Conversation No. 331-1

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:09 pm and 2:10 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

William P. Rogers

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Conversation No. 331-2

Date: April 17, 1972  
Time: 2:10 pm - 2:28 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

William P. Rogers

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger at an unknown time between 2:10 and 2:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 331-2A]

Current meeting  
-Review of something  
-Briefing

[End of telephone conversation]

Ziegler's schedule  
-Morning briefing  
-Conversation with unknown person  
-Gerald L. Warren

The President talked with an unknown person [H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman?] at an unknown time between 2:10 and 2:15 pm.
[Conversation No. 331-2B]

Clark MacGregor
-Report

The President's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Press conference
-Questions
  -Soviet ships
    -Soviet summit
    -Indochina
  -Answers

The President’s forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
-Announcement
  -Invitation to Poland
  -Warren

Kissinger entered at 2:15 pm.

Ziegler’s schedule
-Forthcoming briefing

Soviet Union
-Question at Rogers's press conference
  -Soviet ships
  -Use of official channels
    -US reply to a message
  -Vietnam
    -Soviet ships
    -US public opinion
    -Ziegler's statement on bombing
    -US message to Soviet Union

Ziegler left at 2:17 pm.

Ziegler’s work

Kissinger's conversation with Stewart J.O. Alsop
Kissinger's schedule

Ziegler's press conference

Soviet Union
  -Vietnam
    -Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    -Soviet ships

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 11s ]

REPORTS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
-Relations with US
  -Soviet summit
  -Soviet position
  -German Treaty
  -Middle East settlement
  -People's Republic of China [PRC]
-PRC
-The President
  -Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
-Kissinger's Moscow trip
  -Announcement
    -Timing
  -Haiphong bombing
  -Significance

Vietnam
Conv. No. 331-2 (cont.)

-Kissinger's meeting with Alsop
-The President's trip to Moscow
-Invasion by North Vietnam
-Alsop article
-Ziegler's press conference
-Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
-US bombing

US-Soviet relations
-Middle East
-European security
-State of relations
-Current situation
-PRC
-Vietnam
-Blockade
-1972 election
-Impact
-Soviet concerns
-Summit
-Risks of bombing
-Hanoi and Haiphong
-Kissinger’s trip
-Timing

Vietnam
-Senate Foreign Relations Committee
-Testimony by Melvin R. Laird and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, April 18, 1972
-Meeting with the President
-Rogers's testimony
-Time
-Kissinger's call
-Arrangements
-Laird and Moorer
-Public stance
-Compared with Rogers's testimony
-Laird’s previous testimony
-Meeting with the President
-Necessity
-Ziegler
-Time
-Ziegler’s announcement
Conv. No. 331-2 (cont.)

-The President’s talks with Rogers
-Forthcoming meetings with the President
-Timing

Kissinger left at 2:28 pm.

Conversation No. 331-3

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:28 pm and 2:36 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-5]

Conversation No. 331-4

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:28 pm and 2:36 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]
Conversation No. 331-5

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: 2:36 pm - 2:43 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 23-6]

Conversation No. 331-6

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: 2:43 pm - 2:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with William P. Rogers.

[See Conversation No. 23-7]

Conversation No. 331-7

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:50 pm and 3:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Vietnam
- William P. Rogers's testimony
- Democratic Senatorial opponents of the President's policies
  - Counterattacks
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Failure to condemn
  - Draft of criticism
    - Clark MacGregor
Conversation No. 331-8

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:50 pm and 3:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 30s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Conversation No. 331-9

Date: April 17, 1972
Time: 3:48 pm - 3:55 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 23-8]
Date: April 17, 1972
Time: 3:55 pm - 4:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler and Manolo Sanchez.

Refreshment

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

Vietnam
- Ziegler’s recent press conference
  - William P. Rogers
    - Talks with the President
  - Melvin R. Laird
    - Meeting with the President
    - An announcement
    - Testimony
  - Rogers's testimony
    - Press reaction to Ziegler's statements
  - Negotiations with North Vietnam
    - January 25, 1972 proposal
    - Xuan Thuy
  - Negotiations
    - Ziegler's statements

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 4:00 pm.

- A resolution
  - Condemnation of North Vietnam
- Message to Soviet Union
- Release of US and Soviet texts
  - Henry A. Kissinger's and Rogers's advice
    - The President's approval
    - Timing
      - Rogers's television appearance
      - Newspapers
- Contents
  - US air attacks on North Vietnam
    - Anti-aircraft fire
- Hanoi and Haiphong
  - Ziegler’s talk with Robert J. McCloskey

- Release of texts
  - Timing
    - Richard G. Kleindienst
    - Confirmation hearings

- Congress
  - A resolution
    - Democrats

- Press conference
  - Ziegler's handling of questions about the President's policies

- North Vietnam
  - Nature of US air attacks
    - Targeting
      - Hanoi, Haiphong

- Antiwar Democrats
  - Patriotism

- Charges of supporting North Vietnam

- Rogers’s comments

- Press conference
  - Invasion
    - Responsibility
      - Vietcong [VC]
    - Enemy troop build-up

Rogers's statements
  - Television coverage

Ziegler left at 4:10 pm.

Vietnam
  - Congress
    - Republicans
      - Resolution to condemn North Vietnam
        - The President's conversation with Kissinger
          - Charles W. Colson and Clark Macgregor
      - News story
        - Edmund S. Muskie
    - Democratic support

- House of Representatives
  - F. Edward Hebert
    - Democratic support for the President
-Resolution against North Vietnam
- MacGregor
  - William E. Timmons
  - Gerald R. Ford
-Muskie resolution
  - Location in congress
  - Foreign Relations Committee
-Congressional resolution
  - Colson
  - Hebert
  - The President
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Democratic resolution
    - Partisanship
-Congressional resolution
  - John B. Connally
    - American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 22, 1972 meeting
  - Wording
  - Agnew
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Rogers
  - North Vietnamese invasion
    - Soviet Union
    - South Vietnam
-Soviets
-North Vietnamese invasion
- Communists
- Senators
- South Vietnam
- George P. Shultz
  - Statements

Ziegler
  - State Department

Kissinger
  - Work with Administration
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Vietnam
-Soviet summit
  -Congress
  -Senate

Connally
  -Testimony
  -Possible resignation
  -Timing
    -Soviet summit
    -Vietnam

Secretary of the Treasury
  -Confirmation
  -Acting Secretary
  -World economy
    -Confidence
  -Possible nominations
    -Connally’s staff
      -[William P. Pannill?]
    -Wallace H. Johnson
  -The President's schedule
    -Trip
      -Texas
      -A dinner

Connally
  -Possible resignation
  -Timing
    -Soviet summit
      -Timing
        -Democratic National Convention
      -Delays
      -Shultz
    -Summit
    -Tour
    -Democratic Nomination

Vietnam
  -Summit

The President's schedule
  -Trip to Florida
-Dinner for retiring congressmen
  -Time

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] hearings
  -Conclusion
  -Schedule
  -Vietnam War issue
  -Written interrogatories
  -House of Representatives
    -Busing
    -Jay Lovestone
    -Texas

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Rogers's schedule
  -Television

The President and Haldeman left at 4:48 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:20 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.
Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 331-12

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:20 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?].

President’s schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.

Conversation No. 331-13

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 9:20 am - 9:55 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule
- Book
- Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Kissinger's statement
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - North Vietnamese message

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
CABLE TRAFFIC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-People's Republic of China [PRC] Ambassador
-Xuan Thuy
  -Comments
  -US bombing
  -Soviet Union
    -Tass statement
-Naval action
  -Destroyers
    -Casualties
    -Da Nang
-Air strikes
  -Number
  -Targets
  -Impact
  -Bombing in South
    -Tactical sorties
  -B-52s
  -Concentration of strikes
    -Effectiveness
      -Military Region [MR] 1
  -Long Tieng
-North Vietnamese invasion
  -Long Tieng
-III Corps
  -An Loc
    -North Vietnamese attacks
      -Tank losses
    -Current situation
    -US helicopters
    -US gunships
Conv. No. 331-13 (cont.)

-North Vietnamese garrison
-North Vietnamese siege
-Hue
-North Vietnamese offensive
-Failure
-Press reports
-South Vietnamese army
-Desertions

-Press coverage
-Television coverage
-Campus demonstrators
-Size of crowds
-Harvard University
-Future trips to PRC by newsmen
-Networks
-Hostility to the President
-Campus demonstrators
-University of Wisconsin at Madison

-Democrats
-Edmund S. Muskie
-Statement
-Rebuttal
-William P. Rogers
-Melvin R. Laird
-George C. Wallace
-Support for the President

-Public opinion
-Support for the President
-Kissinger's trip to Moscow
-Laird
-Statement
-Blockade

-Laird
-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-The President's possible conversation with [David] Kenneth Rush
-Kissinger's conversation with Rush
-Laird
-Military man assigned to Rush's and David Packard's office

-Rush
-WSAG meetings
-Packard
-Support for the President
-Relations with Kissinger
-Television networks
  -Hostility to the President
    -Criticism
  -Newsmen
    -PRC trip
    -Behavior
-Nelson A. Rockefeller
  -Conversation with Kissinger
    -Margaretta (Fitler) (“Happy”) Rockefeller
      -Mrs. Rockefeller's mother, Margaretta (Harrison) Bartol
-Cambodia views
-A luncheon
-Liberal compared to conservative support
  -Attica prison riots
-Attica
  -Press
  -Misrepresentations

PRC
-Photograph
  -Publicity
-White House reception for PRC Table Tennis players, April 18, 1972
  -Kissinger's conversation with [Chien Yi]
  -Rose Garden
  -Statement
  -State Department
  -Interpreters
    -John A. Scali
    -Television
    -State Department
  -Kissinger’s conversation with Chien Yi
    -Joseph W. Alsop

Kissinger's schedule
  -Trip to Moscow

Vietnam
-Bombing
  -Impact on Soviets
  -Soviet Union
  -Message
- The President's press conference
  - Soviet trip

Soviet trip
- Kissinger's conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Announcement
  - Publicity
- Soviets
  - Agreement
- Announcement
  - Time
  - The President's role
- Kissinger's trip
- The President's schedule
  - Time
  - Day

Vietnam
- White House staff morale
  - Campus riots
  - Reinforcement
    - Haldeman
- Staff meeting
  - Robert H. Finch
- Cabinet
  - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
  - Time

PRC
- Relations with US
  - Normalization
- Current actions
  - Note
    - Vietnam
    - Bombing
  - Chien Yi
- Scali
- Table Tennis team
  - Appearance of members
    - Compared with US team members
      - Graham B. Steenhoven
      - The President’s talk with Haldeman
-Ceremony

Vietnam
  -Kissinger's meeting with David E. Bradshaw
  -Miami Herald
  -Bradshaw's conversation with unknown person
  -Soviet reaction
  -PRC reaction
  -The President's conversation with Kissinger
  -Soviets
  -1972 election
  -The President's policies
    -Survival of South Vietnam
    -Prisoners of war [POWs]
      -Need for movement in negotiations
  -POWs
    -Kissinger's talking paper
    -North Vietnamese position
  -Negotiations
    -Settlement
    -POWs
      -Peking and Moscow
      -Impact on 1972 Election
        -Food prices
    -Offensive
    -Le Duc Tho
      -Paris
    -The President's television appearance
    -Information for Rogers
      -Haldeman
    -Soviets
      -Picture
        -Release
    -Speech by the Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      -Press support
    -Opponents of the President's policies
      -Speculations about US defeat

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

The President's receipt of something
The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:55 am.

PRC
- White House reception for PRC table tennis players
- Interpreters
- Reaction to bombing in Vietnam
- Kissinger's conversation with Chien
- Soviet Ambassador

Vietnam
- Issue in 1972 election
- Soviets

Kissinger left at 9:55 am.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:11 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator [?].

The President's meeting with unknown person

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:11 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 6m 20s]
Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 10:11 am - 12:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Greetings

Henry A. Kissinger

Sequoia cruise
-Weather

White House staff
- Kissinger
  - Quality of work
  - Staff
  - Position papers
    - Options for the President
      - Thoroughness
    - Compared with Cabinet officers and White House staff
      - Robert H. Finch

- Clark MacGregor
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Charles W. Colson
- Kissinger
- George P. Shultz
- MacGregor
- Colson

Vietnam
- William P. Rogers
  - Call to Haldeman
-British statement in support of bombing
-Call to British Foreign Minister
-Call to Mitchell Sharp
  -Canada's position
  -Bombing
  -Invasion
-Briefing of congressmen
  -Democratic caucus
-Melvin R. Laird
-Statements

John B. Connally
-Meeting with Haldeman
  -Donald McI. Kendall
-Resignation as Secretary of the Treasury
  -Decision
    -The President's policy on Vietnam
      -Haiphong
  -National economy
    -Importance of confidence
  -International economy
    -Trade
  -Relationship with the President
  -Work with White House staff
    -Current problems
  -Decision-making
    -Under Secretary
      -Lack of authority
  -Connally's decision-making methods
-Relationship with the President
  -Fear of erosion
  -Connally's departure
    -Reasons
    -Relations with White House staff
-Relations with Cabinet officers
  -Possible conflicts
-Lyndon B. Johnson
-Idanell (Brill) (“Nellie”) Connally
-The President's trip to Texas
  -Conversation with Connally
  -Invitation
  -Announcement of resignation
- Timing
  - The President's Soviet trip
- Departure
  - Timing
  - Conditions
  - Help for the President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 26s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Departure
  - Return to Texas
    - New York
    - Johnson
    - Texans
  - Timing
    - 1972 election
    - Clifford M. Hardin
- Future relations with the President
  - Advisory capacity
    - Advantages for the President
Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 10:25 am.

Vietnam
- United Press International [UPI] story
  - Troop withdrawals
    - Possible announcement
    - Timing
    - Report from Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - Schedule
    - Commitment
  - Ziegler's statement
    - Troop withdrawals
    - Schedule
- Sources
  - Haig's report
  - Kissinger's opinion
- Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey
- Rogers's statement
- Laird's statement
- Senate
- Laird’s statement
  - Comments by Ziegler
    - Reflection of the President's views
    - Phrasing
- Demonstrations
  - Type of crowd
    - Weather
    - Television reporters
  - George S. McGovern supporters
- George C. Wallace
-Support for bombing
-Barry M. Goldwater
-Casualties

Ziegler left at 10:30 am.

-News stories
-Connally
-Sources
  -White House staff
    -Conversations with press
    -Problems
    -William L. Safire
    -John A. Scali

Department of the Treasury
-Successor to Connally
-Paul A. Volcker
-Confirmation by Senate
  -Problems
  -1972 election
-Shultz
  -Connally's opinion
  -Strengths
    -Expertise
    -Loyalty to the President
    -Free market philosophy
  -Support for Shultz
-Volcker
-Charls E. Walker
-Office of Management and Budget [OMB] head
-Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  -Connally's support
-Shultz
  -Qualifications
  -Relations with Arthur F. Burns
-Timing of appointment
  -The President's press conference
  -The President's Soviet trip
    -Distraction from Connally's departure
-Connally's departure
-Announcement
Connally
  -Health
  -Nellie Connally
  -Departure from administration
    -Timing
      -The President's trip to Texas
      -Current week
    -Problems
      -Vietnam news stories
      -Return from Texas
      -The President's Soviet trip
    -Publicity
  -Future role with administration
    -Counsel to the President
      -David M. Kennedy
      -Finch
    -Best position
      -Declaration of support for the President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 2m 12s]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 32s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

*****************************************************************************

- Departure
  - News stories
    - Democrats
    - Speculation
    - Stories of disaffection
      - Impact on economy
  - New Cabinet post
    - Rogers
    - Secretary of State
    - Vice Presidency
    - Attorney General
      - Ehrlichman
  - Departure
    - Health
    - Timing
      - 1972 election
    - Financial future
  - Department of the Treasury
    - Control
  - Theoretical presidency
    - Problems
    - Compared with Johnson
  - Relationship with the President
    - Concern for details
  - Domestic economy
    - Current situation
    - Future problems
      - Inflation
        - Future rates
          - 1973
          - November 1972
- Food prices
- Shultz
- Congress
- Debt ceiling
  - Conflicts with Congress
  - Tax reform
- Increases
  - Congress's position
  - Connally's position
    - Spending freeze
- Spending freeze
  - Social Security
    - Protests
Russell B. Long
- MacGregor
- Criticism
- Congress
  - Taxes, appropriations
    - Deficit
- Social Security
- Vietnam
- Government workers
  - The President

Tax reform
  - Wilbur D. Mills
    - Cooperation with the President
    - Letter

Connally
  - Departure from administration
    - Possibility of remaining
  - Cabinet members
  - State Department
  - Vice Presidential position
    - Availability
  - Departure
    - Timing
    - Personal finances

**************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 59s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

******************************************************************************

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Image in press
-Publicity

Connally
-American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE]
-Vietnam
-Critics
-Vietnam
-Views
-Attitude toward the President
-Departure from administration
-Timing
-Conversation with Haldeman
-The President's trip to Texas
-Kissinger’s forthcoming trip to Moscow

Soviet Union
-Kissinger's trip to Moscow
-Rogers
-Haig
-Message from Soviets
-Rogers
-Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger's trip to Moscow
-US bombing of Vietnam
-Summit
-Haldeman's discussion with Rogers
-Kissinger
-Canada
- Biological warfare treaty
- Kissinger announcement
  - Timing
- Press reports
  - Ziegler
  - Kissinger
    - Murray Marder
    - David Kraslow
- Rogers
- Publicity
  - Kissinger
- Soviet Agreement
- Press conference
  - Time
  - Hostility of press
  - Questions
    - Secrecy of Kissinger's mission
    - Vietnam
    - Troop withdrawal
- Conversation with congressmen

Connally
- Departure
- The President's trip to Texas
  - Shultz
    - Ziegler
  - Ehrlichman
  - John N. Mitchell
- Planning
  - Announcement
  - Ehrlichman
- Treasury Department
  - Narcotics division
  - Ehrlichman's option paper
  - Tax reform
  - Shultz

National economy
- Deficits
  - Shultz, Connally, Kissinger and Weinberger
  - Memorandum
  - 1973 and 1974 budgets
-Current legislation
-Defense cuts
  -Base closings
-Special revenue-sharing
-House Resolution [HR] 1
  -Social Security and Medicare
  -Welfare
  -Costs
-Federal budget
  -White House position
-Shultz
  -Meeting with the President
  -Connally
-Memorandum from the White House
  -Position on HR 1
  -Memorandum to Ehrlichman on administration's position
    -1972 election
-Defense spending
  -Costs
    -Decisions
      -Moscow summit
      -Vietnam
        -Offensive
          -Base closings
-Revenue-sharing
  -Passage in Senate
    -Chances
      -Ehrlichman's assessment
    -The President's veto
      -Special and general revenue-sharing
        -Retroactivity
-HR 1
  -Welfare bill
  -Social Security and Medicare Bill
    -The President's veto
-Revenue-sharing
  -Shultz's position
    -Purpose of a letter to Congress
      -HR 1
-Federal budget
  -HR 1
    -Connally
Conv. No. 331-16 (cont.)

-Nixon
-Defense spending
  -Moscow summit
  -Kissinger
  -Belt tightening
    -Arms limitation
    -Increase in taxes
  -Publicity
  -Base closings
-Connally
  -Scheduling of the President's work on budget
  -Texas trip

-A veto by the President
  -Politics of federal budget
  -Shultz

-HR 1
  -White House opposition
    -Elliot L. Richardson
    -Shultz
  -Revenue-sharing
    -Problems
      -Political benefits
  -Property taxes
    -Benefits

-Vietnam
-Defense spending
  -Cuts
    -Kissinger's handling
      -Laird and [David] Kenneth Rush
    -Problem of leaks
Vietnam
  - Conclusion of war
  - Time
  - Air war
  - 1972 election
    - The President's victory
      - Future action
      - Blockade
      - Bombing
      - POW release
  - Impact on war

Defense spending
  - Cuts
    - Air Force
  - Shultz

Kissinger's trip to Soviet Union
  - Secrecy
    - Kissinger's location
    - Camp David
      - The President's location
    - Announcement

The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 10:30 and 11:20 am.

[Conversation No. 331-16A]

Meeting with the President
  - Discussion of Kissinger's cover story

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet Union
  - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
    - Cover story
      - New York
      - Vacation
      - Health
    - Speculation

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:30 and 11:20 am.
[Conversation No. 331-16B]

- Senate
- Vietnam

[End of telephone conversation]

People's Republic of China [PRC] table tennis team reception
- Chinese translators
  - Incident related by Kissinger
  - Scali's reaction
- Absence
- Selection
- Rose Garden ceremony
  - Absence

Kissinger entered at 11:20 am.

- Telephone
  - Haldeman
- Scali
  - Boycott
  - Selection
    - Scali
    - State Department
  - Tour
    - White House conflicts with State Department
- US table tennis team
  - Unknown member
    - Absence
    - Appearance
- Publicity
  - Statement by the President
    - Television
  - Scali
  - Rose Garden
  - New York Daily News
    - Photograph
- Scali
  - Responsibility
Kissinger's secret trip to Moscow
   - Cover story
     - Camp David
     - Problems
       - Ziegler
     - Kissinger's schedule
       - New York
       - Meetings
         - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
     - Distraction of press
       - Camp David
   - Kissinger's schedule
     - Dinner with newspaper editors
       - Katharine L. Graham
   - Cover story
     - Trip to Camp David
       - Plausibility
         - Haig report
           - Press speculation
             - Troop withdrawal
           - Meeting with Haig
         - Bureaucracy
     - Trip to Paris
     - Trip to Camp David
       - Ziegler's statement
       - Guest list
       - The President's schedule
       - Domestic issues
         - Ehrlichman
       - White House staff
         - Distraction
           - Ehrlichman, Shultz
       - Kissinger's presence
         - Ziegler's statement
         - Calls from press
   - Kissinger's departure
     - Time
   - Kissinger's schedule
     - Party
     - Trip to Camp David
       - The President's schedule
       - Ziegler's and Gerald L. Warren’s knowledge
- The President's schedule
  - General staff meeting
    - Shultz and Ehrlichman
    - Kissinger's absence
    - Domestic subjects
      - Budget planning
    - Shultz
    - Connally
      - Cover story
  - Kissinger’s schedule
    - Haig
  - The President's schedule
    - Editors meeting
    - Trip to Camp David
    - Staff schedule
      - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
      - Trip to Camp David
    - Ehrlichman
      - Graham
    - Shultz
    - Haldeman
    - Kissinger
      - Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Kissinger's trip to Camp David
    - Kissinger’s trip to Andrews Air Force Base
    - Staff meetings
      - Troop withdrawal
    - Scheduling
      - Graham event
    - Transportation
    - Arrangements
      - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
      - Graham event
      - Shultz
      - Connally
  - Rogers
    - Trip to Camp David
  - Kissinger's trip to Camp David
    - Helicopter
    - Kissinger's schedule
    - Public statements
      - The President's meeting with top staff
Conv. No. 331-16 (cont.)

-Emphasis
-Cancellation of dinner appearance
-Ehrlichman
-Public statement
-Dealings with Rogers
-Discussion of Vietnam with Soviets
-Kissinger
-Meeting with North Vietnamese
-Haldeman’s meeting with Rogers

Vietnam
-Naval actions
-Soviet ships
-Haiphong
-Laird's concerns
-Destroyer
-Manila
-Newspaper coverage
-Mine loading
-Soviets
-Perceptions of US actions
-Private message
-Ships
-Bombing
-North Vietnam
-Continuation
-Carriers
-7th Air Force
-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.’s cancellation
-Carriers
-Number of sorties
-Protective reaction
-Thanh Hoa
-D-Day, 1944
-Winston S. Churchill's account
-Number of air sorties
-Number of British air strikes
-Number of planes
-B-52s
-Bomb load
-Compared with World War II
-Concentration of forces
-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-World War II
  -D-Day
    -Second landing
    -Deception of Germans
    -Churchill's account
-Repetition of operations
-Massive reaction
-Impact on North Vietnam
-Soviet reaction

Soviet Union
  -Earl L. Butz's meeting with Brezhnev
    -Brezhnev's comments
    -Jacob D. Beam's response
      -Vietnam
        -Response to invasion
    -Butz
      -Soviet intelligence
      -Beam

Vietnam
  -Bombing
    -Soviet response
    -Impact on North Vietnam
      -The President's message
        -North Vietnamese response
        -Counterproposal
          -The President's response

Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's trip
    -Cover story
      -Haldeman and Ehrlichman
        -Trip to Camp David
          -Schedule
    -Rogers
    -Kissinger's meeting with the President

Kissinger left at 11:47 am.

-Dealings with Rogers
-Call to Rogers
  -Timing
  -Haig
-Haldeman's meeting with Rogers
  -Brezhnev's message
  -Secrecy of meeting
  -Explanations of reasons for meeting
  -Meeting place
  -Time of Haldeman's call
    -Urgency
  -Problems
- President Of Pakistan [Zulfikar Ali Bhutto]
- Public disclosure
  -Ziegler's statements
    -Haldeman and Ehrlichman at Camp David
    -Kissinger's presence
    -Shultz's presence
    -Purpose of meeting
- Connally
  -Knowledge of trip
- Trip to Camp David
  -Budget
    -Planning session
      -Weinberger
  -Ziegler's statement
  -Length of stay
    -Haldeman
    -Kissinger
    -Haldeman's conversation with Ziegler
  -Staff meeting
    -Travel
  -Haig's presence
  -Graham’s dinner
  -Domestic news
  -News summary

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
  -Peter M. Flanigan's testimony
    -*New York Times* story
    -Handling
  -Edwin Reinecke and Edgar Gillenwaters
    -Testimony
- Testimony
  - Jack Gleason
  - Harry D. Steward
- Senate debate
- Testimony
  - Flanigan
  - Gleason
  - Written interrogatories

Vietnam
- Democrats
  - McGovern
    - Antiwar speeches
    - Reception
    - Press reports
- Press
  - Opposition to war
    - Television
    - Coverage of demonstrations
      - Kissinger's views
  - Coverage of Laird testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - Coverage of demonstrations
- Opposition
  - Harvard University
    - Violent demonstration
      - Kissinger's reaction
      - *New York Times* story
  - University of Wisconsin at Madison
  - University of California at Berkeley
- Democratic mayor of Alexandria, Louisiana
  - Switch to Republican party
    - Reasons
- Hawks
  - Reagan
    - Messages of support for the President
    - Condemnation of North Vietnamese invasion
  - John C. Stennis
    - Support for bombing
      - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
    - Soviet ships
    - Army of the Republic of South Vietnam [ARVN]
-Opposition
  -Press reports
    -UPI
  -Harvard
    -Center for International Studies
    -Fire
  -Columbia University
  -Stanford University
    -Strike
  -University of Wisconsin at Madison
    -CBS film
  -Bombing
  -Campus demonstrations
    -Time of year

Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's trip
    -Rogers's role
      -Haldeman's call to Rogers
  -Purpose
    -Meeting with Soviet
    -Possible meeting with North Vietnamese
    -Haldeman's conversation with Connally
  -Trip to Camp David
    -Shultz
    -Connally
      -Conversation with Haldeman
      -Meeting with the President

Connally
  -Resignation as Treasury Secretary
    -Timing
      -Announcement from White House
      -Press play
      -Soviet summit
        -Planning
      -Shultz
    -Timing
      -Soviet trip
      -Support for the President
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 24s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23

- Attitude
  - Campaign
  - Budget
  - Compared with Shultz

Budget
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman and Shultz
  - Defense issues
    - Soviet trip
    - Cuts
    - Timing

HR 1
  - Chance of passage in Congress
    - Ehrlichman's views
    - The President's budget

Revenue-sharing
  - Chance of enactment
    - MacGregor
  - Administration's view of bill
  - Social Security
    - Separation of issues

National economy
  - Connally's outlook
    - Leadership
    - Improvements
      - Compared with 1960
      - Peak
1972 election
-Prediction in the *Kiplinger Letter*
-Optimism
-Improvement in California
  - Housing starts
  - Unemployment
    - Rate
    - Base
  - Boom
- Stock market
  - Improvements
    - War issue
  - Current level
  - Improvements
    - Rate
  - Peak
    - Timing
    - 1000 points
      - Democratic National Convention
        - Impact
- Stock brokers
  - Haldeman's blind trust
    - Quarterly Report
    - Holdings
      - Gains
- Production
  - Yachts
  - Television sets
- Spending
  - Travel
  - Retail sales
    - Spring
- Money supply
  - Burns
  - Shultz
    - Predicted performance as Treasury Secretary
      - Compared with Connally

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26
Conv. No. 331-16 (cont.)

[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 25s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26

Connally
  -Talk with Haldeman
    -Vietnam
    -Haig
    -Meeting with the President
    -Time

Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's trip
    -Haldeman's call to Rogers

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Connally
    -Time
    -Haldeman's call to Rogers
    -Haldeman's meeting with Connally
      -Haldeman's and Ehrlichman's trip to Camp David
    -Meeting with Connally
      -Time
    -Meeting on non-public education
      -Report
      -Press story
        -Briefing
        -Clarence Walton
      -Length
    -Meeting with Jerry V. Wilson and Washington, DC police officers
      -Past practice
        -Instructions to Ehrlichman
    -Meeting with Clifford D. Carlson
      -Length
      -Charlotte T. Reid
    -Meeting with Wilson
      -Publicity value
Conv. No. 331-16 (cont.)

-Haldeman left at 12:17 pm.

Conversation No. 331-17

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 21s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:57 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

The President's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:57 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [Ronald L. Ziegler?].

Press
-An investigation
Conv. No. 331-19 (cont.)

WASHINGTON, DC press corps
  -Number with children in Washington, DC public schools
     -Statement
     -Release of figures
  -Queries
  -Calls to press corps
     -Study of DC school system
  -Due date

Conversation No. 331-20

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 8s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:57 pm.

Conversation No. 331-21

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:57 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:57 pm.

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:57 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-31]

Conversation No. 331-24

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 12:57 pm - 1:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 23-32]

Conversation No. 331-25

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Meeting with Jerry V. Wilson and Washington, DC police officers
  -Arrangements
    -Rose Garden
    -The President's appearance
    -The President's remarks
      -DC crime rates
      -Wilson's achievements
      -[Walter E. Washington]
    -Time
  
  ITT hearings
    -Edwin Reinecke's testimony

John B. Connally
-Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 331-26

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 1:48 pm - 1:49 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 23-33]

Conversation No. 331-27

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:49 pm and 2:11 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:11 pm.
Conversation No. 331-28

Date:  April 19, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 1:49 pm and 2:11 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
   -Meeting with Jerry V. Wilson
     -Time
     -Location
   -Table tennis team
   -Meeting with Wilson
     -Talking points
       -Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
       -The President’s comments
       -Duration

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:11 pm.

Conversation No. 331-29

Date:  April 19, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 1:49 pm and 2:11 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-34]

Conversation No. 331-30

Date:  April 19, 1972
Time:  2:11 pm - 2:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 23-35]

Conversation No. 331-31

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-36]

Conversation No. 331-32

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 2:17 pm - 2:18 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 23-37]

Conversation No. 331-33

Date: April 19, 1972
Time: 5:05 pm - 5:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with W. Kenneth Riland.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 30s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Office furnishings

The President's schedule
   - Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
     - Kissinger's arrival

Kissinger entered at 5:20 pm.

Soviet summit
   - Kissinger's trip to Moscow
     - US allies
     - Leaks
       - Soviet Union
       - People's Republic of China [PRC]
     - US allies
       - Europe
     - Announcement
     - Problems
       - Announcement
         - William P. Rogers
       - Plenary meeting date
         - US bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
     - Announcement
       - Southeast Asia
     - Plenary session
       - Conditions
       - Relationship to Vietnam
         - Blockade
Conv. No. 331-33 (cont.)

-Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
-Tonkin Delta
-Possible second trip

Vietnam
- The President's policies
  - Resumption of bombing
    - Unknown Harvard University graduate school dean's statement

Kissinger's trip to Moscow
- Vietnam
  - Plenary session
    - Announcement

Vietnam
- The President's policies
  - Criticism of college presidents
    - Fear of students
    - Opposition to the President
      - PRC trip
      - Cambodia invasion
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's countercriticism

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 5:20 and 5:28 pm.

[Conversation No. 331-33A]

[See Conversation No. 23-43]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- The President's policies
  - An announcement
    - Intensity of bombing

Riland and Kissinger left at 5:28 pm.

The President talked with Charles W. Colson between 5:28 and 5:35 pm.

[Conversation No. 331-33B]
[See Conversation No. 23-44]

[End of telephone conversation]