



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 543-1

Date: July 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:49 pm and 5:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with William P. Rogers; this recording begins at an unknown time while the meeting is in progress.

Foreign relations

- Negotiations
- Rogers' conversation with Clark MacGregor
- Foreign policy briefing for members of Congress
  - George H.W. Bush, Rogers
  - Henry A. Kissinger's briefings
    - Samuel L. Devine's group
    - Barry M. Goldwater's group
- National Review* hoax on secret Vietnam War documents
  - Walter Cronkite's reaction to hoax revelation
  - William F. Buckley, Jr.

Pentagon Papers

- Effect of case on the Democrats
  - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy, John F. Kennedy
  - Edmund S. Muskie

The US initiative towards the People's Republic of China [PRC]

- Poll taken in Japan
  - Effect on Asian and world peace
  - The PRC
  - Japan's policy towards the PRC
  - Japan vis-a-vis the US
  - United Nations [UN] membership
    - The PRC, Taiwan, Republic of China [ROC]
    - Two-China policy
- UN membership for PRC, Taiwan

Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's Congressional resolution

- Rogers' conversation with Kissinger and MacGregor
- Mansfield's possible concurrent resolution on PRC
  - Kissinger

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Diplomatic credentials ceremony, July 22, 1971

-Haiti, Laos, Fiji, Sierra Leone

Mansfield's resolution

Kissinger entered at 4:05 pm.

Mansfield's resolution

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

-Support for the President's foreign policy

-Mansfield amendment

-Forthcoming foreign policy endeavors

-Rogers' conversation with Mansfield

-Memorandum

-Wording

-Vietnam ceasefire

-Coordination with John C. Stennis

-Vietnam ceasefire, withdrawal of military forces, prisoners of war [POWs]

-Date

-The President's October 7, 1970 speech

-Hanoi

-Effect of resolution on relations between the President and Congress

-MacGregor

PRC initiative

-White House efforts

-Briefings of Congressmen on the PRC

-MacGregor

-Attendees

-Forthcoming US-PRC summit

-Comparison with previous summits

-Kissinger's 1968 article

-Changes after meeting the President

-Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy's meetings with

Soviet leaders

-The President's speech

-Japanese poll

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 12s ]

SUDAN

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- The PRC initiative
  - Public response
    - Letters
    - Young people's reaction

- UN
  - China representation issue

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 13m 7s ]

CHINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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- Japanese poll
  - Two-China policy
    - Microcosm of global opinion

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Vietnam War

- Status of negotiations
  - Speculations on the effect of the PRC initiative
    - Chou En-lai
    - Recent statements
- Seven Points
  - Chou's statements to student group Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)
  - Rogers' recent conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

The PRC

- Dobrynin's comments
- People
  - The Long March
- Chou En-lai
  - Background

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[National Security]  
[Duration: 5m 41s ]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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Japan

- Forthcoming Joint Cabinet Ministers meeting
  - Date
  - Eisaku Sato
  - Takeo Fukuda
  - Dinner

Rogers' schedule

- Forthcoming meeting with Indian Ambassador

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m 38s]

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA [ROC]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Middle East

-Europe

Dalai Lama

-Schedule

-Postponement

-Film on Tibet produced by the US Information Agency [USIA]

Voice of America [VOA]

-Broadcasts

-USSR

Handling of memoranda

The PRC trip results

-Frozen financial assets in Western banks

-Belgium bank

-Cultural, student exchanges

-Table Tennis team

-Peking opera

-Cultural events

Japan

-Cancellation of visit by five US senators

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- J. William Fulbright
- Kissinger's conversation with Robert A. Taft, Jr. (?)
  - The PRC
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- Forthcoming US trip by Fukuda and other Ministers
  - Dinner
    - Nobuku Kishi
    - Fukuda's political situation
- Nobuhiko Ushiba
  - Rogers and U. Alexis Johnson

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting with Melvin R. Laird

Rogers left at 4:51 pm.

The PRC initiative

- Letters from abroad
- Forthcoming trip by the President
  - Advance work
    - John D. Ehrlichman
      - Position
    - PRC perceptions
    - US delegation
    - Dwight L. Chapin
    - Coordination
      - Kissinger
      - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Ronald H. Walker
    - Kissinger's forthcoming trip to the PRC
      - Walker
    - Level of staff
    - Ehrlichman
  - Vernon A. Walters' contacts with the PRC
    - Treatment

UN membership

- Taiwan
  - US stance on issue
  - Chiang Kai-shek
    - Public support

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

PRC initiative

- Kissinger's briefing of Congressional leaders
  - MacGregor
- Mansfield's resolution
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Wording
  - Mansfield
- Forthcoming US-PRC Summit
- Perceptions, expectations
  - USSR, Vietnam

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[National Security]

[Duration: 3s ]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

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- Kissinger's briefing of Congressional leaders
  - The President
  - Vietnam

Schedule

- Meeting on Vietnam
  - Kissinger's prior commitment to meet with Nelson A. Rockefeller
- The President's schedule
  - Laird meeting
  - Kissinger's schedule
  - Haldeman's schedule
    - Rockefeller
    - Anne Whitman's call

Vietnam

- Status of negotiations

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Le Duc Tho
- Projected November 1971 announcement
- POWs
  - Senate
- Situation of the Army of South Vietnam [ARVN]
  - Laird
    - Stockpiling of supplies

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

- Rockefeller's schedule
  - Whitman
  - Dinner

Kissinger left at 5:05 pm.

Conversation No. 543-2

Date: July 22, 1971  
 Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:16 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- Schedule
  - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Forthcoming Presidential briefing in the Cabinet Room

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:16 pm.

Conversation No. 543-3

Date: July 22, 1971  
 Time: 5:16 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

[See Conversation No. 6-186]

Conversation No. 543-4

Date: July 22, 1971  
Time: 5:16 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

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

Schedule

The President and the unknown man [Bull?] left at 5:16 pm.

Conversation No. 543-5

Date: July 22, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 5:17 pm and 5:35 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people (Secret Service?) met.

[Telephone rings]

An unknown person talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:17 pm and 5:35 pm.

The President's location  
-Cabinet Room

[An unknown person (Secret Service?) talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:17 pm and 5:35 pm]

[Conversation No. 543-5A]

The President's location  
-Cabinet Room

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/08)

[End of conversation]

This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 5:35 pm.

Conversation No. 543-6

Date: July 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:35 pm and 6:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown man.

[Conversation No. 543-6A]

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[End of conversation]

Haldeman entered at 5:36 pm.

The President's schedule

- The President's meeting with Melvin R. Laird
- Forthcoming visit to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Public reaction
- Motorcade and communications considerations
  - Radio communication

Laird and Henry A. Kissinger entered at 5:36 pm.

[The President talked with the White House operator at 5:36 pm]

[Conversation No. 543-6B]

[Telephone call not completed]

[End of telephone conversation]

Gloria Steinem

- Contact with Kissinger, the President
- Dinner with Laird
- Merv Griffin

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- New Yorker*
- Contacts during campaign in 1968
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Foreign relations

- US-Japan
  - Laird's trip to Japan
    - Changes in Cabinet
      - Former Defense Agency Chief
        - Yasuhiro Nakasone
        - New Defense Agency Chief
          - Eisaku Sato
  - Review of Japanese defense forces
    - Seventh and Eleventh Divisions
      - Troops
      - Equipment
    - Compared to Germany and the US

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 9s]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- Military equipment
  - US sales to Japan
  - Budget
    - Size of Japanese Defense Forces
    - Modernization
      - Japanese Air Force
        - F-4 Phantoms
- US policy towards Japan

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

- National Security Decision Memorandum [NSDM]
- Economic Assistance Fund
  - Vietnam
  - Cambodia
- Japan's role in Asia

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Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 56s ]

CHINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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- Laird's trip to Japan
  - Laird's conversations with Japanese officials
    - The Nixon Doctrine
    - PRC
  - Announcement of the PRC initiative
    - Taiwan
    - Spiro T. Agnew, John B. Connally, Donald H. Rumsfeld

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 3m 44s ]

MILITARY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

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- Laird's conversation with Sato
  - The President's July 6, 1971 Kansas City speech
  - PRC
  - Rochester, New York, Alabama
- Laird's meeting with Japanese Ambassador (Nobuko Uchida) UNbib543-6 (cont.)
  - William P. Rogers
  - Sato
  - Diet
- First visit by a Secretary of Defense
  - Okinawa

An unknown man (Manolo Sanchez?) entered at an unknown time after 5:36 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown man (Sanchez?) left at an unknown time before 6:20 pm.

- US Embassy in Japan
  - Staff
  - Armin H. Meyer
  - Compared to US Embassy in the Republic of Korea [ROK]
    - Staff
    - William J. Porter
    - Military attaché
    - Porter
- US-ROK relations
  - Laird's trip to ROK
  - Modernization

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[National Security]

[Duration: 4m 47s ]

KOREA

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/08)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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- Visits with ROK troops
- Visits with US troops Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)
- Drug abuse
- Japan
- Sexual activity
- ”Trial marriages”
- Kissinger’s opinion
- Contraception, abortion
- Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
- People’s Democratic Republic of Korea [PDRK]
- Proximity of PDRK Air Force to Seoul
- Laird’s 1955 visit to ROK

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

[National Security]  
[Duration: 1m 40s]

KOREA, UNITED NATIONS [UN]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

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- US military
- Morale
- ROK
- Japan
- Drug abuse
- Laird’s conversation with Jerome H. Jaffe
- Hawaii

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Perceptions from news reports
  - Walter Cronkite
- Troops in South Vietnam
  - Heroin
  - Marijuana
- Public perception

South Vietnam

Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

- Military supplies
  - Future conditions
    - US troop withdrawal
    - Congressional funding
  - Effect on negotiations
- Possible settlement
  - Effect

David Packard

- The President's conversations during Laird's absence
- Trip to California
  - Bohemian Grove
- Conversation with Kissinger
- Departure from office

The Vietnam War

- US forces
- Fire Base Mary Ann
  - Kissinger's knowledge
  - Command problems
  - Casualties
  - Investigation
    - The Geneva Convention violation
      - Burning of North Vietnamese bodies
        - Compared to Guadalcanal
          - United State Marine Corps [USMC]
          - Japanese Casualties
- Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
  - Possible US action
    - Troop strength
    - Potential casualties
    - South Vietnam
      - Casualties

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

- Timing
  - PRC trip
  - B-52 bombing sorties
- Laos
  - Military situation
    - Press coverage
      - Cambodia
    - Plain of Jars
      - Meo tribesmen
      - Souvanna Phouma
      - North Vietnam
  - Cambodia
    - Situation
      - Conroys
        - Pnhom Penh
      - Lon Nol
        - Compared with perception given by network television coverage
  - North Vietnam
    - Military situation
      - Laos
      - Cambodia
      - Effect of US bombing sorties
- Congress
  - Laird's testimony
    - John C. Stennis
    - Stance
      - Laos
      - Negotiations
  - Anti-ballistic missiles [ABM]
  - Weapons tests
  - Military manpower
    - Troop strength in South Vietnam
    - Selective Service
  - PRC initiative
    - Congressional support for the President
  - Armed Services committees
    - Laird's testimonies
      - Effectiveness
        - Department of the Army
          - Budget
          - Morale

Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/08)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Privacy]

[Duration: 37s]

Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Spiro T. Agnew

- Laird's Congressional testimony
- Blacks
  - Effect of comments on voters
  - Perceptions

Laird left at an unknown time before 6:20 pm.

Nelson A. Rockefeller

- Forthcoming meeting
  - President's schedule
- Support for the administration's policies
  - Compared to John V. Lindsay
  - Kissinger's advice

Vietnam War settlement

- Forthcoming negotiations in Paris
  - Possibility of cancellation
- Record of secret negotiations
- Options for US action

Rockefeller

- Support for the President
  - The President's leadership
- Rockefeller's New York contacts
- Effectiveness of comments

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

The PRC initiative

-Letters to Kissinger

-Harvard professor

Kissinger left at 6:20 pm.

Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

Conversation No. 543-7

Date: July 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 6:20 pm and 6:25 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?].

President's schedule

-Items to be signed

The unknown man [Butterfield?] left at an unknown time before 6:25 pm.

Conversation No. 543-8

Date: July 22, 1971

Time: 6:25 pm - 6:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

David M. Kennedy

-Possible Ambassadorial appointment

-Haldeman's conversation with John B. Connally

-Loyalty to the President

-Compared to businessmen

-State Department influence

-Support for appointment

-Henry A. Kissinger

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

Eisenhower silver dollar

- Value
  - Forms available
  - Presentation gifts
  - Treasury Department
- Appropriateness

George H. Gallup poll

Conv. No. 543-8 (cont.)

- Preliminary result

Kissinger entered at 6:28 pm.

The People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative

- Letter to Kissinger
  - Handling of initiative
    - Contrast with Cambodian action
  - Chairman of group from Harvard University
- Letter from Franklin Murphy to Haldeman, Kissinger
  - Trip to Japan
- George Franklyn's letter
- Leader class
  - Reaction
- Vatican statement
- Letter
  - Richard E. Neustadt
    - Kennedy Center at Harvard
      - Robert F. Kennedy, Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- Max Frankel's comment to Kissinger
  - Effect of initiative on the world
- PRC initiative announcement
  - Word count

Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Nelson A. Rockefeller

Kissinger left at 6:35 pm.

The PRC initiative

- Poll results
  - Dwight L. Chapin
  - Approval of the President
  - Effect of initiative
    - Recent effect of Pentagon Papers case

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/08)*

-Approval, disapproval

[Haldeman talked with an unknown member of his staff at an unknown time between 6:35 pm and 6:46 pm]

[Conversation No. 543-7A]

Request for folder of poll results

Conv. No. 543-8 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

The PRC initiative

-Poll results

-Upcoming Louis Harris poll

-Approval, disapproval

-Types of people in poll sample

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 6:35 pm.

Delivery of poll results

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:46 pm.

Charles E. Chamberlain return telephone call

The PRC initiative

-Poll results

-Harris, Gallup

-Types of people polled

-Blacks

-Students

-Youth support

-Awareness, approval

-Education, age, gender, income level, region

-Amount of very favorable rating

-Effect

-Chapin

Schedule

-July 23, 1971

-Time of meetings

-Kissinger

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/08)*

The President and Haldeman left at 6:46 pm.

Conversation No. 543-9

Date: July 22, 1971

Time: 6:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 543-8 (cont.)

Unknown men (Secret Service?) met.

The President's location

This recording was cut off at 6:46 pm.