

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 502-1

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 7:21 am and 8:05 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to Dean G. Acheson.

Memo to Acheson

- -President's administration
- -World War II
- -[Unintelligible]
- -"Present at the Creation"
- -National appreciation

Conversation No. 502-2

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 8:05 am and 8:14 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons met

[Unintelligible]

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 8:14 am.

Conversation No. 502-3

Date: May 20, 1971 Time: 8:16 am - 8:19 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with George W. Ball.

[See Conversation No. 3-78]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 502-4

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 8:19 am and 8:32 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez [?] left at an unknown time before 8:32 am.

Conversation No. 502-5

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: 8:32 am - unknown before 8:38 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

-Cabinet meeting, May 20, 1971

-Size

-Raymond K. Price, Jr.

-Table

-Seating

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[Unintelligible]

[First name unknown] Brown's attendance

[Unintelligible]

President's letter to Dean G. Acheson

Conv. No. 502-5 (cont.)

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

Conversation No. 502-6

Date: May 20, 1971 Time: 8:38 am - 9:02 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

President's telephone call to George W. Ball -Kissinger's call to Ball

President's letter to Dean G. Acheson -Substance of letter

Kissinger's call to Ball and John J. McCloy
-Drafting of letters
-Lauris Norstad

Administration's position a week ago

President's telephone call to Ball

- -Ball's views
 - -Kissinger
 - -Senate
 - -White House relations with State Department
 - -State Department

State Department

-Clark MacGregor

Tape Subject Log

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- -William P. Rogers
- -John N. Irwin, II
- -U. Alexis Johnson
- -Relations with White House
- -Kissinger's relationship with State Department officials
- -MacGregor
- -Kissinger's meeting with State Department officials
- -State Department
 - -Position on negotiations

Conv. No. 502-6 (cont.)

Congressional affairs

- -Kissinger's conversations with Charles McC. Mathias
 - -Mathias' views on his amendment
 - -Hubert H. Humphrey
 - -Jacob K. Javits
 - -Co-sponsors
 - -Kissinger's view of Mathias amendment
- -Humphrey's vote
- -Edmund S. Muskie's vote
- -Final votes
- -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's vote
- -President's successes
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement
 - -Backing of "establishment"
 - -Ball
 - -Cyrus R. Vance
 - -Acheson
 - -McCloy
 - -McGeorge Bundy
- -Rogers' strategy for dealing with Congress
 - -Implications for the White House
 - -MacGregor
 - -Rogers
 - -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield

President's upcoming meetings

- -President's remarks
 - -Kissinger's instructions on secrecy
 - -Cabinet
 - -Leaks

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Conv. No. 502-6 (cont.)

SALT agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -Cabinet meeting
- -Meeting of legislative leaders
- -President's announcement remarks
 - -Soviet position on offensive and defensive weapons
 - -US position on offensive and defensive weapons
 - -Soviets public position and statements
 - -President's SALT initiative
 - -Involvement of Moscow and Washington
 - -Television
 - -Playback in Moscow
 - -Language
 - -Agreement, understanding
 - -Grammar
 - -Negotiations
 - -Treaty
 - -US and Soviet Union relations
 - -Future
 - -Goals
 - -Prospects for other negotiations
 - -Next round of negotiations
 - -Rewording of remarks
 - -Future US and Soviet Union relations
- -Notification of Kissinger's staff
 - -Staff reaction
- -Reaction of White House staff
 - -Price
 - -William L. Safire
- -Reaction of Kissinger's staff to SALT announcement agreement

Congressional affairs

- -President's call to Senator John C. Stennis
 - -Stennis
 - -Leadership
- -Kissinger's conversation with Javits
 - -Stennis' position on Mathias amendment
 - -Kissinger's call to Stennis
 - -Stennis' views

SALT agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -President's announcement remarks
 - -Exact wording

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- -Level of negotiations
- -Extent of efforts
- -Expression of commitment

Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Reaction of Kissinger's staff

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:38 am.

Conv. No. 502-6 (cont.)

Cabinet meeting

-President's invitation to Rose Mary Woods

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:02 am.

An unknown woman [Marjorie P. Acker?] entered at an unknown time after 8:38 am.

Woods

-Location

The unknown woman [Acker?] left at an unknown time before 9:02 am.

Melvin R. Laird

Elliot L. Richardson

The President and Kissinger left at 9:02 am.

Conversation No. 502-7

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: 9:49 am - 10:03 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with William P. Rogers; the conversation was in progress when the recording began.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 10s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 Conv. No. 502-7 (cont.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [National Security] [Duration: 4m 53s]
MIDEAST
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Rogers left and Henry A. Kissinger and Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:54 am.
President's schedule
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement announcement -President's statement at 12:00 noon -Foreign policy -Possibility of leaks
Ziegler left at 9:55 am.

-Rogers

-Treaties

-President's meeting with Congressional leaders

-Unknown person's position

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- -Soviet position on offensive weapons
 - -Public statements
- -Kissinger's advice
- -Antiballistic Missile [ABM]
- -President's talking points with Congressional leaders
- -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Soviet Party Congress
 - -Kissinger's advice

Conv. No. 502-7 (cont.)

- -US strategy in dealing with Soviets
- -Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle [MIRV]
 - -Effect on negotiations
 - -Future possibilities
 - -Gerard C. Smith
- -US August 4 proposal
- -President's talking points with Congressional leaders
 - -MIRV
 - -Treaties
 - -Negotiations
- -George P. Shultz's meeting with Kissinger
 - -Shultz's views on the President and SALT negotiations
- -Donald H. Rumsfeld
- -President's talking points with Congressional leaders
 - -Objectives
 - -Negotiations
 - -Effect on Europeans
- -Rogers
- -Smith

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:55 am.

- -Rose Mary Woods' location
- -Melvin R. Laird
- -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- -Woods

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:03 am.

Kissinger left at 10:03 am.

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Conversation No. 502-8

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:03 am and 10:09 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Rose Mary Woods and Marjorie P. Acker

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

Conversation No. 502-9

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: 10:09 am - 10:12 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement announcement

- -President's talking points with Congressional leaders
 - -Defensive weapons
 - -Role for Kissinger
 - -Credit for the agreement
 - -Kissinger
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Gerard C. Smith
 - -President's initiative

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:09 am.

President's meeting with Congressional leaders

- -Carl B. Albert, [Thomas] Hale Boggs, Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill, Jr.
- -Gerald R. Ford and Leslie C. Arends
- -W. Averell Harriman
- -President's instructions

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:12 am.

Tape Subject Log

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- -J. William Fulbright
 - -Views on Kissinger's relations with Congress
 - -Congressional vote, May 19, 1971

SALT agreement announcement

-Smith

-Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle [MIRV]

Conv. No. 502-9 (cont.)

President's talking points with Congressional leaders

- -Effective presentation
- -Text of President's statement on May 20, 1971

Kissinger left at 10:12 am.

Conversation No. 502-10

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:10 am and 11:18 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]

Typewriter

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:18 am.

Conversation No. 502-11

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: 11:18 am - 11:59 am Location: Oval Office

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

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement Congressional briefing

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 502-11 (cont.)

```
J. William Fulbright
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- -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - -Allen J. Ellender
 - -F. Edward Hébert
 - -Staff reaction
 - -Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Effect
- -Cabinet meeting
 - -Reaction
 - -Undersecretaries
- -White House staff
 - -William L. Safire
- -John B. Connally's reaction
- -Treaty
- -Mansfield reaction
- -Yesterday's Congressional vote
- -William P. Rogers

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement

- -Kissinger
- -Soviet public opinion
- -US public opinion
 - -Soviet and American agreement
- -President's efforts

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 11:26 am.

Evening cocktails with President and Mrs. Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, May 20, 1971

- -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] staff
- -Rogers
- -Melvin R. Laird
- -National Security Council [NSC] members
- -Kissinger
- -Connally
- -Richard S. Schweiker
- -Other guests
- -Tricia Nixon
- -Julie Eisenhower
- -Mrs. Nixon
- -SALT delegation
- -Possible location
 - -Truman Balcony

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- -Yellow Room
- -Mrs. Nixon
- -Connally
- -Laird
- -NSC members
- -Richard M. Helms
- -John N. Mitchell
- -Refreshments
- -White House kitchen
- -Estimates of number of guests
- -Balcony
- -White House public rooms

Butterfield left at 11:31 am.

Press reaction to SALT agreement

- -Questions
- -Headlines
- -Kissinger
- -John A. Scali
- -Kissinger's relations with press
 - -Style of press conferences
- -Gallup poll ratings
 - -Ronald W. Reagan
 - -Spiro T. Agnew
 - -Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - -Reagan and Agnew

President's schedule

- -Lyndon B. Johnson Library dedication, May 22, 1971
 - -Departure time
 - -Length of flight
- -Upcoming visit of Malik Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud, King of Saudi Arabia
 - -Possible dinner
 - -Kennedy dinner
 - -Attendees
 - -Possible daytime event
 - -Arrival of Faisal and delegation

Conv. No. 502-11 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

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- -Morning meetings
- -Review of troops
- -Credentials
- -Press conference on May 28th
- -Options

Kissinger entered at 11:34 am.

Conv. No. 502-11 (cont.)

Congress and SALT agreement

- -Gerard C. Smith
 - -Performance at Congressional leader's meeting
- -Smith's and Kissinger's views on Congressional consultations regarding SALT
- -Smith's schedule
- -Meeting with Congressional leaders
- -Unknown person
- -President's meeting with Congressional leaders
 - -Kissinger's attendance
 - -Allen J. Ellender
 - -J. William Fulbright
 - -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - -John G. Tower
 - -Antiballistic Missile [ABM] efforts
- -Kissinger's press briefing, May 20, 1971
 - -Victor Riesel [?]
 - -United Press International [UP]
 - -Television people
 - -Unknown person
 - -Press

SALT agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -Text of President's statement
- -Kissinger's views

Kissinger left at 11:38 am.

- -Pointers for President's delivery
 - -Haldeman's views
 - -Press
 - -John D. Ehrlichman's views
- -Importance of announcement
- -Live television

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Butterfield entered at 11:40 am.

SALT announcement, May 20, 1971
-President's statement for press
-Change of wording
-Rose Mary Woods
-Butterfield's views

Conv. No. 502-11 (cont.)

Secretaries

White House internal operations

- -President's shower
 - -Hot water supply
 - -Repairs
 - -Rex W. Scouten
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson
 - -Hot water supply
- -White House plumbing
- -Water

Butterfield left and Stephen B. Bull entered at 11:43 am.

SALT agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -Location
 - -Press room
- -Equipment
 - -Lights
 - -Podium

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:47 am.

[The President talked with Gerald R. Ford between 11:50 am and 11:53 am]

[See Conversation No. 3-80]

[Conversation No. 502-11A]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 11:51 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

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SALT agreement announcement [?]
-Press
-Ronald L. Ziegler

Woods left at 11:54 am.

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

Conv. No. 502-11 (cont.)

President's meeting with Mark I. Goode

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:57 am.

Goode entered at 11:57 am.

SALT agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -Ziegler
- -White House Communications
 - -Announcement
- -Cameras
- -Unknown person
- -Time till President goes before cameras

Goode left and Kissinger entered at 11:58 am.

Kissinger's briefing of press, May 20, 1971

- -Peter Lisagor
- -[Forename unknown] Sheldon
- -Frank Cormier
- -Soviet position
- -Text of President statement announcing SALT agreement -Change of wording

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 11:59 am.

Conversation No. 502-12

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: 12:05 pm - 12:48 pm Location: Oval Office

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

President's announcement of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement

- -Haldeman's assessments
 - -Foreign policy statement
 - -Effect on viewers
 - -Press
 - -Dan Rather

Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)

- -Herbert E. Kaplow
- -John W. Chancellor
- -Rather's comments
 - -Surprise
 - -Moscow
- -Time in Washington, D.C. and in Moscow
- -Drama
- -Evening news
- -Length of President's statement
- -SALT talks
- -Limitation of nuclear arms
- -Text of President's announcement, May 20, 1971
 - -Introduction

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:10 pm.

- -Ziegler's views
- -Compared to Kissinger's earlier press briefing
- -Anti-ballistic missiles [ABM]
- -Rather's comments
 - -President
 - -Aleksei N. Kosygin
 - -Leonid I. Brezhnev
- -Camera coverage
- -Wire service coverage
 - -Kissinger's response

Kissinger entered at 12:27 pm.

- -New Republic
 - -U. Alexis Johnson [?]
- -Marianne Means [?]
 - -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
- -Text of President's announcement, May 20, 1971

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Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)

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-Change of wording
           -Soviet response
     -Kissinger's earlier press briefing, May 20, 1971
     -Chancellor's response
     -Rather
     -Marvin L. Kalb [?]
     -Preliminaries to President's announcement
     -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
           -Paris
     -Domestic policy
     -Soviets
     -President's relations with the press
     -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
     -Charles W. Colson
           -President's instructions
                -Senate
     -Soviets
     -Strategy for pursuing negotiations with Soviets
           -Offensive
          -Defensive
President's briefing of Congressional leaders, May 20, 1971
     -Senators
           -J. William Fulbright
          -Mansfield
          -Allen J. Ellender
           -Fulbright
                -Smoking habits
                -Reading
                      -Newspaper
     -Carl B. Albert's absence
           -Meeting with Capitol Architect
           -Informing the press
           -Spiro T. Agnew
           -Press
           -Veracity
SALT announcement
     -Kissinger's calls on May 20, 1971
           -George Meany
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-Response -Lyndon B. Johnson

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-Response
          -Howard Stein
          -Jack J. Dreyfuss, Jr. (?)
          -John J. McCloy
                -Response
     -Nelson A. Rockefeller's views
          -People's Republic of China [PRC]
          -SALT
                                                              Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)
     -Kissinger's earlier press briefing on SALT, May 20, 1971
          -Compared to Kissinger's Vietnam press briefings
     -ABM
     -Offensive weapons
     -Cameras
     -Press
     -Chinese
          -Message
          -Pakistani Ambassador
          -Joseph S. Farland
[Unintelligible]
          -Navy
          -Farland
          -Agha Muhommad Yahya Kahn
     -Official communication
     -John A. Scali
          -Reaction to announcement
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An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:27 pm.

Request for Scali

-Soviet reaction

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:31 pm.

SALT announcement

-National Security Council [NSC] members

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-Gerard C. Smith

- -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] staff
- -Photograph session in Oval Office
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Melvin R. Laird

President's briefing of Congressional leaders on SALT, May 20, 1971

-Smith's performance

Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)

- -Smith
 - -Negotiating efforts with the Soviets
- -George H. Mahon, F. Edward Hébert and Robert F. Byrd's comments
- -Republicans
- -Fulbright

Scali entered at 12:31 pm.

Scali's briefing on SALT, May 20, 1971

- -Smith
- -Howard K. Smith
- -Smith
 - -Johnson
- -SALT
- -US and Soviet Union positions
- -Negotiating strategy

SALT announcement

- -Press
- -Rather
- -United Press International [UPI]'s and Associated Press [AP]'s lead stories on President's SALT announcement, May 20, 1971
- -Timing
- -Coverage

President's previous Congressional briefing

- -Ellender, Hébert, Byrd, Mahon, John C. Stennis
- -Congressional response
 - -ABM

Kissinger left at 12:36 pm.

[The President talked with Tricia Nixon between 12:36 pm and 12:39 pm]

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[Scali and Haldeman can be heard in the background]

[See Conversation No. 3-83]

[Conversation No. 502-12A]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)

President's SALT agreement announcement

- -Chancellor
- -Tricia Nixon's views on length of President's comments
- -Drama
- -Scali
- -Chancellor
 - -Meeting with Kissinger

Scali's press briefing, May 20, 1971

- -Kissinger's press briefing, May 20, 1971
- -Senate
- -Negotiations with Soviets
- -Press
- -Post World War II world
 - -Importance of SALT
 - -Historical perspective

Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 12:39 pm.

- -US relations with Soviet Union and PRC
 - -Since World War II
- -Means

Kissinger, Ziegler, and Scali left at 12:43 pm.

Soviets

President's critics

PRC

Vietnam

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:45 pm.

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Letter to Acheson

President's SALT agreement announcement

- -Length
- -Drama
- -Television
- -Drama
- -Length

Conv. No. 502-12 (cont.)

Acheson letter

The President, Haldeman, and Woods left at 12:48 pm.

Conversation No. 502-13

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:42 pm and 1:44 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 3-84]

Conversation No. 502-14

Date: May 20, 1971 Time: 1:45 pm - 2:05 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

John A. Scali's [?] briefings
-Forthcoming meeting with [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
-Howard K. Smith
-John W. Chancellor
-Major briefing at 12:45, May 20, 1971

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- -Open attendance
- -Meeting at 2 o'clock, May 20, 1971
 - -Sevareid
 - -Smith
 - -Chancellor
 - -Marvin L. Kalb
 - -Richard G. Valeriani
 - -William A. Gill, Jr.
- -Meeting at 4 o'clock, May 20,1971
 - -Max Frankel
 - -Chalmers Roberts
 - -Associated Press [AP] and United Press International [UPI] diplomatic press

Conv. No. 502-14 (cont.)

- -William S. White
- -Roscoe Drummond
- -Ziegler's views
 - -Gerard C. Smith
 - -Scali
 - -Henry A. Kissinger's comments
 - -Impact on press
 - -Press

[The President talked with Justin W. Dart at an unknown time between 1:45 pm and 1:48 pm]

[See Conversation No. 3-85]

[Conversation No. 502-14A]

[End of telephone conversation]

Meeting with Kissinger

Ziegler left and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Scali entered at 1:48 pm.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement announcement, May 20, 1971

- -Press response
- -J. Henry Smith
- -Television instant analysis
- -Daniel Seymour's reaction
 - -Seymour's meeting with President several years ago
- -Staff
- -Television viewers response
- -Time of announcement in Washington, D.C. and Moscow

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Personnel Management

- -Scali [?]
 - -George A. Lincoln [?]
 - -National Security Council [NSC]
 - -Responsibility

Kissinger entered at 1:52 pm.

Conv. No. 502-14 (cont.)

- SALT agreement
 - -Soviet translation, US translation
 - -Kissinger's phone call to Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Treaty
 - -Agreement
 - -Dobrynin's press release
 - -Text President read

President schedule

-Future conversation with Scali

Scali left at an unknown time before 1:55 pm.

SALT agreement

- -Two o'clock briefing, May 20, 1971
- -US and Soviet text
- -Kissinger's call to Dobrynin
- -AP report from Moscow
 - -Two stage procedure
 - -Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] agreement
- -Letter
- -Television
- -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's statement
- -Soviet domestic radio
 - -One and two stage procedures

Ziegler entered at 1:55 pm.

- -Photographs
 - -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
 - -Release to the public

Ziegler left at 1:57 pm.

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- -Dobrynin press release, May 20, 1971
 - -US text of SALT agreement
- -Kissinger's views of Soviets
 - -SALT
 - -Cambodia
 - -Vietnam
 - -President's views

-State Department

Conv. No. 502-14 (cont.)

- -Upcoming Berlin meeting
 - -D[avid] Kenneth Rush
- -US and Soviet desires
- -Unknown person's (Dobrynin?) views
- -Kissinger's talk with Ronald W. Reagan
- -Unknown person (Dobrynin?)
- -Mansfield's statement
- -Treaty
- -Administration's position
- -Kissinger's calls to Dobrynin on May 19, 1971
- -President's television announcement
 - -Press interpretation
 - -AP in Moscow
- -Aleksei N. Kosygin's letter on SALT agreement
- -Press inquiries on the SALT agreement
 - -Kissinger's response
- -President's initiative on SALT
- -Kissinger's role in SALT agreement
- -Smith's role in SALT agreement
 - -Vienna
 - -Smith's views
 - -Kissinger's views
 - -Design of negotiations
- -Credit for the SALT agreement
 - -Smith
 - -Vienna
 - -Paul W. McCracken

Scali's [?] schedule

-Television

Kissinger left at 2:05 pm.

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 502-15

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm and 2:08 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-3 o'clock meeting
-George P. Shultz
-John D. Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:08 pm.

Conversation No. 502-16

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm and 2:08 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 3-86]

Conversation No. 502-17

Date: May 20, 1971 Time: 2:08 pm - 2:09 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-French embassy

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Bull left at an unknown time before 2:09 pm.

[The President talked with Leslie C. Arends between 2:08 pm and 2:09 pm]

[See Conversation No. 3-87]

[Conversation No. 502-17A]

Conv. No. 502-17 (cont.)

Conversation No. 502-18

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:09 pm and 2:16 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

President's schedule
-Charles W. Colson

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 2:16 pm.

Conversation No. 502-19

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:09 pm and 2:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to William P. Rogers.

Memorandum

- -Rough draft
- -Secret
- -Middle East

Charles W. Colson entered at 2:16 pm.

Tape Subject Log

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Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement announcement
     -Implications
     -Administration's position
     -President's political position
          -People's Republic of China [PRC]
          -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
     -Soviets
     -"Doves"
                                                               Conv. No. 502-19 (cont.)
     -Political opportunities
          -Hubert H. Humphrey's comments on February 1, 1971
                -Antiballistic missile [ABM], Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry
                     Vehicles [MIRV]
                -SALT negotiations
          -Edmund S. Muskie's comments on SALT
          -Humphrey
     -Democratic candidates position on SALT and ABM
          -Political implications
          -Humphrey
     -Senators
          -Supporters
          -Critics
     -President's credibility
     -John A. Scali, press
          -John W. Chancellor's commentary, May 20, 1971
     -President's political position
     -Muskie
     -Humphrey
     -SALT negotiations
     -Critics and commentators
     -Public opinion
          -Mystique
          -Length of announcement
          -President's stature
          -Arms
          -PRC
          -Public image of the President
          -Peace
     -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
     -Humphrey's comments
```

-"Doves"

-J. William Fulbright

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Public affairs

- -President's cabinet meeting on May 20, 1971
- -Casualties in South Vietnam
- -Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1941 freedom speech
 - -War production
 - -State of the country
 - -Political impact

Conv. No. 502-19 (cont.)

SALT agreement announcement

- -Moscow
- -Text of the SALT agreement
- -Treaty
 - -ABM
- -Mood of the country
- -Muskie's statement
- -Humphrey
- -Muskie
- -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- -ABM
- -Offensive weapons
- -Colson's call to Thomas J. McIntyre
 - -Vote on ABM

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 4m 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- -John Sherman Cooper
- -George D. Aiken

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

ABM

-Opponents

-Political future

-Barry M. Goldwater's support

-Call from Clark MacGregor

-Colson's earlier call to Jay Lovestone

Colson left at 2:46 pm.

Conv. No. 502-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 502-20

Date: May 20, 1971 Time: 2:47 pm - 3:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

- -President's SALT agreement
- -Soviets
- -Negotiations
 - -Strength
- -President's SALT agreement television announcement
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - -Dan Rather's comments
 - -Defensive
 - -Offensive
 - -Negotiations
 - -Marvin L. Kalb's comments
 - -Edmund S. Muskie's question
 - -President's performance

US economy

- -Collective bargaining
 - -1973
 - -1972
 - -Longshoremen
 - -General Electric [GE] Westinghouse
- -Peter G. Peterson's meeting with economic leaders

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

- -Herbert G. Klein
- -John B. Connally
- -Maurice H. Stans
- -Policy coordination
 - -Connally
 - -Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
 - -Domestic Council
 - $-Meeting\ of\ Connally,\ Paul\ W.\ McCracken,\ Peterson,\ Peters$
 - -Schedule
 - -Stans
 - -James D. Hodgson
 - -Labor Department statistics
 - -Prices
 - -Employment level
 - -Commerce Department statistics
 - -Stans
 - -Hodgson
 - -Stans
 - -Flanigan
 - -Stans
 - -McCracken
 - -Connally's relationship with Arthur F. Burns
- -Meeting of Quadriad, May 21, 1971
 - -McCracken
 - -Herbert Stein
 - -Monetary policy and interest rates
- -Burns' statement in Congressional testimony, May 19, 1971
 - -Interest rates and international monetary system
 - -US dollar
 - -Money speculation
 - -Germans
 - -German Mark
- -International monetary conference
 - -Ambassador from the Hague
 - -Shultz's view
- -German Mark
 - -Lunch at French Embassy
 - -Valery Giscard D'Estaing
 - -Shultz, Connally, Burns, Flanigan
 - -Food
 - -Giscard D'Estaing's view on the German Mark
 - -Burns' view on the German Mark

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-German's Views on the German Mark
                -Parity
          -Capital Flows
                -Giscard D'Estaing's views
          -Giscard D'Estaing's views
                -Fiscal restraint
                -Economic stimulation
-Fiscal policy
                                                          Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)
     -Burns' views
     -Implementation
     -Congressional spending
          -Politics
          -Republicans
          -1972
          -Veto
     -Estimate of Fiscal 1971 deficit
          -$21 billion
          -Government expenditure
                -Full employment revenue bill
                -Treasury measurements of income
     -Estimate of Fiscal 1972 deficit
          -$18 billion
                -Full employment revenue
     -Fiscal policy stimulative power
          -Expansionary status of US economy
     -State of the economy
          -Expansionary
          -Inflation
          -President's position
                -Antiballistic Missile [ABM] negotiations
                -SALT talks
          -Government budget
          -Burns
                -Social Security tax
          -Consumer Price Index [CPI] figure
                -Forthcoming announcement
                -Food prices
                     -Percentage of CPI
          -Burns
                -Monetary policy and interest rates
```

-Government budget -Shultz

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-International monetary developments
                -Connally
                -Bankers meeting in Munich, Germany
                -US economic policy
                     -Shultz's view
                           -Domestic priority
-Proposed Committee of Economic Policy
     -Stans
                                                          Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)
     -President's meetings with Hodgson and Stans
     -George W. Romney
     -John A. Volpe
     -Ehrlichman's meetings with Stans
     -Stans
          -Role in economic matters
-Meetings of the Quadriad
     -Burns' views on membership in the Quadriad
     -Peterson
     -Connally, McCracken, Flanigan, Shultz
     -Burns
-Balance of payments statistics
     -Stans' meeting with President
     -Russell B. Long's views on computation of Balance of Payments [BOP]
          statistics
     -Shultz's new system for computing BOP
          -Short and long-term movements
          -Stans
          -Long
          -Shultz's testimony on May 21, 1971 before International Committee
          -Stans' letter to Shultz
                -Leaks
                -Stans' meeting with President
                -President's approval
                -Long's reaction
     -President's meeting with Stans
          -President's instructions
     -Shultz's new system
          -Imports
          -Exports
                -Government subsidies
```

-International trade

-Previous meeting with President

-Government subsidies

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-Shultz's views on subsidies
                -Market
          -Henry Kearns
                -Budget
          -La Pantha [sp?]
          -Rolls Royce
          -Lockheed
          -Boeing
                                                              Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)
Supersonic Transport [SST]
     -Status
John W. Bynes
     -Social Security
Nathaniel A. Owings
     -National Mall
     -Owing's presentation for President in 90 days
Manpower special revenue sharing
     -Trip to Birmingham, Alabama
     -Southern Congressmen
     -Byrnes [?]
     -Romney
          -Urban special revenue sharing
     -Hodgson
          -Manpower special revenue sharing
     -Stein
          -CEA
                -Hendrik S. Houthakker
                -Europe
     -White House strategy
          -President's meeting with press
     -Birmingham
Ronald W. Reagan
     -Edwin Meese III's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
     -Reagan's position
          -White House's Legal Service's Bill and HR 1
     -Edwin Reinecke
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
Vacancies in the Federal judiciary
```

- -Former law partner of the President, named [Forename unknown] Liddig (?)
 - -Unknown law firm
 - -Rating by American Bar Association [ABA]
- -Stanley N. Barnes
 - -Rating by ABA
- -Liddig (?)
 - -Political allegiances

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

-Earl [Surname unknown]

- Court of Military Appeals
 -Albert W. Watson
 - -Two vacancies
 - -Blacks
 - -Robert E. Quinn
 - -William H. Darden
 - -Frederick V. Malek
 - -Blacks
 - -Edward F. Brooke
 - -Future appointments

Executive Departments

- -Retirement of assistant secretaries and undersecretaries
- -Political impact
- -Recruiting replacements
- -Political impact
 - -Upcoming election
- -Richard C. Van Dusen, Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- -SST
 - -William M. Magruder
 - -Job offer with aerospace industry -Salary

Congressional relations

- -Parks
- -House Armed Services Committee
 - -F. Edward Hébert
 - -Camp Pendelton, California
 - -Legislation
 - -Marine Corps
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Arnold R. Weber's meeting with Hébert

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-Laird in Louisiana
          -Hébert's reaction
     -California
-H R 1
     -Byrnes
     -Republicans
     -Social Security
          -Aged
                                                          Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)
     -Meeting with Laird
          -Byrnes
-General revenue sharing
     -Byrnes
     -Laird
     -Chairman
          -Cities, states
          -Speech on May 20, 1971 in North Carolina legislature
                -Shultz's views
     -Legislative leaders
     -California democrat
     -Romney
     -State Department
     -Wilbur D. Mills
     -Suggested meeting between Ehrlichman and Laird
     -Byrnes
     -Cabinet meeting on May 20, 1971
     -Mills
-Social Security
     -Byrnes [?]
     -Apologies
     -Republicans
     -Aged
     -Unknown person
     -Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
```

Revenues

- -Treasury Department estimates
- -Full employment revenues
- -Gross National Product [GNP]
- -Expenditures for 1971
- -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
- -1971 deficit
- -Fiscal 1973

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-Full employment revenues
          -Fiscal 1973 budget
          -Tax system
                -Tas raises
                -Property tax
                     -Burden
                     -Raises
                -Secretary (Connally?)
                                                                     Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)
                -John N. Mitchell
                -Political impact of changing tax system
                -Need for Presidential decision
                     -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
                           -President's schedule
           -Child care
                -Unknown person's bill
                -Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
                     -Revenue Sharing financing
                -Kevin P. Phillips' backing of unknown person's bill
                     -OMB
                     -Phillips' wife
                           -Job with the Committee
     Black Caucus
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:47 pm.
     President's schedule
          -Meeting with Kissinger
```

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

Employment

Education

Housing

Black Caucus

-President's record

Civil Rights Commission
-Theodore S. Hesburgh

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

```
-June 14th, 1971 hearing on housing
```

-Subpoenas of assistant secretaries

- -Samuel C. Jackson
- -Samuel J. Simmons
- -Statement prepared for the President

Haldeman entered at 3:15 pm.

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

```
Dr. Bertram S. Brown
```

-Firing

-Reconsideration

-Elliot L. Richardson

- -Brown
 - -Richardson's view
- -Richardson's appointment request
- -John W. Dean, III
- -Egil G. ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
- -Malek
- -Position on narcotics
- -Dean
- -Krogh
- -Weber
- -Richardson
 - -Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
- -Brown
 - -Drug traffic
 - -Marijuana
- -President's meeting with Arthur G. ("Art") Linkletter on May 18, 1971

Ehrlichman and Shultz left at 3:43 pm.

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:15 pm and 3:44 pm]

[See Conversation No. 3-89]

[Conversation No. 502-20A]

[End of telephone conversation]

Donald H. Rumsfeld

-Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

- -Knowledge
- -Knowledge of National Security Council [NSC]
- -President's plan
 - -George A. Lincoln

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:43 pm.

President's schedule

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

- -Meeting with Kissinger
- -President's appointment at 4 o'clock

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:46 pm.

[The President talked with Mrs. Lee, Weber's secretary, at an unknown time between 3:43pm and 3:46 pm]

[See Conversation No. 3-90]

[Conversation No. 502-20B]

[End of telephone conversation]

Connally

-Treasury

Kissinger entered at 3:46 pm.

SALT agreement

- -Soviet clarification statement
 - -Soviet Embassy's press secretary
 - -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Distribution
- -Kissinger's briefings
 - -John W. Chancellor

President's schedule

- -Haldeman's call to Connally
 - -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Connally

Haldeman left at 3:48 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

SALT agreement announcement

- -Headlines
- -Chancellor, [Arnold] Eric Sevareid, [Forename unknown] Morgan (?), Marvin L.

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

Kalb

- -Understanding of SALT agreement
- -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - -Dan Rather and Kalb
- -Kissinger's briefings
 - -Gerard C. Smith
- -Kissinger's phone calls
 - -McGeorge Bundy
- -President's thoughts on Kissinger
- -Bundy
 - -Reaction to announcement
 - -Offer of assistance
 - -Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Haldeman entered at 3:49 pm.

President's schedule

- -Haldeman's conversation with Connally
 - -Connally's reaction

SALT agreement announcement

- -Bundy's offer of help
 - -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 - -J. William Fulbright
- -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- -Harold E. Hughes
- -George D. Aiken
- -Democrats
 - -Hubert H. Humphrey
 - -Charles W. Colson
 - -Mindset
 - -President
 - -Mindset
 - -Colson's report on a Humphrey speech on Antiballistic Missiles [ABM], Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle [MIRV] and arms talks

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Edmund S. Muskie
-Someone Kissinger sent to see Muskie
-Dean G. Acheson
-Kissinger's call

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:49 am 3:53 pm]

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

[See Conversation No. 3-91]

[Conversation No. 502-20C]

[End of telephone conversation]

SALT agreement announcement

- -[Forename unknown] Kleiman of New York Times
 - -Kissinger's call
 - -Kleiman's comments

[The President talked with the White House operator at 3:53 pm]

[See Conversation No. 3-92]

[Conversation No. 502-20E]

[End of telephone conversation]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 3:53 pm.

Copy of President's memo to Acheson, May 20, 1971

Woods left at 3:54 pm.

- -Dobrynin's call to Kissinger
 - -Soviet press release
 - -Offer to call Senators

Statement President made to the Rules Committee

- -Albert J. Beveridge
- -[First name unknown] Marshall
- -[First name unknown] Bowers [?]
- -Text of statement

Tape Subject Log (rev. 9/08)

-Partisanship -1898	
-Patriotism	
SALT agreement -William P. Rogers -Laird -Military -Military -Kissinger's forthcoming call to Rogers -Rogers' meeting with President -Photographs -U. Alexis Johnson's comments	ıt.)
Shultz	
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:54 pm and 3:56 pm]	<u>[</u>
[See Conversation No. 3-93]	
[Conversation No. 502-20F]	
[End of telephone conversation]	
Laird	
******************************	**
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Privacy] [Duration: 14s]	
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4	
******************************	**
The President talked with Shultz between 3:56 pm and 3:57 pm]	

[See Conversation No. 3-94]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

[Conversation No. 502-20D]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 3:58 pm.

Conv. No. 502-20 (cont.)

Conversation No. 502-21

Date: May 20, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:58 pm and 9:43 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown person talked with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:43 pm.