

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**
(rev. Dec-01)

Conversation No. 721-1

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:38 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

-Duke Law School reunion

-John W. Dean, III

-Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.

-William H. Brown, III

-Equal Employment Opportunities Commission [EEOC]

-Charles W. Colson

-Number attending

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 8:38 am.

Conversation No. 721-2

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: 8:38 am - 8:43 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

[See Conversation No. 24-1]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Dec-01)

Conversation No. 721-3

Date: May 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:43 am and 8:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Henry A. Kissinger
-Meeting with President

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 8:54 am.

Conversation No. 721-4

Date: May 8, 1972
Time: 8:54 am - 8:56 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press briefings
-National Security Council [NSC] meeting
-Time
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Ziegler's presence
-Forthcoming speech
-Text
-Timing

Ziegler left at 8:56 am.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conversation No. 721-5

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:56 am and 8:59 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Henry A. Kissinger

-Location

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Meeting with President

-National Security Council [NSC] meeting

-Time

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 8:59 am.

Conversation No. 721-6

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: 8:59 am - 9:06 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

-National Security Council [NSC] meeting

-Richard M. Helms

-Briefing

-Previous Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting

-Purpose

-Impact of blockade

-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer briefing

-Duration

-Helms

-Previous meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

-View of blockade

-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] view of shipments

-Rail

-North Vietnam imports

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (*rev. Dec-01*)

Conv. No. 721-6 (cont.)

- Sea
- Overland
 - Feasibility
 - Soviet Union and People's Republic of China [PRC] cooperation
 - Rerouting of supplies
 - Call from President
- Blockade
 - Resistance
 - Bureaucracy
 - Cambodia comparison
 - WSAG
 - U. Alexis Johnson
 - Health
 - Kissinger's view
- [David] Kenneth Rush
 - Support
- Consequences
- Implementation
 - Intensity
 - Time
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's view
 - Political consequences
 - Necessity
- William P. Rogers
- Johnson
 - Opposition
- Opposition
- Support
 - Moorer
 - Rush
 - John B. Connally
- Opposition
 - Arguments
 - Effectiveness
 - Impact on South Vietnam

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 8:59 am.

NSC meeting

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-6 (cont.)

Vietnam

- Blockade
- Opposition
 - Reasoning
- Melvin R. Laird
 - View of South Vietnam
- Rogers
 - Ambiguity
- South Vietnamese morale
- Kissinger's previous meeting
 - John Negroponte
 - George C. Carver
 - Support
- North Vietnam logistics
 - Impact
 - Manpower
 - Command and control
- South Vietnamese morale
- Bargaining chip
 - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- President's peace proposals in forthcoming speech
 - POWs
 - US forces
 - Wording
 - John K. Andrews, Jr.

Kissinger left at 9:06 am.

Conversation No. 721-7

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: 9:07 am - 9:08 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (*rev. Dec-01*)

Conv. No. 721-7 (cont.)

National Security Council [NSC] meeting
 -Ronald L. Ziegler's presence
 -Leaks
 -Decisions

Kissinger left at 9:08 am.

Conversation No. 721-8

Date: May 8, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 12:07 pm and 12:13 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Request for meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:13 pm.

Conversation No. 721-9

Date: May 8, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 12:07 pm and 12:13 pm
 Location: Oval Office

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

John B. Connally
 -Meeting with President
 -Location
 -Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
 -Location of meeting with President
 -Call

Conversation No. 721-10

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:07 and 12:13 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:13 pm.

Conversation No. 721-11

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: 12:13 pm - 1:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

- Previous National Security Council [NSC] meeting
 - Kissinger's evaluation
 - William P. Rogers
 - Position on blockade
 - Kissinger's evaluation
 - Blockade discussion
 - Melvin R. Laird's position
 - Rogers's position
 - Support compared with Laird

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (*rev. Dec-01*)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- John B. Connally
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- United Nations [UN]
 - Kurt Waldheim
 - Security Council meeting
 - Significance
 - State Department
 - Soviet Union
 - Significance
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union view of resolution
 - Delay
 - Waldheim
- Blockade
 - President's decision
 - Timing
 - President's schedule
 - Richard M. Helms's briefing
 - Content
 - President's decision
 - Possible delay
 - Problems
 - Leaks
 - Duration
 - Advantages
 - Public position
 - Timing of NSC meeting
 - 24-hour delay
 - Advantages
 - Duration
 - The President's schedule
 - Soviet pressures
 - UN resolutions
 - Waldheim
 - NSC meeting
 - Follow-up meeting with Connally
 - Location
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Laird
 - Laird's position

Haldeman talked with the President between 12:21 and 12:22 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

[Conversation No. 721-11A]

[See Conversation No. 24-2]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam

- Blockade
- Costs
- Connally
- Delay
- Soviet pressure
- President's decision
- Discussion

Connally entered at an unknown time after 12:22 pm.

- Laird
- Connally

Connally's schedule

Vietnam

- NSC meeting
- UN
- Waldheim
- Security Council meeting
- Initiative
- State Department, Soviet Union
- Security Council resolution
- Ceasefire
- Rogers's schedule
- Delays
- Blockade
- President's decision
- Possible delay
- Kissinger's reasons
- Advantages
- Public perceptions
- Disadvantages
- Soviet awareness

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- UN meeting
 - Waldheim
 - Sources
 - State Department, Soviet Union
 - Reasons
- President's decision
 - Delay
 - Advantages
 - Disadvantages
 - Opposition
 - Arguments
 - Advantages
 - Cabinet
 - Rogers's position
 - Laird's position
 - Helms's position
 - Briefing
 - Support
 - Connally
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
 - Gen. George A. Lincoln
 - Connally
 - Lincoln
 - Agnew
 - Laird's position
 - Rogers's position
 - Timing
 - Rogers
 - Laird
 - Opposition
 - Connally's view
 - Timing
- Connally's evaluation
 - Status quo*
 - Rogers
 - Laird
 - Rogers
 - Soviet Summit position
 - Laird's position
 - Disadvantages
- Imports to North Vietnam
 - Percentage by sea

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Air strikes
 - Impact on supplies and rail lines
 - Rail lines
 - Problems with statistics
 - Gauges in North Vietnam and PRC
 - Impact on imports of Petroleum, oil and lubricants [POL]
 - Overland shipments
- Rogers and Laird
 - Conversation with Connally
 - Rogers
 - Soviet Summit concerns
 - Kissinger's trip results
 - Kissinger's view
 - Laird's concerns
 - Costs of blockade
 - Rogers's position
 - Bombing
 - Laird's opinion
 - Targets
 - Connally's position
 - Bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi
 - Support for President
 - US foreign policy
 - Effect of South Vietnam
 - Rogers and Laird
 - Support
- South Vietnamese collapse
 - US position
 - Advantages
 - Rogers's assessment
 - Connally's assessment
 - Message of retribution
 - Bombing of North Vietnam
 - Targets
 - Civilians
 - Fear of deaths
 - US message to aggressors
 - Kissinger's assessment
 - Consequences of failure
 - US troops in South Vietnam
 - Speed of possible South Vietnam collapse
 - Agnew's theory

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Laird's theory
- North Vietnamese objectives
 - Kissinger's assessment
 - Kissinger's return from Soviet Union
 - Camp David
 - Provincial capitals
 - Army of Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] collapse
 - Dangers
 - South Vietnam-US fighting
 - Coalition government in Saigon
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - Bargaining chip
- Possible ARVN collapse
- Blockade advantages
 - Bargaining chip
 - POWs
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - South Vietnamese morale
- Impact
 - Laird's assessment
 - Kissinger's view
 - Moorer's assessment
 - POL supplies
 - Overland shipments
 - PRC and Soviet Union coordination
 - Air strikes
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Kissinger's view
- North Vietnamese leadership considerations
 - Division supplies
- Impact
 - North Vietnam logistical system
 - Difficulty in changing
- North Vietnamese campaign
 - Hue
 - South Vietnam response
 - North Vietnam method of operation
 - Inflexibility
- Reaction of Soviet Union and PRC
- US domestic support
- Soviet reaction
 - Pressure on North Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Summit
 - Cancellation
 - US statement
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's release
 - Kissinger's possible briefing
 - Rogers's position
 - Connally's view
 - Announcement of agreements
- North Vietnam offensive
- South Vietnam military situation
 - Laird's assessments
 - Cambodia, Laos comparisons

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 18s]

CAMBODIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- Effect of blockade
 - Diplomatic
 - On South Vietnam collapse
 - On bargaining for POWs
 - Military operations
 - North Vietnam
 - South Vietnam morale
 - North Vietnam
 - POL supplies
- Air strikes
 - Impact
 - Utilities
 - Communications

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Latest strikes
- Damage reports
- President's options
- South Vietnam collapse
 - US efforts to prevent
 - Rogers
- Protests
 - Domestic
 - Senate
 - UN
 - PRC and Soviet Union
- President's East-West policies
 - Impact
 - Press
- American people
 - Support for President
 - Opposition to war
 - American spirit
 - Connally's view
- Possible US withdrawal
 - Timing
 - Forthcoming election
 - Means
 - Diplomatic efforts
 - North Vietnamese response
 - Military efforts
 - POWs, troop withdrawal
 - Intensity
 - Laos, Cambodia
 - Necessity
 - Support
 - Duration
 - Time
 - Possible US withdrawal
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Duration
 - Impact of blockade
 - Weather
 - Hue
 - Future strategy
 - Time
 - Democratic National Convention

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Movement of troops
 - B-3 front
 - Cambodia
- October offensive
- Effect of blockade
- Blockade
 - Necessity
 - President's speech
 - Haldeman
 - Time
 - Forthcoming briefing for Congressional leaders
 - Content
 - Notification of Rogers and Laird
 - Peace offer
 - POW exchange
 - Ceasefire
 - US withdrawal
 - Time
 - Hugh Scott
 - POWs
 - Ceasefire
 - US withdrawal
 - Trade
 - Advantages for North Vietnam
 - Rogers's and Laird's notification
 - Use of term blockade
 - Domestic response
 - Soviet response
 - Press use
 - Mining
 - Interception of ships
 - Contents
 - Mining
 - Instructions for US forces
 - Interdiction

Connally left at 12:59 pm.

- Drafting
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - Haldeman
- Notification of Rogers and Laird

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- Kissinger
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Time
- Rogers
- Soviet Summit
- The President's view

Haldeman and Manolo Sanchez entered at 1:00 pm.

- President's schedule
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]

- Kissinger's schedule
 - Soviet embassy

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:02 pm.

- Vietnam
 - Democrats
 - Senate caucus
 - Possible meeting with President
 - Arrangements
 - Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church amendment
 - Michael J. Mansfield's role
 - Blockade
 - President's speech
 - Television time
 - Notification
 - Cabinet
 - NSC
 - Andrews
 - Time
 - Rogers and Laird

Kissinger left at 1:02 pm.

- President's possible meeting with Democratic leaders
 - Mansfield
 - Time
 - Press reports
 - NSC meeting
 - Democratic leaders

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- J. William Fulbright, John C. Stennis
- Delay in antiwar amendment vote
 - Soviet summit
- Hawks' position
 - Stennis
- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's statement
 - Ground troops
 - Bombing
 - Hanoi, Haiphong
- Time
- Need
- President's speech
 - Briefing of Senate Democratic leaders
 - Time
- Mansfield's call
 - Delay in response
- Notification
- Announcement of television time
 - Time to release
 - Ziegler
- Briefing for Congressional leaders
 - Attendees
 - Kissinger's opinion
 - Allen J. Ellender
 - Fulbright
 - Mansfield
 - The President's view
- Briefing for committee chairmen
 - Rogers
- Blockade
 - Chances of success
 - Rogers's assessment
 - Support for the President
 - US military strength
 - Options
 - Laird's view
 - South Vietnam's strengths
 - Deterioration
 - Rogers's argument compared with Laird's argument
 - Alternatives
 - Connally's view
 - Need to try

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

- US credibility
- POWs
- US credibility
- Rogers's view
 - Compared with Connally's view
 - PRC
 - Soviet Union
- Soviet Summit
- President's strengths
- Chance of success
- Outcry
- Rogers's view
 - Connally's view
 - Soviet Summit
 - Kissinger's role
 - The President's view
- Laird
 - The President's view
 - Opposition to blockade
- President's decision
 - Chances of success in Vietnam
 - Effect on Summit
 - Cancellation
 - Probability
 - Timing
 - Public opinion
 - Expectations
 - Separability
 - Effect of military situation
 - Time
 - North Vietnam offensive
- President's forthcoming speech
 - Arrangements
 - Cabinet meeting

The President and Haldeman left at 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 721-12

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 721-11 (cont.)

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 8:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons met.

Oval Office tour

- The President's location
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- The President's Senate campaign
- President's office in the EOB
- Roosevelt Room

Unknown persons left at an unknown time before 8:40 pm.

Conversation No. 721-13

Date: May 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 8:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

[Unintelligible]

Bull and the unknown agents left at an unknown time before 8:40 pm.