

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF



**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 670-23/671-1

Date: February 14, 1972  
Time: 4:09 pm - 6:19 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

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

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 53s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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-Malraux

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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
- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 44s ]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- Communiqué
  - Language
    - Agreement
  - Formosa
    - Possible criticisms
      - James L. Buckley
      - William F. Buckley, Jr.
  - South Korea and Japan
    - Treaty commitments
      - Formosa
        - Separate section
    - Formosa
      - Treaty
  - Rogers
  - Connally
    - Involvement
  - Rogers
  - Connally
    - Europeans
      - Chinese
    - Kissinger's view
    - Foreign relations
  - Desire to maintain a peaceful settlement
    - Language
  - Rogers
    - Kissinger

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Communiqué
- 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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Privacy]

[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Timing
- Involvement

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

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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



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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

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.

Conversation No. 671-2

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont. )

- 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**  
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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.