The President met with Andre Malraux, Sophia K. Porson and Henry A. Kissinger. [This is a continuation of Conversation No. 670-23; an unknown portion of this meeting was not recorded while the tape was being changed.]

Vietnam
- Withdrawal
- Relevance
  - Chinese power
  - October Revolution

People’s Republic of China [PRC] and Japan
- Foreign policy
  - Importance
  - Germany
  - US policy towards PRC
  - Time limit
- Vietnam
  - PRC activity

Foreign policy
- Japan
- Chinese
- Soviets
- US withdrawal
  - Pacific
- Japan
  - Economic
    - Potential status
  - History
    - Sense of destiny
  - Psyche
  - Nuclear commitment
    - West Germany
  - Defense
  - Nuclear commitment by US
    - Terms of peace
- PRC
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Japanese concern
- Withdrawal
- Pacific
  - US
    - Bases
    - Japan
    - USSR
      - Possible threat
- World peace
- European alliance
  - Withdrawal of forces
    - Germans
    - USSR
      - Influence with East Germany
  - Options
    - “Balance of Power”
- Future
  - Strength
    - Europe
    - Market
  - US
    - Japan
    - US nuclear defense
    - PRC
      - Potential for safer world
- US
  - Critics
    - Domestic and abroad
  - World role
- President’s view
  - PRC
    - Chou En-lai
    - Mao Tse-tung
    - Non-expansionist power
    - World role
    - US
      - Malraux
        - Anti-Memoirs
        - World power
- War
  - Peace

- US
  - Responsibility
  - Withdrawal
  - Japan
  - Germany
  - Assistance and possible guarantees
  - Stable world
  - Withdrawal
  - Pacific

- President’s view
  - Critics
  - Abroad
  - Isolationist theorists in the US
    - Advice
    - Europe
    - PRC
    - Policy comparison
  - US role
    - Circumstances
      - Pacific
      - Japan
      - Europe
    - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      - Possible consequences

- Malraux
  - US
    - Withdrawal
      - World’s people
      - Opinion
      - Skepticism
      - Pacific

- Europe
  - Malraux’s view
    - US
      - Withdrawal
      - NATO
      - Bilateral Agreement
      - Isolationists
      - Gaullism
-United Europe
  -Great Britain
  -Similarity to the Balkans
    -Possible difficulties for US
  -Economics
  -Politics
  -Defense
  -Gen. Charles A.J.M de Gaulle

-Britain
-Japan
  -Lack of atomic capabilities
    -West Germany
-West Germany
  -World War II
-Japan
-West Germany and Japan
  -Self-defense
    -Nuclear
    -Sense of destiny
    -Protection by another power
  -World peace
-Asia
  -US withdrawal
    -Prospects
      -Press
  -Mao Tse-tung
    -US world policy
      -John Foster Dulles
-Japan
  -Withdrawal
    -Hesitation
-Asia
  -US
    -World responsibility
      -Importance to USSR
The President’s schedule
- Malraux
  - Dinner
    - Location
    - William P. Rogers
    - Kissinger
    - PRC leaders
    - Appreciation for meeting
    - Dinner
    - Past meetings
    - 1969
    - PRC

Foreign policy
- De Gaulle
  - The President’s meeting in 1963
  - Prescience
  - US
    - Policy at that time
    - USSR
    - PRC
    - Relations with USSR and PRC
      - Importance
      - De Gaulle’s perspective
    - Kissinger’s meeting in 1959

Malraux and Porson left at 5:28 pm.

The President’s forthcoming trip to the PRC
- PRC leaders’ expectations
  - The President
    - View of history
- Malraux
  - Health
    - Forthcoming dinner
- Mao Tse-tung
  - The President’s age
    - World leadership
    - Age
- John F. Kennedy
  - Mao Tse-tung’s possible opinion
-De Gaulle
-Historical figures
-Bluntness

Foreign policy
-Chinese
  -US understanding
    -International situation
    -Unimportance of tactical details
-Chou En-lai
  -Mao Tse-tung
  -General discussion
-Vietnam
  -Malraux’s views
  -US
    -Withdrawal
-Japan
-Europe
-US world role
-Domestic critics
  -Lack of understanding
-PRC
  -Withdrawal

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 53s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Malraux
-Kissinger
-Agreement
-Chinese
-Compared to Soviets
-History
-Confucius
-Philosophy
-Differences
-Principles
-World domination
-Malraux
-Soviets
-Future Presidents
-USSR compared to PRC
-Relations with US
-Balance of power
-USSR
-PRC
-Vietnam
-Conduct of war
-Consequences
-Choices
-Malraux
-De Gaulle
-Meeting with the President
-Statement
-PRC
-Ambivalence toward US
-India-Pakistan War
-US stance
-Asia
-US relevance
-Vietnam
-Kissinger’s view
-Withdrawal
-History
-De Gaulle
-Algeria
-North Vietnamese
-Meetings with Kissinger
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Impact on domestic opponents
-Sense of urgency
-Importance
-Prisoners of war [POWs]
-Secret meetings
-Cambodia
-Laos
-Public opinion
-Points in agreement
-South Vietnamese
-Structure
-Non-Communist

-PRC
-Malraux’s view
-Southeast Asia
-Domination
-Numbers
-Means
-Subversion culture
-Communism

-Japan
-Standard of living
-Communism
-PRC
-Competition

-Vietnam
-Withdrawal
-PRC
-Southeast Asia

-PRC
-Malraux’s statement about foreign policy
-Posture
-Reception for President of Somalia
-Kissinger’s concern
-Counterweight to USSR
-Subcontinent
-Global policy
-Domination

-USSR and PRC
-Japan
- US relations
  - Importance of maintaining alliance
-Malraux
  - Experience and age
  - Cambodia
  - Prison
-US invitation
  - President’s questions to Malraux
-Chou En-lai
  - The President’s forthcoming questions
  - Tone
-US
  - World role
  - Withdrawal
  - Formosa [Taiwan, Republic of China]
  - PRC
  - Communiqué
-PRS
  - John B. Connally and Rogers
  - Lack of experience with leaders
  - Connally
  - Talk with Kissinger

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 5:28 pm.

Location of a briefing book

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 44s ]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
-Formosa
  -Re-write
-Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -First draft
-PRC commitment
  -Force in lieu of a settlement
    -Formosa
    -Treaty
    -US Commitment
    -Difficulties
-Mao Tse-tung
-Talk with Kissinger
-State Department
  -Language
  -South Korea
-State Department
-The President’s meetings
  -Construction of communiqué
    -Difficulties
-Chou En-lai
-Mao Tse-tung
-Chou En-lai
  -Message from Kissinger
    -Meeting
      -Plenary session
        -Workout strategy
-Chou En-lai
-Chou En-lai
  -President’s upcoming meeting
-Mao Tse-tung
-Rogers
  -Kissinger’s possible explanation
-Bermuda
  -Sir Burke Trend
-Kissinger
-Rogers
-France
-Germans
-Established practices
-Trip
  -Need for success
-Communique
-News magazines
-Foreign policy
  -Renunciation of forces
  -Establishment of common principles
  -Conduct
  -Opposition to hegemony in Pacific
-Possible interpretation
  -Danger
  -Sino-US alliance
  -USSR
  -Japan
  -Rogers
  -Kissinger’s view

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:28 pm.

Refreshments

The President left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

Sanchez
- The President
- PRC trip
  - Attendance
- Schedule
  - Key Biscayne

**************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Privacy]
[Duration: 26s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
**************************************************************************
The President entered at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

PRC
- Communiqué
  - Changes
    - Indian section
  - Language
    - Use of “revolution”
  - Taiwan
    - Possible acceptance
  - Kissinger
    - Talk with Chou En-lai
  - Mao Tse-tung
    - Talk with the President
      - US domestic debate
        - Bureaucracy
          - Rogers
  - Chou En-lai
    - Promises by Kissinger
- Suggested response
  - Language
  - Trade

Malraux
- Stature in France
- Gaullism
- Europe
  - Balkanization
  - Neutral
    - Finland

PRC
- Plenary session
  - Kissinger
    - Draft
      - Opening statement

John N. Mitchell
- Resignation
Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

Connally
- Praise from Kissinger

Rose Mary Woods entered at 6:00 pm.

Letter
- Mitchell
  - The President’s reply
  - Copy
  - Delivery
  - Timing

Woods left at 6:01 pm.

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:01 pm.

Porson
- Translation skills
- Malraux dinner
  - Possible invitation
    - Unknown male translator
      - Porson compared to Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
    - Understanding
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - The President’s preference for male translators
    - Walters
    - The President’s appreciation for efforts
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:19 pm.

PRC
- Trip
  - Importance
  - Need to avoid irritations to the President
  - Rigors of agenda
- Chinese
  - Qualities
-Soviets
  -Comparisons
  -Possible posture by the President

Vietnamese negotiations
  -Paris trip by Kissinger
  -Knowledge
    -Haldeman
    -Haig
    -State Department
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Le Duc Tho
      -Press
  -Departure
    -Andrews Air Force Base
    -The President
      -Florida
        -Walker’s Key
          -Strategy
            -Helicopter flight from Key Biscayne
  -Strategy
    -Return flight to Andrews AFB
    -Camp David
      -Helicopter to base
        -Departure with the President
  -Timing

-Peace proposal
  -Reaction by Edmund S. Muskie
  -Reaction by North Vietnam

-Le Duc Tho
  -Meeting with Kissinger
    -Lunch
  -Answer to invitation
    -Timing
    -Text
      -Walters
  -Lunch
    -Date
      -Walters
  -North Vietnamese
    -Meal
-Significance
-Communists
-Negotiations
  -Korean War
  -The President’s actions
  -Vietnam as national issue
  -Troop withdrawals
-North Vietnamese
  -Offensive
    -PRC trip
      -Effect
        -Public opinion
      -Tet
        -1968
        -Differences
-PRC trip
  -Publicity
-Moscow trip
-North Vietnamese
  -Pressure on the President
    -Possible offensive
      -Timing
    -Moscow
  -US position
    -Force
    -Pacific Ocean
-India-Pakistan War
  -Carriers
    -Bay of Bengal
-USSR
-PRC
-East Pakistan
  -West Pakistan
  -PRC policy
  -Soviets
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
      -The President’s letter
    -Chou En-lai
      -The President’s letter
-Bombing
-Movement of forces
-Policy
-North Vietnamese
 -Offers
 -US options
 -Communists
  -Maoists
   -Peace conference
    -Versailles
-Chinese
 -Encouragement prior to trip
-Peking
-Chinese
-Paris trip by Kissinger
 -Chou En-lai
 -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  -Kissinger’s forthcoming talk
   -Moscow
-Peking
-War
-North Vietnamese casualties
 -Italian journalists
  -Number
   -Compared to US population
-North Vietnamese
 -Cambodia
  -Laos
   -Number of forces
-US withdrawal
 -Possible date
-Possible North Vietnamese offensive
 -October 1972
  -US public reaction
   -Withdrawal of troops
    -Weather
     -South Vietnamese
      -Strength

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:01 pm.

Delivery of briefing book
Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:19 pm.

Vietnam
- US plans

Malraux
- Dinner
  - Talking
  - Guest list
  - Toast
    - Kissinger
    - The President
      - Speech
        - Length

Kissinger left at 6:19 pm.

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:19 pm and 6:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Request for a delivery

[George H. Gallup] poll
- Timing
- Results
  - Compared to Administration [Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]] poll
    - Vietnam
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Telephone call to Gallup
Conversation No. 671-3

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:19 pm and 6:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Manolo Sanchez
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Bull left at 6:30 pm.

Conversation No. 671-4

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: 6:30 pm - 7:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Briefcase

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:33 pm.

Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Talk with George H. Gallup
- Poll
  - Release
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Timing
      - Outcome
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
      - Tricia Nixon Cox
      - Eugene V. Risher
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 6:30 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
- Summons to the Oval Office

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:33 pm.

Risher
- Speech
  - Harvard Lincoln’s Inn Club
    - Edward R.F. Cox
      - Conservative views
    - Tricia Nixon Cox
- Press
  - Bias concerning the President
- Ziegler
- Columns
  - Backing off statements
  - Frank Cormier
  - Helen Thomas

Kissinger entered at 6:33 pm.

PRC
- Haldeman
- Rumsfeld
- Gallup
  - School
  - Weekly poll on February 4-6, 1972
  - Presidential approval
    - Percentage
  - Release
    - Previous polls
    - Timing
    - PRC trip
      - Positive percentage
  - Louis R. Harris
  - War
  - Poll
    - Percentage
      - Improvement
-Release
  -Timing

-Polls
  -North Vietnamese
  -Chinese
    -Poll watching
  -Trip
    -July 1971
  -North Vietnamese
    -Effect
    -Gallup’s view

-Democrats
  -Release

Vietnam
  -The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
    -Effect
    -Administration [Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]] polls
      -Compared to Gallup polls
        -Telephone
        -Percentages
          -Effect
          -Haldeman’s Today Show interview, February 7, 1972
  -Haldeman
    -Letters
    -Wires
    -Letters
    -“Silent Majority”
      -Comments from citizens
        -John Birch Society
      -Charles S. Rhyne
        -Comments
          -Defense against libel, slander
          -President’s position
            -Distortion

-North Vietnamese
  -The President’s speech
  -Haldeman
  -The President’s press conference, February 10, 1972
    -Effect
    -William P. Rogers
- The press
  - Defense
- Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
- Military
- US public support
- Congress
- Media
- Cabinet

PRC trip
- Rogers
- Meetings
  - Rogers’ assistance
  - Communiqué
    - History
    - Mao Tse-tung
  - Rogers
    - Formosa [Taiwan, Republic of China]
    - Cultural
    - Trade
- State Department
- Possible public impressions
  - Chou En-lai
  - Mao Tse-tung
  - Kissinger
    - Prior trip
- Rogers
  - Cultural agreement
- Hugh S. Sidey
  - Story on Kissinger in Life
  - The President’s actions
    - Technical arrangements
    - Perusal of statements
    - Kissinger
      - Previous visit to PRC
      - Meetings with the President
  - Vietnam
  - PRC
    - President’s meetings with Kissinger

- Press
  - The President’s knowledge of events
-Dwight D. Eisenhower
  Relationship with staff, Cabinet
  -Compared to Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles
  -State Department
-State Department
  -Foreign policy
    -Claims
      -Credibility
    -India- Pakistan War
-China policy
  -Chinese
    -Need for US support
    -Andre Malraux
      -Economic aid
    -Economics
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -President’s analysis to the Chinese
-Agenda
  -Kissinger talking paper
    -USSR
      -PRC
        -Chou En-lai
          -Meeting with President
            -World situation
              -Quick review
            -Taiwan
              -5 Points
            -Vietnam
            -Communiqué
              -Treaty commitments
            -World situation
              -USSR
              -India
              -Southeast Asia
            -US position
              -Self interest
            -Kissinger
-Protocol
  -Translator
    -Length of comments
      -Recommended length
- Mao Tse-tung
- Opening plenary statement
  - Reading by the President
    - Importance
    - Chou En-lai
  - Notes
    - Analysis
- Kissinger’s meeting with North Vietnamese
  - Reparation
- Speaking
  - Formality
  - Order
- Plenary session
  - Topics
    - List
      - Kissinger setup
        - Previous visit
        - Kissinger’s opinion
- Polls
  - Rumsfeld
    - Gallup
      - Return call
  - Release
    - National interest
- Trip to USSR
  - World history
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Impact of PRC trip
  - 1971
    - Press coverage
      - Haldeman’s trip to Doubleday book store
        - Books on PRC
- Gallup
  - Timing
- Haldeman interview
- Press conference

Vietnam
- Polls
  - South Vietnam
  - Bombing
-Possible public opinion
-North Vietnam
  -Bombing
  -Press
  -Escalation of war
    -Perception
-South Vietnam
-North Vietnam
  -Offensive
    -Expectation of public and press
    -Bombing
    -Timing
      -Kissinger’s reply to note
  -PRC trip
    -US arrival
      -Impact
    -North Vietnam targets
      -Pleiku, Kontum
      -Forbidden City
        -Television
    -Chinese
      -Chou En-lai

PRC trip
  -Interpreters
    -Record
    -Possible number
    -State Department
    -Rogers
      -Record
      -Summaries
        -Previous meetings
  -Translator
    -Chinese
    -State Department
      -President’s request
  -Official record
    -English
  -US note taker
    -Winston Lord
      -Prior experience
- American translator
- Kissinger’s staff
  - John H. Holdridge
    - Knowledge of Chinese language
    - Check on Chinese translation
- Lord
- Holdridge
  - Skills
- Chinese
  - Six translators
- US
  - Four translators
- Holdridge
  - Knowledge of Chinese
  - Previous meetings
- State Department
  - Plenary session
  - Rogers
- Holdridge
  - Listening
  - Notes
- Nikita S. Khrushchev
  - Misinterpretation
    - Language
    - State Department
- Holdridge
  - Reliability
- Lord
  - Notes
- Holdridge
  - Role
    - Nuances
- Lord
  - Concentration on words
- Rogers
  - Record
    - Memoranda of conversations
      - “Big picture”
- Holdridge
  - Chinese
  - Previous meetings
-Chinese
  -Success
  -India-Pakistan War
  -Reception
  -Cameras
    -Square
  -Motorcade
    -PRC procedure
  -Formal reception
  -Crowds
    -Kissinger’s view
    -The President
    -Shanghai and Hangchow
-Communiqué
  -Chou En-lai
  -Timing
  -Peking
  -Shanghai
    -Communications ground station
-Coverage
  -Film
-Communiqué
  -Peking
    -Tour
    -Longest visit to foreign country by President on official visit
    -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
      -Paris
        -Conference [Treaty of Versailles]
-Talks
-Trip
-Toast
  -The President
    -Reading
      -Importance
  -Khrushchev
  -Television
  -Chou En-lai
    -Possible lighting problem
  -Khrushchev
    -1959
  -Length
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)
Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

-Khrushchev
-Tone
-Chou En-lai
-Advance text
-Kissinger previous visit
-Chou En-lai
-Timing
-The President’s view
-Television audience
-Length
-Chou En-lai’s toast to Kissinger

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 7:08 pm.

Conversation No. 671-5

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:09 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President’s location
-Residence

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 7:08 pm.

[Conversation No. 671-5A]

[Unintelligible]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.