Conversation No. 338-1

Date: May 4, 1972
Time: Unknown after 5:25-5:55 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John B. Connally, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer. The recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.

Vietnam
- A rehearsal
- Possible South Vietnam offensive
  - North Vietnamese artillery
    - Concentration
  - Ground forces
  - South Vietnam positions
    - Artillery
      - Availability
      - Reasons
    - US blockade
      - Effectiveness
      - Mining
      - Ships
        - Time
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Confidentiality
    - Blockade
      - Ports
    - Speed
      - Timing
    - Ships
      - Positioning
  - Air strikes
    - Possible delays
    - Intensity
  - Supply convoys
    - Artillery
    - Reports
      - Highway One
      - Gen. John W. Vogt
      - Highway 137
-Vankari Pass
-Highway 1052
-Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
-North Vietnam losses
-South Vietnam counteraction
-North Vietnam losses
-Haig mission to South Vietnam
-Air strikes
-Dikes
-Prestige of the US military
-The President’s view
-US plans
-Officers
-Amphibious landing
-Bombing
-Weather
-Hanoi and Haiphong bombing
-The President’s view
-Duration
-Intensity
-Civilian casualties
-The President’s instructions
-Duration
-Intensity

Moorer and Haig left at 5:35 pm.

Vietnam
-Stakes of US
-The President’s view
-Power
-Connally’s view
-Bombing
-Communist takeover
-Cambodia
-Laos
-President's goals
-Attacks on North Vietnam
-Extent
-Air strikes
-Duration
-Intensity
Connally left at 5:40 pm.

Speechwriters
- John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - Speech announcing blockade
    - Compared with the President's previous speech on Vietnam
- William L. Safire
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Writing ability
- Safire
  - Compared with Andrews

Vietnam
- President's speech announcing blockade
  - Wording
  - Organization
The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time between 5:40 and 5:55 pm.

[Conversation No. 338-1A]

Woods's schedule
- Dinner with the President and Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

[End of telephone conversation]

-Camp David
-Time

Haldeman left at 5:55 pm.
Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:58 and 11:07 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

President's speech
- President's reading copy
- Delivery
- Location
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Return call

Conversation No. 338-3

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown after 10:58 and before 11:07 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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 11:07 am.

Conversation No. 338-4
Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:58 and 11:07 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

A delivery to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 338-5

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:58 and 11:07 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-37]

Conversation No. 338-6

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Between 11:07 and 11:12 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo.

[See Conversation No. 24-38]

Conversation No. 338-7

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown after 11:12 and before 11:16 am
Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with an unknown man.

Removal of food

Manolo Sanchez
-Health

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:16 am.

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:12 and 11:16 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-39]

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Between 11:16 and 11:21 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Melvin R. Laird.

[See Conversation No. 24-40]

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:21 and 11:23 am
Location: Executive Office Building
The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-41]

Conversation No. 338-11

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Between 11:23 and 11:24 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

[See Conversation No. 24-42’ one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Conversation No. 338-12

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 and 11:32 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Swimming pool
  -Installation
  -Location
  -Walter [Surname unknown]

Vietnam
  -Blockade
  -Response
    -Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo's report
    -Emotion
    -Democrats
  -Spontaneity
    -President's previous speech
    -Ronald L. Ziegler’s previous press conference
Conversation No. 338-13

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 and 11:32 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Vietnam
- President's talk with Melvin R. Laird
  - Laird's possible television appearance
    - Scheduling in Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Haldeman
  - Forthcoming television appearance
- Blockade
  - Photographs
  - Release
  - Public relations efforts
    - Laird

Conversation No. 338-14

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 and 11:32 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown person's location
- Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 338-15
Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 11:32 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-43]

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Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:32 and 11:35 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-44]

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Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 11:35-11:42 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John N. Mitchell.

[Conversation No. 387-17A]

[See Conversation No. 24-45; two items have been withdrawn from this conversation]

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 11:37 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
The President talked with Patrick J. Buchanan between 11:40 and 11:41 am.

[Conversation No. 338-17B]

[See Conversation No. 24-46]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
-Blockade
-Comments
-William P. Rogers
-Powell
-Rush
-Powell
-John B. Connally
-Rogers
-Powell

Duke Law school reunion dinner
-Photograph session
-Weather
-Participants

Butterfield left at 11:42 am.

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:42 and 11:50 am
Location: Executive Office Building
The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-47]

Conversation No. 338-19

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 11:50 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 24-48]

Conversation No. 338-20

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 11:53 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-49]

Conversation No. 338-21

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown after 11:53-11:56 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 24-50]

Conversation No. 338-22

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:56 am and 12:05 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-51]

Conversation No. 338-23

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Between 12:05 and 12:06 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Adm. Arthur W. Radford.

[See Conversation No. 24-52]

Conversation No. 338-24

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:06 and 12:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-53]
Conversation No. 338-25

Date: May 9, 1972  
Time: Between 12:09 and 12:13 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Nelson A. Rockefeller.

[See Conversation No. 24-54]

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Conversation No. 338-26

Date: May 9, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:13 and 12:27 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-55]

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Conversation No. 338-27

Date: May 9, 1972  
Time: Between 12:27 and 12:29 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 24-56]
Conversation No. 338-28

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:29 and 12:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-57]

Conversation No. 338-29

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 12:31 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 24-58]

Conversation No. 338-30

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:31 and 12:37 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown topic
Date: May 9, 1972
Time: 12:37-1:12 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam
- Kissinger's previous press conference
  - Ronald L. Ziegler's report
  - Ronald W. Reagan and Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Talks with Kissinger

Rockefeller
- President's call
- Statement of support for the President
- President's call
- Letter from the President to Terence Cardinal Cooke
  - Responsibility

Vietnam
- Reagan
  - Support for the President
    - Telegram campaign
- Blockade
  - Melvin R. Laird
    - Television appearance
  - William P. Rogers
    - Public appearance
    - Kissinger’s view
    - Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Laird
  - Public relations abilities
  - Kissinger’s view
Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at an unknown time after 12:37 pm.

-Support for President's blockade decision
  -Kissinger
  -A Baptist official
    -Dr. [Forename unknown] Jackson
  -Kissinger's briefing
  -Negotiations
  -Press response
    -Attitude
      -Compared with Cambodia
  -Comments about the Soviet Union
  -Soviet Summit
-S-blockade
  -President's peace terms
  -Ceasefire, Prisoners of war [POWs], withdrawal
-Support
  -Democrats
    -President's support for John F. Kennedy in 1962 Cuban missile crisis
    -Effect on President's gubernatorial campaign
    -Rockefeller
  -Criticism
    -Reasons
-S-uration
-S-uccess
-North Vietnam offensive
  -Latest reports
    -Hue
    -Kontum
South Vietnam losses
   - A firebase

Hue

South Vietnam counteraction
   - Spoiling tactics

Blockade
   - Impact on South Vietnam morale
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Movement of forces
      - First Airborne Division

North Vietnam offensive
   - Hue
   - Kontum
   - Pleiku
   - Kontum

Blockade
   - Supporters of the President
      - Message from President to Sir Alexander F. (“Alec”) Douglas-Home
      - Congressional response
      - Possible vote on antiwar legislation

Air strikes
   - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
   - Public support
   - Targets
      - Petroleum, oils, and lubricants [POL] dumps

Blockade
   - Mining operation

Air strikes
   - POL dumps in Hanoi area
      - Protests from North Vietnam

Negotiations
   - US stance

North Vietnam offensive
   - Duration
      - Resources
      - POL
   - Air strikes in North Vietnam

President's decision to blockade
   - Forthcoming election
      - Edward M. Kennedy
   - Impact on US
- Soviet response
- Frank Shakespeare
  - Comments on Soviet position
- Soviet Summit
  - President's position
    - Kissinger's view
- Support for the President
  - Rockefeller
    - Call to the President

Harvard
- Request for Kissinger's resignation
  - Kissinger's conversation with a former colleague

Vietnam
- Press reports
  - James B. ("Scotty") Reston
- Rogers
  - Statements
  - Appearance
    - Meeting with J. William Fulbright
- President's speech
  - Comparison with other speeches
    - Previous speech on Vietnam
- Press comments
  - Joseph W. Alsop
  - Rowland Evans
    - President's policies
      - Withdrawal of troops
      - An unknown person's praise for speech
  - Alsop
- Stakes for US and the free world
  - Consequences of US defeat
    - The President's view
    - Military performance
      - Kissinger's view
- Air strikes
  - Power plants
    - Impact
  - Secondary targets
  - POL
  - Rails
- Germany in World War II
  - Targets in Britain
- Air fields
  - Timing
  - Red Cross
- Israelis

The President talked with Moorer between 12:56 and 12:58 pm.

[Conversation No. 338-31A]

[See Conversation No. 24-59]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- Blockade
- Moorer
- Public support
- Rogers
  - Statements
  - Subcabinet briefing
  - Statements
  - Subcabinet
- Support
  - Columnists
    - "Hawks"
  - Kissinger meeting
  - Richard ("Dick") Wilson
  - William S. White
  - Alsop
  - Evans

- Soviet Summit
  - Cancellation
  - Possibility
  - President's decision
  - Plans
  - Cancellation
    - Timing
  - A statement
    - Rogers
  - Postponement
Conv. No. 338-31 (cont.)

-Presidents Vietnam policies
  -Impact
-Blockade
  -Impact
-North Vietnam offensive
  -Possibility of South Vietnam defeat
    -US options
    -US Marines
      -Military exercises
  -South Vietnam operations
    -I Corps
    - Hue
-Air strikes
  -B-52 sorties
  -Intensity
    -Impact on North Vietnam
      -Compared with World War I artillery barrages
  -Abrams
    -Use of air power
    -Command structure
      -Forthcoming meeting

[Unintelligible]

Kissinger and Haig left at 1:12 pm.

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 and 1:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods (?).

Meeting with the President
  -Weather
Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown after 1:12 and before 1:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:17 pm.

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 and 1:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Vietnam
- Blockade
- Implementation
- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - Meeting with John C. Stennis
- Support for President

President's schedule
- Florida trip
- Soviet Summit
  - Cancellation
    - Timing
  - President's handling

Vietnam
- Blockade
- Demonstrations
The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Support for the President
    - Messages
      - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
      - Thomas A. Pappas

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Presidential's speech
  - Pappas's response
  - Mrs. Nixon
The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger at an unknown time between 1:17 and 2:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 338-35A]

Vietnam
  -Air strikes
  -PRC ships
    -Damage
    -Reports

[End of telephone conversation]

President's schedule
  -Camp David
  -Dinner for Duke Law School classmates
    -Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
    -Dance
    -Years of attendance
    -Reunion picture

An unidentified woman
  -Previous conversation with Woods
Vietnam
  - Blockade
  - President's speech
  - References to people of Soviet Union, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, US
  - References to Soviet Union

Soviet Union
  - Possible Summit cancellation
  - Responsibility for India-Pakistan war
  - Cuba
  - Policies toward Vietnam
  - Summit

President's policies
  - Necessity of victory in Vietnam

North Vietnam goals

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:17 and 2:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 338-3B]

Vietnam
  - Press release
    - Public support for the President
      - Kissinger
      - Soviet Summit
    - Publicity for President's position
      - Charles W. Colson
      - Albert E. Sindlinger poll

[End of telephone conversation]

Pro-Palestinian Arab guerrillas
  - Hijacking of Belgian plane
    - Demands
    - Rescue
    - Deaths

President's Vietnam policies
  - Need for strong leadership
- President's speech on the blockade
  - Opponents
  - Interviews with George Washington University students
    - Woods’s view
  - President's support for John F. Kennedy in missile crisis
    - Compared with Edward M. Kennedy
  - Support
    - Woods’s brother-in-law
  - Credit
    - Compared with John F. Kennedy
      - Second coming of Christ
      - John the Baptist
      - Saint Paul
      - Saint Peter
      - Absalom

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 1:17 pm.

Drinks

The President’s schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Privacy]
[Duration: _1m 18s_]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _1m 35s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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

Soviet Summit
- Possible cancellation
  - Mrs. Nixon
- Timing
  - Likelihood
  - Consequences

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _3m 8s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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

Soviets
  - The President’s view
  - Summit
    - US public opinion
    - The President’s view

Vietnam
  - President's previous speech on the blockade
  - Preparation time
    - Challenge in delivering speech
  - Support
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Dec-01)

Conv. No. 338-35 (cont.)

-Telephone call from Jack Cauley [sp?]
  -Southern Pines, North Carolina
-Public support
  -Stakes for US
    -Compared with England, France
    -Possible communist world domination
      -Woods’s view
- Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald W. Reagan
  -Telephone calls
    -John N. Mitchell

Rockefeller
  -Quality of support

Reagan
  -Woods’s view
  -The President’s view

Rockefeller
  -The President’s view

Ann Whitman
  -Invitation to White House
    -Dinner
    -Evening
    -Dinner for Mexican representatives
      -Tables
      -Setting
  -Woods’s view
  -Son
    -Rockefeller
    -Accomodations

White House dinners
  -Rockefeller
  -W. Kenneth Riland
  -Woods
  -Marina von N. Whitman
  -Next state dinner
  -Evening at the White House
    -Timing
    -California
Conv. No. 338-35 (cont.)

- Miami
- Plans
  - Frank A. Sinatra
  - "The Godfather"
  - Fred Waring
  - Movie evening with movie stars

Time of day

Woods left at 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 338-36

Date: May 9, 1972
Time: Unknown after 2:00 and before 4:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Greeting

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Conversation No. 338-37

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:22 and 11:32 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-72]

Conversation No. 338-38
Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Between 11:32 and 11:33 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 24-73]

Conversation No. 338-39

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Between 11:34 and 11:35 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 24-74; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Conversation No. 338-40

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:35 and 11:43 am
Location: Executive Office Building

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: .51s. ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Dec-01)

President's schedule
- Breakfast meeting with Wilbur D. Mills
- Meeting with Nikolai S. Patolichev
  - Mills
  - Reference to Harry S. Truman

Conversation No. 338-41

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 11:43 am-12:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Press reports
    - Confusion
- President's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Discussion
    - Polish language and Russian language
- Soviet summit
  - Cancellation
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Public response
- Blockade
  - Polls
    - Wilbur D. Mills
      - Comments about Harry S. Truman
  - Democrats
  - Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll
    - Network coverage
  - Albert E. Sindlinger and ORC polls
    - *New York Times* and *Washington Post* coverage
  - *New York Times* advertisement
    - Drafting
    - Sindlinger (?)
- Hugh Scott and Robert P. Griffin
  - Television appearance
-Defense of the President

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:43 and 11:49 am.

[Conversation No. 338-41A]

[See Conversation No. 24-75]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
  -Blockade
  -Supporters of the President
  -Criticism of Democrats
  -Scott
    -Defense of the President
    -Notification of Senate
      -Possible leaks
      -Military considerations
  -Opponents
    -The President’s view
  -Scott
    -John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson
      -Roles in Vietnam
    -Opposing senators
    -Network coverage
  -Melvin R. Laird press conference
    -Television coverage
  -Scott
    -Rhetoric
    -Press conference
      -Criticism of media
      -Effect on Capitol Hill

The President talked with Scott between 11:49 and 11:51 am.

[Conversation No. 338-41B]

[See Conversation No. 24-76]

[End of telephone conversation]
Vietnam
- Blockade
- Public support
  - Radio shows
  - Local polls
  - Publicity efforts

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:51 and 11:56 am.

[Conversation No. 338-41C]
[See Conversation No. 24-77]
[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- Blockade
- Public opinion
  - Change
    - Polls
    - Increase
  - Glenn J. Beall, Jr.
    - Call to Colson
      - Montgomery County, Maryland
    - Change in opinion
  - Richard S. Schweiker
  - Support for the President
    - Spontaneity
- Networks
  - Criticism
    - Scott, Griffin
  - Report on polls
  - Criticism
  - Credit
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - Frank Stanton
- Reports
  - Hue battle
    - CBS
    - Dan Rather
The President talked with Griffin between 11:56 and 11:57 am.

[Conversation No. 338-41D]

[See Conversation No. 24-78]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
-Blockade
-Public support
- A letter
-Polls
-Scott and Griffin
- *Today* show
- *Face the Nation* appearance
-Local polls

-Church
-National City Christian Church [Washington, DC]
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Minister
- Support for the President
- Letter to the President
- Church service invitation
-Denomination
- Whittier, California
- Doctrine
- Compared with Presbyterians
- Location
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Thomas Circle [Washington, DC]

-Press reports
- Warnings of possible World War III
- People's Republic of China [PRC] protests
  - Effect on foreign policy
    - President's PRC trip
    - Soviet Summit
    - Progress
- Letter to the President
  - Parents of killed-in-action [KIA]
  - Parents of Air Force enlistee
- Public support
  - Tone
  - Bakersfield City Council
  - Democrats
  - Letter and wires to the President
    - President, Dakota State College, Madison, South Dakota
    - College president
    - National Rifle Association [NRA]
      - Power
    - Cuban exiles
      - Rolando (?) Espinosa of Miami
- Cubans
  - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
- Letters to the President
  - Mufreesboro, Tennessee parents of enlistee
  - College Republicans
    - Scottsdale College
  - Democrats, liberals
    - Carl and Edna [Surname unknown]
  - President, Central Missouri State College
    - Warren [Surname unknown]
- Louis P. Harris poll
  - Results
    - Sindlinger and ORC polls
  - Publicity
- Messages to the President
  - Democrats
    - Max Barash
    - Poem
    - Young woman
  - Television
    - Western Union
  - Frank L. Rizzo
  - James Drury
-William E. Brock, III
-John Wayne
-Omar N. Bradley
-Mrs. Bradley
-Democratic affiliation
-Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor
-Letters to Congressmen
-Number
-Number for the President
-Ratio
-Messages to the White House
-Democrats
-Silence
-George S. McGovern
-Statements
-Hubert H. Humphrey
-Statements
-Barry M. Goldwater statement
-Dr. Carl McIntyre
-Rally for the President
-John Birch Society
-Statement
-Democrats in Congress
-Impeachment resolution
-John Conyers, Jr.
-Ronald V. Dellums
-Bella S. Abzug
-William Ryan
-Shirley Chisholm
-Emanuel Celler’s view
-Protests
-Prayer vigil
-[Forename unknown] Murphy
-Location
-Purpose
-The President’s view
-Criticism by a doctor
-Madison, Wisconsin
-Size
-Albuquerque protesters
-Haldeman’s view
-Television coverage
-Appearance
-Slogans
-Demonstrations
- Radicalism
- Moderates
  - Alienation
  - Cambodia
  - Kent State
-Wisconsin
-University of Minnesota
-Prayer vigil
  - Harold E. Hughes
  - Paul N. McCloskey
  - Abzug
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Alan Cranston
  - Kennedy
-William P. Rogers
  - Meeting with the President
  - Reason
    - A press story
      - John B. Connally
  - National Security Council [NSC] meeting
    - Kissinger
  - Business Council
  - Testimony
  - Press conference
    - Handling
  - Meeting with the President
    - Purpose
  - Press conference
    - Handling
    - Answer to Soviets
    - Handling
      - Laird
      - Congress
-Legislation
  - Funds predictability
  - Rogers
    - Administration line
    - Soviet Summit
    - Eagerness to make an appearance
Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 11:57 am.

[Conversion No. 338-41E]

- Copy of Congressional resolution
  - Location

[End of telephone conversation]

- Offensive capability
  - Surveillance
  - Kissinger
  - Delays
- Blockade
  - Soviet reply
  - Statement
  - Summit possibility
  - Meeting with Patolichev
  - Democrats
  - Polls
    - Results
    - Field
    - Questions
- US stakes in Vietnam
  - Communists
- Support
  - Scott
  - Beall
  - Frank F. Church

The President talked to an unknown person at an unknown time before 12:40 pm.

[Conversation No. 338-41F]
Kissinger’s location
  - Meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
  - Public relations
    - Advertisements
      - Herbert G. Klein
      - Republican publications
    - Attacks on media
      - Network executives and editors
        - Propaganda
        - News stories

Rockefeller
  - Talk with the President
  - New York Times story
    - Terence Cardinal Cooke
  - News stories
    - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
    - Washington Post
    - New York Times

A news story
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Polls
    - Telegrams and letters

Vietnam
  - President's policies
    - Polls
      - Publicity
      - Questions
        - Results
          - Change in opinion
        - Support for the President
          - Hawkish sentiment
          - Percentages
          - Compared with Cambodian action
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Vietnam
-Blockade
-Support for the President
-Laird
-Rogers
-International law
-Kissinger
-Meeting with Congressional leaders
-Schedule

Colson and Haldeman left at 12:40 pm.

Conversation No. 338-42

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:04 and 12:51 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the files.
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:51 pm.

Vietnam
   -Air strikes
     -Report
     -Bridges
     -Damage
   -Soviet Summit
   -Haiphong Harbor
     -Instructions
     -Soviet ships

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 12:53 pm.

   -Damage
     -Bridges
     -Petroleum, oils, and lubricants [POL]
       -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr. cable
     -USS Newport News
       -Shelling
     -Air strikes
       -POL
       -Power plants
         -Destruction
       -Impact
         -Le Duc Tho (?)
   -Blockade
     -Soviet protests
     -Mines
       -Soviet shipping
     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
   -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
     -Propaganda efforts
       -Leaflets
   -North Vietnam offensive
     -An Loc
       -Casualties
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:53 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:12 pm.

Vietnam
- Air strikes
- Intensity

Soviet Union
- German treaties
- Relations with Hanoi
  - North Vietnam public statements
    - Tone

Vietnam
- William P. Rogers
  - Public statements
    - Contents
    - Kissinger’s view
  - Press conference
    - Meeting with the President
      - Purpose
      - Advisability
      - Purpose
        - Legality of blockade
          - Soviet reply
          - Legislation on Vietnam
            - President's peace offer
  - Soviet statements
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Rogers
    - Public statements
      - Legality
      - Criticism of Soviets
- Peace offer
  - Interpretation
    - Kissinger’s view
  - Forthcoming testimony on Capitol Hill
 - Business Council
 - Press conference
- Blockade
  - Soviet ships
    - Kissinger’s previous conversation with Jerzy Michalowski
  - Soviet public statements
    - Tone
- President's Soviet trip [Soviet Summit]
  - Warsaw stopover
    - Approval
      - Significance
  - Announcement
  - Kissinger meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Summit
      - Camp David
    - Possible incident concerning Soviet ships
- President's meeting with Nikolai S. Patolichev
- Soviet response to President's previous speech
- US air strikes
  - Limitations
- Air strikes
  - Damage
- Soviet Summit
  - Cancellation
    - Likelihood
  - German treaties
    - Ratification
      - Willy Brandt’s role
  - Plenary sessions
  - US position
  - President's meeting with Foreign Trade Minister [Patolichev]
- Cancellation
  - Likelihood
  - President's meeting with Patolichev
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Significance
  - Soviet Union, Iran comparison
    - Mohammed Reza Tahlavi [Shah of Iran]
- Kissinger meeting with Dobrynin
  - Purpose
- Rogers
  - Public statements
    - Administration line
    - Soviet response
    - Advisability
      - Kissinger’s view
  - Effect

Kissinger left at 1:12 pm.

Vietnam
- Soviet Summit
  - Cancellation
    - Timing
  - Soviet intentions
  - President's position
  - Cancellation
    - US reactions
      - Public opinion
      - President's critics
        - Haldeman’s view
  - President's press conference
    - Scheduling
    - Timing
  - Soviet summit
    - News reports
      - Robert B. Semple, Jr.
      - John B. Connally
      - New York Times
      - John F. Osborne
      - Wall Street Journal
      - Effect

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 44s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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President's schedule
  - Camp David
  - Meeting with Rogers
  - Meeting with Wilbur D. Mills
  - Camp David

Vietnam
  - Support for the President

Haldeman left at 1:29 pm.

Conversation No. 338-43

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:29 and 1:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

President's schedule
  - Visit with Manolo Sanchez
  - Car

Conversation No. 338-44

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:29 and 1:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

President's schedule
  - Visit with Manolo Sanchez
-Car