Conversation No. 582-001

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. 582-002

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

Conversation No. 582-003

Date: September 30, 1971
Time: 2:25 pm - 2:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

- Kissinger's conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Haig’s conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- United States [US] message
  - Instructions to George H.W. Bush
- Timing
  - United States [US] strategy
- Kissinger's trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Announcement
    - Dates
      - United Nations [UN] vote
      - Public relations effects of announcements
Timing
-Haig
-Delay
-United States [US] options
-Vote
-Effect
-Status of Taiwan's seat
-Vote
-William P. Rogers
-List
-Kissinger's plans
-Trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Possible reaction
-Bush
-Action on vote
-Possibility of postponement
-Support
-Haig's opinion
-Meeting between Kissinger and Haig
-Negotiations with the People’s Republic of China [PRC] about Kissinger's trip
-Democrats
-Press
-Japan
-Newsmen
-Handling after James B. ("Scotty") Reston's visit
-Rogers
-United States [US] strategy
-Congressional session
-United Nations [UN] vote
-Time
-Vietnam
-Dates of announcement
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-United States [US]
-Effect on the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
Agreement
  - Dates of trip
  - Date of announcement

Administration strategy
  - Credibility
    - Kissinger's handling of foreign relations

United States [US] public reaction
  - Conservatives
      - United Nations [UN] Security Council
        - Possible veto

Rogers
  - Presentation of United States [US] resolution

Outcome of vote
  - United States [US] position
    - Relations with foreign diplomats
      - Roll call
      - Bush
      - Rogers

Position of United States [US] allies

Kissinger's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Date
  - Unknown man
    - Note

Negotiation process
  - Duration
    - Complication

Opposition
  - Criticism

Date of United Nations [UN] vote

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

The President's schedule
-Meetings with congressmen, Souvanna Phouma
  -Time
Kissinger left at 2:50 pm.

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. 582-005

Date: September 30, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:50 pm and 2:54 pm
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. 582-006

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
    -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 United States [US] and the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Rapprochement
    - Future foreign relations with the People's Republic of China [PRC]

United States [US] relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Issues
  - Berlin
  - Strategic arms limitation
  - Middle East

The President's forthcoming visit to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Reaction of North Vietnam
  - Relations between the People’s Republic of China [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
    - Pathet Lao

- United States [US] relations with Asian nations
  - United States [US] Congress
    - Aid for Laos
  - United States [US] assistance to foreign countries
    - Proximity to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]

Relations between the United States [US] and Laos
  - The President's visit to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
The President, Souvanna Phouma et al. left at 4:10 pm.

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.
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

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
- Meeting with Congressmen
  - Length
  - Souvanna Phouma

Congress
- Vote

Indochina
- United States [US] presence
  - Popular support
  - Cost
  - Ground forces

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-008. Segment declassified on 10/17/2017. Archivist: DR]

Indochina
- United States [US] presence
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] presence
-South Vietnam

-Conditions
-Visits by Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Domestic situation
  -Cambodia
-Visits by Sir Robert Thompson
  -Cambodia

-Election
  -Nguyen Van Thieu

-United States [US] casualties
-United States [US] domestic situation
  -Vietnam as issue
-Elections
  -Thieu
  -Political traditions in South Vietnam
    -Parliamentary election
      -Composition of houses
        -Opposition party
          -Senators
  -United States [US] actions
    -Foreign aid
      -Cutoff
        -Democratically-elected governments
          -Africa
          -India
          -Unknown country
          -Pakistan
  -United States [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 United States [US] foreign policy
    - Tradition of responsibility in the world
    - Great Britain
    - Outcome of war in Vietnam
    - Effect on the United States [US]

- End of war
  - Partisanship
    - United States [US] Congress
      - Vote
      - Date for withdrawal
      - Announcement
    - Mansfield Amendment
      - Roll call
      - Senate
      - House of Representatives

United States [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 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Land base missiles
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] numerical advantage
-Congressional appropriations
  -Cut-off
    -Effect
-United States [US] posture
  -Michael J. Mansfield
    -Reduction for North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] forces
      -Vote
    -Vietnam
      -Congress
        -End of war
-Anti-ballistic missiles [ABMs]
  -Numbers of missiles
-United States [US] strategy
  -Protection of deterrent
    -Population
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] strategy
  -Population
  -Missiles
-Settlement
  -Moscow
-Negotiations
  -May 20, 1971 announcement
    -Simultaneous discussions of agreement
      -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] position
        -Defensive forces
      -United States [US] position
        -Offensive forces
          -Status
        -Equality between defensive and offensive forces
      -Adjustments of forces
        -United States [US]
          -Anti-ballistic missiles [ABMs]
          -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [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 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [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
  - Kissinger
    - Berlin-East Germany

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/31/2017.]
[Unintelligible]
[582-009-w002]
[Duration: 17s]

Foreign Relations
  - Future foreign relations developments
    - Douglas-Home
      - Communication to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-United States [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
  -Mutual and Balance Force Reductions [MBFR]
    -United States [US] position
    -Europeans' position

Arms talks
  -Bilateral reductions
    -Proponents
      -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      -Possible unilateral American action
        -Reaction by Warsaw pact and the Union of Soviet Socialist
          Republics [USSR]
      -Mansfield Amendment
  -Multilateral reductions
    -Soviets
    -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
    -Undersecretary of State John N. Irwin II
      -Foreign Ministers' meeting
      -United States [US] position
Proposals
- Presentation to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- Presentation to British
- National Security Council [NSC]
- Meeting
- United States [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
  - Mutual and Balance Force Reductions [MBFR]
  - Geneva Committee
  - Forums for arms control discussions

Foreign relations
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations with the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] position
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and Middle East
  - Relations
    - Egypt
-Israel
-Egypt
-Brezhnev
-Disarmament

-Middle East
-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
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [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
          -Israeli withdrawal
            -Egyptian forces
            -Soviet troops
            -1967 line
              -Egyptian side
            -Sadat's position
              -Option
                -Soviet troops
                -United Nations [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
  -United States [US] role in the world
    -Media problem
    -Long-range solution
    -John B. Connally
    -Japan and other countries
      -Relations with the United States [US]
-Isolationism
  -Vietnam
    -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
  -Foreign aid
- The President’s press conference
  - Bargaining positions
    - Britain
    - Japan
    - Negotiations
- United States [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
      - United Nations [UN]
  - British actions

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Foreign Policy
-Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan contact with Bangladesh rebels
  -Bangor, India
  -Cooperation
  -Civil administration
-Meeting between Bangladesh and West Pakistan
  -India
  -Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan
-Actions by Indians
  -Effects on negotiations
  -Demands
  -Relief supplies
  -Supply lines
    -U.S. aid
    -Convoys
    -Jute
    -Refugees
  -Refusal to cooperate
-President’s view
  -Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan handling of the conflict
  -India’s strategy
    -Game
  -West Pakistan
    -Kashmir
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Outcome of conflict
-India
-Bangladesh
  -Talks
  -Terms of settlement
    -Autonomy
    -Total independence
  -Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan communications with administration
    -Outcome of conflict
    -Political process
    -Relief process

-Indira Gandhi
  -Meeting with Douglas-Home
    -London
  -Forthcoming meeting with the President
    -Date
  -Exchange of information
  -Behavior

-The President's conversation with Gromyko
  -Effort to prevent war in India
    -Pakistan
  -Gromyko’s meeting with Indira Gandhi
    -Moscow

-India
  -Guerrillas
    -Advanced weapons
  -Gromyko
    -Previous visit with the President

-United States [US]/United Kingdom [UK] actions
  -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Solution of conflict
  -East Bengal
    -Ties with Pakistan
  -Political moves
-Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan
  -Conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
-Outcome of conflict
  -British
-The President's previous visit
  -India/Pakistan preparation

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-Rhodesia
  -Ian Smith
  -Five principles
  -Timetable
  -Commonwealth status
-[James] Harold Wilson
  -Position
-Rhodesia, South Africa
  -Kissinger's meeting with Africans
-Rhodesia, South Africa
  -United States [US] relations with Britain
    -The President's conversation with Edward R.G. heath
  -South Africa
  -Kissinger's meeting with Africans
-Rhodesia, South Africa
  -United States [US] position
    -Organization of African Unity [OAU]
      -Moktar Ould Daddah
        -Mauritania
          -Population
-Rhodesia, South Africa
  -Meeting
-Rhodesia, South Africa
  -Sukarno
    -Meeting with the President in 1953
      -West Iran
-British policy
  -Organization of African Unity [OAU]
-Chrome
-British policy
  -Situation in Rhodesia
  -Exchange of information
  -United States [US]
  -Kissinger
  -Procedural points
-United States [US] resolution
  -British position
  -Important question
  -Albanian resolution
  -British support

Douglas-Home left at 5:13 pm.

  -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
  - 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.

People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - United Nations [UN] vote
- Kissinger's trip
  - Timing in comparison to the United Nations [UN] vote
  - Kissinger's return
    - Trip to New York
      - Bush
- United States [US] position
  - Chou En-lai
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC], Taiwan
  - Ukraine example
- Changes in timetable
  - Announcement of Kissinger's trip
    - United Nations [UN] vote
    - Outcome
      - Effect
    - Rogers

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Timing
  - Resumption of bombing
    - Military targets
      - North Vietnam
  - Release of Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - Announcement
  - United States [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
-People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip announcement
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
-Kissinger's trip to the People’s Republic of China [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
-Prisoners of War [POWs]
-PRESS coverage

The People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Kissinger's trip
-Timing
-United Nations [UN] vote
-Outcome
-Taiwan
-Effect on us public
-Conservatives
-United States [US] statement
-United Nations [UN]


The President and Kissinger left at 5:31 pm.

Conversation No. 582-010
Date: September 30, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:33 pm  
Location: Oval Office


[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/31/2017.]
[Unintelligible]  
[582-010-w001]  
[Duration: 52s]

The President’s location

[Whistling]

The President's location
   -Dining Room

Unknown person's schedule

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