



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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

Conversation No. 582-1

Date: September 30, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:22 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Congress

- Forthcoming vote
- Unknown secretary
- Timing

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:22 pm.

Conversation No. 582-2

Date: September 30, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 2:22 pm and 2:50 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

Economic statement

- Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
  - Instruction for Haldeman
  - Type of statement
    - Preparation
  - Price increases
  - OMB
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Substance of statement
    - Responsibility for economic conditions
  - Length of statement

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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conversation No. 582-3

Date: September 30, 1971

Time: 2:25 pm - 2:50 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

United Nations [UN] vote on the People's Republic of China [PRC] and Taiwan, Republic of China [ROC]

- Kissinger's conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Haig's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- US message
  - Instructions to George H.W. Bush
- Timing
  - US strategy
- Kissinger's trip to the PRC
  - Announcement
    - Dates
      - UN vote
    - Public relations effects of announcements
      - Timing
    - Haig
    - Delay
  - US options
  - Vote
    - Effect
  - Status of Taiwan's seat
    - Vote
      - William P. Rogers
      - List
    - Kissinger's plans
      - Trip to the PRC
        - Possible reaction
  - Bush
    - Action on vote
      - Possibility of postponement
      - Support
  - Announcement of Kissinger's PRC visit vis-a-vis UN vote
    - Haig's opinion
      - Meeting between Kissinger and Haig
    - Negotiations with the PRC about Kissinger's trip

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-3 (cont.)

- Democrats
  - Press
    - Japan
    - Newsmen
      - Handling after James B. ("Scotty") Reston's visit
  - Rogers
  - US strategy
    - Congressional session
      - UN vote
        - Time
      - Vietnam
  - Dates of announcement
    - PRC
    - US
  - Effect on the PRC
    - Agreement
      - Dates of trip
      - Date of announcement
  - Administration strategy
    - Credibility
      - Kissinger's handling of foreign relations
  - US public reaction
    - Conservatives
      - US position at the UN
        - UN Security Council
          - Possible veto
  - Rogers
    - Presentation of US resolution
  - Outcome of vote
    - US position
      - Relations with foreign diplomats
    - Roll call
    - Bush
    - Rogers
    - Position of US allies
- Kissinger's trip to the PRC
- Date
  - Unknown man
    - Note
  - Negotiation process

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-3 (cont.)

- Duration
- Complication
- Opposition
  - Criticism
- Date of UN vote
- Choice of dates
  - Reaction by PRC
- Soviet summit
  - The President's meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
  - State Department
  - Comparison with preparation for trip to the PRC
  - Rogers
  - Note
    - Paper
- Influence on UN vote
  - Right-wingers
    - Taiwan seat action
      - Timing of Kissinger's trip vis-a-vis UN vote
        - UN debate
        - UN vote
        - Dates
          - Kissinger's return
- Objections to Kissinger's trip
- Announcement of trip
  - Dates
- Taiwan
  - Outcome of UN vote
    - Effect on the US
      - Opposition to Kissinger's trip
- Rogers
- Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
- Timing of trip and UN vote
  - Date of announcement
  - Bush
    - Possible actions
  - Outcome of vote

The President's schedule

- Meetings with congressmen, Souvanna Phouma
  - Time
  - Length

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 582-3 (cont.)

- Kissinger's schedule
  - Meeting
    - Haig
- Duration of meeting
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Vote on bill by Charles H. Percy

UN vote and Kissinger's trip

- Rogers
- Haldeman

The President's schedule

- Time
  - Meeting
    - Haig
    - Phouma
- Haig

Kissinger left at 2:50 pm.

Conversation No. 582-4

Date: September 30, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:50 pm and 2:54 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Stephen B. Bull  
-Location

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 2:54 pm.

Conversation No. 582-5

Date: September 30, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:50 pm and 2:54 pm

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Souvanna Phouma
  - Press photos
    - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
  - Time
- Meeting with Southern Democrat Congressmen
  - Arrival
- Phouma
  - Length of meeting
- Meeting with Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home
  - Press photo
- Press photographs
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Press
  - Photo opportunity
    - Phouma
    - Douglas-Home
    - Atkins
- Meeting with Congressmen

The President and Bull left at 2:54 pm.

Conversation No. 582-6

Date: September 30, 1971

Time: 3:38 pm - 4:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Souvanna Phouma, Prince Khammao, Alec Toumayan, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

[The recording began while the conversation was in progress]

Vietnam

- Military leaders

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

- North Vietnam
  - Period after Dien Bien Phu
- 1962 and 1963
  - Situation
    - Laotian soldiers
      - Captured North Vietnamese soldiers
        - Handling
- Economy of the North
  - Bombing
  - Floods
    - Hanoi
      - Red River Delta

The President's forthcoming visit to the People's Republic of China [PRC]

- Reaction
- Effect on Southeast Asia
- Great power relationships
- Expectations
- Differences between the US and the PRC
- Rapprochement
  - Future foreign relations with the PRC

US relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

- Issues
  - Berlin
  - Strategic arms limitation
  - Middle East

The President's forthcoming visit to the PRC

- Reaction of North Vietnam
  - Relations between the PRC and North Vietnam
  - French Colonial rule, North Vietnamese
    - South Vietnam
    - Cambodia
    - Laos
  - Pathet Lao
    - Role
      - Analogy to Central Europe and Moscow
- Possible events after end of Vietnam War
  - The Prime Minister's conversation with the Secretary of State
  - Thailand And North Vietnam

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 582-6 (cont.)

- Pathet Lao
- US relations with Asian nations
  - US Congress
    - Aid for Laos
- US assistance to foreign countries
  - Proximity to the PRC

Relations between the US and Laos

- The President's visit to the PRC
  - USSR
- 1962 Geneva Accords
  - US policy
- History of Laos

The President, Souvanna Phouma et al. left at 4:10 pm.

Conversation No. 582-7

Date: September 30, 1971

Time: 4:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with unknown men [Secret Service agents].

Instruction for an unknown person

- Alexander P. Butterfield

The President's location

Henry A. Kissinger

The unknown men left at 4:10 pm.

Conversation No. 582-8



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 582-7 (cont.)

Date: September 30, 1971  
 Time: 4:10 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Trip to Florida
- Report
  - Courier
- Meeting with Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Pictures
    - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
    - Press
    - Time

Haig and Bull left at 4:10 pm

Conversation No. 582-9

Date: September 30, 1971  
 Time: 4:10 pm - 5:31 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home, the Earl of Cromer, and Henry A. Kissinger; Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House photographer, and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Greetings

Seating arrangements

Photo opportunity

The President's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

- Meeting with Congressmen
  - Length
- Souvanna Phouma

- Congress
  - Vote

- Indochina
  - US presence
    - Popular support
    - Cost
    - Ground forces

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 4s]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

- South Vietnam
  - US elections in 1972
  - Conditions
  - Visits by Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - Domestic situation
    - Cambodia
    - Sir Robert Thompson
    - Cambodia
  - Election
    - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - US casualties
  - US domestic situation

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Vietnam as issue
  - Elections
    - Thieu
    - Political traditions in South Vietnam
      - Parliamentary election
        - Composition of houses
          - Opposition party
            - Senators
  - US actions
    - Foreign aid
      - Cutoff
        - Democratically-elected governments
          - Africa
          - India
          - Unknown country
          - Pakistan
- US military forces
  - Withdrawal of troops
    - Announcement
- Negotiations
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Election
  - Member of visiting American team
    - Cut-off of foreign aid
    - Control of situation
- Effect on US foreign policy
  - Tradition of responsibility in the world
    - Great Britain
    - Outcome of war in Vietnam
      - Effect on the US
- End of war
  - Partisanship
    - US Congress
      - Vote
        - Date for withdrawal
          - Announcement
    - Mansfield Amendment
      - Roll call
        - Senate
        - House of Representatives

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

US arms talks with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Senate

- Forthcoming election year
- Ratification of Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] Treaty
  - Defense levels
  - Roll call
    - 1969
    - 1970
  - Negotiations with USSR
    - Land base missiles
      - USSR numerical advantage
    - Congressional appropriations
      - Cut-off
        - Effect
- US posture
  - Michael J. Mansfield
    - Reduction for North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] forces
      - Vote
    - Vietnam
      - Congress
        - End of war

-ABMs

-Numbers of missiles

- US strategy
  - Protection of deterrent
    - Population
- USSR strategy
  - Population
  - Missiles
- Settlement
  - Moscow

-Negotiations

- May 20, 1971 announcement
  - Simultaneous discussions of agreement
    - USSR position
      - Defensive forces
    - US position
      - Offensive forces
        - Status
    - Equality between defensive and offensive forces
      - Adjustments of forces

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- US
    - ABMs
  - USSR
    - Offensive forces
  - Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles [MIRVs]
    - Warheads
    - Numbers
- Foreign relations
- British policy
    - Berlin accord
  - British expulsion of Soviets, September 24, 1971
    - Defector to Britain
      - Information
        - Douglas-Home's conversation with Andrei A. Gromyko
          - British relations with USSR
          - Conference on European Security and Cooperation
          - Gromyko's comment
  - Soviet diplomatic establishment
    - Conduct of Soviet diplomatic policy
    - Komitet Gossudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti [KGB]
      - Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
        - Intermediaries
          - William J. Casey
          - Dobrynin
          - Toy manufacturer in New York
  - Future foreign relations developments
    - Informing the British
    - European security
    - Douglas-Home's communication with Gromyko
      - Berlin
        - British position
      - Meeting in Berlin
        - Preparation
        - Soviet relations with France
          - Treaties
          - Timing
    - Germany's previous policy
      - Ratification with Soviets
        - Berlin Treaty
          - Willy Brandt

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Kissinger
  - Berlin
    - East Germany

[Unintelligible]

- Brandt
  - Actions
    - Crimea
    - Invitation
    - Relations between the USSR and its allies
      - Mutual and Balance Force Reductions [MBFR]
- Conference on European Security and Cooperation
  - US position
    - Gromyko's meeting with the President
      - William P. Rogers
      - Berlin talks
      - Preliminary discussions
        - Timetable
          - Preparatory meetings
  - Berlin Accord
    - East and West Germany
  - Status of talks
    - Conclusion of Berlin Accord
    - Discussions
      - Benefits of European Security Conference
        - Josip B. Tito
        - Austria
- MBFR
  - US position
  - Europeans' position

Arms talks

- Bilateral reductions
  - Proponents
    - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Possible unilateral American action
    - Reaction by Warsaw pact and the USSR
  - Mansfield Amendment
- Multilateral reductions
  - Soviets

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- NATO
  - Undersecretary of State John N. Irwin II
    - Foreign Ministers' meeting
    - US position
    - Proposals
      - Presentation to NATO
      - Presentation to British
      - National Security Council [NSC]
      - Meeting
  - US position on treaty
    - Meeting
      - United Nations [UN] Security Council
      - Percentage reductions
      - Timetable for reduction
        - Proposed dates
        - Congress
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Actions
      - Timing
      - Disarmament
        - Asia
          - Feelings toward reduction of forces
      - Meetings with Western Europeans
      - Motives
      - Reactions to Soviet proposals
      - World disarmament conference
        - MBFR
        - Geneva Committee
        - Forums for arms control discussions
- Foreign relations
- USSR relations with the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - USSR position
  - USSR and Middle East
    - Relations
      - Egypt
      - Israel
      - Egypt
      - Brezhnev
      - Disarmament
  - Middle East

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Home's previous visit to Cairo
- Rogers
- Egypt
- Israel
  - Abba Eban
  - Mahmoud Riad
    - Troop withdrawals from Suez Canal area
    - Treaty between Egypt and Israel
      - Terms
        - Exchange of views
        - Eban
        - Propositions
  - Work on the Egypt-Israel issue
    - Joseph J. Sisco
    - Gunnar Jarring
- Egypt
  - Anwar el-Sadat
  - Mahmoud Fawzi
    - Relations with Sadat
    - Relations with Israelis
  - Sadat's position
    - Comparison with Riad's position
    - Israeli withdrawal
      - Terms
        - Phase I
        - Phase II
      - Jarring
- Fawzi
- Riad
  - Kissinger's meeting September 29, 1971
  - Possibility of additional meetings
- USSR
  - Relations with Egypt
  - Air bases
  - Conflict between Israel and Egypt
    - Effect on soviet policy
  - Egypt
    - Soviet presence
      - Military bases
      - Suez canal
    - Douglas-Home's conversation with Sadat



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Israeli withdrawal
  - Egyptian forces
  - Soviet troops
  - 1967 line
    - Egyptian side
  - Sadat's position
    - Option
      - Soviet troops
      - UN troops
- Israel
  - Withdrawal
  - Previous conflict with Egypt
    - U Thant
    - President's visit to morocco
- Egypt
  - Conditions
    - Sadat
      - Relations with Israel
        - Morale of country, Egyptian army
        - Troops on canal zone
  - Government
    - Douglas-Home's conversation with Golda Meir
    - Attitude toward Israel
    - Morale of Egyptian army
      - Effects
      - Need for action
  - Sisco
    - The president's appointment
- Economic issues
  - British position
    - The president's speech of September 29, 1971
      - Protectionism
  - US role in the world
    - Media problem
    - Long-range solution
    - John B. Connally
    - Japan and other countries
      - Relations with the US
    - Isolationism
      - Vietnam

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- The president's recent speech to congress
  - American interests
- Current interpretation of US role in the world
- Labor
  - Reciprocal trade
  - Protectionism
  - Quotas
  - Tariff barriers
  - Surcharges
- US participation in NATO
  - Foreign aid
- The presidents press conference
  - Bargaining positions
    - Britain
    - Japan
    - Negotiations
- US role
  - World responsibility
    - Military
    - Diplomatic
    - Economic
    - American political spectrum
  - Isolationism

Cromer's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting
- Attendance
- Car

Cromer left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

Foreign policy

- India-Pakistan war
  - Guerrilla warfare
    - Area of operation
    - New offensive
      - British shipping line
      - Navigation to East Pakistan [?]
      - Communications
        - UN
  - British actions

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security]

[Duration: 7m 16s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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- Rhodesia
  - Ian smith
  - Five principles
  - Timetable
  - Commonwealth status
  - [James] Harold Wilson
    - Position
  - US relations with Britain
    - The President's conversation with Edward R.G. heath
    - South Africa
    - Kissinger's meeting with Africans
    - US position
      - Organization of African Unity [OAU]
        - Moktar Ould Daddah
          - Mauritania
            - Population
        - Rhodesia, South Africa
          - Meeting
        - Sukarno
          - Meeting with the President in 1953
          - West Iran
  - British policy
  - OAU
  - Chrome

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- British policy
  - Situation in Rhodesia
    - Exchange of information
      - US
      - Kissinger
- UN vote on the PRC
  - Procedural points
  - US resolution
    - British position
      - Important question
      - Albanian resolution
    - British support

Douglas-Home left at 5:13 pm.

- UN vote on the PRC
  - Previous meeting with Douglas-Home
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - George H.W. Bush
  - Debate
    - Delay
  - Kissinger's trip
    - Return

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:15 pm.

- Kissinger's schedule
  - Meeting with Gromyko
    - Time

- The President's schedule
  - Preparation of item
    - Delivery
  - The President's signature
  - Kissinger's schedule
  - Photographs signed by the President
    - Inscription to Ermalee [Surname unknown]
    - Unknown person
      - Health
  - Clark MacGregor
    - Recommendations

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Edward M. Kennedy
- Edmund S. Muskie

The President left at an unknown time after 5:15 pm.

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time before 5:31 pm.

Oval Office

- Alarm
- Door

Kissinger's schedule

- Meeting with the President
- The President's schedule

The President's schedule

- Kissinger

Butterfield and Bull left at 5:20 pm.

The President entered at an unknown time after 5:20 pm.

PRC

- UN vote
- Kissinger's trip
  - Timing in comparison to the UN vote
  - Kissinger's return
    - Trip to New York
    - Bush
- US position
  - Chou En-lai
  - PRC, Taiwan
  - Ukraine example
- Changes in timetable
  - Announcement of Kissinger's trip
    - UN vote
      - Outcome
      - Effect
  - Rogers

Vietnam

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Negotiations
  - Timing
  - Resumption of bombing
    - Military targets
      - North Vietnam
    - Release of POWs
    - Announcement
    - US public reaction
    - Effect on North Vietnam
      - Conditions
        - Recent floods
        - Death tolls
- Possible settlement
  - Timing
- Press coverage of North Vietnam
  - Effect
    - October 5, 1971 announcement
    - Vietnam election
      - PRC trip announcement
    - USSR trip
    - Kissinger's trip to the PRC

## British

## Vietnam

- MacGregor
  - Support for Mansfield amendment
    - Senate
      - Absentees
    - Kissinger's call to Jacob K. Javits
    - The President's conversation with Robert P. Griffin
      - The President's statement on the draft
        - Effect on Congress
    - Congressional relations
      - The President's meeting with Congressmen
        - Olin E. ("Tiger") Teague's comment
        - POWs
      - Press coverage

## The PRC

- Kissinger's trip

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 582-9 (cont.)

- Timing
- UN vote
  - Outcome
    - Taiwan
    - Effect on us public
      - Conservatives
  - US statement
    - UN
    - Taiwan
    - Support
- Kissinger's trip
  - Reasons
    - PRC domestic situation
    - USSR
    - UN vote
    - Soviet summit
  - British
    - Exchange of information
      - Cromer
- US role in world

## Economy

- The President's remarks at the International Monetary Fund [IMF], September 29, 1971
  - Effect
- Connally
  - Meetings with Kissinger
- The President's remarks at the IMF
  - Reaction
  - US position
    - Isolationism
    - Cooperation
    - Connally
      - The President's position

The President and Kissinger left at 5:31 pm.

Conversation No. 582-10

Date: September 30, 1971

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service agents ] entered.

The President's location

[Unintelligible]

The President's location

-Dining Room

Unknown person's schedule

This conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 5:33 pm.