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
Diplomatic credentials ceremony, July 22, 1971
- Haiti, Laos, Fiji, Sierra Leone

Mansfield's resolution

Kissinger entered at 4:05 pm.

Mansfield's resolution
- 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
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 12s]

SUDAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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

UN
- China representation issue

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4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

CHINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Japanese poll
- Two-China policy
- Microcosm of global opinion
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
    - Rogers’ recent conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[National Security]
[Duration: 5m 41s]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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

Rogers’ schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Indian Ambassador
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: 1m 38s]

TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA [ROC]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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
- 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

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
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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Duration: 3s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

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
Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

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

Rockefeller's schedule
  - Whitman
  - Dinner

Kissinger left at 5:05 pm.

Conv. No. 543-1 (cont.)

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.
Conversation No. 543-4

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

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

[End of conversation]

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
- *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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Duration: 9s]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Military equipment
  - US sales to Japan
  - Budget
  - Size of Japanese Defense Forces
  - Modernization
  - Japanese Air Force
    - F-4 Phantoms
  - US policy towards Japan
-National Security Decision Memorandum [NSDM]
- Economic Assistance Fund
  - Vietnam
  - Cambodia
- Japan’s role in Asia

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

CHINA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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

MILITARY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
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 (Nobutaka Ushiba)
  - 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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: 4m 47s]
- Visits with ROK troops
- Visits with US troops
- 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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Duration: 1m 40s]

KOREA, UNITED NATIONS [UN]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

US military
- Morale
- ROK
- Japan
- Drug abuse
- Laird’s conversation with Jerome H. Jaffe
  - Hawaii
- Perceptions from news reports
  - Walter Cronkite
- Troops in South Vietnam
  - Heroin
  - Marijuana
- Public perception

South Vietnam
- 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]
  - Possible US action
  - Troop strength
  - Potential casualties
  - South Vietnam
    - Casualties

Conv. No. 543-6 (cont.)

Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)
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
    -Pnom 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
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Privacy]
[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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
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
Eisenhower silver dollar
- Value
  - Forms available
    - Presentation gifts
    - Treasury Department
- Appropriateness

George H. Gallup poll
- 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
Conv. No. 543-8 (cont.)

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

[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
The President and Haldeman left at 6:46 pm.

Date: July 22, 1971
Time: 6:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men (Secret Service?) met.

The President's location

This recording was cut off at 6:46 pm.