

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-001-w001]  
[Duration: 7s]

Request  
-Refreshment

\*\*\*\*\*

The President left at an unknown time before 8:45 pm.

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

An unknown man met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Non-Historical]  
[329-002-w001]  
[Duration: 23s]

King Timahoe [?]

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown man and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:45 pm.

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*  
[Personal Returnable]  
[329-003-w001]  
[Duration: 51s]

King Timahoe and Pasha

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:45 pm.

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*  
[Personal Returnable]  
[329-004-w001]  
[Duration: 53s]

Vietnam  
-Report  
-Foreign Service  
-Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle quotation  
-US bombing

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-5

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man [John K. Andrews, Jr.?].

Greetings

The President's visit to Catholic Education Convention

- Version of a speech
- The President's comments
- Departure
- Speech
- Comments

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 8:45 pm.

Conversation No. 329-6

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-006-w001]  
[Duration: 20s]

*[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]*

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-7

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-007-w001]

[Duration: 1m 30s]

The President's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Oval Office

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-8

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:15 pm and 8:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-76]

Conversation No. 329-9

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: 8:45 pm - 8:50 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 22-77]

Conversation No. 329-10

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:50 pm and 9:42 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-010-w001]

[Duration: 42s]

Baseball

- Arnold D. Palmer
- International club
- San Francisco
- Los Angeles [?]
- Chicago
- New York
- Canada
- Montreal

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-11

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:50 pm and 9:42 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-011-w001]

[Duration: 14s]

Memorandum

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: April 4, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:50 pm and 9:42 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-012-w001]  
[Duration: 19s]

Pasha

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:42 pm.

Date: April 6, 1972  
Time: 9:26 am -10:10 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

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

State of the Union speech

Edward M. Kennedy  
-Charles W. Colson  
-IBM  
-Veterans issue

Henry A. Kissinger and John W. Vogt entered at an unknown time after 9:26 am

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/18/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[329-013-w001]

[Duration: 34s]

Peter G. Peterson [?]

Modification

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam

- Air strikes
  - Surface to Air Missiles [SAM]
- Naval gunfire
  - Bombing of North
- Air strikes
  - SAM sites
  - B-52s
    - Use against north
  - Target areas
- Naval gunfire
  - Damage
    - Reports
- Vogt's assignment
  - Mission
    - 7th Air Force
    - Creighton W. Abrams
- Air Force
  - Inadequacy of performance
    - Performance
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Performance
    - Results
- Vogt's instructions
  - Bombing
  - Cambodia
  - Laos
- Air strikes
  - Weather
  - Results
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - The president's support of military
    - Son Pei [sp?]
    - Cambodia
    - Laos
    - Riots
  - Results
- Naval commanders
  - Instructions
- Thomas H. Moorer
- Laos operation
- Vogt's mission
  - Rescue operation

- The President's support
- Probable casualties
- Haiphong
  - Operation plans
- Air strikes
  - SAM sites
  - B-3 area
    - B-52s
      - Number of strikes
      - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
  - Control
    - Ground radar
- Weather
  - SAMs
    - Problems
      - F-105s
  - Bomber operations
  - Changes
    - Clearing
      - Duration
- Air strikes
  - SAMs
    - Movement
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Artillery
    - William P. Rogers
    - Quang Tri
    - Highway
    - Countermeasures
      - Laos
- Vogt's assignment
  - Vogt's record
  - Abrams
    - Record in World War II and Vietnam
    - Saigon
    - Bangkok
  - Reports to the President
    - Abrams
    - Risks
    - Instructions
  - Air strikes
    - New strategy
    - New ideas
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Concentration of forces
    - Napoleon Bonaparte's use of artillery
      - Effectiveness
    - World Wars I and II
      - Concentration of forces
- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Air Force
- Air Force strategy



- B-52s
  - Airfields
  - Carriers
  - Number
- Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]
  - Meeting
- Vogt's assignment
  - The President's confidence
  - Relations with Abrams and Frederick C. Weyand
  - Laos
  - Air Force strikes
    - Impact on negotiations
      - Kennedy's comments
  - Burden of responsibility
  - Headquarters
    - Reorganization
    - Kissinger's conversation with Moorer
    - Timing of changes
- Ground action
  - News reports
    - Kissinger's analysis
      - Tactics
      - Moore
      - North Vietnamese artillery
    - Vogt's analysis
  - Thieu
    - Strategic reserves
  - III corps
  - B-3 front
    - Air strikes
- Air strikes
  - B-3 area
    - US losses
    - Impact on North Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Effect of US strikes
  - Thieu
  - Casualties
  - Air strikes
    - Areas of concentration
- Air strikes
  - B-52s
    - DMZ
    - Importance
- Vogt's assignment
  - The president's backing
  - Vogt as student at Harvard
  - Importance
    - US foreign policy

Kissinger and Vogt left at 9:55 am.

- Air Force
  - Future
  - Importance of Vogt's mission

#### Air Force

- Changes in warfare
- Cuba
- Argentina

#### Vietnam

- Vogt's assignment
  - Importance
    - Vogt's conversation with Kissinger
  - The President's backing
- Abrams
  - Future
  - Melvin R. Laird
- Vogt
  - Future
- Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
- Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr.
- Vogt
  - Briefings
    - Cambodia
    - Governors
- Air strikes
  - Intensity
    - Damage
  - Past strikes
    - Johnson
  - Kissinger
  - The president
  - Rogers
  - Laird
  - B-52s
  - Public response

#### Publicity

- Property tax issue
- People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - Impact on public
  - Kissinger
  - Rogers
  - ABC
  - Time*
- Air strikes
  - B-52S

#### White House staff

- John K. Andrews, Jr.
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- William L. Safire

- Compared with Price
- Work
- Speeches
  - Presentation
  - Busing
  - John Reagan (“Tex”) McCrary
  - Advice

#### Public relations

- Philadelphia trip
  - Headlines
  - Pictures
    - The President with Frank L. Rizzo and John Cardinal Krol
- Speech
  - Planning
  - John A. Scali's advice
  - McCrary
  - Price
- Arrangements
  - Dwight L. Chapin
  - David N. Parker
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- "Front Page" publicity
- Kennedy
  - Handling of public relations
- The President's handling of public relations in 1960's
- White House staff
  - Need to support the President
  - John D. Ehrlichman and Price
- Criticisms
- Headlines
  - Control by White House of news content
- The President's appearances on TV
  - Planning
  - Length
  - Ziegler
  - Content of news coverage
  - Photo opportunities
    - Subject
    - Captions
    - An Easter shot
      - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      - Tricia Nixon Cox
      - Craig S. Campbell
  - TV coverage
  - Photo coverage
    - Plans
- A family picture
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Quality
- Mark I. Goode
  - Advice

-Judgment  
-Technical advice for TV

Haldeman left at 10:10 am.

Conversation No. 329-14

Date: April 6, 1972  
Time: 10:31 am - 10:34 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Items for the President's signature

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:31 am.

A speech  
-The President's reading copy

Democrats  
-J. William Fulbright

A list  
-Charles W. Colson's review  
-Letters

The President's trip to Philadelphia  
-Departure

Butterfield and Bull left at 10:34 am.

Conversation No. 329-15

Date: April 11, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:35 pm and 12:37 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-015-w001]

[Duration: 18s]

Lunch  
-Time

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:37 pm.

Conversation No. 329-16

Date: April 11, 1972  
Time: 12:37 pm - 12:40 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:40 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at 12:40 pm.

Conversation No. 329-17

Date: April 11, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:40 pm and 1:12 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Pen

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:12 pm.

Conversation No. 329-18

Date: April 11, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:40 pm and 1:12 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Conversation with unknown man

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:40 and 1:12 pm.

[Conversation No. 329-18A]

[See Conversation No. 22-106]

[End of telephone conversation]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:12 pm.

Conversation No. 329-19

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: 1:12 pm - 1:14 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander P. Butterfield.

[See Conversation No. 22-107]

Conversation No. 329-20

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:06 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-108]

Conversation No. 329-21

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: 2:06 pm - 2:08 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Richard M. Helms.

[See Conversation No. 22-109]

Conversation No. 329-22

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:08 pm and 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's conversation with Alexander P. Butterfield

-President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

-William P. Rogers

-Melvin R. Laird

The President's meeting with congressional leaders

-Arrangements

-Henry A. Kissinger

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Kissinger

-Busing

-Points to make

-Food prices

-George P. Shultz

-Herbert Stein

-Decline

-John B. Connally's statement

-Wholesale prices

-Compared with Elliot L. Richardson and Shultz

-Stein

-Length

-Kissinger

-Ehrlichman

-Points to cover

-Busing

-Drugs

-Food prices

Conversation No. 329-23

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:08 pm and 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum.

## Spokesmen for administration

- Points to make to supporters
  - Vietnam
    - Current situation
    - Airmen
    - Navy men
    - Defense of South Vietnam
    - Accomplishments
      - Reduction in casualties
    - Henry A. Kissinger's office
      - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      - Mrs. Nixon
      - Tricia Nixon Cox

## John D. Ehrlichman

### Best spokesmen for administration

- The Vice President
- Cabinet members
- Congressmen
- Governors
- White House staff
- Robert J. Dole
- First Family
- Subcabinet
- Veterans and other organizations
  - Charles W. Colson's office's list
- Advantages

## Taxes

- Public relations efforts

## Public relations

- Frequency of stories
  - Follow-up
- The President's policies
  - Positive publicity
  - Rebuttal to opposition
- The President's image
  - Proper projection
  - Vietnam development
- Issues
  - Foreign policy
    - Peace
    - The President's image as leader
  - Cost of living
    - Food
  - Crime
    - Drugs
  - Jobs
  - Busing
    - Democrats' position



- Programs
  - Welfare
  - Revenue-sharing
  - Government reorganization
  - Health
  - Use of programs
  - Political Group discussion
- Reform
- Congress
- Democratic convention
- Property tax
- Jobs
- Busing
- Property tax

The President replayed portions of the tape.

Public relations efforts

- Busing
- Property tax
- Jobs
- Busing
- Property tax

The President resumed dictation.

Public relations efforts

- List of issues
  - Tax relief for non-public schools
  - Changes
  - Environment
  - Foreign competition
    - John B. Connally
- Political Group discussion

Conversation No. 329-24

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:08 pm and 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Something for Rose Mary Woods

- Transcription

Return of unknown object

The President's future meeting with Sanchez

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:45 pm.

Conversation No. 329-25

Date: April 11, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:08 pm and 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting

Vietnam

- Air attacks
  - Loss of planes
  - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
  - Authority
    - The President's call to Thomas H. Moorer
  - Timing
- Melvin R. Laird
- Public response
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Trip
    - Report to the President
- Air attacks
  - The President's call to Moorer
  - The President's instructions to Kissinger
- US Navy
  - Naval gunfire
    - Targets
    - Orders
- Briefing
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Hugh Scott
- Mansfield
  - Soviet Issues
    - Soviet Summit
      - The President's attendance
- Air attacks
  - Casualties
- Naval fleet
- B-52s
- Tacair
- Haig's trip
  - The President's previous Conversation with John W. Vogt
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.

The President's trip to Soviet Union

- Kissinger's conversation with Carl Gruber
- Stop in Vienna
- Salzburg
  - Possible stopover
  - Tourists
- State dinner

The President's meeting with Kissinger

Conversation No. 329-26

Date: April 11, 1972  
 Time: 2:45 pm - 2:55 pm  
 Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President's meeting with Michael J. Mansfield and Hugh Scott

- Announcement
- Mansfield's and Scott's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Bipartisan mission
  - The President's approval
  - PRC policy
  - Report to the President
- The President's letter to Chou En-lai
  - Public statement
    - Personal message
    - Mao Tse-tung
  - Possible meeting with Mansfield and Scott

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's call to Ziegler

- Return call
- Constance M. Stuart
- Speeches
  - Ziegler's handling
- Trip
  - Use of White House staff
    - Secretaries

Ziegler left at 2:55 pm.

Conversation No. 329-27

Date: April 13, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:00 pm  
 Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-027-w001]

[Duration: 6s]

Request

-Coffee

-Executive Office Building [EOB]

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-28

Date: April 13, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Materials

The President's schedule

-Meeting with unknown persons

-Press

-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

-Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-29

Date: April 13, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-029-w001]

[Duration: 21s]

The President's trip to Canada  
-Airplane  
-Zosimo T. Monson  
-Shoes  
-For walking on grass

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm

Conversation No. 329-30

Date: April 13, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President rehearsed a speech in French.

[A transcript of the final form of this speech appears in PPP 1972, pp. 537-541.]

Conversation No. 329-31

Date: April 13, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Meeting with the President  
-Scheduling

The President's meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman  
-Kissinger's presence

Conversation No. 329-32

Date: April 13, 1972  
Time: 2:00 pm - unknown before 4:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Weather

The President's schedule

- Organization of American States [OAS] Dinner
  - Statement
    - Copies
  - Speech
    - The President's delivery
  - Toast
    - Statement to press
- Speech to Canadian Parliament
  - Press embargo
  - Time

Canadian visit

- Arrival statement
- Toast
- Dinner statement
- Speech to Parliament
- Ceremony speech
  - Brevity
- Speeches
  - British custom
  - Toasts
  - Governor General
- The President's 1953 trip
  - Toasts
  - Audience

Unknown presentation ceremony

- Certificate
- Letter from the President
- Richard Wilson
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- [Forename unknown] Ottoburger [sp?]
- William L. Safire
- Ziegler

- Check with Rose Mary Woods
  - Organizations
    - Order of the Hound's Tooth
- Previous events
  - 1958 and 1960
  - Background
- Helen Thomas
- Photos

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time between 2:00 and 2:16 pm.

[Conversation No. 329-32A]

Trip to Canada in 1957

- Paul Miller
  - Harry F. Byrd
  - Call from Woods
    - Name of town visited
      - Toast
      - Mayor
- Gifts to the President

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's stopover in Austria

- Accommodations
  - Compared to Ireland
- A meeting
- A luncheon
  - Size
  - Degree of formality
  - Length
- Carl Gruber
  - Invitation to accompany the President
    - Salzburg
- Canadian ambassador
  - Accompanying the President
- Gruber
  - Schedule
  - Invitation

Charles W. Colson

- Report on conversation with Albert E. Sindlinger
  - The President's meeting with John B. Connally
  - Return to Colson
  - Food prices

The President's Canadian visit

- Meeting with unknown man
  - Coaching the President in French
  - Unknown man's proficiency in French and English

Vernon A. Walters

- Proficiency in French
- Unknown woman
  - Proficiency in French
- Walters
- Unknown woman
  - Translation

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-032-w005]

[Duration: 53s]

The President's schedule

- Camp David
  - Exercise
    - Pool
- Travel time
  - Helicopter
- The President's routine

\*\*\*\*\*

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case

- John N. Mitchell
- Convention
- Colson's report

Vietnam

- Critics of administration policy
  - White House response
    - Henry A. Kissinger's views
    - Edward M. Kennedy
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
    - Edmund S. Muskie
- Kissinger's trip to Paris
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - William P. Rogers's reaction

Kissinger entered at 2:16 pm.

- Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Message from Moscow
    - Kissinger's trip
    - Kissinger's response
- Vietnamese delegation
  - Visit to Moscow



-Kissinger's schedule

The President's trip to Canada

- Speech
  - Rhetoric
  - Substance
  - Revisions
  - The President's reading of the speech for Kissinger
  - Copy to Kissinger

The President rehearsed a speech at an unknown time between 2:16 and 2:50 pm.

[A transcript of this speech, with slight variations, appears in PPP 1972, pp. 537-541]

The President's speech

- Kissinger's revisions

Vietnam

- The President's conversation with Haldeman
- Attacks
  - US response
  - News summaries
    - Networks
    - Muskie
  - Interviews with soldiers
    - Troops' resistance
      - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      - Unknown commander's response
    - Commendation
- Press reports
- Foreign policy aspects
  - Domestic dissent
- Expenditures
  - Democrats' letter
- North Vietnamese conditions
  - Message from Dobrynin
  - Plenary sessions
  - Bombing halt
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Message from Dobrynin
    - Soviet interests
      - W. Averell Harriman's view
  - US position
    - Kissinger's statement to Dobrynin
      - Military operations
      - Negotiations
        - Truce
      - Hanoi's position
      - Soviet guarantee
- US naval fleet
  - Size
  - Haig

- Deployment
- Soviet position
  - Compromise settlement
    - Cessation of North Vietnamese military operations
      - Effect in North Vietnam
  - Allies' agreement to terms
    - People's Republic of China [PRC] position
  - Changes
  - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Coalition government
  - Soviet intentions
    - Cessation of fighting
      - Compared with Cuban missile crisis
        - American losses
- Possible Hanoi proposal
  - Compromise
  - Bombing halt
- Air strike plans
  - Truck parks
  - Petroleum, oil and lubricants [POL] dumps
  - Kissinger's recommendation
  - Truck parks
  - US fleet
    - The President's conversation with Haig
- Peace talks
  - Possible reasons for Hanoi's involvement
  - Battles in South Vietnam
    - Soviet response
      - US blockade
    - US responses
      - PRC response
      - Kissinger's message to Dobrynin
      - Laos and Cambodia
        - Past operations
          - Camp David strategy meeting with Kissinger
    - Abrams
      - Haig's view
        - Local commander
        - Instructions from the president
          - Psychology
    - The President's message to John S. McCain, Jr.
      - Haig's trip
  - Air strike
    - Effectiveness
      - Soviets
      - Hanoi
- Kissinger's schedule
- April 24th meeting
  - Secrecy
  - Rogers's knowledge
- Congressional pressure
  - Laird

- Conversation with Rogers
- B-52 strikes
  - President's meeting with Rogers and Laird
  - Strategy
  - Kissinger's presence
- Rogers
  - Testimony before congress
    - Reluctance
  - John N. Irwin, II's testimony
  - Canada
  - United Nations [UN]
  - Meeting with the President at Camp David
  - UN
  - Knowledge of B-52 strikes
- Laird
  - Meeting with the President
    - B-52 strikes
  - Testimony before congress
- Air strikes
  - Congressional response
  - Laird
    - Strategy
  - Soviet position
  - Avoidance of October offensive
  - Rogers
    - Diplomatic strategy
    - The President's decision
      - October offensive
    - Testimony before congress

#### Polish visit

- Public announcement

#### The president's trip to Soviet Union

- Stopover in Austria
  - Luncheon
    - Size
    - Gruber
- Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
  - Stopover in Poland
    - Connections with Catholic Church
      - Unknown cardinal
      - John Cardinal Krol
      - Views
- Vietnam

#### PRC

- Visit by Hugh Scott and Michael J. Mansfield
  - The president's letter to Chou En-lai
  - Kissinger's conversation with Ambassador Chien Yi
  - Meeting with Mao Tse-tung
  - Rogers

- Letter to Chou
- Delivery
- Kissinger's conversation with unknown person

#### Vietnam

- Bombing

#### Kissinger's trip to Moscow

- Itinerary
  - Arrival
- Back-up plane
- Advance party
  - Leaks
- Dobrynin
  - Possible accompaniment
- News leaks
- Rogers's knowledge
  - Secrecy
  - Purpose of trip
    - Vietnam
    - Advance of the President's trip
- Kissinger's Paris trip
- Importance
  - The President's conversation with Ehrlichman
- Impact on Vietnam negotiations

#### Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Humphrey, Muskie and Kennedy
    - Possible handling of negotiations
- US strategy
  - Middle East
  - Mrs. Nixon
  - The President's conversation with Dobrynin
- Rogers
  - Speech in Chicago
  - Speech at UN
    - Forthcoming conversation with Kissinger
    - Middle East

#### Kissinger's trip to Moscow

- Forthcoming press event
  - The President's possible attendance
- Announcement
- April 24th meeting

#### Unknown reception

- Length

#### Vietnam

- Air strikes
  - Public opinion

- POL dumps
  - Haiphong
- Hanoi
  - B-5's
- 7th fleet
  - Impact on negotiations
  - Message from US

Kissinger left at 2:50 pm.

Richard G. Kleindienst

The president's Canadian trip

- Publicity
  - Compared with a theoretical trip to France
  - American television coverage

The President's schedule

- Publicity
  - Haldeman
  - Ziegler
  - Camp David
  - Florida
  - California
  - Rose Mary Woods
    - Possible appearance on TV
      - The President's trips
        - Staff
        - Florida
        - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
        - Florida
          - The President's work during good weather
- Camp David
  - The President's amount of work
- Nellie L. Yates
- Woods
- Unknown secretary [Beverly J. Kaye?]
- Moscow trip
  - Yates
    - Dwight L. Chapin
  - Woods
  - Marjorie P. Acker
  - Unknown secretary [Kaye?]
  - Amount of work
    - Yates
    - Woods
    - Unknown secretary [Kaye?]

The White House operator talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman at 2:56 pm.

[Conversation No. 329-32B]

[See Conversation No. 22-122]

Haldeman conferred with the President.

Call from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Julie Eisenhower talked with the President between 2:56 and 2:57 pm; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-032-w010]

[Duration: 36s]

[See Conversation No. 022-122]

\*\*\*\*\*

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-032-w011]

[Duration: 14s]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's telephone call  
-Promotion of the President  
-*Ladies Home Journal* cover  
-*Eye on Nixon*

\*\*\*\*\*

Public relations assignment

ITT

-Peter M. Flanigan's issue  
-John [Surname unknown]  
-Administration position  
-Congressional committee vote  
-Scott's absence  
-Possible loss of vote  
-Clark MacGregor

-Call from Haldeman

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Food order

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.

Unknown person

-Withdrawal from presidential race

Connally

-Conflicts with White House

-Focus

-Reasons

-Cancellation of meeting

-Dinner party

-Ehrlichman

-Connally's demeanor

-Zsa Zsa Gabor

-Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally

-Guests

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 10/22/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Privacy]

[329-032-w012]

[Duration: 3s]

John B. Connally

-Dinner party

-Zsa Zsa Gabor

-Possible extramarital affair

-The President's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

John B. Connally

-Calls to George P. Shultz and Ehrlichman

-Johnnie M. Walters

-Meeting with the President

-Press event

-Misunderstanding

-Message to Connally

-Briefing

-Meeting with Connally

-Haldeman's call to Connally

-Value

- The President's trip to Canada
- Meeting
  - Possible cancellation
  - Non-attendance
- Briefing of the President on misunderstanding
  - Timing
  - Walters
- Conflict with White House staff
  - Kissinger
    - National Security Council meeting
      - Agenda
      - Chile
  - Walters issue
  - National Security Council meeting
    - Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting
- Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson
- Conflicts with White House staff
  - Herbert Stein
    - Mid-year economic report
      - Conversation with Shultz
    - Consultation with the President
    - Troika meeting
      - Connally's attendance
  - Unknown person's assessment of conflicts
    - Duration
  - Ehrlichman
  - Shultz
- Meeting with the President
  - Connally's cancellation
    - Reason
    - Health
      - Dr. Walter R. Tkach
      - Johnson's health
      - Appearance
- The President's Canadian trip
  - Connally's attendance
    - Media coverage
    - Major concerns
  - Pierre E. Trudeau
    - Forthcoming conversation with the President
- Defense of administration
- Possible departure from administration
  - Reasons

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-032-w017]

[Duration: 7s]



John B. Connally

- Possible departure from administration
- Possible alternatives
- Work on the President's reelection in Texas

\*\*\*\*\*

John B. Connally

- Possible departure from administration
- Effect
- The President's instructions to Alexander P. Butterfield
- Butterfield's calls to Connally
- Camp David
- Haldeman's calls to Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-032-w018]

[Duration: 21s]

John B. Connally

- Role in 1972 election
- Support
- Work in Texas
- Support for 1972 Democratic candidates
- The President's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

John B. Connally

- Conversations with Haldeman
- Meeting with Kissinger
- Walters issue
- Economic meeting
- Conversation with Ehrlichman
- Scheduling
- Conversation with Haldeman
- Conversation with Shultz
- David N. Parker
- Council of Economic Advisors meeting with the President
- Attendees
- Relationship with the President and Haldeman
- Conflicts with White House staff
- Kissinger

- Dinner with the President
- Connally dinner parties
  - Haldeman's attendance at one
  - Ehrlichman's attendance, April 12, 1972
  - Nellie Connally

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 10/22/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]  
[329-032-w019]  
[Duration: 11s]

- John B. Connally
  - John B. Connally dinner parties
  - John D. Ehrlichman's attendance, April 12, 1972
  - Zsa Zsa Gabor

\*\*\*\*\*

- John B. Connally
  - Conversations with the President
    - Role in administration
      - Conversation with Haldeman
      - Value
  - The President's orders concerning conflicts with White House staff
    - Kissinger
    - Ehrlichman
    - Shultz
    - Haldeman's role
  - Haldeman's mediation
  - Staff

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20  
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/24/2019. 15s segment cleared for release. 21s remain closed as 329-032-w020.]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[329-032-w020]  
[Duration: 21s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

\*\*\*\*\*

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-032-w020]  
[Duration: 15s]

[*This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.*]

\*\*\*\*\*

John B. Connally

- Possible briefing by Kissinger
  - Moscow trip
- Walters issue
  - Reaction
- Internal Revenue Service [IRS] event
  - Ehrlichman
- Government Accounting Office [GAO] official
  - Testimony before Congress
    - Lockheed case
      - White House denial of involvement
      - A plot
- Role in administration
- Conflicts with White House staff
- Rogers
  - Possible removal from office
    - Feasibility
  - Compared with Kissinger

ITT case

- Damage to administration

Vietnam

- Current situation
  - Press coverage

Kissinger's trip to Moscow

- Rogers
  - Explanation of trip
    - Haldeman
    - Hangchow
    - Paris
      - Message regarding negotiations
  - Timing
- Schedule
- Rogers
  - Press coverage of trip
  - Kissinger's explanation of trip to Rogers
    - Meeting with North Vietnamese
    - Timing
    - Paris

- Moscow
- Call to the president
- Leonid I. Brezhnev's message to the president
  - Vietnam
  - Summit
- Full disclosure
- Haldeman's presence
- Meeting with the president
- Secrecy
  - Soviet guarantee
    - Reasons
- The President's schedule
  - Meeting with editors
  - Camp David
  - Florida
    - Kissinger's absence
    - Diversion from news about trip
- Rogers
  - Appeal to Haig
  - Explanation of trip
- Kissinger
  - Florida cover story

#### The President's Canadian trip

- Connally
- Meeting with Trudeau
  - Talking points
  - Connally's handling of economic matter

#### Connally

- Disenchantment with Democrats
- Commitment to the President

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Food order

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.

#### Connally

- Position as Secretary of State

#### Ehrlichman

- Position as Attorney General
  - Qualifications
  - Appointment
    - Timing
- Statements
  - Timing
  - Length
  - Topics

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 2:57 and 4:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 329-32C]

Republican Senators' activities

- News summary report
- White House knowledge

Crime

- Administration reports
  - Record
- Rehabilitation
- Minimum wage for prisoners
  - MacGregor's work

Administration statements

- Frequency
- Topics
  - Food prices
- Value

Busing

- Rev. Theodore S. Hesburg
  - Position
- Ohio situation
- Media problem
- Constitutional amendment

[End of telephone conversation]

Domestic affairs

- Coordination between Colson, Ehrlichman and MacGregor
  - The President's attention to other issues
- Major issues
  - Focus
  - Ehrlichman
    - Delegation of authority
      - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
      - Shultz
  - Kleindienst issue
  - Vietnam

Connally

- Realization of responsibility
- Conflicts
- Johnson
- Resignation
- Call from Haldeman
  - William E. Simon

Foreign policy

- Canadians and Europeans

-Kissinger

The President's schedule

-Trip

-Rose Mary Woods's presence

Connally

-Handling by White House

-Compared with Kissinger

-Meeting with the President

-Frequency

-Vietnam

-Briefing by the President

-North Vietnamese

-B-52S

The President's schedule

-Easter vacation

-Florida trip

-Soviet trip

-Church attendance

-William F. ("Billy") Graham's comments

-Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin

-Baptist church in Moscow

-Interdenominationality

-Unknown Catholic priest

-Number of services

-Format of service

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Request for razor

Unknown person

-Letters [?]

Haldeman and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-33

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 12:20 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Delivery of something

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 12:20 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/19/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[329-034-w001]  
[Duration: 14s]

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 12:20 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Kissinger briefing
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and Melvin R. Laird
    - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
    - Cancellation of unknown event
    - Conversation with the President
- Briefing on military situation
  - Kissinger's request to attend
- Moorer
- Laird
  - Unknown conspiracy
  - Field commanders
- Air strikes
  - Necessity
    - Impact on battle
- Briefing

- Kissinger's attendance
- The President's possible attendance

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

Conversation No. 329-36

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 12:20 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-125]

Conversation No. 329-37

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: 12:20 pm - 12:22 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-037-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 7s]

[See Conversation No. 022-126]

[End of telephone call]

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-38

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:22 pm and 12:25 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building



The President talked with an unknown person [Rose Mary Woods?].

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-038-w001]

[Duration: 1m]

Oscar Marshburn and [Rose] Olive (Milhous) Marshburn

-Departure time

-April 17, 1972

-Invitation to dinner at White House

-The President's previous talk with Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

The President's schedule

-April 16, 1972

-Time of dinner

Dinner

-Time

-Guests

-Edward C. Nixon

-Location

-The President's request for notification

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-39

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: 12:25 pm - 12:27 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Raymond J. Arbuthnot.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-039-w001]

[Duration: 1m 42s]

[See Conversation No. 022-127]

[End of telephone call]

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-40

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:27 pm and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-040-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 25s]

Raymond J. Arbuthnot [?]  
-Overnight stay [?]  
-Dinner at White House  
-Unknown woman  
-Tour

Canada

Unknown woman  
-Age  
-The President's opinion  
-Intelligence  
-Beauty

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-41

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:27 pm and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-041-w001]

[Duration: 4s]

Request

-Consommé

\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-42

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: 1:00 pm - 2:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

William P. Rogers

- Call to Kissinger
- The President's schedule
- Rogers's schedule
- Messages to Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
- Rogers's meeting with Dobrynin

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese public statement
- Private message
  - Request for private meeting on April 27
  - Disclosure to Rogers
  - Rogers's possible reaction
  - William J. Porter
- Public meeting
  - Porter's views
  - Bombing
  - Cancellation of private session
- US agreement to attend
  - Private meeting on April 24
  - Kissinger's conversation with porter
- Kissinger's meeting with Yuli M. Vorontsov
- Dobrynin

- Schedule
- Le Duc Tho
  - Travel to Paris
- An Loc
  - Present situation
  - Military briefing
    - Credibility
    - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Kissinger's conversation with unknown person
  - Present situation
    - Prisoner of war [POW] reports
  - US bombing in area
    - Air sorties
      - North Vietnamese casualties
    - Air Force
      - New chief
      - John D. Ryan's term
      - B-52s
- Rogers
- Laird
  - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Instructions
  - Moorer
- Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
  - Actions in South Vietnam
    - Motives
    - Administration's tactics
- Demonstrations in France
  - Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson's administration
- US statement
  - U. Alexis Johnson
  - French
    - Ties with Hanoi
- Public meeting with North Vietnam on April 27
  - Kissinger's message
    - Attendance
    - Private meeting on April 24
    - Scheduling
    - Message to Vorontsov
- Naval gunfire
  - Deployment
  - Targets
  - Intensity
    - Increase in destroyers
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US reaction
    - Blockade of Haiphong
      - Naval forces
      - Strategy
    - An Loc
      - US shelling
      - Situation

- Air strikes
  - B-52s
- Rogers's reaction to bombing
  - Lack of communication with Kissinger
  - White house communication with other State Department officials
  - Briefing
    - Robert J. McCloskey
- Negotiations
  - Private meeting
    - Porter's views
      - Public meeting
        - Bombing issue
          - Possible North Vietnamese cancellation of plenary session
    - Possible cancellation by North Vietnam
    - Date
      - Timing
        - Soviet summit
    - North Vietnamese concessions
    - Democratic convention
    - Role of Soviet Union
  - Demonstrations
    - Effect
    - Bombing
    - Canada, France, Great Britain and Stockholm
      - Burning of US embassies
  - Negotiations
    - Lyndon B. Johnson example
    - Kissinger's concern
      - Rogers
    - Plenary session
      - Rogers
        - Meeting with Laird
      - Laird's statement
        - Criticism of White House policy
        - B-52s
        - Hanoi

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/22/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
 [329-042-w001]  
 [Duration: 8s]

- Vietnam
  - Negotiations
  - Problems

\*\*\*\*\*

## Vietnam

- Blockade
  - Timing
    - Level of support in US
      - Demonstrations
  - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
    - Secret meeting
    - Topics of discussion
      - Vietnam
      - Standards of progress
      - End of the war
- Kissinger's trip to Soviet Union
  - Negotiations
  - Soviet summit
    - Conditions in Vietnam
    - Blockade
    - West German treaty issue
  - US offers to north Vietnam
    - North Vietnamese refusal regarding April 24 meeting
    - Meeting on April 24
    - The President's approval of Kissinger's trip
- Blockade
  - Hanoi
  - Battle area and "I" corps
  - Impact
  - Intent
  - Plans
  - Conditions for cessation
    - POW return
      - Subsequent withdrawal of US troops
  - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Reactions
    - North Vietnam
      - Ability to withstand
        - Length of time
    - US attacks
      - Railroad
      - Petroleum, oil and lubricants [POL] and weapons dumps
      - Truck parks
  - Soviet Union
    - Confrontation with US
    - Hanoi relationship towards People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Effect
  - PRC involvement
    - Relationship with US
  - Soviet Union
    - Possible cancellation of summit
  - Fall of South Vietnam
    - Effect on Soviet and PRC initiatives
- Soviet summit

-Israel

US foreign policy

- Taiwan
- Israel
- Vietnam
- Pierre E. Trudeau

Vietnam

- Blockade
  - Soviet summit
  - Battles in South Vietnam
  - Opposition in US and worldwide
    - Build-up
  - Timing
  - Soviet Union
    - Relations with North Vietnam
  - Domestic support
    - Erosion
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Effect
  - Possible public revelation of trip
  - Summit
    - Possible cancellation
    - Dobrynin
  - Message to soviets
    - Vietnam
    - Summit
  - Soviet proposals
    - US response
  - Value to US and Soviet Union
  - Kissinger's previous conversation with Andrei A. Gromyko
  - Blockade
  - Summit
- Blockade
  - Timing
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Domestic reaction
  - Plans
    - Bombing
    - Trip to Moscow
    - Blockade
- Air strike
  - Laird's and Moorer's actions
    - Reasons
  - Rogers

The President's trip to Canada

- Rogers
- Margaret Trudeau
- News summary report
- The President's speech

## Vietnam

- Soviet summit
  - Possible cancellation
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Possible cancellation
    - Blockade
    - Impact
      - 1972 presidential election
        - Democratic victory
        - Possible republican candidates
          - Nelson A. Rockefeller
          - Ronald W. Reagan
          - Warren E. Burger
          - John B. Connally
        - The President's withdrawal
          - The President's endorsement of Connally
      - Loss of South Vietnam and soviet summit
        - Impact on Nixon presidency
          - Blockade
          - Alternative candidate
            - Connally
            - Foreign policy
          - Kissinger's role
            - Reagan
            - Rockefeller
            - Burger
        - Possible democratic candidates
          - Edmund S. Muskie
          - Hubert H. Humphrey
          - Edward M. Kennedy
- Thieu
- Possible loss of war
  - Impact on administration
- Blockade
  - Strategy
  - Kissinger's posture in Soviet Union
    - Summit
    - Possible soviet reaction
    - Possible North Vietnamese reaction
    - Kissinger's reputation
    - Kissinger's message
  - The President's responsibility
  - Alternatives
    - Bombing of ports
      - Soviet ships
      - Harbors
      - Bridges
  - American public support
    - Compared with support for bombing
    - Casualties
    - POWs



- Kissinger's message to Soviets
  - Transmittal
  - Contents
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
    - Soviet ambassador
    - North Vietnamese views regarding meetings
    - Soviet views
    - Concrete proposal on agenda for Kissinger's meetings
- Negotiations
  - Plenary sessions
    - Porter's responsibility
    - US position
  - Private meeting
    - May 7th
  - Public meeting
    - Porter's strategy
  - Le Duc Tho
    - Paris visit
  - US position regarding private and public meetings
  - Plenary sessions
    - Schedule
      - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
    - Bombing
  - Public and private meetings
    - Porter
    - US conditions
    - Dates
    - US responses
  - Kissinger's message

Kissinger left at 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-43

Date: April 15, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 2:00 pm and 2:04 pm  
 Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-128]

Conversation No. 329-44

Date: April 15, 1972  
 Time: 2:04 pm - 2:12 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

[See Conversation No. 22-129]

Conversation No. 329-45

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-018. Segment declassified on 10/24/2019. Archivist: MM]*

[National Security]

[329-045-w001]

[Duration: 26s]

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Location

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversation No. 329-46

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Call to Melvin R. Laird

-Vietnam negotiations

-Support for the President

-Gratitude

Conversation No. 329-47

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/18/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-047-w001]

[Duration: 22s]

Request

-Cheese and crackers

-Dinner

-Time

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Conversation No. 329-48

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President's meeting with an unknown person

-Entrance to White House

-Arrangements with Rex W. Scouten

Conversation No. 329-49

Date: April 15, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Request for unknown action

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Conversation No. 329-50

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/19/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-050-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

Request

-Consommé

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Conversation No. 329-51

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 5:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Henry A. Kissinger's request to meet with the President

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Conversation No. 329-52

Date: April 15, 1972

Time: 5:35 pm - 5:59 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Kissinger's conversation with Yuli M. Vorontsov
- Attack on Haiphong
- Haiphong operation
- Harbor
- Shore batteries

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 5:35 pm.

Food order

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 5:59 pm.

Vietnam

- Haiphong
  - Shore batteries
    - Bombardment
      - Feasibility
      - Damage
      - US landing
        - Harbor
      - Naval operations
        - Coastal artillery
  - Air strikes
    - B-52s
      - Number
      - Targets
        - Truck parks
        - Oil storage areas
        - Shore batteries
- Kissinger's message to Vorontsov
  - Soviet reaction
    - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
      - Views
    - Blockade
- Blockade
  - Cancellation of Kissinger's Moscow trip
  - Public reaction
    - Compared with reaction to bombing
  - Bombing
    - Destruction of supplies
- Soviet summit
  - Possible conciliation
    - US reaction
- Soviet/German issue
  - Possible meeting with [Franz J.?] Strauss

- Air strikes
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Conversation with Kissinger
- Negotiations
  - Plenary meeting on April 27
  - Meeting on April 24
  - North Vietnam
  - Soviets
    - Meeting on April 27
      - Benefit to US
      - William j. Porter's views
      - Bombing
  - Private meeting on April 24
    - Conditions
      - Bombing
        - William P. Rogers's statement
          - Timing
          - Porter
      - The President's instructions to Kissinger
        - Porter's statement
          - White house support
            - Rogers
- An Loc
  - Current situation
- Rogers's proposed statement
  - Past negotiations
    - October 1968 bombing halt
      - North Vietnamese refusal to negotiate
  - Negotiations
    - Resumption
      - Conditions
    - US position
- Kissinger's conversation with Melvin r. Laird
  - Thanks for support
    - Conflict with Rogers
- Negotiations
  - Edmund S. Muskie's and Edward M. Kennedy's positions
  - Value
- Air strikes
  - Effectiveness
  - Meeting on April 24
    - Hanoi's acceptance
  - Vorontsov's message to North Vietnam
    - Kissinger's Moscow trip
- Naval bombardment
  - Schedule
    - Kissinger's instructions to Thomas H. Moorer
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Cancellation
    - US response
      - German issue
        - Strauss

-Blockade  
-Timing  
-Public support  
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s report

Kissinger left at 5:59 pm.

Conversation No. 329-53

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:57 am and 10:20 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Thanks for unknown action

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

Conversation No. 329-54

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:57 am and 10:20 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

A meeting

-Completion

-Meeting with the President in Old Executive Office Building [EOB] office

Conversation No. 329-55

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: 10:20 am - 10:55 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

-Air strikes

-Reaction of Pentagon

- Kissinger's meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Washington Post* and *Washington Star* articles
  - George W. Wilson article in *Washington Post*
    - The President's policy compared with Lyndon B. Johnson's
    - An Loc article
      - South Vietnamese army
- An Loc
  - Kissinger's meetings with Melvin R. Laird and Moorer
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s trip to South Vietnam
    - South Vietnamese attitude towards fighting
  - Current situation
    - New York Times* editorial
- Public statement
  - Hubert H. Humphrey demand
    - United Nations [UN] Security Council
      - Vetoes
        - Soviet Union
        - People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - Johnson Administration
    - Edmund S. Muskie statement
      - Confrontation with Soviet Union and PRC

#### Dinner for Latin American Ambassadors

- Call from Kissinger
  - Jose A. Mora Otero
    - The President's remarks to John V. Brennan
- Birgit Nilsson
- Mora Otero
  - Secretary
  - Toast
    - PRC
    - Soviet Union

#### Vietnam

- Air strikes
  - The president's conversation with Brennan
  - American viewpoint
    - Support for Administration's policy
      - Effort to end the war
- Blockade
  - Effect on the election and the war
  - Duration
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
- Air strikes
  - Extent
    - Haiphong
    - Oil storage areas
  - B-52s
    - Losses
      - Unknown navy pilot
        - Rescue by US destroyer
        - North Vietnamese ships



- Moorer's remark
- Destroyers and cruisers
- Gun installations
- Haiphong
  - Fireball
    - Size
  - Observation from the carrier, Kitty Hawk
- Air strikes
  - Hanoi
    - Petroleum, oil, and lubricants [POL] dumps
      - Fires
        - Extent and size
        - Pilot reports
      - Damage reports
        - Fires
    - Haiphong
      - Damage reports
        - Extent
        - Surface to air missile [SAM] sites
        - Explosions
      - Observation from the USS Kitty Hawk
  - Naval bombardment
    - Damage report
      - Recovered pilot's report
        - Extent of success
        - North Vietnamese fishing and torpedo boats
    - Naval morale
    - Damage reports
      - Truck parks
        - Extent of damage
  - Soviet response
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
      - Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
      - Cancellation
      - Success
        - Impact on US foreign policy
          - PRC
          - Soviet union
      - Compared with John F. Kennedy and Cuban missile crisis
  - An Loc
    - Tank attacks by North Vietnam
      - Extent of destruction
    - 21st airborne division
    - Capture
    - Air strikes
      - B-52s
        - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    - Compared with Verdun strategy
      - Field Marshal Erich Von Falkenhayn
      - French
      - Symbolism
        - Abrams

- Air strikes
  - Intensity
  - Military region one
  - Schedule
    - Number of sorties
    - B-52s
    - Destroyers
  - Impact
- Hue
  - Unknown White House source
    - New York Times* report
      - Soviet trip cancellation
        - The President's instructions
    - Hue
    - Kissinger staff meeting
    - Impact
      - Soviets
      - North Vietnamese
  - Possible fall
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Third corps
    - Ability to sustain offensive
    - Casualties
  - Compared with 1968 tet offensive
    - Losses
  - Cambodia
    - An Lc
  - Military region one
    - New York Times*
    - Wilson
  - Press
    - Honesty
  - Expected US-South Vietnam losses
  - Duration
    - Washington Star* headline
  - Air strikes
    - B-52s
      - Increase
      - Hanoi area
      - North Vietnamese losses
      - Duration
- Soviets
  - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
      - Schedule
      - Blockade
      - Meeting with Leonid I Brezhnev
        - Subjects for discussion
          - The president's instructions to Kissinger
    - Politburo meeting
      - Discussion of US attacks
- Summit

- Cancellation
- Soviet/German treaties
- Kissinger's preparation
- US goals
- Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
  - North Vietnamese offensive
  - US bombing
    - Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Military areas
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Soviets
    - Kissinger's assessment
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Hanoi
      - North Vietnamese meeting with Kissinger
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Hypothetical actions as president
      - Advisors
      - B-52 increase
      - Tacair increases
      - Naval increases
      - Public opinion
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
      - Haiphong
      - Effect on foreign policy
        - Bombing
  - Air attacks
    - B-52s
    - Tacair
    - Impact on Hanoi
    - B-52s
    - Damage
      - Effect on North Vietnamese population
      - Moorer's conversation with Kissinger
        - Compared with Johnson Administration
          - Number of planes
          - Targets
          - Time frame
        - Targets
        - Number of sorties
        - John W. Vogt
          - Targets
      - Conversation with Dobrynin
  - Negotiations
    - Meeting on April 24
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - Rockets
      - Number
    - POL dumps
    - Impact on election
  - Negotiations
    - Cease-fire

- POWs
  - Issue in election
- Rogers
  - The President's memo
  - Statements
    - Hanoi
- Laird
  - Support for the President
  - Statements
- Air attacks
  - Panhandle
  - Secondary explosion
  - Fires and smoke
    - Extent
- Negotiations
  - US posture
    - North Vietnamese invasions
    - Bombing
      - Compared with Johnson administration
    - Moscow trip
      - Kissinger's meeting with North Vietnamese on April 24
      - Plenary meeting on April 27
    - PRC
      - Soviet Union
      - Bombing
      - Air strikes
- Blockade
  - Soviet summit
    - Kissinger's statement to Dobrynin
    - Soviet-North Vietnam relationship
    - US options
- Air strikes
  - Weather conditions
- Negotiations
  - Cambodia
  - Soviet summit
  - Blockade
- Blockade
  - Public support
  - Impact on US
  - Impact on Nixon presidency
  - Criticism
    - Compared with Cambodia
    - Muskie statement
    - Moscow trip
    - Negotiations
    - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
- Soviet summit
  - Public opinion
    - Compared with PRC trip
  - Cancellation
    - US response

- Soviet-German issue
  - Willy Brandt
- Blockade
  - Kissinger's conversations with Dobrynin
  - Bombing of North Vietnam
- War support
  - Christians
    - Catholics
    - Baptists
    - Quakers
    - Episcopalians
  - Hawks
    - Joseph W. Alsop
    - Richard Wilson
    - Unknown person's call to Kissinger
      - White House involvement in unknown issue
- Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Success
- The President's Canadian trip
- Johnson's leaders meetings
  - Laird's comments
- Bombing of North Vietnam
  - Authority
  - Concentration
  - 19th Parallel
  - Naval Gunfire
    - Haiphong
    - Authority
    - Damage
      - Truck parks
      - Explosions
- POWs
  - Morale
  - Probable observation of explosions and air attacks
    - USS Kitty Hawk
    - PRC
- The President's message to Destroyer crew
  - John S. McCain

Kissinger left at 10:55 am.

Conversation No. 329-56

Date: April 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-133]

Conversation No. 329-57

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator; the President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-057-w001]  
[Duration: 35s]

[See Conversation No. 022-134]

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Conversation No. 329-58

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator; the President talked with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/21/2019. Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[329-058-w001]  
[Duration: 14s]

[See Conversation No. 022-135]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Conversation No. 329-59

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-136]

Conversation No. 329-60

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John V. Brennan.

[See Conversation No. 22-137]

Conversation No. 329-61

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/21/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[329-061-w001]

[Duration: 1m 8s]

Trip to Camp David  
-Departure time

- Fina Sanchez
- Pasha, Wendy, and King Timahoe

Tricia Nixon Cox

- Fina Sanchez
  - Preparation of a meal
- Arrival at White House
  - Andrews Air Force Base
- Apollo space launch
- Fina Sanchez
  - Remain at White House

Trip to Camp David

- Take dogs on helicopter
- Departure time
- The President's briefcase

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm.

Conversation No. 329-62

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-138]

Conversation No. 329-63

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 22-139]

Conversation No. 329-64



Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-140]

Conversation No. 329-65

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 1:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 22-141]

Conversation No. 329-66

Date: April 16, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:55 am and 2:25 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

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

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/21/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[329-066-w002]

[Duration: 6s]

[See Conversation No. 022-142]

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