Conversation No. 580-1
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 10:03 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with [?] an unknown person.

Unknown request or event

Conversation No. 580-2
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 10:03 am - 10:05 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signing of documents

Butterfield left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 580-3
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 10:13 am - 10:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Greetings

Vietnam
-Prisoner of war [POW] issue
-News coverage of the President's September 28, 1971 speech before the National League of Families convention
-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
-National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
-Edward M. Kennedy

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- The President's Summit trip announcement
- Written agreement
  - Date
    - William P. Rogers
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
  - Andrei A. Gromyko
- Handling of announcement
  - Rogers
    - Timing of trip
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Dobrynin
    - The President’s location
    - San Clemente
- Possible action
  - Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
    - Gromyko

Red folder
- Location of document

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Gromyko
  - Number
  - Kissinger
    - Time
  - Kissinger's suggestion
    - Location
    - Dobrynin

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:19 am.

Folder for Gromyko
- Location

Butterfield left at 10:20 am.
The President's schedule
- Meeting between Gromyko, Kissinger and the President
  - Location
    - Roosevelt Map Room
  - Time
- Meeting between Gromyko and the President
  - Schedule
  - Individuals in attendance
  - Schedule after meeting
    - Location
    - Automobiles
    - Reception
  - Time duration of meeting
- Gromyko
  - Opening remarks
  - European Security Conference
    - The President's possible response
    - Summit meeting

- John B. Connally
  - Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
- Gromyko
- Kissinger
  - Time

Kissinger left at 10:21 am.

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 10:21 am - 10:33 am
Location: Oval Office

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

US economic policies
- Phase II
-The President's forthcoming meetings with George P. Shultz and John B. Connally

The President schedule
- Meeting on Phase II
- The President's forthcoming trip to Key Biscayne
  - Meeting
  - Time
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Trip to Florida
    - Elementary school visit
- Meeting between the President and Connally, Shultz, Herbert Stein, Paul W. McCracken
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - William L. Safire, John D. Ehrlichman
  - Purpose
  - Other attendees
    - Stein
    - McCracken, Ezra Solomon
- Florida trip

US economic situation
- Preparation for forthcoming speech
- Stein
  - Presidential speeches
  - Memos
- The President's speech
  - Possible reactions
  - Council of Economic Policy

The President's schedule
- Dates
- Quadriad
- Possibility

The President's public appearances
- National League of Families Convention, September 28, 1971
  - Ronald L. Ziegler, Richard A. Moore
- The President's entry into room at events
  - Audience reactions to announced compared to surprise appearance
  - Press coverage
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:21 am.

The President's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:33 am.

The President's public appearances
   - National League of Families convention
     - Audience reaction
     - News coverage
     - Total overall impact
     - News coverage
       - Times of news program
     - Audience reaction
       - Passage of resolution by National League of Families
         - Edward M. Kennedy
     - Future handling
     - Campaign

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:21 am.

Connally's message
   - Forthcoming meeting with Pierre-Paul Schweitzer

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:33 am.

Connally's views of talks
   - Arthur F. Burns's reaction

Haldeman left at 10:33 pm.
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 10:33 am - 11:15 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, John B. Connally, and Arthur F. Burns at 10:33 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Seating arrangements

The President's speaking appearances
- Europe
- Washington, DC

The President's trip
- Anchorage, Alaska
  - [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito
    - Historic significance of trip to Alaska

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:33 am.

Refreshments
- Coffee
- Tea

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:15 am.

Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako
- Speaking English at meetings
  - Comparison of speaking versus comprehending a language
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Translation
  - Benefits
  - Takeo Fukuda

[Photograph session]

Japan
- Trip to the US by Emperor of Japan
  - Herbert Stein's comment
    - Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]

US economic policies
  - Phase II
    - Forthcoming meeting
      - Preparation
        - Amount of material
      - Date
    - Remarks by Connally and Burns
      - The President's support
      - International Monetary Fund [IMF]

International economic relations
  - US position in the world
    - US State Department views
      - Negotiations
    - Options on stance
    - Opposing views of UD international economics
      - Isolationism
        - Senate and House elections
      - International trade
        - Labor unions
      - New York
        - Businessmen
      - Isolationist tendencies
      - Leadership role of the US
        - Need for support by the public
  - The President's previous meeting with Paul G. Hoffman of the United Nations [UN]
    - US financial support for the UN
    - Herter Committee
    - Marshall Plan
    - Reciprocal trade
      - Policies
  - Cold War era after World War II
    - US position
      - Korean War
      - Vietnam War
    - US foreign aid as issue
- Banking, loan analogy
- US position in the world
  - Potential problems
  - World responsibilities
  - Speakers for the US
    - Types of statement
  - Isolationism
    - Economic strength of the US
    - US economic policy
    - Negotiations
      - US contributions
        - Defense
        - Foreign aid
      - New York bankers
- US position politically as well as economically
  - Types of negotiations with foreign countries
  - Prime Minister Edward R.G. Heath
  - European economic community
  - West Germany
    - Willy Brandt
      - Berlin Agreement
    - Inflation
  - Georges J.R. Pompidou
  - Italy
    - Political situation
  - Japan
    - Comparison to West Germany
      - Effect of post World War II status
- Political problems around the world
  - Japan
  - Germany
  - Britain
  - France
  - Political situations
    - Feelings towards the US
      - Possible position of foreign countries in the world
- US position twenty-five years earlier
  - Eisenhower administration
  - Changes in the US
- US position in the world
  - Responsibility
-New economic system
-Competition within the world

Multinational organizations
-UN
-IMF
-Interests of each foreign country
-Potential effect of monetary chaos
-Negative results in world and in the US

International economy
-US position
-Need for change
-US interests
-Defending interests
-Method of defending interests
-Public compared to private statements
-Schweitzer's actions and statements
-Criticism of the President
-Convertibility
-Import surcharge
-The President's speech
-Negotiation

-IMF
-US role
-The President's august 15, 1971 speech
-Schweitzer's reaction

-Convertibility
-Questions directed to Schweitzer
-Handling
-Achievement of US trade goals
-Currency realignment

-Effect of policies
-Heath, Pompidou
-Dollar as reserve currency
-US position on monetary reform
-Special drawing rights
-Schweitzer's term of office
-Comparison to the president
-Price of gold
-France
- World currencies
- Resolutions by the IMF
- US policy
  - Views of other countries
  - State Department
  - Latin America
  - Africa
  - France
- UN compared with IMF
  - Developing nations
  - Balance of payments
  - Negotiations
    - Importance to US compared with importance to them
- Role of major industrial nations
  - Group of Ten
  - Political power
  - Schweitzer's goals and actions
    - Criticisms
    - Perception of IMF
      - Anglo-Saxon institution
- The future
  - Burden-sharing

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:33 am.

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:15 am.

- Non-tariff barriers, trade
- Monetary affairs
  - Burns
  - Monetary system
  - Past monetary crises
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower
    - Causes
  - Britain
  - France
  - Germany
  - US
    - Responsibility in the world economic situation
- Schweitzer
  - Responsibilities
- The President's role
  - Responsibilities
  - Political and diplomatic
    - Meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
    - Meetings with officials from the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] nations
    - Europeans
    - Latin America
  - Political considerations
    - Confrontation vs. negotiation
  - Conflicts on monetary issues
  - Future of the free world
    - Europe
    - United Europe
    - Common market
      - Great Britain
  - US
  - Japan
    - Competition with the US
    - Strength in economics and politics
    - The PRC
- Schweitzer's role
  - Stability
- Negotiations
- Cooperation
- Press reports
  - Editorials
- Schweitzer's role
  - U Thant's role in the UN
  - Relationship with the US

The President's schedule
  - IMF colleagues

Burns

Schweitzer, et al. left at 11:15 am.
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

John B. Connally's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:54 am.

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown person.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Non-historical Returnable]
[Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Bull and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:54 am.
Conversation No. 580-8

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

John B. Connally's schedule
-Meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:54 am.

Conversation No. 580-9

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 11:54 am.

Conversation No. 580-10

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.
Items for the President's signature

Butterfield left at 11:54 am.

Conversation No. 580-11

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:54 am and 11:58 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 10-28]

Conversation No. 580-12

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 11:58 am - 12:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 10-29; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Conversation No. 580-13

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:55 am and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.
The President's schedule
   - The President's conversation with John B. Connally
   - Preparation by the President
   - Trip to Florida
     - George P. Shultz
     - Herbert Stein
     - Connally
   - Background information for the President's economic meeting
   - John W. Rollins
   - Reception
   - Conversation between Haldeman and Connally
     - Connally's current schedule
   - Forthcoming Phase II announcement
     - Timing
       - Stock market closing
     - National television
     - Press conference
       - Possible effect
       - Connally
         - Answering questions

Kissinger entered at 11:59 am.

US economic policies
   - Complications
   - The President's conversation with Haldeman
   - National television appearance
     - Leadership principle
   - The President's role
   - Peter G. Peterson
     - Speech by the President
       - International Monetary Fund [IMF]
         - National television
       - IMF members
     - Reception by the President for IMF members
       - The President's appearance and type of remarks

The President's previous meeting with Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
   - Schweitzer's attitude toward the US
   - Arthur F. Burns, Connally
- The President's conversation with Schweitzer on international economy
  - Public compared to private statements
  - US isolationism
    - Korean War
    - Foreign aid programs
  - Foreign political situations
    - Britain's situation
    - European community
    - Germany
    - France
    - Japan
    - Stance toward US
      - Reasons
  - US position
    - New method of action in negotiations
      - Type of bargaining
  - Anglo-Saxon focus
    - Schweitzer's stance
    - The President previous meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
  - Reactions by Burns

US foreign relations
  - State Department stance
    - Type of attitude in negotiations
    - Comparison to the President's attitude
      - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      - US allies

The President's previous meeting with Schweitzer
  - Connally's views
    - Schweitzer
    - Meeting

Cabinet officials
  - Pressures of public opinion
    - William P. Rogers
    - Identity of individual
    - John Foster Dulles
      - Eisenhower administration
The President's administration
  -Cabinet members
  -Requirements
  -Rogers C. B. Morton
    -Central Arizona project
    -Indians
    -Oil industry people
  -Perceptions of White House versus departmental action
  -Burns
    -Conversation with Kissinger prior to ceremony for Manlio Brosio
  -Price of gold
  -Options
    -Europe
    -Japan

The President's discussion with Schweitzer
  -New York bankers
  -Representation of the US

David Rockefeller
  -Desire for appointment with the President
  -Letter to the President
  -Economic discussion with the President
    -Type of subject

General Motors
  -Investment tax issues
  -Advance notice allegation by Congressman
    -Stocks

Rockefeller
  -Desire for appointment with the President
  -Letter to the President
  -Conversation with Connally
    -Rockefeller's reaction

The President's administration

International economy
  -New system versus old system
    -Kissinger's conversation with David Rockefeller
- The President's conversation with Schweitzer
- Connally
- Burns's Expectations
  - US position in the world
- Schweitzer
- Robert S. McNamara
- Schweitzer
  - Burns
    - Connally's conversation with Haldeman
    - Reaction to Schweitzer
- The Earl of Cromer
- The President's discussion with Schweitzer
  - US politics
    - US interests
    - New system of economics
      - Burden-sharing
      - Non-tariff barriers
  - Schweitzer's position
    - Burns's reaction

US foreign policy
  - US Ambassadors' actions
  - State Department
    - Secretary of State
      - Dulles
    - Attitude toward foreigners
  - The President's meeting with Schweitzer
    - Isolationism in the US
  - Kissinger's appearance before group in New York
    - US position in the World
      - Egocentrism
        - Altruism
        - Effect
    - US interests compared to altruism

The President's schedule
  - Preparation for Phase II meeting
  - The President's trip to Florida
    - Shultz
    - Stein
    - Shultz
-John Connally
  -Pressure
  -Conversation between Haldeman and Connally
  -Nationally televised speech
    -Alternatives

Vietnam
  -Prisoners of war [POW] situation
    -Impact of September 28, 1971 National League of Families speech by the President
      -Generals and admirals at event
        -John D. Ryan
        -William C. Westmoreland
        -Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
    -John A. Scali
    -Edward M. Kennedy
      -Reception of statement by families
      -Comment about POWs rotting in camps
    -Negotiations
    -Reasons for POW situation
      -Effects of war
        -Validity
    -Possible outcome of war
      -Military position
      -Validity of war
      -Honorable finish
    -The President's appearance at convention
      -Reactions
        -Scali
      -Convention resolution
    -POW wives
      -Kennedy and Clark M. Clifford
      -Exploitation of war

Press appearances
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
  -Value of surprise appearances by the President
  -Ziegler
    -TV coverage of the President
      -Knowledge by reporters of planned appearance by the President
      -Ziegler's responsibility
- Scali
- Warning of the President's appearance
  - Possible effect
- Surprise appearance by the President
  - James D. Hughes
- Appearances by the President
  - Time length
- The President's 1958 trips to Lima and Caracas
- Incidents
  - San Marcos
  - Type of audience
  - Catholic University
- Secret Service
  - Protocol
  - Escorts
  - Rock throwing
- The President's trip to Ohio State University
  - Columbus
    - Demonstrators on campus
    - The President's actions
      - Departure
        - Alleviation of serious confrontation between the President and demonstrators
      - Secret Service
- Surprise appearances by the President
  - Effect on press coverage
- Press coverage
  - Pictures
  - Other methods

Kennedy
- POW situation
  - Statement
    - Press coverage
- Career
- Comparison to Robert F. Kennedy
  - Emotional nature of statements
- India trip
  - Press coverage
    - Number of press people
  - Impact
-Type of coverage
-Public reaction
-POW situation
  -Subject knowledge by Edward Kennedy
    -Missing in action [MIA] question
  -Handling of POW wives
-Advice to the President

US issues
- Mansfield Amendment
- Prisoners of North Vietnam
- POWs and MIAs

Edward Kennedy
- Return from India trip
  - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Programs for relief
      - Amount of money
- Staff work
  - Background preparation
    - Public impact
- Comparison to Robert Kennedy
  - California primary, 1968
- Attica state prison riots
  - Possible issue by Edward Kennedy
    - Blacks

Busing issue
- Judge Stephen J. Roth
  - Detroit decision
    - De facto compared to de jure
- The President's possible action
  - Constitutional amendment
    - Supreme Court

Supreme Court
- John N. Mitchell
- Possible appointees
- Mitchell
  - Richard H. Poff
    - Opposition in Senate
-John D. Ehrlichman's views
  -American Bar Association [ABA]
  -Senate
    -Committed votes
-Senator Hugh Scott's views
  -Possibility of passage of Poff appointment
  -Strength in Senate
-Female appointee
  -Age
  -California
    -Superior Court judge
  -Dean of Southern California Law School
  -Political position
  -List of potential women appointees
    -Criteria
-Southerners' desires
-Robert C. Byrd
  -Civil rights
  -Strong law and order
-Mitchell's suggestion
  -Female appointee
    -Justice Department
    -Federal Court judge
-Women appointees
  -Warren E. Burger's views
  -Political impact
    -Votes
    -Women, blacks
      -Number

The President's administration
-Women appointees
  -Cabinet
  -Compared to men appointees
  -Barbara Franklin
  -Jayne B. Spain
  -Maritime Commission chairman
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 2s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Connally
-Mitchell
-Elliott L. Richardson
  -Type of job
    -Left wingers
-_type of Cabinet members
  -Effort
-Maurice H. Stans
-George W. Romney
-John A. Volpe
-Stans
  -Speech
  -Loyalty
-Romney
-Volpe
-Stans
-Volpe
  -Support for the President and administration
-Richardson
  -Elitists in the country

The President's appearances
  -Attendance at Justice Hugo L. Black's funeral
    -TV coverage
    -Sermon
  -Mitchell
  -Richard A. Moore
    -Schedule recommendation
  -Funeral for Black
-Sermon
  -Type
-Justice Black
  -Opposition to administration
-Unitarian minister
  -Eulogy
    -Strict constructionism
      -The President's attendance at funeral
        -Mitchell

-Moore
  -Eulogy
    -Schedule suggestions

-Analogies
  -Leonard Garment's suggestion on black church
    -Anti-Vietnam War protestors, professors
      -General Lewis B. Hershey
    -Personal note to Mrs. Black
  -White House flags at half staff
    -Ziegler, Charles W. Colson
  -The President's attendance
    -Possible effect

-Ceremony
  -Casket
    -Funeral customs
  -Casket
  -The President's funeral
    -Notes with instructions
    -Dwight D. Eisenhower
    -Flags half-staff
    -Eulogy
      -Dead person
      -Flag at half-staff

The President's schedule
  -Mitchell
  -Connally
    -Meeting with the President
  -The President's trip to Florida
    -Papers for preparation
      -Assistance
    -Shultz
Douglas B. Cornell reception
  -Ziegler
  -Invitations
    -United Press International [UPI], Associated Press [AP]
    -Number of people
    -Former Press Secretaries
      -Pierre Salinger, George E, Reedy, Jr., William Moyers, James C.
      Haggerty
  -Number
  -Location
    -State Dining Room
  -Receiving line
  -Number
  -Invitees
  -Cornell
  -Refreshments
  -Ziegler
  -TV coverage compared to writing press
    -Lights for TV coverage
    -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
    -Photographs
  -Receiving line

Haldeman left at 12:44 pm.

Presentation of medal to Brosio
  -World leaders
    -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
    -Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
    -Robert F. Ellsworth

The President talked with H. R. Haldeman at an unknown time between 12:44 pm and 1:08 pm.

[Conversation No. 580-13A]

NATO Ambassador
  -Appointee
    -Stoessel
-Requirements
  -California person

[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:44 pm.

Instruction

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:08 pm.

The President's forthcoming meetings with Gromyko
  -Memorandum
  -Photographs
  -Location
  -The President's possible conversation with Gromyko
    -US-Soviet relations
    -European issues
  -European issues
    -US position on European security
      -Summit meeting
      -Berlin agreement
      -German treaties
  -Agenda
    -German treaties ratification
-Middle East
  -Kissinger's memorandum
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-US-USSR private discussions
  -Details of proposals
    -Anti-ballistic missiles [ABM] sites
      -US and Moscow systems
      -Coverage
  -Freeze
    -ABM sites
    -Offensive missiles
-Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles [MIRVs] capability
  -Charles H. Percy
  -Edward W. Brooke
US Presidency
  -Edward Kennedy
  -Hubert H. Humphrey
  -Edmund S. Muskie
    -Effect of occupant
      -Gromyko
      -Conservatives
      -ABMs
      -MIRVS
      -B-1
    -Undersea Long-range Missile System [ULMS]
  -Conservatives

The President's forthcoming discussions with Gromyko
  -Vietnam War issue
  -Middle East issue
    -Israelis
    -Interim settlements
      -US position
  -Trade issue
    -Stans, Peterson
      -Possible trip to USSR
    -Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
      -US approval of money to Kama River project
        -Scott
        -Formal announcement
        -Scali
    -Stans, Peterson
      -Possible trip to the USSR
      -Negotiations
      -US approval of money for the Kama River project
  -Vietnam
  -Middle East issue
    -US position
    -Kissinger's discussion within private meeting
  -South Asia
    -Dangers of armed conflict
      -East Bengel
  -Europe
  -Middle East
  -Trade
-Salt
-South Asia
-Salt
  -Offensive compared to defensive
  -US proposal
-Move to Map Room at conclusion of meeting
  -Significance
-Vietnam
  -Nikolai V. Podgorny's forthcoming trip to Hanoi
  -US position in negotiating with North Vietnam
-Leonid I. Brezhnev's message
-Handling of private meeting
  -Rogers
  -Dobrynin
  -Gromyko
    -Cabinet Room
    -Message
-Middle East
  -Progress
    -US-USSR relations
    -Berlin
    -Possible meeting between Dobrynin and Kissinger
-Channels of communications
-Kissinger's forthcoming discussion with Gromyko
  -Vietnam issue
-Summit meeting
  -Rogers's role in preparation
  -Gromyko's preparation for meeting with Rogers

US-USSR relations
  -Correspondence between the President and Brezhnev
    -Rogers's knowledge
-Rogers
-Possible leaks
-Rogers
  -Role in preparing for meeting
    -USSR summit
      -Announcement
      -Dobrynin
      -PRC summit
US foreign economic policy
   -Burns
     -Possible conversation with Kissinger
       -Schweitzer
       -Businessmen
       -Economist
     -Schweitzer
     -Connally
     -Possible conversation with Kissinger

The PRC trip
   -Rogers
     -Possible conversation with Haldeman
       -Decision
     -Preparation
       -State Department bureaucracy
         -Rogers's orders
         -Agenda for summit meetings
         -Preparation of annual foreign policy report
     -Kissinger’s forthcoming trip to PRC
       -Announcement
         -Timing
     -Rogers
       -State Department
         -Agenda
         -Handling

Rogers
   -Haldeman's possible call
   -Forthcoming discussion with the President
     -Soviet summit
     -PRC summit

George H.W. Bush
   -Meeting with Kissinger, September 30, 1971
     -Time
     -Postponement of UN vote
       -Rogers
     -Meeting with the President
       -Meeting with Kissinger
         -State Department, Rogers
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 580-13 (cont.)

Kissinger left at 1:08 pm.

Conversation No. 580-14

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:08 pm and 1:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 580-15

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:08 pm and 1:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Meeting request
  - Executive Office Building [EOB]

Conversation No. 580-16

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 1:15 pm - 1:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
The President's schedule
- Haldeman's conversation with John B. Connally
  - Meeting with the President
    - Position papers
    - Timing
    - Arthur F. Burns
    - Date
    - Time
    - Papers from Herbert Stein, Burns
    - Political considerations
- [Phase II]
  - Presentation
- Florida trip
  - Advance notice
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - George P. Shultz
  - Working period
    - Review of papers by the President
    - Connally
    - Location during the President's trip
      - Florida
    - Shultz
    - Residence during visit
      - Season
        - Key Biscayne

US foreign policies
- William P. Rogers
  - Forthcoming People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Agenda
      - Preparation
    - Meetings
      - The President's approach compared to others
      - Focus of meetings
        - Discussion and decisionmaking
          - Questions and answers
- Rogers

Henry A. Kissinger’s forthcoming PRC trip
- Dwight L. Chapin
  - Advance work for trip
-Relationship with Kissinger
-Qualifications
-Rogers
-UN debate on China seat
-PRESS coverage
-Rogers
-Chapin
-John A. Scali
-PRESS coverage
-CONTROL of press
-Kissinger's experience from previous trips
-Number of press men
-REACTION by the PRC
-Publicity
-Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
-Rogers

Latin America trip
-Rogers
-Finch
-Latin American reaction to US economic policy
-Party with Latin American Ambassadors
-State Department
-Comparison to Nelson A. Rockefeller trip

The President’s forthcoming trips
-Herbert G. Klein
-Trip to the PRC
-Handling press
-Previous Soviet trip
-Scali, Ziegler
-Trip to the USSR
-Trip to the PRC
-Visitors from the US
-Cabinet members
-Senators
-Labor leaders
-Youth leaders
-Blacks
-Doctors
-Scientists
- Businessmen
  - College presidents
  - The President's previous trip to the USSR, 1959
    - Hyman G. Rickover, Milton S. Eisenhower
-Trip to the PRC
  - Rogers
  - Kissinger
  - The President

Kissinger’s forthcoming PRC trip
  - Role
    - Trip to the PRC to arrange the presidential summit
    - Discussion with Chou En-lai
  - Options
    - State Department
    - Rogers
    - Handling of the President's other trips
    - Foreign policy negotiations

Connally
  - The President's meeting with Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
    - Burns
    - Handling of International Monetary Fund [IMF] and international banking officials

Burns
  - Call to Haldeman
    - Protocol at IMF dinner
      - Cabinet rank
        - State Department
        - Federal Reserve Board [FRB] chairman
    - Burns and ranking status
      - Connally's views
      - Reception line for IMF reception
      - Possible conversation between Connally and Haldeman

IMF reception
  - The President's attendance
  - Connally's attendance
  - Rogers's attendance
  - Attendance
- Connally
- Rogers in receiving line
- Burns
- Protocol

Burns
- Protocol concerns
  - Approach
  - Kissinger
  - Attitude of some people

The President's schedule
  - PRC and USSR trip
    - Klein
    - Ziegler
    - Press
      - Journalists accompanying the President on the PRC and USSR trips
        - Trip to the USSR
          - Klein
    - USSR
      - Press coverage
        - Television coverage
          - Networks
          - Number of people

Kissinger and the National Security Council [NSC] staff
  - Briefing papers
    - Preparation of materials for the President's meetings
      - Peter G. Peterson
      - John D. Ehrlichman's staff
    - Kissinger's staff
      - Kissinger's background
      - Type of information

The President's presentation to Manlio Brosio
  - Press coverage
    - Brosio's comments about the President
    - The President as world Statesman

Book by Edith Efron [The News Twisters]
  - Promotional sales
-Roscoe Drummond's column
-Network coverage
-Luncheon
  -Patrick J. Buchanan
-Hugh Scott's comments to the President
  -Drummond's column
  -Network coverage
    -American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC]
    -Hubert H. Humphrey

-Congressional
-Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
-Federal Communications Commission [FCC]
-Reactions
  -Congressional action
-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] affiliates

PRC trip
-Attendance on trip
  -Rogers
  -Press coverage
-Planning of meetings on trip
-Logistics of trip
-Rogers
  -Chapin
  -Marshall Green

The President and Haldeman left at 1:35 pm.
The President's location
- Executive Office Building [EOB]

Inquiry
- Call to an unknown person
- Operations desk

[Unintelligible]

This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 2:55 pm.

Conversation No. 580-18

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 3:00 pm - 3:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President's forthcoming meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
- Missiles
- Production
- Ratification of Berlin Agreement
- Treaty settlement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and Germany

The President's schedule
- Diplomatic reception
- Time
- Gromyko and the President in the Map Room
- Rose Garden

The President talked with an unknown person [H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman?] at an unknown time between 3:00 pm and 3:02 pm.

[Conversation No. 580-18A]
The President's meeting with Gromyko

The President's schedule
- Unknown person
- Kissinger
- Meeting
  - Date
  - International Monetary Fund [IMF] receiving line
    - John B. Connally

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger left at 3:02 pm.

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 3:02 pm - 3:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

Bull left at 3:03 pm.

Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 3:03 pm - 5:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Andrei A. Gromyko, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, William P. Rogers, Henry A. Kissinger, William Krimer, and Viktor M. Sukhodrev; Ronald L. Ziegler and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
Photographers
- Arrangement of people

[Photograph session]

The President's previous meeting with Gromyko
- Time
  - Berlin Agreement
    - Rogers
  - Arms control
    - US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Meeting agenda
- USSR position, US position

Extension of USSR greetings to the President from Nikolai V. Podgorny, Alexei N. Kosygin and Leonid I. Brezhnev

Relations between the USSR and the US
- Need for common viewpoint between the USSR and the US
  - Bilateral relations
  - Soviet leadership
    - Effort to overcome differences
  - Effort for build-up of relations
    - Peaceful co-existence
    - Avoidance of confrontations
  - Differences in position between the USSR and the US
    - Major issues
      - Effort towards solving differences
      - Progress
  - Agreements between four major powers on Berlin
  - Previous discussion between the USSR and the US
    - US role in achieving agreement on Berlin
  - Economic ties between USSR and the US
    - Relationships
  - Peace between the USSR and the US
    - Short-term and long-term goals
  - Significance of power of the US and the USSR
    - Relationship to world problems
    - Cooperation between the US and the USSR
- Goals
- Berlin Agreement
  - Significance
  - Effect on European countries
    - Working solution
      - Progress between the USSR and US
- Peace between USSR and US
  - Brezhnev
  - US position
    - Peaceful relations with Bolivia and other countries
  - World peace
    - Relationships between the USSR and the US
  - US position
    - Importance of face-to-face negotiations
- Berlin Agreement
- Trade relations
  - Kama River project
    - Appropriations
      - Amount
  - US businessmen's interest
    - The USSR
  - Increase in trade
    - US position
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
  - Joint statement of May 20, 1971
    - Commitments
      - Agreement on defense and offense weapons freeze
- National security
  - Defense
    - Offensive missiles
      - USSR numerical advantage
      - Nuclear submarines
- Defensive weapons
  - Proposals
    - US congress
      - Offensive weapons freeze
- Weapons balance
- Importance
- USSR
  - Offensive weapons build-up
    - US political effect
-Freeze
  -Agreement between US and the USSR
    -Mutual sufficiency
-Anti-missile defense
-Strategic weapons
-Current talks
  -Status
  -Later negotiations
-Anti-ballistic missiles [ABMs]
  -Sites
    -Soviet proposals
    -National capitals
    -Intercontinental ballistic missile [ACBM] locations
-Offensive-strategic weapons
  -Soviet position
    -Future negotiations
-Continuation of negotiations
-French foreign minister Maurice Schumann's statement at United Nations [UN]
  General Assembly meeting
  -US-Soviet negotiations
    -Strategic arms
    -ABMs
-Offensive and defensive weapons
  -Lack of balance
  -Relationship
-Offensive weapons freeze
  -Difference between US and Soviet activities
-ABMs
  -Soviet proposal
    -Difficulty
  -US position
    -Continuing negotiation
-Europe
  -Need to reduce tension
  -Security conference
  -Berlin Agreement
    -Relationship to all-European security conference
      -Statement by Rogers
  -Security conference
    -Advantages
    -Interests for western allies
-US, Canada
-Détente in the world
-Berlin Agreement
-Progress
-Effect on other issues
-Conference
-Preliminary discussions
-Warsaw Pact
-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
-Consultation with allies
-US-Soviet consultation
-Need for secrecy
-Expectation of outcome by both US and USSR before final conference
-Consultation on preliminary matters before final conference
-Bilateral consultations
-Examination of topics
-Date
-US position
-Discussions with allies
-Berlin treaty
-Soviet treaty with West Germany
-European security conference
-Purpose
-West Germany-East Germany negotiations
-Linkage of various negotiations
-Preliminary discussions
-Berlin
-Germans
-European security conference
-Preliminary discussions
-Middle East
-Situation
-Israel
-Occupation of Arab territories
-US proposals
-Conditions for peace or settlement
-Withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories
-Freedom of navigation
-End of war situation in Middle East
-Withdrawal of Israeli troops
-Dangers for the US and USSR
  -Arms build-up
  -US congress
    -Arms to Israel
    -United Arab Republic [UAR]
-Interim settlement
  -Progress
-Truce
-Avoidance of arms build-up
-Continuation of negotiations
-Withdrawal of Israeli troops
  -UN resolution in 1967
    -Wording
    -Acceptability to Israel
-US position
  -The President’s State of the World message
  -Rogers’ 1969 comments
  -Moderation
-Proposals by Anwar el-Sadat
  -Rogers's conversation with Mahmoud Riad
  -Troop withdrawal
  -Suez Canal
-Interim arrangement
  -Possible perception
    -Arab leaders
  -Specific stages
  -Withdrawal of Israeli forces
  -Date limit
-Jordan
  -Frontiers with Israel
  -Agreement
-Israel
  -Relationship with the US
    -Guarantees
    -Biblical Hebrew proverb
      -Golda Meir
-Jordan crisis of 1970
  -Avoidance of build-up of tension
-Moscow visit by Indira Gandhi
-Pakistan and India
  -Refugees from East Pakistan
Situation
Possible war
Pakistan military strength
   Historical background of Indian-Pakistani relations
   USSR efforts in the past
US desire to avoid armed confrontation
USSR
   Effort toward peace
Pakistan
   Peace
Gandhi
   Discussion of issue with USSR
Leaders of Pakistan
   Discussion with the USSR
Pakistan
   US-Pakistani relations

Visit to Map Room by the President and Gromyko
   Historic background of use by US President
   Franklin D. Roosevelt
      World War II

Economic issues
   Possible visit to Moscow by US Representative
   Trade
      Obstacle
      Vietnam War

Vietnam War
   Status of settlement

Technical and political issues at summit
   Consideration by the USSR

Dobrynin, Kissinger, Rogers, Krimer, And Sukhodrev left at 4:39 pm.

Private discussion between the President and Gromyko

Possible US-Soviet summit meeting
   Progress in negotiations
      SALT negotiations
- Middle East
  - Progress
- Need for positive accomplishments
- Trade
- Politics

Leonid Brezhnev and Kosygin
  - Correspondence between the president and Brezhnev
  - Timing of reply
  - State department
- Brezhnev
  - Career
  - Conversation with Gromyko
    - Views on Soviet-US relations
    - Meeting with Willy Brandt
- Soviet press
  - Use of the President’s name
    - USSR leadership
  - Private correspondence
- The President

The USSR and the Russian people
  - Political system
  - Future of the world
    - The US and the USSR
  - Relations with the US
    - World War II
  - Possibility of new relationship with the US
    - Timing

Kissinger's schedule
  - Forthcoming meeting with Dobrynin
  - Meeting with Gromyko
    - Date
    - Message from the President
      - Vietnam

Foreign relations and issues
  - Middle East
    - Gromyko’s forthcoming conversation with Kissinger
  - European security conference
Tape Subject Log
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Conv. No. 580-20 (cont.)

-Handling
  -Private channel
  -Ambassador
  -Secretary of State
-The President’s involvement
  -Brezhnev

Middle East
  -USSR arms sales
  -UAR
    -Israeli withdrawal from occupied zones
    -Gromyko’s meeting with Brezhnev
  -USSR military presence
  -Advisors
    -Analogy to US presence in Cambodia
  -Sensitivity of issues
  -Institutional arrangements
    -Interim agreement
      -UN
        -Articles
        -Security Council
  -Arms sales
  -Summary

Kissinger's message on Vietnam
  -Private discussion with Gromyko

Middle East

The President and Gromyko left at 5:00 pm.
Date: September 29, 1971
Time: 5:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons [Secret Service agents] entered.

[Unintelligible]

This recording was cut off at 5:00 pm.