiring members of Congress
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Army Chorus
- Newspaper editors event
  - Arrangements similar to Christmas parties
  - The President's instructions
    - Chorus

- Entertainment
- Music
  - Location
- Reception line
  - Number of people
  - Entertainment
- Duke Law School class event
- Whittier College class event
  - Enjoyment of party
  - Dinner
- Navy comrades event
- Social events
  - The President's Canadian trip [?]
  - Concert
    - John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
  - Organization of American States [OAS] function
  - Concert
    - Kennedy Center
    - Buffet
    - Preparations
      - White House staff
- Mexican President's visit
  - State dinner
    - The President's Canadian trip
    - Previous State dinners
- Concert
  - Buffet
  - Toasts
- Navy comrades
  - Party
    - Reception
    - Army Chorus
      - Uniforms
    - Planning
      - Butterfield and Lucy A. Winchester
      - The President's view
    - Modern dancers
      - Nancy Hanks
      - The President's request

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### Arts

- Modern dancers
  - Makeup of dancers
- Hanks
- Modern music
- Modern painting
- Entertainment during administration
  - Quality of entertainment
- President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy
  - Reputation for support
    - Pablo Cassals

- Current administration
  - Invitations
    - Stuart
    - Press distortions
      - Entertainment at the White House
  - The President's memorandum
    - Stuart
    - Publicity

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Woods left at 11:33 am.

Conversation No. 709-15

Date: April 17, 1972  
 Time: 11:35 am - 12:02 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

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

- Richard G. Kleindienst confirmation
  - John N. Mitchell's report
    - Negotiations with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. and Paul J. Fannin
      - Robert Mardian
      - Clark MacGregor

Vietnam

- William P. Rogers's testimony, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Rogers's hearing
  - Press coverage
  - Clifford P. Case's questions
    - Support for the President and Vietnamization
    - Criticism of air war
  - Press coverage
    - Rogers's bearing
  - Frank F. Church's questions

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:50 am

[Conversation No. 709-15A]

[See Conversation No. 23-1]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Rogers's testimony

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:35 and 11:50 am.

[Conversation No. 709-15B]

[See Conversation No. 23-2]

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

-Rogers's testimony

Kleindienst confirmation

-MacGregor

-Mitchell

-Advice on Kleindienst

-Speech

-Scheduling

-Ervin's tactics

-Delay of testimony

-Michael Gravel case

-Supreme Court

-Privilege of Congress

-Criticism of Ervin's position

Vietnam

-Rogers's testimony

-Substance

-Haldeman's opinion

-Television appearance

-Bearing

-Criticism of invasion

-Prisoners of war [POWs]

-Plane loss

-Figures and casualties

-US bombing

-Military reasons

-Diplomatic reasons

-Importance

-Talents

-Legal abilities

-Public relations sense

-Clarity

-Compared with Henry A. Kissinger

-North Vietnamese intentions

-Negotiations

-Possible offer from North Vietnam

-US bombing

-Cessation

-Conditions

-Violations

- Cessation
  - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
- US bombing
  - Conditions for cessation
- Changes of policy under the President
  - Compared to 1968
  - Troops
    - Retaliation for attacks
      - Protection of troops
        - Rogers compared to Kissinger
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Mechanized forces
    - Source of supply
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Petroleum dependence
      - US attacks on dumps
        - Purpose of bombings
- News coverage
- Edmund S. Muskie's resolution
  - Comments
  - Dangers to Democrats
    - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's criticism
    - George C. Wallace

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### Wallace

- Tax reform
  - Letter to the President
    - Congress
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld's reaction

#### John B. Connally

- Return from Texas
  - Timing
  - Haldeman's call
- Appointment with Haldeman
- Vacation in Texas
  - Benefits
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Need to get back to Texas

#### Vietnam

- US bombing
  - Haiphong
  - Supporters
    - William F. ("Billy") Graham
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Charles W. Colson briefing
      - Albert E. Sindlinger poll
        - Hawkishness of public opinion
        - Voluntary reaction
- Sindlinger's press conference

- The President's previous conversation with Kissinger
  - Desire for negotiations
  - Possible partial deal
- Negotiations with the USSR
  - Blockade
  - Imposition
  - Timing
  - North Vietnamese troop withdrawal from South Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Johnson's compared with the President's policies

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### White House staff

- Donald B. Rice
  - Job with Rand Corporation
  - Meeting with the President
  - Value
- Departures
  - Meetings with the President
  - Kissinger's people
- Rice
  - Meeting with the President
  - George P. Shultz
  - Reasons
- Departures
  - Meetings with the President
  - Scheduling
    - Alexander P. Butterfield
    - Individuals to meet with the President
  - Stephen Hess
  - Capitalization on White House job
  - Meetings with the President
  - President's view
  - Unknown accountant [?]

#### Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

- Mix-up with pandas
  - Two People's Republic of China [PRC] related events on same day
  - Rescheduling
- Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart
  - Upcoming conversation with Haldeman
  - Work with Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Soviet trip
    - Ziegler's staff
    - Plane
    - Reason for trip
      - Favor to Mrs. Nixon
    - Haldeman's conversation with William R. Codus
  - Stuart's staff people
    - Problems
- Mrs. Nixon's trip to Africa
  - Codus



- Stuart
  - Job description
- Assignments
  - Work with Mrs. Nixon
    - Lucy A. Winchester
- Soviet trip
  - Restrictions
- Hairdresser on Soviet trip
  - The President's insistence
  - Work on previous trips
    - Helpfulness
      - Value to Mrs. Nixon

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

#### Soviet trip

- Warsaw stopover
  - Announcement

#### Vietnam

- Rogers's testimony
  - Haldeman's call
  - Complements
- The President's call
- Blockade
  - The President's previous conversation with Rogers
  - Rogers's statement
- Options
  - Exclusions
    - Ground forces
    - Nuclear weapons
- Rogers's testimony
  - Blockade question

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:52 am.

#### The President's schedule

- Luncheon with William M. Colmer
- Meeting with Rice
  - Length
  - Next job
    - Rand Corporation
  - Family
  - Gift
  - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
    - MacGregor
    - Ervin

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:02 pm.

#### Kleindienst confirmation

- Ervin
  - Meeting with MacGregor

-Jack Gleason

Haldeman left at 12:02 pm.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Conversation No. 709-16

Date: April 17, 1972

Time: 12:02 pm - 12:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Donald B. Rice, Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger and George P. Shultz; Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Rice's next job

-Location

Photographs

Rand Corporation

-Rice's job

-Experience

-Office of Management and Budget [OMB]

-Shultz

-Press office

-Location

-Work

-Home

-Rice's family

Presidential gifts

-Money clip

-Cuff links

-Wife

-Compact

-Golf balls

Best wishes

Rice and Weinberger left at 12:05 pm.

Vietnam

-Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong

-Troop withdrawals

-Negotiations

-US peace offers

-US bombing

-Soviet Summit

-Possible cancellation

- Toughness
- Blockade
  - Implementation
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Number of divisions
    - Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration
- US response
  - Defense of South Vietnam
    - Odds
  - Ground forces
  - Press reports
    - US Marines

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Shultz left at 12:06 pm.

Conversation No. 709-17

Date: April 17, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:15 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person in Henry A. Kissinger's office.

- Kissinger
  - Location
  - Meeting with Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]
- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Location

Conversation No. 709-18

Date: April 17, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:15 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person in Henry A. Kissinger's office.

- Kissinger
  - Return from meeting
  - Meeting with the President
    - Length
    - The President's departure
      - Time

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: 12:15 pm - 12:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - William P. Rogers's testimony
    - Praise from Kissinger
  - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
    - Purpose
    - Interim compromise
      - Difficulties
        - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr's report
        - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
        - North Vietnamese capabilities
      - US response
  - Negotiations
    - US bombing
    - Soviets
      - Pressure
      - Dobrynin
    - Blockade
      - Implementation
      - Immediacy
      - Upcoming elections
  - Interim agreement
    - Rejection
      - Consequences
        - Possible Soviet actions
    - Advantages according to Kissinger
    - Soviet Summit
      - People's Republic of China [PRC] summit
      - Possible Middle East settlement
  - Problem
    - 1972 election
    - Continuation of war
  - Possible outcome
    - Haig's report
    - Cessation of offensive
    - Prevention of future offensive
    - Timing
      - Assurance by the Soviets
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Possible actions by Hanoi

- US response
  - Timing
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Failure
  - Concern from Kissinger
- Blockade
  - Impact
    - Compared to 1969
  - Weaknesses
    - Circumvention
- Interim Solution
  - POWs
- Haig report
  - Military Region One
  - South Vietnamese performance
    - Increase in South Vietnamese strength
  - US bombing
    - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    - Carriers
      - Bombing support
    - North Vietnam
    - Number of sorties
      - South Vietnam
        - increase
    - I Corps
      - North Vietnamese weakness
      - B-52s
- Ground action
  - South Vietnamese strength
    - Improved situation
      - Compared with Laos operation
      - Retreats
      - Provincial capitals
      - Demoralization of North Vietnam
- US strategy
  - Military action
    - Toughness from the President
  - Peace offers
    - Soviet Summit
      - Preservation of US integrity
- Blockade
  - Implementation
    - Timing
  - Threat
- Soviet Summit
  - Meeting with Polish Ambassador [Witold Trampczynski]
  - Cancellation
    - Chances
  - Symbolism
    - Kissinger's Moscow meeting
      - Press reports

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

Kissinger left at 12:28 pm.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont)  
Conversation No. 709-20

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: 12:28 pm - unknown before 12:31 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

The President talked with the White House operator at 12:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 709-20A]

[See Conversation No. 23-3]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Call to William P. Rogers
- Meeting with William M. Colmer
  - Trip to and from Capitol Hill
  - Clark MacGregor
  - William E. Timmons

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:31 pm.

Conversation No. 709-21

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:28 pm and 12:31 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

President's schedule [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:31 pm.

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:31 pm and 4:53 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Manolo Sanchez met with an unknown person.

Conv. No. 709-22 (cont.)

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*[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Non-Historical]

[709-022-w001]

[Duration: 41s]

Greetings

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Sanchez and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:53 pm.