

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-1

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

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

Kennedy Center

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

Conversation No. 876-2

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

The President met with an unknown man.

Transcription of memorandum  
-Rose Mary Woods

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

Conversation No. 876-3

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

The President met with an unknown man.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-3 (cont'd)

Request that Henry A. Kissinger

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

Conversation No. 876-4

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: 9:30 am - 10:29 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

France's election

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

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

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Release of John T. Downey
- Publicity

Vietnam

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

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-037. Segment declassified on 05/20/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[876-004-w001]  
[Duration: 6s]

Vietnam

- Private message
- Last week [?]

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Vietnam

- Cease-fire
- Cambodia
  - Casualties
  - Weaponry
  - Defeat
  - US Air Force attacks
    - B-52 strikes
      - Chup Plantation
      - Civilians
      - Daily report
      - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

-Elliot L. Richardson

-Infiltration

- Cease-fire violations
- Response by US
  - Delay
  - Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Message to North Vietnam
  - B-52 strikes on Ho Chi Minh Trail

-Aid to North Vietnam

- Baltimore Sun* editorial
- Criticism of President
  - Justifications
    - National conscience
    - Congressional votes
    - Anti-war advocates
  - George S. McGovern

-McGovern

- Meeting with Kissinger
- Gridiron
- Statements during 1972 campaign
- Criticism of President

-POWs

- Impression on public

-Book on Vietnam War

- President's memorandum to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Robert G. K. Thompson
  - No Exit from Vietnam*
  - Publisher
    - Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis

-Joseph Alsop

-Nicholas P. ("Nick") Timmesch

-Thompson

- Knowledge of war

-Timmesch

- Kissinger's conversations

-Alsop

- Laos

-Laos and Cambodia

- North Vietnam's withdrawal

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- B-52 strikes
  - Massive basis
  - Frequency
  - Impact on US aid to North Vietnam
  - Necessity
- South Vietnam
  - Fighting with North Vietnam
  - Growing strength
    - Press reports
      - Washington Post*
      - [First name unknown] Lippman [?]
    - Distortions
    - Cambodia
- Thompson's book
  - Insights
    - US troop commitments
    - Ngu Dem Diem
    - Overthrow
  - Comments on US will
    - Consequences of withdrawal
    - Impact on role of US in world
- US policy
  - President's November 3, 1969 speech
  - Demonstration of will
- Peace settlement
  - Criticism
    - Paul Warnke's speech
    - Conversation with Gen. Alexander M. Haig and Kissinger during 1972 Campaign
    - Distortions
  - 1969 negotiations
    - South Vietnam's viability
    - US troop withdrawal
  - Press relations
    - Distortions
    - Administration's response
  - Impact on 1974 election in Vietnam
    - South Vietnam's viability

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

Governor of Bermuda

- President's acquaintance
- Assassination
  - Suspects
- Condolences
  - Telegram
    - Edward R. G. Heath
  - Protocol
    - Elizabeth II [Elizabeth, Queen of England]

President Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru

- Death
- Condolences

Argentina

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

Latin America

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

International economy

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Aug-2010*)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Common float
  - Great Britain
  - Success
- George P. Shultz
  - Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt

Foreign policy

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(*rev. Aug-2010*)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

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



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

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

**-PRC**

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

**-USSR**

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

**Vietnam**

- US bombing
  - Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Ho Chi Minh Train

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

Security Council Resolution 242 [1967]

-US pressure

-Meir

- Dealings with US
- General principles
- Hussein Ibn Talal [King of Jordan
  - Settlement
- Interim agreement
- Egypt

-Rabin

- Compared to Moshe Dayan
- Character
- Intelligence
- Problems
  - Dayan
- Abba Eban
- Ambassadorial posting in US [?]
- Cabinet posting [?]

President's administration

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Supreme Court packing attempt
- 1938 election
  - Congressional results
- Decline of popularity
  - Impact of WWII
- Divestment of presidential power
  - Domestic programs
    - Special revenue-sharing
      - State, local government spending
    - Opposition from liberals
- Foreign policy mistakes
  - Overreach
  - Complacency
    - Postwar period
      - Campus unrest
    - Inflation
- President's legacy
  - Peacemaker
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency
  - USSR, PRC
    - Compared to peace in Vietnam
    - Negotiations
  - Revolutionary compared to nation-building leaders
    - George Washington
    - Dr. Achmed Sukarno
    - Kwame Nkrumah
    - French Revolution
  - President as peacemaker
    - Trip to PRC, SALT agreement, Vietnam settlement
    - New structure of peace
    - Need for vision, skill, permanence
- Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - Support of intellectual elite
    - Press
      - Walter Lippman
        - Support for Herbert C. Hoover
    - Chicago Tribune*
    - Iron Cross
  - Lack of opposition

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Decision making
  - Opening with PRC
  - Opposition
- Foreign policy establishment
  - Institutionalization
  - Need for President and Kissinger to stay in office

Foreign policy

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont'd)

- Cuban Missile Crisis
- Bay of Pigs
- Sensitivity of conversations
  - Nuygen Van Thieu
  - PRC, USSR
- Disposition
  - President's library
  - President's possession
- Pentagon Papers case
  - Damage
  - McGeorge Bundy
  - North Vietnam's knowledge
  - Foreign government's concerns about US leaks

North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] [?]

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

Kissinger left at 10:29 am.

Conversation No. 876-5

Date: March 12, 1973

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

Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] state visit to US
  - Changes
    - European Security Conference
    - USSR compared to US requests
  - Negotiations
  - Problems
  - Date
  - Preparations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Delay
- Prisoner of war [POWs] reception dinner
  - President's meeting with Col. Robinson Risner and Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
- Date
  - Memorial Day
- Coordination with H. Ross Perot
- Hollywood
- Date, day of week
  - Risner's opinion
- Ambassadorships
  - Thomas Vail
  - Haldeman's report
    - Businessman candidate
    - State department
      - Career appointees

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:34 am.

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



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- European posts
  - England
  - France
    - John N. Irwin, II
  - Germany
- Scandinavia
  - Sweden
    - Delay
    - Election
- Vail
  - Germany
  - Kissinger's telephone call

Schedule of state visits

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Richard M. Helms
  - Back channel
  - Invitation
- Houphouet-Boigny
- Latin America
  - Columbia
  - Mexico
- Poland
- Latin America
  - Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil
  - Uruguay
    - Problems
  - Peru
    - Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado
    - Sickness
  - Uruguay
    - Juan Maria Bordaberry
    - Tupamaros
    - Military support
- Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - [Unintelligible name]
- Columbia, Venezuela
- Guilio Andreotti
- Other state leaders
  - Lee Kuan Yew
    - Stag dinner
    - Women government officials
  - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
    - Impact on India
    - Decision
    - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
  - Delay
- Europeans
  - Replacement for Shah of Iran
    - Willy Brandt
    - Brezhnev visit
  - Georges J. R. Pompidou
- Shah of Iran
  - PRC support

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Visits before USSR visit
  - Important visitors
    - Brandt, Shah, Andreotti, Tanaka
  - Africans, Latin Americans
  - Fall schedule
    - Japan
      - Emperor Hirohito's visit
    - Poland
- President's foreign travel
  - Europe
  - Africa, Latin America
- Shah, Brandt
  - Kissinger's contacts
    - Alternates
      - Houphouet-Boigny
      - Latin America
        - Uruguay
        - Peru, Bolivia, Columbia, Paraguay
        - Argentina
      - Central America
      - Value
      - Uruguay, Ecuador

John T. Downey

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

President's schedule

- Visits by President
  - Brazil
  - Venezuela
    - Reception in Caracas
    - Student protests
  - Mexico
    - Mexico City
  - African trip
    - Nigeria
    - Congo
      - Leopoldville [Kinshasa]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Reception
  - Mobutu Sese Seko [?]
- Kenya
  - Jomo Kenyatta
- Ethiopia
  - Haile Selassie
  - Organization of African Unity [OAU] [?] location
  - Support for US

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-011. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 10/18/2017. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[876-005-w002]

[Duration: 2s]

US-ETHIOPIA RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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The President's schedule

- African trip
  - Sudan
    - Symbolism
    - Gen. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri
  - Itinerary
  - Length of trip
  - Number of countries
  - Timing of Africa, Latin America trips
    - Compared to state visits to US
    - Bordaberry

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Houphouet-Boigny
- Tanaka
- European trip
- Latin America
  - Brazil
- European trip
- Africa trip
- October
  - Brazil
  
- Ambassadors
  - Moynihan
    - India
      - Grain sales
        - Indira Gandhi
        - Complaints
          - Quality
        - Cancellation
  - John A. Volpe
    - Cables
    - Cable response from Kissinger's office
      - Length
  - Graham A. Martin
    - New post in South Vietnam
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker
        - Retirement
        - Promised assignment
        - Wife
          - Foreign Service Institute [State Department]
          - Samuel David Berger [?]
- Nepal
  - Appointment
  - Marijuana
    - Demonstrators
    - Legalization

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

Domestic issues



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

Ambassadorships

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

Assistant Secretary of State

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

President's schedule

- State visits
- USSR visit

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

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

Head of protocol

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

Head of state visits

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

Use of President's Kennedy Center box seating

- Attendance at shows
  - Congress
  - Cabinet
  - White House staff
- William E. Timmons
- Number of seats
  - Availability

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

-Planning

- Lawrence M. Higby[?], Timmons
- Invitation to use
  - Tickets
- Champagne in anteroom
- Host for party
  - Number of guests
  - Congressman, Presidential aid
  - Possible dinner party option

Prisoners of war [POWs]

- Meetings with President
  - Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft

Middlesex Club of Boston

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

President's meeting with William J. B. Dorn

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

Ehrlichman

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

-Schedule

Domestic affairs

- Patrick J. Buchanan's news [?] summary
  - POWs
  - Criticism
    - Watergate
    - Veterans problems
    - Aid to North Vietnam
    - Indians
    - Economy
    - Phase III price, wage controls
    - Budget battle
- Harris polls
  - Alarm over prices
  - Unemployment
  - Recession
  - Disapproval of Phase III
- Need for better public relations [PR]
  - Ehrlichman
  - Rogers
    - "Meet the Press," "Face the Nation"
    - George S. McGovern

Spiro T. Agnew

- Demands for more office space
  - Roy L. Ash's space
  - Letter to Haldeman
- Problems
  - John B. Connally
    - Party switch [?]
      - Need for discretion
      - Colson, Harry S. Dent
  - President's involvement
  - Response by Haldeman
- New Executive Office Building [EOB]
  - Reassignments
- Work on Capitol Hill
  - Office space

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Amount of office space
- Staff reduction
- President's involvement in controversy
- Gridiron presentation
  - Kissinger's, Ziegler's assessment
  - Compared to President

Gridiron dinner

- Harold Brayman
  - Attendance at church service
  - Work at DuPont
  - President of Gridiron
  - Historian of Gridiron
    - Opening chapter
    - President's, Agnew's piano duet
- President's, Agnew's duet
  - Publicity
    - Herbert G. Klein
  - President's composition
  - William L. Safire, Ziegler
  - Pianos
    - John L. Steele
  - Secret
    - White House staff's knowledge
  - Brayman
  - President's Checkers speech
  - President's toast to Harry S. Truman
  - Arthur H. Vandenberg's remarks in 1948
    - Loyal opposition
- Vice presidential files
  - Copies of President's speech
  - Rose Mary Woods, Loie Gaunt McGovern
- Vandenberg's remarks
  - 1948 election
  - Loyal opposition
  - Compared to remarks about McGovern
- Performances
  - George H. W. Bush
  - Speechwriters

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

Humphrey

- Paul W. Keyes
- Bush
- Self-deprecation
- Bush compared to President, Agnew, McGovern, Hubert H.
- Humphrey
- Lyndon B. Johnson

Polls

- Gallup
- Results
- President's popularity
- Level of disapproval

Domestic issues

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

Ehrlichman

- Value to administration
- Speaking compared with writing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Action on various issues
- Editing

President's speeches

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

President's meetings with intellectuals

- List from Kissinger

White House staff

- Buchanan's memorandum, news summary
  - Sense of crisis
    - Food prices [?]
  - News analysis
    - Negative compared with positive coverage
- Orientation toward crisis
  - Negative attitude
  - Congressional relations
- New approach
  - Peter Drucker's advice
    - Seizure of opportunities compared with problem-solving
- Follow-up on crime speech
  - Amount of staff work
    - Copies to law enforcement officials
    - Memorandum
- Buchanan's advice on USSR and PRC
  - Deficiencies
  - Compared to crime, race [?] issues
- Thinking of White House staffers
  - Negativism

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Overemphasis on problem-solving
- Morale

Watergate

- Ervin hearings
  - Length of time
- John W. Gardner
  - Possible Senate candidate
- Internal Revenue Service [IRS] investigation
  - Candidate from Ohio
    - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
    - Background investigation
- IRS audit
  - Congress
    - Timmons
  - List of targets
    - Ehrlichman
    - McGovern contributors
      - Vance Hartke
  - White House, Cabinet officers

Press relations

- Positive issues
  - POWs
  - End of war
- POWs
  - Publicity
    - Maurice H. Stans
      - Negative stories
    - Encouragement
    - Risner, Denton
- End of war
  - Analysis
  - Cease-fire
  - Aid to North Vietnam
- USSR summit
- Foreign policy
  - Head of state visits
  - President's fall travel



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Value
  - US-USSR summit [?]
  - President's fall travel
    - Timing
    - Battles with Congress
- Positive issues
  - POWs
  - Battle with Congress
    - Taxes
  - War
    - Critics
- POWs
  - Gridiron dinner
    - Introduction
    - Finale of dinner
    - Ovation
    - President's attendance
- Issue of repression
  - Effect on public
    - Buchanan's memo
      - Perception of bias
        - Ziegler
- Newsweek* story on Haldeman
  - Ziegler's view
  - Haldeman's view
  - Robert H. ("Bob") Taylor
  - Author, Peter Goldman
  - Jew
  - Al [?] Bruno, interviewer
  - Henry Trewhitt
  - Old incidents
    - Walter J. Hickel, Taylor, Watergate
  - Positive aspects
    - President
    - White House staff
- Press corp
  - Discredited program
    - Colson, Ziegler
    - Roles

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Ziegler
- President
- Haldeman
- Colson
- Accuracy in media
- Administration's program
  - Focus on factual errors
  - Newsweek* article
- Buchanan
  - Press watch
  - Op-Ed
  - Closeness to President
    - Reputation
    - Honesty
  - Comparison with Herbert G. Klein
- Ehrlichman
- Washington Post* story
  - Ehrlichman's television [TV] appearance [?]
- Gridiron dinner
- Washington Post*
  - Ehrlichman's briefing, Harris poll
  - Lack of coverage
    - Carroll Kilpatrick
    - New York Times*
    - Ziegler
- Gridiron dinner
  - Philip Geylen [?]
  - Colson's analysis
- William Paley's meeting with Haldeman
- Arthur R. Taylor of Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Support for President
  - Broadcasting experience
  - Business manager
- Dealing with press
  - Confrontation
    - Haldeman's, Colson's viewpoint
    - Focus on economic issues
    - Ehrlichman's viewpoint

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- President's stance
  - Aloofness
    - President's attendance at White House Correspondent's dinner
    - Compared to Agnew at Gridiron dinner
- Press hostility
- Appearance of fairness
- Colson's view
  - Success in foreign policy, failure on domestic policy
  - Steadfastness
  - Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead's program on TV
  - Howard J. Phillips, Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  - Skillfulness
    - Colson, Buchanan
  - Overreaction
  - Bluntness
  - Whitehead
    - Local control of media
    - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC], CBS
    - Impact on networks
- Press hostility
  - Lack of coverage of positive aspects
  - Radio speech

Congressional relations

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

White House staff relations

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

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

Arrival of Kleindienst

- Manfredi Award ceremony

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

White House staff relations

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

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

President's meeting with family of slain narcotics agent

- Format, introduction

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont'd)

- Award
  - Presentation
- Mothers
- Fiance
- Photographer
- Navy film crew

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

Conversation No. 876-6

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

The President talked with an unknown person.

- Phone call to Adele Rogers
  - Background information

Conversation No. 876-7

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

The President talked with an unknown person.

- Phone call to Adele Rogers
  - Time

Conversation No. 876-8

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-8 (cont'd)

Location: Oval Office

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

Boehm birds

Frank Tummillo  
-Circumstances of death  
-Awards

Presentation of Henry L. Manfredi Award

Photograph

Frank Tummillo  
-Loss to family  
-Sacrifice  
-Significance

War on narcotics  
-Importance  
-Comparison to war against North Vietnam  
-Significance  
-Future generations  
-President's speech on law enforcement  
-Death penalty  
-Death of officer  
-Pushers  
-Thanks

Award to Thomas Devine  
-Appreciation  
-Handicap  
-Comparison to war veterans

Photographs

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-8 (cont'd)

-Arrangements

White House tour

-Accommodations for Franklin D. Roosevelt

Rose Garden

-Flowers

Children

-Age

Frank Tummillo characterized

Crime legislation

-Congress

-Passage

-Nelson A. Rockefeller's crime bill

-Meeting with Republican leaders

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

Schedule

-Kleindienst

-Rogers C. B. Morton

-Donald Santarelli

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

Conversation No. 876-9

Date: March 12, 1973

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-9 (cont'd)

- Telephone call to Adele Rogers
- Meeting with Republican Congressional leaders
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Agenda
- Tuesday
  - Farewell call to John J. McCloy
    - US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
    - General Advisor Committee
    - Resignation
      - President's call
        - Reasons
        - Henry A. Kissinger
        - Letter to McCloy
  - Meeting with Cost of Living Council [COLC]
    - Timing
  - Farewell meeting with McCloy
    - Reasons
      - Hearings
      - Vacancies on committee
      - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
    - Kissinger, William E. Timmons, and [First name unknown] Jones
    - President's reluctance
- Crime and Drug speech
  - Meeting with customs agents
    - Arrest and conviction of Auguste J. Ricord
    - Heroin
  - Press
- Friday
  - Hermann Kahn
    - Meeting with President
    - Support for President
    - Think tank
    - Lawyer [?]
    - Briefing for President
      - Kissinger
    - Meeting with President
      - Kissinger's attendance
      - Haldeman's opinion
  - Meeting with departing staffers



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-9 (cont'd)

- Hebert G. Klein [?]
- Number
- Necessity
- Circumstances
- Length
- Dinners [?]

Protocol

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

President's schedule

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

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

Conversation No. 876-14

Date: March 12, 1973

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

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during  
chronological review 2007-2013]*

The President's location

\*\*\*\*\*

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

Conversation No. 876-10

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:06 pm and 3:08 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

William E. Timmons

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

Conversation No. 876-11

Date: March 12, 1973

Time: 3:08 pm - 4:34 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Introduction

Photographs

-Arrangements

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

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

Refreshments

Sanchez

-Introduction to Risner

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

Sanchez's background

- Refugee
  - Cuba
  - Spain

Prisoners of war [POWs]

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

Risner's captivity

- Imprisonment
  - Isolation

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Impact
- Roommates
- Isolation
  - Length
  - Contact
- Exercise
- Bathing
- Food
- Cell
  - Windows
  - Beds
  - Ceiling
- Brainwashing
  - Communism
  - Capitalism
    - Contradictions
  - Methods
    - Writings
    - Camp radio
      - Speakers
      - Tape recorders
      - Programs
        - Length
        - Volume
        - American music
        - Ills of American society
        - Studies of North, South Vietnam
        - “Voice of Vietnam”
- Contacts with other POWs
  - Communications
    - Knowledge of other prisoners
    - Whistles
      - Morse code
    - Tapping on walls
    - Codes
      - Capt. Carlyle ("Smitty") Harris
      - Tap code
  - Sweeping
  - Laundry

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Exercise
- Body signs
  - Mute code
  - Semafor

POWs

- South Vietnamese prisoners

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-037. Segment declassified on 06/19/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[876-011-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 27s]

Prisoners of War [POWs]

- Thai prisoners
  - Relationship with US prisoners
    - Notes
  - [Unknown name]
    - English ability
- One unknown Thai prisoner remaining
  - Message
    - Roger Shields's attempt to locate
  - Thai special forces

\*\*\*\*\*

Prisoners of War [POWs]

- Communication
  - Walls
    - Cups
  - Morale
- Reassignment
  - Risner
  - Son Tay prison

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Col. [First name unknown] Huber [?]
- Approval of rescue
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - President's decision
  - Henry A. Kissinger [?]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-038. Segment declassified on 05/16/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]  
[876-011-w007]  
[Duration: 5s]

- Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Reassignment
  - Son Tay
  - Knowledge of through covert external communications

\*\*\*\*\*

- Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Reassignment
    - Hanoi Hilton [Wah Lo?]
    - Consolidation of prisoners

- Risner's captivity
  - Isolation
  - Length
  - Roommate
  - Publicity for North Vietnam
    - Meetings with visitors
    - Refusal
    - Personal photographs from Risner's wife
  - Letters received

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Publicity for North Vietnam
  - Risner's cooperation
  - Meeting with East German film crew
    - Dissatisfaction with Risner
    - Punishment
      - Interrogation room
      - Major [first name unknown] Bai
        - Loss of face
      - Destruction of personal photographs
      - Physical abuse
      - Anger
      - Destruction of personal photographs
      - Repetition
      - Injuries
      - Destruction of letters, personal photographs
        - Latrine
      - Physical abuse
      - Memory failure [?]
      - Capitulation
        - Apology, newspaper writing, tapes
- Period of isolation
  - Contacts
  - Reading
  - Writing
    - Denial
  - Reading materials
    - Propaganda
    - Atrocity stories
    - Recitation
- Brainwashing
  - Realization of failure
  - North Vietnamese expectations
- Consolidation of prisoners
  - Roommate
  - Risner's isolation
    - Time* magazine photograph
    - Notoriety compared to Lyndon B. Johnson, Dean Rusk
- Use of Risner
  - Delegations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Statements
- Propaganda
  - Fellow POWs
  - Torture
- Period of isolation
  - Morale
    - Religious faith
    - Hope in government
    - American people
    - Family
  - Mental, physical health
    - Kidney stones
      - East German film crew
      - Medical care
    - Windowless room
      - Vents
      - Effect on vision
- Consolidation of prisoners
  - December 26, 1969
    - 1969 election
  - Number of prisoners
  - Beds
    - Matting
  - Clothes
    - Washing
  - Shaving
    - Frequency
    - Razor blades
    - Cold water
    - Soap
  - Toilet papers, toothpaste, toothbrush
    - Dispossession
      - Punishment
- Meals
  - Timing
  - Soup
    - Contents
  - Bread
  - Variety



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Vegetables
- Meat
  - Pork fat
  - Fish
  - Lean quality
  - Fish meal
- Alcoholic beverages
  - Holidays
    - Tet, Independence Day, Christmas
  - Beer, liquor
  - Risner's home in Oklahoma
- Mental activities
  - Math problems
- Physical exercise
  - Frequency
  - Kinds

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous Deed of Gift Privacy (D) rereviewed on 08/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]  
 [Privacy]  
 [876-011-w008]  
 [Duration: 2m 15s]

- Robinson Risner's captivity
  - Health
    - Hair loss
    - Nerves
    - Panic
    - Running as a relief
      - Exhaustion
    - Desperation
      - Relief by talking
      - Resolve to endure 1 more minute
        - 7 years
  - Lonely

\*\*\*\*\*

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

Personal plans

- Age
- Experience compared to President
- Fitness

Risner's captivity

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/08/2019. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[876-011-w009]

[Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

\*\*\*\*\*

Robinson Risner's captivity

- Teeth
- Condition
- Compared to Holocaust survivors
- Dr. William O. Chase

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous Deed of Gift Privacy (D) rereviewed on 08/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]

[876-011-w010]

[Duration: 13s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Robinson Risner's captivity
  - Teeth
    - Loss of one on a rice rock

\*\*\*\*\*

- Robinson Risner's captivity
  - Teeth
    - Diet
      - Rice compared to bread
      - Effect on teeth
  - Watch
    - Passage of time
    - Gongs
    - Bells of Hanoi

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

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous Deed of Gift Privacy (D) rereviewed on 08/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]

[876-011-w002]

[Duration: 23s]

- Personal plans
  - Military service
    - Physical exam
      - Heart
        - 20 year old
      - Excellent condition
    - Eyes
      - Correctable to 20-10

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

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Personal plans

- Military service
- Corrective eyewear
- Flying

Oval Office

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

Risner's family

- Wife
- Preparation for homecoming
- Detail
- Pride
- Help

Risner's captivity

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

Risner's family

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

US culture

- Gratitude for POWs' contributions
- Changes in nation
  - 1960s
    - Revolutionary decade
  - Decline of patriotism
    - 1968 election
    - Eugene J. McCarthy candidacy
      - Radicals
      - Mainstream viewpoint
        - Campuses
        - Media
          - Television [TV], radio, newspapers
- Splits in religious groups
  - President's, Risner's religious affiliation
  - Catholics
    - Anti-Communist
  - Protestants
    - William F. ("Billy") Graham
      - Fundamentalist
        - Demographics
        - Support for war [?]
  - Quakers
    - Pacifism
    - Conscientious objectors [?]
  - Presbyterian
- Loss of faith in nation
  - University teachers, students
  - Elite
  - Business leaders [?]
  - Vietnam
  - Isolationism
  - Federal budget
    - Ghettos
    - Armed forces
  - Prevalence
- Impact on POWs
  - Loss of values

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- General public's view
- End of Vietnam War
  - Duration
  - Reasons
    - South Vietnam's integrity
    - Credibility of US
    - Domestic impact
  - Method
    - Nuclear option
  - Sense of national spirit
    - Impact of returning POWs
      - Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
      - Public statement
      - Press manipulation
      - Brainwashing comment
- Asset to nation
- Exploitation of POW's
  - Criticism by press
- New role on return
- Suffering
  - Significance
- Impact on American spirit
  - Revitalization
- Survival
  - Significance for nation
- Continued military service
  - Return to civilian life
- Reception from public
  - Discouragement
  - Criticism
    - GI program
    - Vietnam War
  - Encouragement
    - POWs' leadership
- Role in nation's future
  - Attempts to isolate nation from world's problems
    - Cutbacks
    - Europe, Asia
    - Opportunity for Communists

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Risner's reaction to US
  - Youth
    - Searching
    - Unrest
    - Optimism
    - Talks to students
      - Reassessment of values
      - Religious faith, patriotism
      - Reassertion
    - Letter from Oklahoma high school counselor
      - Copy for President
      - Students' reception
        - Ovation
    - Talks with school children, college students
      - Nazarean College
        - Oklahoma
        - Fundamentalist
        - Reception
      - High school
        - Size
        - Effects of college

POWs

- Reception at White House
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Denton
  - Date
  - Announcement
  - Plans
    - Attendees
      - Children
      - POW's wife, mother, fiancée
    - Briefing on foreign policy, national security
      - Kissinger
    - President, Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Evening dinner party
    - Entertainment
    - Numbers
    - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Vietnam Christmas show
- Les Brown Band
- Hollywood celebrities
- TV broadcast
- Briefing
  - State Department
  - Wives
    - Attendance
    - Value
- POWs charged with collaboration
  - President's news summary
  - Sensitivity
    - Risner's viewpoint
    - Defense Department's recommendations
- Numbers
- Acts
  - Code-of-conduct violations
  - Antiwar statements
  - Torture
- Charges
  - Col. John Flynn
    - Senior officer
    - Repatriation to US
    - Rank compared to Risner
  - Confidentiality
    - Risner's briefing of POWs
    - Debriefing of misconduct
      - Timing
        - POW returnees
        - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - POWs' preference
    - Leaks
  - Defiance of orders
    - Taped statements
    - Writings [?]
    - Meetings with delegations
    - Correspondence with "peaceniks"
    - Three who accepted early release
- Aid to North Vietnam



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- Problems
  - Vietnam
    - Communism
    - Cruelty
    - Destruction
    - POW treatment
- Reasons
  - Reparations
  - National interests
    - Cease-fire
    - Laos
- Reaction of POWs
  - Clark Air Force Base press conference
    - Risner's comments
  - Previous discussion
  - Risner's discussions with high-level official
    - POW statements
    - Kissinger's visit to Hanoi
    - President's visit to North Vietnam
  - Risner's discussion with Maj. [first name unknown] Bai
    - Threats
    - Denton, James B. Stockdale
  - Attitude towards Vietnam
  - Support for President
- Purpose
  - Level of negotiation
    - Cease-fire violations
      - Aid restrictions
      - Ho Chi Minh Trail
      - US reaction
    - Influence over North Vietnam
      - People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
        - Sino-Soviet rift
        - US diplomacy
      - High councils
      - Threats compared to aid
  - Pragmatism

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

Vietnam

- President's meeting with Moorer
- Peace marches
  - October 1969
  - Cambodia invasion
- Cambodia invasion
  - Purpose
  - Risner's knowledge
- May 8, 1972 decision on bombing Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor
  - Impact on summit with USSR
  - US standing
    - Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Soviet tanks in Hue
    - Position of strength
- December 18, 1972 decision on bombing
  - 1972 election
  - Cease-fire
  - Breakdown of negotiations
    - Conditions
      - Release of civilian prisoners
      - South Vietnam
  - Impact on POWs
  - Use of airpower
    - B-52s
      - Moorer's reluctance
      - President's decision
      - Losses
      - Criticism
      - Chicago Tribune*
  - Message to North Vietnam
    - Resumption of talks
- December 26, 1972 bombing
  - State Department's viewpoint
  - President's conversation with Moorer
    - Kissinger
    - B-52s
      - Number
  - Impact on negotiations
- Bombing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

- POWs' knowledge
  - Proximity of bombers
  - Reaction
  - Damage to structures
- Support of POWs
  - Dr. Roger E. Shields
    - Responsibility of President
    - President as "mad bomber"
- Necessity of bombing
  - Critics
  - Lyndon B. Johnson's decision
    - Bombing and mining
    - Military training
  - Peace negotiations
- Accuracy of B-52s
  - Civilian casualties
  - Risner's knowledge
- POW support
  - Night vigil
  - Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
  - Damage to Hanoi
- Reaction of captors to B-52s
  - Psychological effect
  - Talk with Risner
  - Accusations
  - Change in attitude of guards
  - Fear

POWs

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

Presidential gifts

- Golf balls

Risner's support for President

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont'd)

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

POWs

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

President's thanks

Risner's hat

Risner left at 4:34 pm.

Conversation No. 876-12

Date: March 12, 1973

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

- Signature
  - Disaster assistance for Texas [?]
- Telephone call from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

President's meetings with Prisoners of war [POWs]

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-13/877-1

Date: March 12, 1973

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

Location: Oval Office

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

Photo session

-Flags

-Seating

Legislation

-President's signature

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

Sanchez

-Return to Cuba

-Visit to North Vietnam

Refreshments

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

Oval Office

-Previous visits

-White House tour

Denton

-Public statement

-Effect on nation

-Letter to President

-Publication

-Respect for privacy

-Experience as Prisoner of war [POW]

-Plans for White House dinner for POWs

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. Aug-2010)*

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

- Wives
- Discussions
- Reaction
  - Repatriation
- Captivity
  - Length

President's conversation with Col. Robinson Risner

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

President's trip to PRC

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

Vietnam

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. Aug-2010)

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

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

Schedule

-Buzzer

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

Denton's letter to President

-Effect on nation

-American spirit

POWs

-Ordeal in prison

-Mohandus K. [Mahatma] Gandhi, Dr. Achmed Sukarno, Radha Krishna [?]

-Significance

-Personal strength

-Adversity

-Meaning for US

-Sense of pride

-Sense of shame

-Retreat

-Denton's captivity

-Survival

-Reasons

-Solitary confinement

-Length

-Means of survival

-Curiosity

-Mental, physical activity

-Awareness of time

-Prayer

-Solidarity [?]

-Reception at White House

-Scheduling

-Plans

-President's meeting with Risner

-Briefing on national security

-State Department

-Wives

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. Aug-2010)*

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

- Henry A. Kissinger, President, William P. Rogers
  - Changes in world
- Dinner on White House lawn
  - Tent
    - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Greeting
    - Blue Room
  - Dress
    - Long dresses
    - Uniforms
  - Arrangements
- Entertainment
  - Television [TV]
  - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
  - Other celebrities
  - Les Brown Orchestra
  - Dancing
- Captivity
  - Treatment
  - Torture
  - Risner
    - Exercise
    - Notoriety
    - Isolation
  - Denton's leadership [?]
    - Communication
    - Isolation [?]
  - Communications
    - System
    - Tapping on walls
      - Code
    - Dangers
    - Coughing
      - Code
- President's foreign policy
  - Denton's support
  - US history
  - Benefits for nation, world



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Aug-2010)

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

- Opening to PRC
- US aid to North Vietnam
  - POWs' support
  - Reasons
    - Opposition to PRC, USSR
      - Influence in Hanoi
      - Communist revolution
    - US restraint
    - Situation in Laos
      - Condition for withdrawal
      - Cease-fire violations
        - Condition for adherence
    - World War II precedent
      - Differences
        - Japan, Germany
          - Regime change
          - Economic pursuits
          - Peaceful pursuits
- Questionable effectiveness
  - Alternatives
    - Bombing
      - North Vietnam's impressions of President
- December 1972 bombing
  - Difficulty
    - Compared to Denton's captivity
      - Survival
        - Impression of irrationality
- Liberal critics
  - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid, *Washington Post*
  - Questions about President's sanity
    - “Mad bomber”

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