



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 332-1

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:05 pm and 8:18 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:18 pm.

Conversation No. 332-2

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:05 pm and 8:18 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:18 pm.

Conversation No. 332-3

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:05 pm and 8:18 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-26]

Conversation No. 332-4

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:05 and 8:18 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 23-27]

Conversation No. 332-5

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: 8:18 pm - 8:24 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 23-28]

Conversation No. 332-6

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:24 pm and 8:25 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-29]

Conversation No. 332-7

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:24 pm and 8:25 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 53s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:25 pm.

Conversation No. 332-8

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: 8:25 pm - 8:45 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

[See Conversation No. 23-30]

Conversation No. 332-9

Date: April 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:45 pm and 8:51 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:51 pm.

Conversation No. 332-10

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 5s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:46 pm.

Conversation No. 332-11

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:46 pm.

Conversation No. 332-12

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Tapes for dictating machine

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:46 pm.

Conversation No. 332-13

Date: April 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:46 pm.

Conversation No. 332-14

Date: April 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 16s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:46 pm.

Conversation No. 332-15

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:46 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 332-16

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: 2:46 pm - 2:48 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 23-52]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 332-17

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 3:08 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 4m 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 332-18

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 3:08 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-53]

Conversation No. 332-19

Date: April 20, 1972  
Time: 3:08 pm - 3:09 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 23-54]



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 332-20

Date: April 20, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 3:09 pm and 3:10 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Dictated memorandum  
 -Private file

Delivery of unknown article

Sanchez's departure

Delivery of unknown article  
 -Location

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:10 pm.

Conversation No. 332-21

Date: April 20, 1972  
 Time: 3:10 pm - 4:10 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Democratic caucus  
 -Meeting  
   -Results  
   -Resolution on Vietnam War  
     -Amendments  
       -Samuel S. Stratton  
       -Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill, Jr.  
       -Sam M. Gibbons  
   -Results of vote  
 -Carl B. Albert  
 -Motives for actions

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Absentees
- Substantive votes
  - Results
- Election year pressures

## Vietnam

- Change in public opinion
  - Support for the President
    - Mail
      - Ronald W. Reagan
      - Bary M. Goldwater
- Democratic caucus
  - Administration counterattack
    - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Lack of condemnation by Democrats
  - Brown University
    - George P. Shultz
    - Colson
    - Nicholas Ruwe

## Brown University

- Shultz
- Subsidies
  - Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
    - Laser beam
  - Curtilment
  - Reserve Officer Training Corps [ROTC]

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:10 and 3:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-21A]

[See Conversation No. 23-55]

[End of telephone conversation]

## Economy

- Latest news
  - Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS] report
  - Consumer Price Index [CPI]
    - Food prices
  - Marina von N. Whitman

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

-Views

The President talked with Caspar W. Weinberger between 3:15 and 3:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-21B]

[See Conversation No. 23-56]

[End of telephone conversation]

## Education

- Cuts
- Weinberger

## Vietnam

- Democratic caucus
  - Results of vote
    - Press coverage
    - Vote on floor
      - Support for the President's opposition
        - Democrats
        - Republicans
- Albert
  - Support for vote
  - Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW]
  - Mailings to Congress
  - Mobilization
  - Pressure on Congress
- Labor
  - Frank E. Fitzsimmons's statement
- The President's policies
  - Frank L. Rizzo
    - Support
      - The President's appreciation
        - Note
        - Statement
  - Richard J. Daley
    - Call from David E. Bradshaw
    - Possible call from the President
- Democratic party
  - Charge of defeatism
    - John C. Stennis
    - George H. Mahon

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Noel Cook [?]
- Jack F. Kemp
  - Statement in House
- Elford A. Cederberg
- Republican supporters
  - Mobilization
- News reports
  - Washington Post*
- Hawks
  - Clark MacGregor

## International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case hearings

- Vote in Congress
  - Byrd Amendment
    - Possible outcome
    - Peter M. Flanigan testimony
- Flanigan
  - Testimony
    - Questions
      - Refusal to answer
      - Prior agreement
  - Public relations sense
  - Testimony
    - Executive session
    - Questions
      - Birch E. Bayh, Jr.
      - Edward M. Kennedy
    - Executive privilege
    - Public relations
    - MacGregor
      - Executive privilege
      - Invocation
  - Flanigan
    - Advisory role to the President
    - Executive privilege
      - Compared with Henry A. Kissinger's use of executive privilege
      - Problems
- Jack Gleason
  - Questions
    - Handling
      - Perjury
  - Harold S. Geneen

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Edward J. Gerrity, Jr.
- Cash
- Answers
- Perjury
- Geneen
  - Testimony
- Impact on ITT Company
- Republican counterattacks
  - Editorials
  - Defense of administration's integrity
    - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Editorial support

## Vietnam

- Editorial support for the President
  - Extent
    - Washington Star
- South Vietnam
  - Success against North Vietnam
- North Vietnam
  - Losses
  - Negotiations
    - Timing of election
    - Advantages with administration
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - US counterattacks
    - Intensity
  - North Vietnamese miscalculation
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Air attacks
      - Thomas H. Moorer
      - Creighton W. Abrams
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s briefing
  - White House staff

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3:19 and 3:36 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-21C]

Message to Haig

- Forthcoming meeting with Colson

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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- Staff briefing on trip to South Vietnam
- Arrangements

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Colson's call to William P. Rogers

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:19 and 3:36 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-21D]

[See Conversation No. 23-57]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Unknown Lieutenant Colonel's remarks
- Press coverage
- Haig's comments

The President talked with Rogers between 3:36 and 3:43 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-21E]

[See Conversation No. 23-58]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Rogers
  - Support
- Administration's efforts
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Appraisal
    - Timing
    - The President's posture
      - Courage
        - Public recognition
        - John B. Connally's assessment
- Public opinion
  - Hugh S. Sidey editorial

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Kleindienst
- The President's posture
  - Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak appraisal
  - Trip to Moscow
  - Disregard for politics
    - Publicity
    - Impact on US foreign policy
    - Sidey
    - Press recognition
- Compared with Cuban missile crisis
  - John F. Kennedy's handling
    - Soviets
    - Press coverage
      - Praise for courage
  - Soviets
    - Position
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Considerations for US
    - People's Republic of China [PRC] Army
    - Soviet Summit
    - Berlin
  - Results
    - Destruction of Presidency
      - The President's successors
        - Democrats
          - Weaknesses
          - Hubert H. Humphrey and Edward M. Kennedy
- Soviets
  - Actions in Middle East
    - Democratic weaknesses
- Presidency
  - Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Degree of understanding
  - Connally
  - Command decision
    - Political risks
    - Determination
      - Protection for South Vietnam
      - Priority over election
- PRC trip
  - Benefits
- Cambodia operations
  - Benefits

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

- Al Capp
  - Aftermath
- Hardhat demonstration
  - Number
  - James L. Buckley
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Conservatism
    - Kissinger
- Rockefeller
  - Attica Prison riot
    - The President's call
      - Impact on morale
  - Press coverage
- Reagan
  - Conservatism
- Campus unrest
  - Columbia University
    - Peter J. Brennan
    - Protests
      - Jewish students
        - Percentage
  - Black students

Rizzo  
-Attitudes toward Jews and blacks

Minorities  
-Jews and blacks

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 12m 49s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam  
-Current campaign



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Administration's strategy
  - Air strikes
    - Hanoi
    - Haiphong
  - Flow of battle
  - South Vietnamese performance
    - Abrams's views
    - Losses
    - North Vietnam
      - Ultimate failure
- North Vietnamese invasion
- Cabinet
- Capitol Hill
  - Mood
  - Support for the President
- Public opinion
  - Support for the President
  - Appreciation of the President's efforts
    - PRC Trip
  - Defense of US Troops
    - Dependence on South Vietnam
  - South Vietnamese casualties
    - Rate
  - Issue of self-defense

## Economy

- Consumer Price Index [CPI] reading
  - Latest figures
    - Impact
  - New York Times* and *Washington Post* reports
    - The President's conversation with H. R. Haldeman
    - Distortions
    - [William B.?] Dale's story
    - Post* story

The President's meeting with Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope

## Economy

- Latest CPI figures

The President and Colson left at 4:10 pm.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conversation No. 332-22

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: 8:53 am - 10:05 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger, Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Alexander P. Butterfield. The recording appears to have begun while the meeting was in progress.

## The President's schedule

- Dinner for retiring Senators and Congressmen
  - Guest list
    - Release to press
    - Fred R. Harris
  - Toast
    - Senior Republicans
      - Clark MacGregor
        - Selection
      - John Sherman Cooper
      - Carl T. Curtis
      - John W. Byrnes
      - William M. Colmer
      - Cooper
      - Remarks
  - Marine Corps Band
    - Col. Albert Shoepfer, leader
    - Tribute
      - The President's recognition
- Army Chorus
- Coffee
- Starting time
- Attire
- Number
- Tables
  - Shape
  - Seating
    - Seniority
    - Cooper
    - Colmer
  - Retirees
  - The President's table
    - George H. Mahon

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Butterfield left at 8:59 am.

Pentagon Papers

- Leaks
  - Daniel Ellsberg
- Preparation
- Departments of State and Defense
- Conclusions

Vietnam

- Situation in 1969

The President talked with H. R. Haldeman at an unknown time between 8:59 and 9:01 am.

[Conversation No. 332-22A]

Meeting in Old Executive Office Building [EOB] office

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Winston Lord
- Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- The President's remarks
  - John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - William L. Safire
    - Strengths
    - Work with Kissinger
- Andrews
  - Lord
- Miller [first name unknown]
  - Work with Kissinger

Speeches and speechwriters

- Safire

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 8:59 and 9:01 am.

[Conversation No. 332-22B]

Meeting in Old Executive Office Building [EOB]office

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

[End of telephone conversation]

Speeches and speechwriters

- Safire
- Independence
- Andrews
- Haldeman

Pentagon Papers

- Leaks
- Ellsberg
- Secretary of Defense

Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 8:59 am.

Meeting with Andrews and Lord

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 9:02 am.

Andrews

*Washington Post*

- Story

Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 8:59 am.

Vietnam

- US bombing
- Effectiveness
- Post* story
- Distortions
- Soviets

Rose Mary Woods entered at 9:02 am.

Taped messages and letters

- Typing
- Instructions
- Return to the President
- Format
- Instructions

Memorandum to Safire

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Delivery to Andrews
- Rough outline
  - Revisions for Andrews
    - Work with Lord
- Completion

## Kissinger

- Location over weekend
  - Soviet Union
    - Arrival
      - Sergei Antonov, State Security Head
        - Offers to Kissinger
          - Joseph W. Alsop
- Schedule
  - State security
  - Masseuses

Woods left at 9:05 am.

- Antonov
  - Security
    - The President's forthcoming trip
- Moscow film studio
  - American actresses
  - Soviet women
- Meeting with First Deputy Foreign Minister, Vasily V. Kuznetsov
  - Andrei A. Gromyko's schedule

Andrews entered at an unknown time after 9:05 am.

## Meeting with the President

- Lord's arrival

Andrews left at an unknown time before 9:06 am.

## Soviet Union

- Kissinger's previous trip
  - Kuznetsov's parting remarks
  - Antonov's remarks
  - KGB
- The President's forthcoming trip
  - Translators

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Leonid I. Brezhnev
- Comments to Kissinger
- Earl L. Butz

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 9:05 am.

- Andrews and Lord
- Meeting with the President

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:06 am.

- Soviet Union
- Visit by Butz
- Butz's comments

Stephen B. Bull and Andrews entered at 9:06 am.

Greetings

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:07 am.

- Speech by the President
- Work by Andrews and Lord
- Haig's assistance

- US-Soviet relations
- Kissinger's trip
- Announcement

Lord entered at 9:07 am.

-Time

- Vietnam
- The President's speech
- Time
- Current appraisal of situation
- The President's outline/rough draft
- Revisions by Andrews and Lord
- The President's guidelines
- Rhythm
- Phrases
- Order

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Suggestions
- Considerations
  - Vignettes
  - Lord's suggestions
  - Andrews's suggestions

## US-Soviet Relations

- Kissinger's trip
  - Accommodations

## Vietnam

- The President's speech
  - US military role
  - Conclusion
    - Situations in 1969 and present
    - Conciseness
- Losses
  - Helicopter
- The President's speech
  - Peace offers
    - Generalities
      - Cease fire
      - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - The President's guidelines
    - North Vietnamese build-up
    - US restraints
    - North Vietnamese invasion
      - Figures
        - Number of troops
      - US response
  - The President's report
    - South Vietnamese performance
      - Report from Abrams
      - Casualties
    - US air strikes
      - Necessity
    - Future trials and eventual victory
      - Wording
        - Caution
    - The President's morning report
      - An Loc
        - Washington Post*
  - Abrams's report

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Advice from Ellsworth F. Bunker, William J. Porter and senior advisors
  - Future actions
    - Reduction of troops
      - Number
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Negotiations
      - Porter
    - Air and naval strikes
    - Prevention of takeover
- Length
- Phrasing
  - Soviet interpretations
- Conclusions
  - Wording
- Completion of draft
  - Speed
  - Woods
  - Andrews's and Lord's review
    - Kissinger and Haig
  - Deadline for the President
  - Woods
    - Drafts
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Laos and Cambodia
  - Figures
- US bombing
  - Continuation
  - Conditions for cessation
    - North Vietnamese invasion
- Wording
  - Simplification
  - Directness
- Revisions
  - Importance
  - The President's style
  - Time limit
- Deletions from draft
  - An Loc
  - Sanctuaries
- Wording
  - Description of North Vietnam
- Revisions
  - Time element



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*Andrews and Lord left at 9:25 am.

## Pentagon Papers

- Tactics
- Public opinion
  - Indifference
- Ronald L. Ziegler's statements
  - Washington Post*

## Vietnam

- Abrams
  - Defense Information Office [DIO]
  - Report to the President
- Laos operations
  - Problems
  - Benefits
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Reaction of American public
    - George H. Gallup poll
  - US bombing
    - Poll results
  - Deployment of forces
    - Initial successes
    - Instructions to Haig
      - World War I
        - German victories over Russians
    - South Vietnamese failures
      - Abrams
      - Coordinations of strategy
      - An Loc
    - South Vietnamese retreats
      - B-52 strikes
    - Mistakes
  - South Vietnamese defensive line
    - Kontum
    - Initial losses
      - News reports
        - Kissinger's briefing
    - Highlands
      - Lon Tien [Sp?]
  - Initial successes
    - III Corps

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Kontum
- Pleiku
- Hue
- Pessimism
- South Vietnamese withdrawals
  - South Vietnamese refusal
  - Kissinger's conversations with Moorer
- US military
  - William C. Westmoreland
  - Abrams
    - Advice to South Vietnam
- Thieu
  - Political problems
- Defensive line
  - US air strikes
    - Location
      - II Corps
      - North Vietnamese armor
      - Bridge
        - Destruction
    - Reports
- News reports
  - Henry Bradsher
    - Retaliation
      - Military Press Information Officers [PIOs]
  - Abrams
    - Handling of press
- Reporters
  - Abrams, Bunker, and Melvin R. Laird
    - Thieu's stance
  - Hostility to administration
  - Photograph
    - Caption
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - South Vietnamese strength
    - Capabilities
- Reports
  - Horror stories
    - Haldeman's efforts
      - John A. Scali and Herbert G. Klein
    - North Vietnamese atrocities
      - Need for publicity
  - Publicity for US side

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Pentagon
- State Department press office
- Pentagon
  - Size of Public Information Office
  - Mobilization

## US foreign policy

- Execution
  - Kissinger and Rogers
    - Lack of public relations
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - "Open Skies" proposal
    - Charles D. Jackson
      - Public relations efforts
        - Success
- Public relations efforts
  - Safire
  - Richard A. Moore
  - Scali
  - Press corps
    - Hostility
      - Bias for John F. Kennedy
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Significance
    - Press black-out
- Public relations efforts
  - Lack of effort
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Arrangements
    - Rogers
      - Announcement
- Rogers
  - Public relations efforts
    - Meeting with unknown Ambassador
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Ziegler's statement
  - Timing
    - Briefing of Congress
      - Notification
        - Kissinger
  - Rogers and Laird
    - Role
  - Formality of briefing

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- J. William Fulbright
- George D. Aiken
- Congressional opposition
- Supporters
  - Leslie C. Arends
  - Gerald R. Ford
  - Mahon
  - F. Edward Hebert
  - Charles M. Teague
  - Barry M. Goldwater
  - John G. Tower
  - John C. Stennis
  - MacGregor
  - Edward J. Gurney
  - Aiken
  - Encouragement
- Opponents
  - Fulbright
  - Rogers's briefing
  - Hiram L. Fong
- Time
  - Television news
  - Kissinger's announcement
  - Rogers's briefing
    - Foreign Relations Committee
    - Bob Morgan
- Attendees
  - Fulbright
  - Exclusion
- Supporters
- Leaks
  - Briefing of Laird, the Vice President, John B. Connally,
  - Ronald W. Reagan and Nelson A. Rockefeller

## Vietnam

- Peace talks
- Negotiations
  - Alekssei N. Kosygin
  - Conditions
    - End of North Vietnamese invasion
    - US bombing
      - Conditions for cessation
- Ziegler's briefing

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Kissinger's views
- Time
- Call to the President
- The President's speech
  - Announcement
  - News programs
  - Timing

Haldeman and Haig left at 9:50 am.

- Public relations efforts
  - Intensification of efforts
    - Cambodia
    - Haldeman, Haig and Scali
    - SALT agreement
  - Deficiencies
    - Secretary of State
      - Attack on Edmund S. Muskie
    - D. Kenneth Rush's [?] statement
- US bombing
  - Gallup poll
    - Support
  - The President's speech
    - Increase in support
  - Soviet response
- The President's speech
  - Rough Draft
    - Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev

## US-Soviet relations

- Summit
  - Brezhnev
  - US value
  - Vietnam
    - Results of US defeat
      - Left-wing contrasted to right-wing factions
      - Necessity of victory
  - Kontum

Rose Mary Woods entered at 9:52 am.

Typed document

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Completion
- Time

Woods left at 9:54 am.

## Vietnam

- US strategy
  - All-out attack
    - Conditions for cessation
    - Targets
      - Dikes
      - Railroads
      - Docks
    - Use of massive force
  - Soviet Summit
    - Need for credibility
    - Brezhnev
  - US conditions
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Conversation with Kissinger
  - North Vietnamese assessments
  - Chance of breakthrough
- Negotiations
  - Conditions for resumption
    - Cease-fire
    - US responses
  - Gromyko
    - Comments to Kissinger
    - Soviet Summit
      - Compared with People's Republic of China [PRC] Trip
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - US retaliation
    - Power plant
    - Dock area
  - Dobrynin
    - Brezhnev
    - Report to Kissinger
      - Kissinger's response
  - Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Yuli M. Vorontsov
    - Hanoi and Haiphong

## US-Soviet relations

- Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Soviet Summit
  - Conditions
    - Cessation of North Vietnamese offensive
- US ships in Vietnam
  - Blockade
- Soviet Summit
  - Cancellation
    - Dobrynin and Brezhnev
      - Influence in Central Committee
  - Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles [SLBMs]
    - Announcement
  - Kissinger's conversation with Gromyko
    - Dobrynin's role
- US air strikes
  - Impact
- Possible cancellation
  - Laird

## Vietnam

- Laird's statement
  - Troop levels
- US successes
  - Necessity
    - The President's trip to Moscow
  - Risks
- Chou En-Lai
- US determination
  - 1972 election
- Negotiations
  - Cease-fire
  - William J. Porter's line
  - Porter
    - Abilities as negotiator
- Soviets

Kissinger left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 332-23

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

The President dictated a memorandum.

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese invasion
- Changes in text of speech
  - Revisions
    - John K. Andrews, Jr.

Conversation No. 332-24

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 332-25

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President dictated notes for a speech draft.

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Failure to win over South Vietnamese people
    - Creighton W. Abrams's views
- Gamble
  - Military victory
- US response
  - Test
- Frustrations of war
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - US response
    - Necessity



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

- Alternatives
- South Vietnam defense
- Evacuation of US forces

Conversation No. 332-26

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

- Vietnam
  - The President's speech
  - Additions and changes
  - John K. Andrews's revisions

Conversation No. 332-27

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

- The President's speech
  - Changes in text

Conversation No. 332-28

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:40 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President dictated notes for a speech draft.

- Vietnam

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Stakes of war
  - People of South Vietnam
  - World peace
    - Power of the US
- US policy
  - US withdrawals
  - Air sorties
  - Peace offers
    - North Vietnamese response
      - Invasion of South Vietnam
      - War escalation

The President replayed portions of the recording.

- Stakes of war
  - World peace
    - Power of the US

The President resumed dictation.

- US policy
  - Aid to South Vietnam
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Aid from Soviet Union
  - Consequences of success
    - Future invasions
    - Risks of war elsewhere
- Negotiations
  - US peace offers
    - Respect for independence
- The President's speech
  - Instructions
- US policy
  - Determination
  - Consequences of North Vietnamese success
    - Risks of war
    - Conditions for peace
      - Success of US policy
        - Withdrawal of US troops
      - Resistance to aggression
        - Air and Naval forces
  - 1972 election
    - Peace in Vietnam

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

- Possible failure
- Impact on the President's successors

Conversation No. 332-29

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: 10:40 am - 10:45 am  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

- The President's schedule
- Dinner for congressmen
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Invitation
  - Guest list
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Former congressmen
    - Clark MacGregor

Butterfield left at 10:45 am.

Conversation No. 332-30

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:50 am  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President resumed dictation of notes for a speech draft.

- Vietnam
- 1972 election
    - Winning the election at the price of losing the war
  - Impact on presidency and US foreign policy
  - Review of US uses of power
  - Defeat of US
    - Consequences
  - The President's trips to People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
    - Respect for the Presidency
      - Henry A. Kissinger's report

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

- Necessity to maintain credibility
- US defeat
- Impact
  - Loss of credibility
  - Danger to peace

Conversation No. 332-31

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:50 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Conversation No. 332-32

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:50 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's speech

- Tape
- Delivery by Manolo Sanchez

Conversation No. 332-33

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:50 am  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Delivery of an unknown item to Rose Mary Woods

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:50 am.

Conversation No. 332-34

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 10:50 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Vietnam

- The President's speech
- Deletions
- Troop withdrawals
  - Previous troop levels
- Passage
  - Insertion

Conversation No. 332-35

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: 10:50 am - 12:50 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Zielger.

News story

- Impact

Refreshment

US-Soviet relations

- Henry A. Kissinger's trip
  - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
  - Ronald L. Ziegler's inability to reach Sonnenfeldt

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:50 am.

Refreshment

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.

## US-Soviet relations

- Kissinger's trip
  - Drama
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Secrecy
  - Success
  - Speculation as to Kissinger's location
    - Paris
    - Camp David
- Ziegler's briefing
  - Time
  - Possible questions
    - Gerald L. Warren
    - The President's decision on Vietnam policy
      - Announcements
      - Impact
        - White House morale
        - Opposition confusion
- The President's statement
  - Time
  - Announcement on television
    - General situation in Vietnam
  - Announcement
    - Kissinger's trip
      - Soviet summit
    - Ziegler's statement
- Vietnam
  - The President's television address

## Vietnam

- The President's supporters
  - Barry M. Goldwater
- Attacks on Democrats
  - Madam Nguyen Thi Binh's letter to Congress
    - Advantages for administration
    - Reaction of doves
- Rhetoric
  - Congress
  - Charge of support of enemy
  - Winston Lord

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Robert A. Taft, Jr.
- Attacks on Democrats
  - Repudiation of North Vietnamese and Madam Binh letter
  - Reports in *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and news networks
  - National Broadcasting Company [NBC], Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and United Press International [UPI] reports
- The President's challenge to opponents
  - Demand for repudiation of Binh letter
  - Charles S. Gubser's statement

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:50 and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 332-35A]

Dinner for congressmen

- Call to Clark MacGregor
- Invitation to Gubser
- Statement on Vietnam

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Binh letter
- Comments
  - Wayne L. Hays
  - Alexander [first name or surname unknown]

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:50 and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 332-35B]

Dinner for congressmen

- Invitations
  - Hays
  - Refusal to issue invitation
- MacGregor
- Number

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Binh letter
- Comments

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Taft
  - Challenge to Edward M. Kennedy
- The President's speech
  - Ziegler's announcement
  - Contents
  - Appeal to hawks
  - Press reactions
    - Washington Post* editorials
    - Soviet summit
    - Risks
- The President's decision
  - Time
  - Warren
    - Camp David
    - Kissinger's meeting in Moscow
  - Time
    - Camp David
- Ziegler's announcement
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's statement
    - Change of wording
      - Leonid I. Brezhnev
      - Andrei A. Gromyko
  - Kissinger

Ziegler left at 11:06 am.

- White House staff
  - The President's conversations with Charles W. Colson and MacGregor
    - Colson's analysis of Kissinger's trip
- Negotiations
- US bombing of North Vietnam
  - Justification
    - Publicity
  - Colson's concern
    - Publicity
  - Continuation of bombing
    - Publicity
  - Conditions for cessation
    - Wording
- Handling of critics
  - MacGregor
  - Colson
  - Strategy



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- The President's speech
  - Discussion with Kissinger
  - Rhetoric
  - Length
    - Compared with November 3rd and Cambodia speeches

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:06 am.

Tobacco

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:17 am.

Vietnam

- The President's speech
  - Approach
    - Previous speeches
- Binh letter
  - Reaction
  - A. Eric Sevareid
  - Contents
    - Peace proposal
  - Colson's reaction
    - Kissinger
- The President's speech
  - Conclusion
    - Formulation
    - Secrecy from staff
  - US bombing
    - Wording of statement
    - Quotability
      - Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson's wording
- Follow-up
  - Haldeman's role
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Public release
    - Congress
  - Resolutions
  - Marches
  - Calls to networks
  - Poll
    - George H. Gallup and Louis P>Harris
    - Trial heats
    - Questions

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Bombing
- Compared with Gallup-type questions
- Support for the President
- Release
- Other polls
  - Gallup
  - Harris
  - Albert E. Sindlinger
- Questions
  - Moscow summit

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:17 am.

- Ziegler's announcement of the President's speech
  - Kissinger's concern
    - Soviets
    - Brezhnev
  - Delays in announcement
  - Time

Ziegler left at 11:20 am.

- Kissinger's concern
  - Speech
- Drafts
  - John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - William L. Safire
    - Methods of review
      - Kissinger
      - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
      - Leonard Garment
  - Problems
- Ziegler
  - Desire for concensus
    - Problems

Kissinger

- Press briefing
- Trip to Florida with the President

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Unknown actress
  - Haig
  - Schedule
  - Fontainebleu Hotel
  - Publicity

## The President's schedule

- Trip to Florida
  - Time
  - Meeting with Kissinger
- The President's speech
  - Lord
  - Accuracy of certain points
    - Creighton W. Abrams's report
- Trip to Florida
  - Arrangements
  - Time
    - National Basketball Association [NBA] playoffs
- The President's speech
  - West Coast time
  - Announcement
  - Interruptions
    - Reception
  - NBA playoffs
  - Audience
    - Size

## Kissinger's trip

- Sonnenfeldt
- Ziegler's knowledge
  - Secrecy
    - Cover story
      - Sonnenfeldt
      - Trip to Camp David
      - Paris
        - Sonnenfeldt
        - Activities
- Summit
  - Liberals' views
    - Risks from bombing
    - Risks of future in Vietnam
    - The President's reelection

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Vietnam

- Public relations efforts
  - Colson
  - Attacks on media
    - The Vice President
- The President's speech
  - Media reception
    - Attacks on networks
  - Contents
    - Kissinger's trip
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Troop withdrawals
    - Peace offers
- Soviet summit
- The President's speech
  - Washington Post*
  - Reaction of opponents
    - *Washington Post*
  - Phone calls
    - John D. Ehrlichman's call to Katharine L. Graham
    - *Washington Post* editor
    - Calls from Congressmen and Senators

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 57s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Timing of announcement
    - Colson's and MacGregor's concern
    - Goldwater's speech
- Bombing
  - Goldwater's speech

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- Timing of information given to Goldwater
- Rejection of North Vietnamese demand
- The President's statement
  - Kissinger's briefing
- Colson and MacGregor
- Washington Star*
- Support
- Current situation
- The President's speech
  - Announcement
  - Timing
  - Bad news
    - Abrams
  - Support of South Vietnam
- Binh letter

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 42s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

\*\*\*\*\*

- The President's domestic position
- Diplomacy
  - Kissinger's upcoming trip
  - Summit
    - Resumption of bombing
  - Kissinger
- Congressmen
- The President's supporters
  - William F. ("Billy") Graham

US-Soviet relations

- Kissinger's trip
  - Cover
    - Camp David

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

-Discovery

## The President's schedule

- A graduation
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Ceremony
  - Location

## Vietnam

- Binh letter
  - Patrick J. Buchanan memorandum
  - Inclusion in speech
    - Haldeman's advice
- The President's speech
  - Length
  - Troop withdrawals
  - Bombings
  - The President's policies
  - Kissinger
  - Justification for actions
    - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope's comments

## The President's forthcoming speech

- Trip to PRC

## Vietnam

- The President's speech
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Failure
      - Abrams's views
    - Impact on Congress and public opinion
  - South Vietnam
    - Evacuation of US forces
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Stakes in war
    - Aid of Soviet Union
    - Success
      - Consequences
      - Risks of other wars
    - US goals
      - Peace offers
      - Consequences of failure
    - Risks

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- 1972 election
  - Costs of failure
- US foreign policy goals
  - South Vietnam
  - Trips to PRC and Moscow
  - Respect for US and the presidency
  - The President's successors
    - Dangers of defeat in South Vietnam
- Text
  - Haldeman's opinion
- Tone
  - The President's goals
    - Victory
      - Impact on critics
        - Desire to surrender
- The President's supporters
  - Encouragement
- Trip to Moscow
  - Peace talks
- The President's speech
  - Safire
  - The President's mark
  - Revisions
    - Andrews

H. R. Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:20 am and 12:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-35C]

[See Conversation No. 23-59]

The President conferred with Haldeman at an unknown time during the conversation.

Ziegler

- Press briefing
- Press reaction

Haldeman talked with an unknown woman at an unknown time.

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time.

[End of telephone conversation]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

## Press

- Ziegler's briefing
  - Question
  - Kissinger's trip
    - Credibility
      - Public opinion
        - Support for secrecy
  - Ziegler's answer
    - Plausibility

## Vietnam

- The President's leadership
  - John B. Connally's views
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Contrast in styles

## The President's schedule

- Dinner for congressmen
  - Reward for supporters
  - Laird
  - [Thomas S.?] Kleppe
    - Invitation

H. R. Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 11:20 am and 12:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-35D]

- Rogers C. B. Morton
  - Invitation

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger and Ziegler entered at 12:00 pm.

## Press

- Ziegler's handling
  - Secrecy of Kissinger's trip
    - Kissinger's veracity
- Ziegler
  - The President's call
    - Ziegler's response



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- Haldeman
- Publicity
  - Scali
  - Anecdote
- Ziegler's announcement
  - Reading of statement
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Press reaction
  - The President's contacts with Brezhnev
    - Brezhnev's title
      - Mao Tse-tung's title
  - William P. Rogers
  - Reception for Kissinger
    - Cordiality
    - Discussion of Vietnam
    - Benefits of meeting
    - Rogers
  - Vietnam
    - Speculation
  - Proper approach
  - The President's goals in Vietnam
    - Use of secret channels
  - Meeting with Brezhnev
    - Results
    - Peter Lisagor
  - Press reactions
    - Compared with PRC trip briefing
- Kissinger's call to Graham
  - *Washington Post* editorial
    - Moscow summit
    - Mistakes
    - Moscow summit
      - Reception for Kissinger
  - Graham
    - Philip L. Graham
    - Death
  - Washington Post* editorial
    - Views of eastern establishment
      - Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and networks
- Call to Rogers
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Discussions
  - North Vietnamese delegate's trip

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

- Kissinger's briefing of press
  - Laird and Connally
  - Notification
- Connally's reaction to Kissinger's trip
- Soviets
- Naval strikes
  - Preparations
    - Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
  - Attacks
    - Shore batteries
    - Haig
      - Range of guns
      - Destroyers
    - Zumwalt
  - Destroyers
    - Number
- Air strikes
  - B-52s
    - Targets
      - Accuracy
    - Intensity
    - Destruction of targets
      - Warehouses
      - Docks
      - Power Plant
      - Accuracy
- Message to Brezhnev
- Binh letter
- Air strikes
  - North Vietnamese losses
    - Men
      - Figures
      - Laotian operation
    - Military Region Three
    - Military Region Four
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Units in south
  - Army Of The Republic Of Vietnam [ARVN] units
    - Losses
  - North Vietnamese losses
  - Saigon and Hanoi
    - US attacks on north
      - Power plants

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants [POL] dumps
- Docks
- US strikes
  - Nuclear weapons
  - South Vietnamese chances
- Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev
  - Significance
  - Statements on bombing
- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Soviet aid
    - Brezhnev's reaction
  - Soviet knowledge
    - Extent of offensive
- Soviets
  - Willy Brandt
- Soviet Summit
  - Importance for Soviets
    - Politburo meeting
  - Kissinger's meeting with Yuli M. Vorontsov
    - The President's message
      - The President's trip to Moscow
  - Divisive issue
  - Kissinger's meetings in Moscow
  - Reception
    - Press reaction
      - Kitchen Cabinet
      - Trips to Moscow
        - Books and articles by reporters
      - Clarence Fickiue [sp?], editor
      - Cleveland Plain Dealer*
- Press
  - Kissinger's briefing
    - Duration
    - Press reaction
  - The President's speech
    - Announcement
    - The President's decision on something
      - Kissinger's report
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - List of those who went
    - Release

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*Ziegler left at 12:28 pm.

## US-Soviet relations

- Kissinger's trip
  - Meetings with D. Kenneth Rush and Connally
  - Connally's reaction
- The President's speech
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Points to make
    - Rejection of North Vietnamese terms
    - Appeal to hawks

## Vietnam

- Negotiations
- Cease-fire proposal
  - Reaction
- Nguyen Van Thieu
- Negotiations
  - North Vietnamese invasion
  - Conditions for resumption
- Kissinger's briefing
  - Haig
  - Zumwalt
    - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - Richard M. Helms
  - Rush
  - Helms
    - Response to Soviet trip
- Soviet trip
  - Significance
- Negotiations
  - Soviet transmittal of US messages

## The President's schedule

- Trip to Florida
  - Kissinger's presence
    - Necessity
  - Itinerary
    - Arrangements
      - Kissingers visitors
  - Itinerary
  - Dinner

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

- Publicity
- Unknown person
  - Gifts to Kissinger
- Kissinger's presence
  - Necessity
  - Itinerary
  - Return trip
- Weekend
- Publicity

Vietnam

- The President's efforts
- Air strikes
  - Targets
- Soviet Union
- PRC
- North Vietnamese invasion
- Soviet Summit
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement
  - Benefits
  - Possible cancellation
- Kissinger's call to Graham
- Kissinger's call to Ronald W. Reagan
  - Air strikes

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[Privacy]

[Duration: 7s]

REAGAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

\*\*\*\*\*

- Call to Nelson A. Rockefeller
- Kissinger's call to Reagan
  - The President's courage
  - Soviets

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Kissinger left at an unknown time after 12:28 pm.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 22

[Privacy]

[Duration: 7s]

REAGAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 22

\*\*\*\*\*

- Possible call to Barry M. Goldwater
- Bombing
  - Polls
    - Public approval
    - Gallup
    - Wording of questions

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 19

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 2m 57s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 19

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

- Possible meeting with Richard and Karen Carpenter [singing group]
  - Lunch with Ken [surname unknown]
  - Support for the President
  - Tour of Oval Office
  - Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

H. R. Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:40 and 12:46

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*pm.

[Conversation No. 332-35E]

- Arrangements
  - Tricia Nixon Cox, Mrs. Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Tour of White House
  - Oval Office
  - Rose Garden
- Greeting by First Family

[End of telephone conversation]

- First Family
  - Meetings with celebrities

## Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - The President's strategy
- Bombing
  - Intensity
  - Purpose
- North Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Cease-fire
  - Thieu's resignation
  - Cease-fire
    - Conditions
  - Withdrawal of US Troops
  - Muskie's Comments
- Soviet Summit

Andrews entered at 12:46 pm.

- Andrews's meeting with the President
  - Time

- The President's speech
  - Andrews's revisions

Haldeman left at 12:47 pm.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Length
- Further questions
- Figures and facts
  - Verification
  - Lord
- Distribution of draft
  - Limitations
    - Lord
      - Ziegler
      - Haldeman
      - Kissinger
- Draft
  - The President's review
    - Time
  - Preparation

- US-Soviet relations
  - Kissinger's trip
  - Secrecy

Andrews left at 12:50 pm.

Conversation No. 332-36

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 1:09 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-60]

Conversation No. 332-37

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: 1:09 pm - 1:10 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with John K. Andrews, Jr.



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

[See Conversation No. 23-61]

Conversation No. 332-38

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:15 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President's speech  
 -Work of Winston Lord and John K. Andrews, Jr.

The President's meeting with Kissinger  
 -Schedule  
 -Review of speech  
 -Time

Conversation No. 332-39

Date: April 25, 1972  
 Time: 1:15 pm - 1:33 pm  
 Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Winston Lord and John K. Andrews, Jr.

The President's speech  
 -Revisions by Lord and Andrews  
   -Evaluation of work  
   -Henry A. Kissinger's review  
 -Copy  
 -Further revisions

Lord [?]  
 -Education  
 -Career choices  
   -Teaching career  
 -Work in White House

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- Mother
- Law school
- Law school
- Value
- Training
  - Discipline
  - Value
  - Stock and bond issues
  - Kissinger

## The President's speech

- Review
- Conclusion
- Madame Nguyen Thi Bihn
- Bombing
  - Intensity
- Tehran

The President read his speech draft.

[A transcript of the speech in its final form appears in Public Papers of the Presidents, 1972, pp. 553-554.]

[End of speech rehearsal]

## The President's speech

- Revisions
  - Changes in wording
    - Discussion of People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet trips
  - South Vietnamese performance
    - Insertion of passage
- Conclusion
  - US goals in Vietnam
    - Peace with honor
    - Cambodia speech
- Election year risks
  - Office of the President

The President talked with an unknown person [Kissinger?] at an unknown time between 1:15 and 1:33 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-39A]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

The President's speech

- Meeting with the President
  - Time
- Draft
  - Typing

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's speech

- Conclusion
  - Wording
  - End of war
    - Imminence
  - Revisions
  - Length
  - Cambodia speech
    - Kent State University
- Election year
  - Risks
    - Soviets
      - The President's determination
  - North Vietnamese miscalculations
- Work of Lord and Andrews

Lord and Andrews left at 1:33 pm.

Conversation No. 332-40

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:33 pm and 1:38 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

[See Conversation No. 332-40A]

The President's speech

- John K. Andrews Jr.'s work
  - Compared with William L. Safire
- Conclusion
  - Allusions to Cambodia speech

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

-Risks for election  
-Soviets

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:33 pm and conferred with the President.

President's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:38 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 332-41

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:33 pm and 1:38 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-62]

Conversation No. 332-42

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: 1:38 pm - 1:39 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 23-63]

Conversation No. 332-43

Date: April 25, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:39 pm and 1:45 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 54s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:45 pm.

Conversation No. 332-44

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:39 and 1:45 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-64]

Conversation No. 332-45

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:39 pm and 1:45 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 28s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:45 pm.

Conversation No. 332-46

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: 1:45 pm - 1:46 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 23-65]

Conversation No. 332-47

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: 1:48 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-66]

Conversation No. 332-48

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: 1:55 pm - 2:25 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's speech  
-Contents

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

## Vietnam

- Bombing
  - Intensity
- Soviet Summit
  - Washington Post* editorial
    - Possible cancellation
  - Meetings with Henry A. Kissinger
    - Soviets
      - Colson's conversation with H. R. Haldeman
- John B. Connally's backgrounder
  - Publicity
    - Los Angeles Times*
    - Richard G. Valeriani
  - The President's determination
    - Legacy for future
    - Risks to reelection and summit
    - Credibility of foreign policy
  - Valeriani's report
  - Image of the President
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
- North Vietnamese invasion
- Hawks
  - Colson's conversation with Barry M. Goldwater
  - Support for the President
  - Goldwater's speech
  - Democrats' support
- Madame Nguyen Thi Binh's letter
  - Call for repudiation
    - William E. Jenner

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 32s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

\*\*\*\*\*

The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 1:55 and 1:59 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

[Conversation No. 332-48A]

[See Conversation No. 23-67]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 35s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*\*\*\*\*

- Bombing
  - Geroge H. Gallup poll
    - Approval rating
    - Gallup reaction
  - Louis P. Harris poll
    - Increase in approval
    - Colson's conversation with Harris
    - Impact on public
      - Increased support

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:55 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:59 pm.

Vietnam

- Bombing
  - Harris poll
  - Haldeman's poll
    - Confidentiality
  - The President's speech
    - Impact on approval
- Polls



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

- Harris
  - Colson's conversation with Harris
  - Timing
  - Methods
    - Questions
  - Sensitivity to public mood
- Gallup
  - Questions
    - Bias
    - Proper wording

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 55s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

\*\*\*\*\*

- Success of the President's policies
  - Creighton W. Abrams's report
  - Public approval

Economy

- Cost of living
- Bad news
  - C. Jackson Grayson, Jr.
  - Corporate profits
    - Decline
    - Rebound
    - Grayson's statement
    - The President's speech
- Stock market
  - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Volatility

White House staff

- Jews

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

-Kissinger, William L. Safire and Herbert Stein

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:55 pm.

Refreshment

Vietnam

-Colson's views

-Sanchez's reaction

Press corps

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:59 pm.

Vietnam

-Clark MacGregor's work

The President talked with MacGregor between 1:59 and 2:01 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-48B]

[See Conversation No. 23-68]

[End of telephone conversation]

MacGregor

-Work

-Colson's evaluation

-Knowledge of Congress

Vietnam

-The President's speech

-Colson's conversation with Harris

-Harris poll

-Albert E. Sindlinger

-Gallup poll

-Bias

-Polls

-*Sindlinger Newsletter*

-*Newsweek*

-Public support

-Compared with Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953

-Solidity

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- News reports
  - Time* and *Newsweek*
- Kissinger's trip
  - Colson's conversation with Sindlinger
- Support from the President
- Harris
  - Poll taken after the President's speech
  - Competition with Gallup

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 39s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

\*\*\*\*\*

## Campaign practices

- George S. McGovern
  - Pennsylvania primary
- Edmund S. Muskie
  - Pennsylvania primary
  - Colson's conversation with Frank L. Rizzo

## Vietnam

- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - The President's stay at Camp David
    - Press suppositions
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
- Soviet Summit
  - Washington Post* editorial
  - Kissinger's trip
    - Benefits
      - Robert J. Dole's reaction
      - End of war
- Negotiations
  - Failure
    - Resumption of Bbmbing
    - Public support

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

- The President's policies
  - Credibility since January 25
  - Public support for efforts
  - White House support
    - Morale
  - James B. ("Scotty") Reston
- Bombing
  - Kissinger's trip to Paris
    - Private talks
- Kissinger
  - Brezhnev

Richard G. Kleindienst

- Confirmation
  - Filibuster
  - Chances
  - Charles H. Percy
    - Public pressure
  - Edward M. Kennedy
    - Opposition
      - Filibuster
    - Mistakes
    - Aides
      - Investigation of Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC] files
- William J. Casey

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 57s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

\*\*\*\*\*

Kissinger's trip

- Secrecy
- Briefing
- Camp David
- Sense of intrigue

US-Soviet relations

- Kissinger's trip
  - Secrecy
  - Press
    - Discovery
  - Location
    - Paris
    - Colson's discovery
    - Camp David

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 1m 33s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*\*\*\*\*

- Washington Post*
  - Kissinger's trip
  - Reaction

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- Kenneth W. Clawson
- Vendetta

## Press

- Los Angeles Times*
- Story on Soviet trip
- Washington Post*
- Coverage of Soviet trip

The President talked with Kissinger between 2:13 and 2:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 332-48C]

[See Conversation No. 23-70]

[End of telephone conversation]

## Press

- Reston

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:15 pm.

Refreshment [?]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:25 pm.

## Vietnam

- The President's policies
- Public support
- Kissinger's trip
- Contacts with the President
- Brezhnev

## -Press

- Misinformation
- Kissinger's trip
- Bias
- Clawson
- Hostility to press
- Reaction to Kissinger's trip
- Kissinger's trip
- Democrats
- Timing
- Phases of struggle

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

- North Vietnamese invasion
  - Miscalculation
    - Robert C. Byrd
      - Opposition to antiwar resolution
  - Binh letter
- Binh letter
  - Senators

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 5m 44s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

\*\*\*\*\*

Colson left at 2:25 pm.

Conversation No. 332-49

Date: April 25, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:25 pm and 3:35 pm  
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's meeting with Henry A. Kissinger  
-Time

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:35 pm.