Conversation No. 333-1

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:41 am and 8:43 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

President’s schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 8:43 am.

Conversation No. 333-2

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:41 am and 8:43 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Speech
-Copies

Conversation No. 333-3

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 8:43 am - 8:44 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's receipt of an unknown item.

Butterfield left at 8:44 am.
Conversation No. 333-4

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:44 am and 9:26 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [John K. Andrews, Jr.?].

Speech draft
- Word count
- Copy
- Word count

Conversation No. 333-5

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:44 am and 9:26 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [John K. Andrews, Jr.?].

Speech draft
- Word count

Conversation No. 333-6

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:44 am and 9:26 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [Henry A. Kissinger?].

The unknown person's schedule

Conversation No. 333-7

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 9:26 am - 10:29 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's talk with Charles W. Colson
  -Barry M. Goldwater
  -James L. Buckley

Vietnam
  -Paris negotiations
    -Resumption
      -Announcement
  -Military situation
    -Military Region Two
    -North Vietnamese advances
      -Central Highlands
    -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams's actions
    -Commitment of forces
      -Central Highlands
      -Abrams's actions
    -Air attacks
  -[David] Kenneth Rush
    -Melvin R. Laird
  -Bombing
    -Extension
      -Kissinger's wire from Moscow to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      -Approval
      -Joint Chiefs of Staff
      -Memorandum to Laird
      -President’s orders
      -Political objectives
        -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    -Laird
    -Rush
    -David Packard
  -Rush
    -Loyalty to the President
    -Quality of work
      -Laird
  -Robert C. Seamans, Jr.
    -Robert S. McNamara
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 8s ]

Soviets

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Kissinger’s schedule
  -Haig
  -Laird
    -The President's message
    -Kissinger's order
    -Haig
    -Impact of Laird's actions on negotiations
  -B-52 strike
    -Compared with Tacair
    -Target on the 20th parallel
      -Thanh Hoa
    -Haiphong
  -Le Duc Tho
    -Trip to Paris
  -Television news stories
  -North Vietnamese offensive
    -Press reports
      -Third North Vietnamese division
        -Headquarters
          -Coast
        -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman's project
          -Kissinger's meeting with Haldeman
        -Haig
    -Summit meeting
      -Press
        -Thomas E. Jarriel
    -Kissinger's briefing
-Press reports
  -Washington Post
    -Editorial
-Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  -Washington Post
    -Katharine L. Graham
  -New York Times
    -Loyalties
  -Washington Post
    -Democratic National Committee
-Press reports
  -Kissinger's trip
    -Lack of coverage
  -Soviet summit announcement
    -Lack of coverage
-Possible effect of Soviet summit on negotiations
  -William P. Rogers
-Press reports
  -Administration's reaction
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Haldeman
-Democrats
  -Massachusetts
-Soviets
  -Negotiations
  -Kissinger's Trip
  -Public opinion
-Press
  -Defeatism
  -Haldeman's project
-Defeatism
  -Laos
-Military operations
  -Central highlands
  -An Loc
    -Television coverage
  -III Corps
    -Momentum
  -I Corps
    -North Vietnamese attack
  -II Corps
    -Necessity for US
    -Kontum
- Pleiku
- Abrams
- Cable from Ellsworth F. Bunker and Abrams
  - Contents
- Bombing
  - Haiphong
    - Effects
- Negotiations with Hanoi
- Negotiations
  - Cease-fre
  - Bombing
  - Timing with summit
- North Vietnamese offers

Kissinger's trip to Moscow
  - Trip to Florida
  - Itinerary

The President's forthcoming speech
  - Kissinger's assessment
  - Toughness
  - Length
  - Kissinger's review
    - Start of speech
  - Changes in text
    - Positive emphasis
  - Revisions
    - Page two
    - Page three
      - North Vietnamese victory
      - North Vietnamese offensive
        - Cambodia references
        - Number of North Vietnamese regulars

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 9:44 am.
  - John K. Andrews, Jr.
    - Changes in speech
    - Meeting with the President

Butterfield left at 9:45 am.
  - Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Changes of wording
- Weaknesses
- White House staff
- Demonstrations
  - References
  - Deletion
  - Attitude of average American
  - Slogan
- Draft of speech
  - Andrews
    - Compared with William L. Safire
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Influence of Washington Post
    - Reference to young demonstrators
      - Ho Chi Minh
- Personal tone
- Andrews's work
  - Compared with Safire

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

Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 9:45 am and 10:29 am.

[Conversation No. 333-7A]

Call to Haig

Kissinger talked with Haig, at an unknown time.

Kissinger's schedule
- Speech
- WSAG meeting
  - Haig's presiding
  - Chairman
    - Bob Lamour [?
    - Rush

[End of telephone conversation]

Speech draft
- Andrews
- Assessment
  - November 3, 1969 speech
  - Cambodia speech [April 30, 1970]
- Personalization
  - January 25, 1972 speech
    - Edmund S. Muskie's reaction
- North Vietnamese divisions
  - Changes in text
    - Deletions
    - Demilitarized zone [DMZ] crossing
      - Cambodia
  - Number of troops
- Change of wording
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- South Vietnam
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - US support

Vietnam
- News reports
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller's call to Kissinger
    - Democratic critics
      - George S. McGovern and Hubert H. Humphrey
    - Soviet trip
    - The President's position in nation

Speech draft
- Changes and revisions
  - American newsmen

Vietnam
- Vietcong [VC]
  - North Vietnamese goals
    - Provincial capitals
      - US press
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - Losses
      - An Loc
    - Quang Tri
    - Provincial capitals
      - An Loc
    - State of offensive
    - Counteraction
- Trips To PRC and Soviet Union
  - Moscow trip
    - Press hostility
  - Kissinger's trip
    - Publicity
  - The President's trip to Moscow
    - Benefits
    - Press hostility
    - Ziegler
    - Press reports
    - Favorable articles

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Gerard C. Smith, May 1, 1972
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Navy
      - Submarines
    - Florida
    - Texas

Kissinger's schedule
  - Trip to Paris
    - Meeting with Le Duc Tho
      - Publicity
      - Announcement

Vietnam
  - Critics
  - Soviets
  - Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Troop levels
    - Negotiations
      - Compared with The President
    - Dealings with Soviets
  - Soviets
    - May 2, 1972 meeting
    - Mission to Hanoi
    - Summit
  - The President’s comments in February 1969
    - Linkage
    - State Department
Willy Brandt
- Government
  - Vote of "No Confidence"
    - Social Democratic Party [SDP]
    - Possible Outcome
    - Secret Ballot
    - Balance of power
  - Treaties
    - Ratification
  - Possible outcome of "No Confidence" vote
    - Impact
  - Treaties
    - Ratification
      - Impact
      - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - US
- Government
  - Strength
  - "No Confidence" vote
    - Procedures
  - Treaties
    - Ratification
      - Upper and Lower Houses
      - Moscow trip
    - US

Speech draft on Vietnam
- Changes
  - South Vietnam
    - Page five
    - Page six
    - Page seven
    - Page nine
    - Victory of communists
    - Page ten
  - Andrews's draft
    - References to doves
- Changes
  - Recommendations
  - Surrender of US
    - Wording
  - US involvement in Southeast Asia
  - Wording
-Deletions
  -Rogers
  -Public impact
  -Presidency
    -McGovern
-Word of speech
  -Andrew's draft
    -Sentences
-Future of US foreign policy
  -The President's talk at Congressional retirees dinner, April 25, 1972
  -Presidency
    -McGovern
-Copies
  -Kissinger's WSAG meeting
  -Kissinger's work with Winston Lord and Andrews
    -Quality of work of speechwriters
  -Lord’s tenure
    -Cambodia
    -Personalizations
-Andrew's draft
  -Abstractions
  -References to demonstrators
    -Popular perceptions
    -Support for Muskie and McGovern

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 22s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Vietnam
  -W[illiam] Averell Harriman
    -Kissinger’s trip to Moscow
    -Kissinger’s meeting with Le Duc Tho
    -SALT breakthrough
-Significance
-Kissinger’s trip
-Summit
-Expectations

The President’s schedule
-Haldeman

Vietnam
-Announcements
-Bombing halt
-Summit
-Message to PRC
-Private meeting
-Laird
-Thieu
-Copy of April 26, 1972 speech

Soviet trip
-Haldeman
-The President's schedule
-Church service in Moscow
-Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
-Soviet leaders
-The President's reelection
-Church
-Maintenance
-Reasons
-Message for Dobrynin
-Brezhnev
-William F. (“Billy”) Graham
-The President's schedule
-Consultation with Soviet leaders
-Brezhnev
-Attitude toward the President
-[Napoleon, King of France] Napoleon [Bonaparte] I
-Chou En-Lai
-Office
-Foreign policy
-The President’s accommodations
-Lay-out and furnishings
-Refurbishing Kremlin
-Courtyard
- US relations with Soviets
  - Compared to Harriman and Joseph Davies
- North Vietnamese news article
  - US efforts in Soviet Union
  - Significance
  - Compared with US aid to Iran
    - Andrei A. Gromyko
    - Shah of Iran [Moahmmed Reza Pahlavi]
- Bombing of Haiphong
  - Relation to summit
  - Harriman
- Henry C. Lodge
  - Discussion with Giovanni Battista Motini [Pope Paul VI]
  - Kissinger's trip to Moscow

The President's speech
  - Kissinger meeting
  - Work on draft
- Speechwriters
  - Meeting with Kissinger
- New draft
  - Time
- Wording
  - Demonstrators
  - Actions

Vietnam
  - Support for the President
  - Congressmen
  - Kissinger's briefing
    - John Sherman Cooper
    - Colson

The President talked with an unknown person [Haldeman?] at 10:29 am.

[Conversation No. 333-7B]

The unknown person's schedule

Kissinger left at 10:29 am.

[End of telephone conversation]
Conversation No. 333-8

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown after 10:29 am - 11:36 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered and Sanchez left at 10:30 am.

The President’s forthcoming speech
  - The President’s suits
  - Color
  - Selection by Mark I. Goode
  - Style
  - Color
    - Importance
    - Television reception
      - Goode
        - William H. Carruthers
  - Selection
    - Ties

Vietnam
  - Soviets
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Henry A. Kissinger

Soviet Union
  - The President’s trip
  - Selection of reporters
    - Trip to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - St. Louis Post-Dispatch
      - Administration’s supporters
        - Haldeman’s task

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:30 and 10:44 am.
[Conversation No. 333-8A]

Russell A. Kirk
   -New book for the President
   -Florida

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
   -Bombing halt
     -Implementation
       -Kissinger's opinion
       -May 2, 1972 meeting
     -Preparations
   -William Averell Harriman to Cyrus R. Vance cable
     -Understandings with North Vietnam
       -Artillery
       - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
       -Attacks on cities
       -Bombing halt
         -Condition
     -Use in speech by Kissinger
   -Bombing halt
     -Conditions
       -North Vietnamese position
     -US reply
     -Verbal agreements
       -Lyndon B. Johnson's queries
     -Soviet cable
       -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
       -Aleksei N. Kosygin
     -Resumption
   -Harriman's cable
     -Disclosure
     -Soviets
     -Philippines
   -Johnson
   -Nguyen Van Thieu
     -Resistance to halt
       -Nguyen Cao Ky
       -Anna C. Chennault
     -Tactics
     -Negotiations
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-National Liberation Front [NLF]
-Ky plot
-Cable traffic
-Narrative
-Tom C. Huston
-Harriman's cable
-Bombing halt
-North Vietnamese agreement
-Xuan Thuy
-Huston

Reception for Congressmen
-Col. Albert Shoepper
-Certificate
-Kissinger’s briefing
-Impressions of Congressmen at dinner
-Clark MacGregor
-The President's remarks

The President's forthcoming speech
-Responsibilities
-Winston Lord and John K. Andrews, Jr.
-Liberals
-Remarks about demonstrators
-United Nations [UN]
-Changes
-Personal terms
-Kissinger

Reception for Congressmen
-John Sherman Cooper
-William M. Colmer
-Cooper's joke
-MacGregor
-Army Chorus
-Unknown baritone
-The Road to Mandalay
-Modern music
-Type of music
-Audience reaction
-PRC trip
-America the Beautiful
-Turkey in the Straw
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Nostalgia
-Performance
-Marine Band
-Performances
-Gridiron
-The President’s schedule
-The President’s knowledge of guests
-George H. Mahon
Texas Tech University Red Raiders
-Press coverage
-Neglect
-Ziegler
-Herbert G. Klein

The President's career
-Memory of places visited
-Amarillo, Texas

Reception for Congressmen
-Effect

The Presidency
-Credibility
-Vietnam War
-Impact
-Speech
-Andrews's and Lord's draft
-Passage
-PRC and Moscow trips
-Wording
-First person singular
-UN
-“Silent Majority”

The President's speeches
-Cambodia [April 30, 1970]
-Effectiveness
-Kent State University
-Winston S. Churchill
-Statement on British Empire
-Andrews's draft
-Changes
-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Speechwriters
  -Deficiencies
-Use of first person singular
-April 26, 1972 speech
  -Changes
    -Presidential election
      -The President’s forthcoming trip to Texas
  -Length
    -Review with Kissinger
-Troop announcement
  -Stories in press
  -Peace talks

Kissinger's Moscow trip
  -Press reports
    -News summary
    -Thomas E. Jarriel
    -Summit
    -Errors
    -Misstatements to press
    -Ziegler

Kissinger
  -Trip to Moscow
    -Television coverage
    -Washington Post editorial
      -Kissinger's conversation with Katharine L. Graham

Vietnam
  -The President's speeches and policies
    -Washington Post criticism
    -Vietnamization
      -Johnson
  -Offensive
    -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
      -Briefing policy
        -John W. Vogt, Jr.
  -Refugees
    -Press reports
      -John A. Scali
  -Press
    -Battle stories
    -Reports on perspective
-Refugees
-South Vietnam
  -Population centers
  -Control
-Reports on Kissinger trip
-Time cover
  -Washington Post
-Life cover
-Time cover
  -Washington Post
-Kissinger and John B. Connally

Haldeman's schedule
  -The President's speech
  -Follow-up work
  -The President's trip
  -Kissinger's trip
  -Charles W Colson

Press
  -Madam Nguyen Tri Binh letter
  -Publicity
  -Barry M. Goldwater's speech
  -Colson follow-up
    -Circulation

The President's forthcoming speech
  -Publicity
    -Reasons
      -Vogt
    -Follow-up
    -Attacks on "Dove Democrats"
      -The President's memorandum for Patrick J. Buchanan
      -George H. W. Bush
    -Haldeman's role
      -Florida trip
      -Arrangements

Stock market
  -Colson's analysis
    -C. Jackson Grayson, Jr.
    -Vietnam
    -Grayson
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Prices
-Correction
-Articles
  -Biases of writers
  -Jewish left-wing
  -Economic indicators

Frank T. Bow
-Appointment as ambassador to Panama
  -Qualifications
    -Canal treaty
    -[Robert M. Sayre?]?
  -Conversation with Peter M. Flanigan
    -William P. Rogers

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 4m 35s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Public relations
  -White House staff
    -Television commentators
      -Vietnam

Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 11:22 am.

Refreshments
  -Scali
  -Colson's staff
    -Thomas C. Korologos
    -Kenneth Khachigian
    -Buchanan
    -Kenneth W. Clawson
      -Washington Post
- Scali
- Republican National Committee [RNC]
- Committee to Reelect the President [CRP]
- Volunteers
- Letter writing operation
  - Unknown female staff member
  - Distribution
- Forthcoming speech
  - Calls

Vietnam
- US troop withdrawals
  - Army of the Republic of South Vietnam [ARVN]
- Left wing critics
  - Problems
  - Kissinger's trip

Press
- Ziegler
  - Contacts with reporters
- Fears of the President's policies
- Kissinger
  - Trip
  - Handling of foreign policy
    - Soviets
    - Hanoi
    - Public opinion
    - Role of press

The President’s schedule
- John D. Ehrlichman [?]

The President's speech
- Draft
  - Kissinger
  - Completion
  - The President's review

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Herbert F. De Simone
  - Photograph opportunity
- Meeting with Korean Foreign Minister Kim Yong-Sik
  - Time
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:30 and 11:22 am.

[Conversation No. 333-8B]

- Scheduling
- Preparations
- Location
- Time

[End of telephone conversation]

- Photograph opportunity

Vietnam
- The President's opponents
  - Effectiveness
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 8s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

-Demonstrations
  -University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]
    -Haldeman's conversation with son, Harry
  -Size
  -Problems
  -Reaction
    -Defacement of library building
  -Property damage
  -Damage to antiwar movement
    -John F. Osborne

Instruction for Haldeman

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 11:22 am.

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Kim Yong-sik
    -Time
    -Kissinger
    -Length
    -Change in time
      -Kissinger

Butterfield left at 11:23 am.

  -Meeting with foreign ministers
    -Rogers
  -Meeting with De Simone
    -Time
    -Speech draft
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 11:23 and 11:36 am.

[Conversation No. 333-8C]

The President's schedule
- Meeting with De Simone
- Photograph opportunity
- Time
- Place

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- The President's policies
- Briefings
  - Vogt
  - Scali
  - White House staff
- Refugees
  - North Vietnamese attacks
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news report
      - An Loc
  - Highway 13
  - Return to Quang Tri
- Battlefield reports
- National Security Study Memorandum [NSSM]
- Vietnamization
- Cable from Harriman
Haldeman left at 11:36 am.

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 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 1:45 pm.

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

The President's speech
  -Suggested addition
  -Draft page
  -Speechwriters
Conversation No. 333-11

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [Henry A. Kissinger?].

Vietnam
-Report
-US military involvement
  -Termination
  -Civilians
  -Advisors
-Briefing
-Troop losses
  -Compared to World Wars I and II
  -Kontum
  -Liberals
  -US response

Conversation No. 333-12

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:45 pm.
Conversation No. 333-13

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's speech
   - Last draft
   - Copies
     - Henry A. Kissinger
     - The President's copy
   - Final revisions

Conversation No. 333-14

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

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

The President's trip
   - Secretary
     - Nellie L. Yates

Conversation No. 333-15

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 1:45 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-80]
Conversation No. 333-16

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 1:45 pm - 2:07 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 23-81; two items have been withdrawn from the conversation.]

Conversation No. 333-17

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:07 pm and 2:08 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-82]

Conversation No. 333-18

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 2:08 pm - 2:12 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer.

[See Conversation No. 23-83]

Conversation No. 333-19

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 3:43 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

Retrieval of unknown item

Sanchez [?] left at an unknown time before 3:43 pm.

Conversation No. 333-20

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:12 pm and 3:43 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 17s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:43 pm.

Conversation No. 333-21

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 3:43 pm - 4:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam
-Negotiations
-Current developments
  -Le Duc Tho
    -Trip to Paris
-Secret talks
  -Xuan Thuy
    -Statement to press
    -Nguyen Van Thieu
-Associated Press [AP] story
-Kissinger's press conference
  -Questions
-Reports from Moscow
  -Leonid I. Brezhnev's meeting with Kissinger
    -Source
    -The President's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
    -Brezhnev's offer
    -Significance
    -Willy Brandt
    -Other issues
    -Middle East
    -Source
    -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    -The President's visit
      -Schedule
      -Brezhnev
      -Andrei A. Gromyko
      -Significance of reports
-Soviets
  -US bombing
    -Hanoi
  -Dobrynin
  -The President's message
    -Summit
    -Yuli M. Vorontsov
-The President's speech
  -Kissinger's revisions
    -Additions
    -Paris talks
    -Use of channels
    -US objectives
    -Prisoners of War [POW] return
-Soviets
  -Delegation in Hanoi
  -Significance
-Report of Kissinger's trip
  -Purpose
  -Brezhnev
    -Press reports
-The President's speech
  -Revisions
  -Draft
    -North Vietnamese offensive
      -Changes
      -The President's orders for counterattacks
  -US role in Vietnam
    -Limitations
    -George S. McGovern's supporters
-Response in North Vietnam and Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's conversation with Brezhnev
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -John K. Andrews, Jr.
  -Abilities
  -The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
-Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
  -The President's decision
    -Kissinger’s trip
  -The President's Canadian trip
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  -Melvin R. Laird
-Negotiations
  -[David] Kenneth Rush
-The President's speech
  -William J. Porter
  -Changes
  -Kissinger's views
  -Revisions
    -Bombing halt
-US public opinion
-South Vietnam
  -Changes in speech
  -Defense
  -Stakes in war
-The President’s speech
  -Bloodbath of non-communists
    -Number
    -Wording of statement
-US goals
H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 4:04 pm.

-Cable from Ellsworth F. Bunker
  -Release
    -John A. Scali
    -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Network coverage
  -Kissinger's office

Kissinger talked with an unknown person in his office at an unknown time between 4:04 and 4:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21A]

Vietnam
  -Cable from Bunker and Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    -Delivery to Oval Office
    -Location

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
  -Senate Democratic caucus
    -Robert C. Byrd
    -Vote against administration policy
    -Kissinger's call to Byrd
      -Delays in meeting
        -Sensitive developments
          -Jeopardy
        -Caucus action
        -Problems
    -The President's reception for Congressmen
      -Report from Clark MacGregor
      -Response
        -Forthcoming speech
          -Presidency
          -Speechwriters
          -Wording
        -Positive tone of the President
    -The President's speech
Haldeman left at 4:10 pm.

The President's speech
   -Deletions
   -Copies
   -Distribution
   -US goals
   -Stopping invasion

Vietnam
   -Kissinger's call to Byrd

Kissinger talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:10 and 4:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21B]

[See Conversation No. 23-84]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
   -The President's speech
   -Revisions
      -Consequences of defeat
      -Loss of respect

Kissinger talked with Byrd at an unknown time between 4:10 and 4:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21C]

[See Conversation No. 23-85]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
   -Byrd's support of the President
   -Democratic caucus
Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 4:10 and 4:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21D]

Call to Haldeman
-Return call

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- The President's speech
  - Review
  - Stakes in war
    - US credibility with allies
    - Future aggression
  - Changes
    - Kissinger's copy
    - North Vietnamese invasion
      - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ] crossing
      - Shelling of civilians
      - Violation of 1968 bombing halt understanding
  - Deletions
  - Issues in war
  - Negotiations
    - Return of POWs
  - Conclusion
    - Press copy
    - Kissinger's copies
The President talked with Woods at an unknown time between 4:10 and 4:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21E]

Vietnam
- The President's speech
  - Kissinger's copy
    - Corrections
    - Delivery
  - Press copy

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- The President's speech
  - Further changes
  - Impact on country
  - Kissinger's press briefing
    - Time
    - Format
    - Negotiations
    - Resumption

Haldeman talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 4:10 and 4:31 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-21F]

[See Conversation No. 23-86]

The President conferred with Kissinger twice during the conversation.

Confirmation of Senate Democratic caucus meeting time

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- Democratic caucus
  - Kissinger's conversation with Byrd
    - Byrd's reliability
  - Change of date
-Certainty
- Kissinger's trip to Paris
- Secrecy
 - Byrd
 - Byrd's position
 - Kissinger's conversation with Fulbright
 - Kissinger's call to Byrd
 - Byrd's response
 - Fulbright
- The President's speech
 - Compared with the President's talk to Congressmen
 - Simple language

The President’s schedule

Kissinger left at 4:31 pm.

Conversation No. 333-22

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:31 pm and 4:34 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

Vietnam
 - The President's speech
 - The President's copy
 - Completion
 - Delivery
 - Press copy

Conversation No. 333-23

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 4:34 pm - 4:37 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman talked with the President.
[See Conversation No. 23-87]

Conversation No. 333-24

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:37 pm and 5:01 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Vietnam
- The President's speech
- Unknown person's attendance
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- Democratic caucus
- Response
  - Negotiations

Conversation No. 333-25

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:37 pm and 5:01 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person in H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman's office.

Call to Haldeman
- Return call

Conversation No. 333-26

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 5:01 pm - 5:10 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.
Vietnam
- The President's call to Kissinger
- Kissinger's trip to Paris
  - Private talks
    - Kissinger's call to Melvin R. Laird
    - William P. Rogers
  - Timing
    -Leaks
  - Message to Laird
- The President's speech
  - Rogers's copy

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Kissinger's talk with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Kissinger's meeting with Gerard C. Smith
- Rogers's role
- Credit
- Leaks
- Proposals
  - Rogers's View
  - Issues
    - Submarines
      - Proposal
        - Smith
        - Rogers's knowledge
        - Kissinger's call to Smith
- Rogers's presence at meeting
- State Department

Vietnam
- The President's speech
  - Copy to Rogers
    - Corrections
    - Haldeman
    - Rogers's call to Kissinger
    - Meeting
    - Copy to Rose Mary Woods
    - Joseph C. Kraft
  - Copy to Rogers
    - Problems
    - Changes
      - State Department proposals
SALT talks
- Leaks
  - Chalmers M. Roberts
    - *Washington Post*
  - State department involvement
- Rogers
  - Involvement
  - Knowledge
    - Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles [SLBMs]
  - Interest
  - Call to the President
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      - The President's call
- Joint Chiefs of Staff and Department of Defense
- SLBMs
- US proposals
  - Rogers
    - National Security Council [NSC] meeting
    - SLBMs
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Conversation with Rogers
    - SLBMs

The President's speech
- Copy to Rogers
  - Key section
    - Delivery
      - Time
    - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.'s report
  - Other sections

Kissinger left at 5:10 pm.

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 5:14 pm - 5:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.
Vietnam

- The President's speech
- Changes
- Number of words
  - Additions
- Completion
- Length
- Contents
- Diplomatic negotiations
- Meetings in Paris
  - US bombing
    - Hanoi
- Soviets

Woods left at 5:16 pm.

Conversation No. 333-28

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 5:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person [H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman?].

The President's schedule
- Rose Garden
- Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 333-45

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 5:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person in Henry A. Kissinger's office.

Return call from unknown person
Conversation No. 333-29

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:16 pm and 5:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President rehearsed a speech.

[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, 1972*, pp. 550-554.]

The President answered the phone at an unknown time between 5:16 and 5:50 pm.

[Conversation No. 333-29A]

[Mistaken connection?]

Conversation No. 333-30

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 5:50 pm - 6:06 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Henry A. Kissinger
- Meeting with the President and Haldeman
- Location

William F. (“Billy”) Graham
- Greetings
- Support for the President's Moscow trip and bombing in North Vietnam
- Press conferences
  - Minneapolis newspaper's headlines
- Support for the President
- Work with presidents
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - The President
The President rehearsed a speech at an unknown time between 5:50 and 6:06 pm.

[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, 1972, pp. 550-554.]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:50 pm.

The President’s schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:06 pm

The President resumed rehearsing his speech at an unknown time.

[End of speech]

Vietnam

-The President's speech
  -Tone
  -Haldeman's opinion
Walk in Rose Garden

The President and Haldeman left at 6:06 pm.

Conversation No. 333-31

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 6:20 pm - 6:32 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Vietnam
- 1972 election
- The President's speech

William P. Rogers
- Haiphong
  - Bombing
  - Unknown person's testimony
  - Effectiveness

- Initiative
- Interest in public relations
- Cabinet
- Abilities
- Moscow
  - The President's visit
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - The President's visit
    - Wreath laying

Trips
- Mrs. Nixon
  - Press coverage
- People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- Soviet trip
  - Visibility
    - Location of meetings

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:20 pm.
Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:32 pm.

The President's schedule
- The President's speech
- Press conference
- Scheduling
- The President's speech
- Audience
  - Response
- Rhetoric
  - “Invasion”
  - "Communist"
  - "Bloodbath"
- Media
- Public support for the President
  - William F. (“Billy”) Graham

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:20 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:32 pm.

Vietnam
- The President's speech
  - Response of hawks
- Bombing
  - Hawks
- Rogers

Strategic Arms Limitations Talks [SALT]
- Announcement
  - Gerard C. Smith
  - Meeting on May 1, 1972
- Rogers
  - Knowledge of issue
  - Negotiations
- Timing of announcement
  - Henry A. Kissinger’s trip to Moscow
  - State Department
Conversation No. 333-33

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:32 pm and 6:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No 23-88]
Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 6:35 pm - 6:36 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon.

[See Conversation No 23-89; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation.]

Conversation No. 333-34

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 7:07 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Greetings

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 7:07 pm.

Conversation No. 333-35

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 7:07 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President rehearsed a speech.

[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, 1972, pp. 550-554.]
Conversation No. 333-36

Date:  April 26, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 6:36 pm and 7:07 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Acknowledgement

Conversation No. 333-37

Date:  April 26, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 6:36 pm and 7:07 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President rehearsed a speech.

[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,1972, pp. 550-554.]

Conversation No. 333-38

Date:  April 26, 1972
Time:  7:07-7:10 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No 23-90]

Conversation No. 333-39

Date:  April 26, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 7:10 pm and 7:37 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President rehearsed a speech.
[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, 1972*, pp. 550-554.]

**Conversation No. 333-40**

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:10 pm and 7:37 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No 23-91]

**Conversation No. 333-41**

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: 7:37 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No 23-92]

**Conversation No. 333-42**

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:37 pm and 8:20 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No 23-93]

**Conversation No. 333-43**

Date: April 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:37 pm and 8:20 pm
The President rehearsed a speech.

[A transcript of the final broadcast of this speech appears in, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,1972, pp. 550-554.]

Conversation No. 333-44

Date: April 26, 1972
Time: 8:20 pm - 8:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the President.

[See Conversation No 23-94]