Conversation No. 701-1

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:31 am and 9:05 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 701-2

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 9:05 am - 9:43 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with John H. Chafee
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Timing
- The President’s previous talk with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Candidacy for Senate

The President talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 9:05 and 9:08 am.

[Conversation no. 701-2A]

The President's meeting with Chafee
- Purpose
  - Laird
  - Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
  - Secretary of the Navy
  - Candidacy for Senate
- Presence of others
  - Laird

[End of telephone conversation]
Henry A. Kissinger entered at 9:08 am.

The President's meeting with Chafee
- Laird's presence
- Purpose

Butterfield left at 9:09 am.

- Press conference
  - Possible location

Vietnam
- Laird
- Criticism
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Laird's reaction
- Reports
- Meeting with the President
  - Purpose
- Air strikes
  - Authority
    - Possible criticism
      - Kissinger
      - Moorer’s opinion
        - Laird
- Weather
  - Impact
    - Number of sorties
- Damage
  - Bridge
  - Convoy
    - Secondary explosions
  - Tanks
- B-52s
  - Increase
    - Number
      - From the US
- Naval Gunfire
  - Increase
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US intentions
    - Amount of preparation
      - Soviet Union and People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Possible impact on the upcoming election
  -Blockade
    -Preparation of the Navy
      -President’s instructions
  -Seriousness
    -Slow nature of mining
  -Blockade
    -Selective nature
      -Food and medical supplies
-Air strikes
  -Weather
    -Impact
      -Months of activity
-Laird
  -Department of State
  -New ideas
    -Upcoming meeting
-Public relations
  -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ] crossing
    -New York Times
      -Characterization of invasion
        -Impact
-Threefold US reaction
  -Protection of US forces
  -Withdrawal program
    -South Vietnamese resistance
-White House, Defense and State Department statements
  -Inadequacies
    -Correction
      -The President’s displeasure
  -Sources
-Press coverage
  -Statement by Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
    -New York Times coverage
  -Quality
    -News summary
-II Corps-B-3 area
-US actions
  -Reports
    -Answer to Kissinger’s question
    -Moorer
    -President’s instructions to Kissinger
- Problems
- Surface to Air Missiles [SAMs]
- Press reports
- Public relations
- US actions
  - Compared with Laos
    - Low profile
  - Laird's press conference
  - Press reports
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Atmosphere in White House
      - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] story
    - Source

- US foreign policy
  - Soviet Union, PRC
  - Impact of current offensive
    - The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
    - Cambodia
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Success
    - Encouragement to domestic critics
      - Nuclear weapons
    - Blockade
    - Soviet Reaction
      - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Soviets
  - The President’s forthcoming trip
    - Poland
      - Dobrynin
    - Message from Leonid I. Brezhnev
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US military
    - Possible obstacle
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 9:08 and 9:24 am.

[Conversation no. 701-2B]

[See Conversation no. 22-72]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
- US reaction
- Weather
- Naval gunfire
- Orders
- Cessation
- Location of targets
  - Accuracy
  - Bombing halt
- B-3 area

The president talked with Thomas H. Moorer between 9:24 and 9:28 am.

[Conversation No. 701-2C]

[See Conversation No. 22-73]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- Kissinger's forthcoming contact with Ziegler
  - Report
    - Timing
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - South Vietnamese countermeasures
    - Dangers
    - Quang Tri and Dong Ha
      - Kissinger’s concern
    - Retreat
      - Effect on North Vietnamese supply lines
        - Anticipated results
- Hue
  - Symbolism
- Retreat
  - Counterattack
    - Laos operation
    - US Air Force [USAF]
- Third division
  - Kissinger’s opinion
- Strength
  - Concentration
  - Effects of weather
- Crossing of river
  - South Vietnamese retreats
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Trip to South Vietnam
  - Possible options
  - Laird's reaction
- Laird

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Privacy]
[Duration: 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Reaction to offensive
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US counterattack
    - Restrictions on statements
      - Scali
      - Ziegler
    - Massive invasion
- The President's Responsibilities
  - Protecting human lives
  - Ensuring withdrawal
- South Vietnamese resistance
- Public Reaction
  - Refugees
  - Anticommunism
    - Statements
    - Rhetoric
    - Scali and Ziegler
    - President’s instructions to Kissinger
- Soviet Reactions
  - Impact of US bombing
- Blockade
  - Ships required
    - Kissinger’s opinion
  - Legality
  - Mining
    - Implementation
  - Problems
    - Compared with Cuban missile crisis
  - Mines
    - Delayed fuses
      - Time allotted
  - Selectivity
    - Problems
      - Food and medical supplies
- PRC
- Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Critics
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - George S. McGovern
    - Statements on escalation
  - Muskie
    - Kissinger’s view
    - Charges of escalation
- US position
  - Consequences of victory and defeat
  - Reaction of the press
    - Compared with Cambodian operation
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Impact on election
- The President’s view
  - Impact on US foreign policy
    - Communist powers
    - Confidence in US
The President’s meeting with Robert S. Ingersoll
  -Instructions
  -Kissinger's trip to Japan
  -Length of meeting
  -Meeting with Kissinger

Vietnam
  -Air strikes
    -Kissinger's trip to Japan
      -Delay
      -Decision
    -Delays
      -Possible duration

  -Statements
    -Scali
    -Ziegler

Kissinger left at 9:43 am.
Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 9:44 am - 10:08 am
Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule
- Meetings
  - John B. Connally
  - Russell A. Kirk
  - Concentration on foreign policy
  - Kirk
  - Connally
  - John N. Mitchell
    - Delays
  - Arthur F. Burns
    - Length
    - Purpose
  - Connally
    - Possible call
    - Topics
    - Arrangements
    - The President's speech

Education
- The President's speech to the National Catholic Education Association [NCEA]
  - Draft
    - Haldeman’s opinion
    - Revisions
    - Parochial schools
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Inadequacies
    - Revisions
- Parochial schools
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Charles W. Colson
  - Domestic Council
    - Opposition to aid to non-public schools
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Convention in Philadelphia
    - Dr. Sidney P. Marland's, Jr. speech
    - Reception
- Reasons
  - Enthusiasm towards administration
- The President's appearance
  - Connally's view
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman
- The President's speech
  - Price
  - Article for *U.S. News & World Report*
- Revisions
  - Buchanan's and Colson's work on rhetoric
  - Connally's advice
  - Politeness

Vietnam
- Public relations situation
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Confusion
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Previous meeting with the President
  - Kissinger
    - Current work
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - New York *Times* editorial
    - Characterization of offensive
      - Compared with Laos and Cambodia operations
    - Criticism of press
  - Crossing of Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- Counter strategy
  - B-52s
  - Problems
  - Unknown South Vietnamese General
  - US military’s tendency
  - Orderly Retreat
    - Psychological impact

Ambassadors
- Assignments
- Confirmation
  - Frederic V. Malek
- President’s instructions
  - Unknown person
- Meeting with Richard S. Ingersoll
Vietnam
- Public relations
- Laos operation in 1971
- Kissinger's handling
  - Haldeman’s view
- Weather
  - Pictures
  - Refugees
    - Ziegler’s question
- US bombing
- State Department handling of diplomats
  - North Vietnamese violations
    - DMZ, Geneva Accords, 1968 bombing halt
  - News coverage
    - Clarity
- Muskie
  - Attacks on statements
    - John G. Tower
    - Charge of defeatism
    - Media involvement with story
- Haldeman's control of public relations efforts
  - Concern for GIs and Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Protection of Americans
    - Number
    - News summary
    - Withdrawal program

Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew’s schedule

Voice of America
- Bruce Herschensohn
- Malek
- [US Information Agency]
- Resignation

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 45s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

**********************************************************************

Big business
    - Contributions to Democrats
    - The President’s instructions
        - Colson
    - August A. Busch, Jr. [?]
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968
    - Analysis

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
    - Johnson administration
    - Antitrust record
        - Haldeman’s reaction

Administration
    - TV coverage
        - Reports of crisis in White House
            - Ziegler and John A. Scali
            - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
            - Thomas E. Jarriell
                - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
                    - Ziegler
                    - Unknown reporter
            - Robert Pierpoint
            - Counterattack
                - Haldeman’s upcoming conversation with Ziegler
            - Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting
                - Kissinger

Vietnam
    - News reports
        - White House handling
            - Buchanan
                - Richard A. Moore

1972 campaign
    - Contributions
-Maurice H. Stans
-The President's campaign
  -Disclosure
    -John W. Gardner demands
-Other candidates
  -Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  -George C. Wallace
  -Shirley Chisholm
  -Eugene J. McCarthy
  -Lists of donors before April 7
-The President's campaign
  -Stans's position
-Jackson
  -Refusal to disclose

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:44 am.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.

1972 campaign
  -Contributions
    -The President's campaign
      -Stans's position
      -Primary efforts
        -Wisconsin
          -Television
      -Problems
        -Amount of money
          -Reports to federal government
      -Stans's position
        -Full reports
        -Compliance with law
  -Sums of money
    -Importance
    -Amounts
      -Disclosure
        -Problems
      -Alternatives to reporting
        -Limits to disclosure
      -Reports
        -Problems
Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:06 am.

- Vietnam
  - Air strikes
  - Numbers
    - Kissinger's conversation with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

Haldeman left at 10:06 am.

- Target areas
- Moorer’s statement
  - Damage
    - Tanks and bridges
- Effectiveness
- Public relations efforts
  - Ziegler
  - Scali
  - Robert J. McCloskey
  - Daniel Z. Henkin

Kissinger left at 10:08 am.

Conversation No. 701-4

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:08 am and 10:09 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

***************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 15s]
The President's schedule
   -The President's meeting with Robert S. Ingersoll
     -Duration
     -Interruption by Bull
       -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
     -Location

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.
Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 10:09 am - 10:43 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert S. Ingersoll, Henry A. Kissinger and Stephen B. Bull[?].

Introductions and greetings

Bull [?] left at an unknown time before 10:39 am.

Ingersoll's assignment
  -Preparations
  -Departure
    -Timing

US-Japan relations
  -Current status
    -Possible problems
    -Ingersoll's role as ambassador
      -Importance
        -Compared to West Germany
          -Berlin agreements
            -[David] Kenneth Rush
        -Compared to the Soviet Union
        -Ingersoll's method of handling
          -Relations with Eisaku Sato, Takeo Fukuda and power elite
          -Identification of potential leaders
            -No need for limitation
    -Japan's leadership
      -Fukuda
      -Mitsujiro Ishii
    -Ingersoll's role
      -Relationship with the President
        -Importance
          -Armin H. Meyer
          -Personal confidence
            -Representative to the government
        -Use of special channels to communicate with the President
          -Ingersoll’s staff
            -Ingersoll’s relationship with the Japanese business community
-The President's knowledge of Japan
  -Importance of US-Japanese alliance
-The President's visits to Japan
  -Number
-The President’s relationship with Japanese leaders
  -Potential power
  -Economic, political and military
  -Eastern Pacific
  -US-Japanese alliance and friendship
  -Strong emphasis from the President
-Economic competition
  -US respect
  -Avoidance of protectionism, isolationism and Japanese counter reaction
-Ingersoll's dealings with Japanese leaders
-John B. Connally’s theory
  -US relationship with Japan, Latin America and Canada
-Ingersoll's approach
  -Closer relations
  -Mutual respect
-People's Republic of China [PRC] issue
-US-PRC opening of relations
  -US and Japanese interests
  -PRC nuclear capability
  -Possibilities of influence
  -Possibility for conflict
  -Similarities to Korea and Vietnam
-Reasons
  -Soviet Union
-Effect on US-Japan ties
-Difference in relationships
  -Social, economic, political ties
  -Trade ties between US and Japan
  -PRC, Soviet Union, and Canada
-Mutual security interests
-US intentions
  -Viable policy in the Pacific
  -Japan's role
  -Frequent dialogue
-Joint communiqué
  -Development of US-Japan ties
  -Support For Clause
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 23s]

JAPAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Nixon Doctrine
- The President's conversation with Chou En-Lai and Mao Tse-Tung
  - State Department view
  - Purpose
    - US role in world and the Pacific
      - Low profile
      - Commitment to South Vietnam
    - Continued US presence in Asia
      - PRC
  - Japan
    - Neutrality
      - Rearmament
        - Likelihood
        - Economic power
        - World War II
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 21s.]

SINGAPORE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

-US-Japan relations
  -Competition in PRC
  -Possible Japanese role
  -US Success
  -Possible discussions
  -Potential Japanese actions
  -The President's Meeting With Chou en-Lai
    -Mao Tse-Tung
  -Need for US-Japan cooperation
    -Dangers of competition
    -Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's trip to Japan
    -Kissinger's work with Ingersoll
  -Translator
  -Use
  -Ingersoll's dealings with Sato and Fukuda
    -Use of channels
    -Other channels
      -Danger of leaks in Tokyo
    -State Department
      -Arthur K. Watson
      -Georges J. R. Pompidou

-Private dinner
-Sato
  -Meeting with Kissinger
    -Privacy
  -Meeting with Ingersoll
    -Fukuda
    -Arrangements
    -Scheduling
    -Timing
      -North Vietnamese offensive
      -The President’s upcoming visit to the Soviet Union
-President’s instructions to Ingersoll
  -Letters to Sato and Fukuda
    -President’s signature
    -Drafts
    -Content
    -Dispatch
      -Arrangements
      -State Department files
      -Contact with the Japanese ambassador
      -Meyer
-US Asian policy
  -Message to Japan
    -Quotation of the President
    -Shanghai communique
    -US presence in Asia
-US-Japan alliance
  -Importance
  -Peace
-US-Japan alliance
-Taiwan, Republic of China
  -US policy
-Korea
  -The President's message for Ingersoll to the Japanese
-Ingersoll's assignment
-Visits
  -Kissinger
  -The President
    -Upcoming trip to Soviet Union
      -Timing
      -Dwight D. Eisenhower's visit
-[Emperor of Japan] Hirohito's visit
  -Timing
  -The President
  -Election
- Respect for the Japanese
- Problems
  - Economic
- The President's message to Japanese leaders
- Europe and Pacific
- Ingersoll's assignment
  - Conversations with Fukuda, Sato and Ishii
  - Dealings with Japanese
    - Toughness
    - Eisenhower's comments on British as allies
      - Suez crisis
      - Contrasts in war and peace
- Cameras
  - Kodak
  - Film
  - Cost

Presidential gifts
  - Golf balls

Kissinger left and Stephen B. Bull entered at 10:39 am.

Golf balls and tie clips

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:43 am.

The President's foreign policy
  - Ingersoll's admiration

Ingersoll's family
  - Visit to Lincoln Memorial
    - Abraham Lincoln
      - Compared with the President

Presidential gifts
  - Golf balls
    - Donald McI. Kendall
  - Money clip
    - Presidential seal

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:39 am.
Photograph session
  - Standing pictures

Presidential gifts
  - Bronze compacts

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:43 am.

Photographs
  - Copies

George P. Shultz
  - Qualities
    - Previous relationship with Ingersoll
    - Dedication
    - Eisenhower

The White House photographer entered at an unknown time after 10:39 am.

Photographs
  - The President’s instructions

The White House photographer left at an unknown time before 10:43 am.

Gifts
  - Bronze compacts
  - Cuff links
  - Tie clasps
    - Presidential seal
  - Money clips
  - Kendall
  - “Bowser” [doggie] bags

Ingersoll's assignment
  - Ingersoll's father, Roy C. Ingersoll
  - Message to Japanese
    - State Department
    - The President’s initials

Ingersoll left at 10:43 am.
Conversation No. 701-6

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:43 am and 10:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
   - Meeting with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
     - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:45 am.

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Conversation No. 701-7

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:43 am and 10:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation no. 22-74]
Conversation No. 701-8

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 10:45 am - 10:46 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with George P. Shultz.

[See Conversation no. 22-75]

Conversation No. 701-9

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 10:46 am - 11:46 am
Location: Oval Office

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

Robert S. Ingersoll
- Praise from the President
- Comments on the President's foreign policy
- Lincoln Memorial
  - Abraham Lincoln
  - Compared with the President

Political support for the President
- General public
- Gallup poll
- Press

Press
- Ronald L. Ziegler's list of names
  - Number
  - Hugh S. Sidey
  - John F. Osborne
- Friends of the President
  - Return calls
    - Peter C. Andrews of Buffalo "Courier Express"
    - "New Republic" and "Life"
- News summary
  - References to Sidey and Osborne
-Importance
-Friendly journalists
-Andrews
-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
-Unfriendly journalists
-Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Ziegler
-Osborne
-Possible influence
-Sidey
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Avoidance
-Haldeman's enforcement

Julie Nixon Eisenhower entered at 10:49 am.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3m 46s]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower left at 10:53 am.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

White House Staff
-Parties
-The President’s concern
-Movies
-Paul Fisher

Photographs of the President
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Problems
-William L. Safire
-Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Selection
-Frank Leonard
-John R. ("Tex") McCrary
-Leonard
-Similarities of style
-Atkins
-Photographs of the President
-Image presentation
-Eye on Nixon

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

News summary
-Comments on the President's personality
-Source
-Osborne
-Spectrum
-Unknown journalist
-The President's trips
-Human interest stories
-Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Press reports
-Trip to PRC
-Impact
-Presentation of the President as a person
-The President’s image

Julie Nixon Eisenhower entered at 10:58 am.

Photograph session
-Scheduling
-Atkins
- The President's availability
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- Location

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

-Time and day
-Family picture
- Preparations
- Timing
- Mrs. Nixon

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Preparations
  - Mrs. Nixon

Julie Nixon Eisenhower left at 11:00 am.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 16s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Press
  - Attacks
  - Press conferences
    - Unknown White House staffer’s suggestion
      - Imitation of John F. Kennedy
    - Kennedy's conferences
      - Comparisons to current administration
      - Reports in press
      - Contents
    - The President's conferences
      - Handling by media
        - Comparisons
    - Osborne and Sidey
      - Meeting with the President
        - Timing
    - Ziegler
  - Osborne
  - Journalists
    - Cultivation of friends
      - President’s instructions
        - 1972 election
    - Ziegler

Drug speech
  - TV appearance
    - John D. Ehrlichman's advice
    - Other’s view
    - Need for reason
      - President’s previous conversation with Ehrlichman
    - Fireside chats
  - Radio
    - Value
    - Photographs
- Value
- Florida trip
  - Timing
- Hotline
- Timing
- Plans
- TV coverage
  - Haldeman’s opinion

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 8s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

- George S. McGovern
  - Statements
    - Denials
  - Corporate taxes
    - Amount
    - International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] reports
    - Misrepresentation
  - Media hostility to the President
    - McGovern's reception by press

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 53s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
Contributions
- Republicans
  - Maurice H. Stans's statement
  - Richard A. Moore
  - Legal requirements
    - John N. Mitchell
- Amounts
  - Publicity
  - W. Clement Stone
  - John A. (“Jack”) Mulcahy
- Problems
- List of contributors
  - Publication of list
  - Problems
  - Current actions
- Jackson
  - List of contributors
    - Publication
- The President's contributors
  - List of names
  - Publication
    - Effect on primaries
  - A mailing
    - Results
  - List
    - Publication
  - Publicity
  - John W. Gardner's criticisms
    - Public reaction
  - Criticisms of the President's campaign
    - Reaction
    - ITT
  - Democrats
    - Edward M. Kennedy

William P. Rogers
  - Trip
    - Announcement
      - Possible timing

George H. Gallup group
  - Call to Haldeman’s office
- PRC trip
- Relations with White House
- Louis P. Harris
- Albert E. Sindlinger
- Charles W. Colson
- Reports to the White House
  - Interest in the polls
- Figures
- Problems
  - Sampling techniques

Media
- Writers
  - Appearances on Television
    - Credibility
      - Neil MacNeil from *Time*
        - *Spectrum* television show
          - ITT case
            - Harm to administration
              - Credibility
  - Press relations
    - Peter Lisagor
    - Sidey
    - James Keogh
      - Osborne
        - Boycott
          - *President Nixon and the Press*
            - Condensation in *Reader's Digest*
              - Readership
                - Comparisons

Acupuncture
- Interest
  - Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
    - Articles
  - Gen. Walter R. Tkach
    - Article
    - Interest
      - Fascination
  - Age of technique
  - PRC
    - Abolition and reinstatement by Mao Tse-tung
      - Cultural revolution
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:00 am.

The President's schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:46 am.
Polling Presidential popularity
-Thomas W. Benham’s analysis and numbers
  -Major issues
    -Reversals in public opposition
    -November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam
    -Cambodia
    -Economic discussions of Phases I and II
    -PRC trip
  -High points
  -Attrition
    -Reasons
  -Beginning of term
    -Successes
      -High approval
  -Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson and Harry S. Truman
    -Unsolvable problems
      -Approval downturn
  -Vietnam
    -Impact
  -Republican minority
  -Public support
    -Depth
      -Expectations
  -Current strategy
    -Problems
      -Inflation
  -Food prices
  -Labor
  -Food prices
    -Food chains
-Reduction of prices
  -Safeway stores
  -Advertisements
    -Possible price freeze

-Weak areas
  -Groups
    -Independents
    -Reasons for voting

-Party loyalty
  -Importance
    -Mitchell

-New voters
  -Party affiliation
  -Independence
  -The President's inroads
    -Vietnam
    -PRC opening
    -End of draft

-Women
  -High prices
  -Administration record
    -Equal opportunity
    -Appointments

-Nixon family
-Concerns
  -Status of women
    -Patricia R. Hitt
    -Young women
  -Liberal leanings and idealism
    -ITT
  -Budget consciousness
    -Cost of goods
      -The President and Muskie
    -Comparisons
  -The President's personality
    -Projection
      -Importance
      -Press
  -Awards
    -Presentation of awards
      -Timing
        -Image as President rather than as candidate

-Course of the President's popularity over first term
-High and low points discussed
  -Moon landing
  -November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam
  -Withdrawal from Cambodia
  -Laos
  -Pentagon papers
  -Phase I and Phase II discussions
  -PRC trip
-Gallup poll
-Range
  -John F. Kennedy
  -Johnson

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 48s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Media
  -Radio speech on drugs

Education
  -Forthcoming speech to the National Catholic Education Association [NCEA]
    -Ehrlichman
    -Draft
      -Timing
    -Problems
    -Non-public schools
      -Aid
        -Colson
        -Administration's position
      -Division within White House
    -Harris polls
      -Results
      -Catholic attitudes
        -George P. Shultz's study
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Ehrlichman
-Financing
- Tuition
- Parish funds
- Contributions
- Tax deductibility
- Problems
- Non-Catholic students
- Percentage
-Shultz and Ehrlichman
- Opposition to aid
-Shultz
- Support for private schools
-Ehrlichman
- Busing issue
-Busing
- Forum for handling
- Television press conferences

Media relations
- The President’s recent press conference
- Press reports on the President's tone and physical condition
- Osborne
- Sidey
- Lisagor
- Sidey
- The President's aging
- Description from Sidey
-Osborne
- Comments
- Difference of opinion
- The President's press conferences
- Reports
- The President's tenseness
- Dan Rather
- Inaccuracies

-Press conferences
- President’s dislike
- Keogh's book
- Osborne's review
- Possible press corps view of the President
- Press boycotts
- Osborne
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:00 am.

The President's meeting with Prisoner of War/Missing in Action [POW-MIA] lawyers
- Press picture
- Advantages
- American Bar Association [ABA]
- Format
- Number
- [Louis] Patrick Gray, III
- Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

John B. Connally
- Illness
- Return home
- Postponement of meeting with Arthur F. Burns

Haldeman left at 11:45 am.

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 11:46 am - 11:58 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert P. Murray, Harry Hathaway, Walter S. McLin III, John Mitchell Eger, L. Patrick Gray III and Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft; members of the press and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings and introductions
- Murray

Photograph session

Introductions
-Hathaway
-McLin
-Eger
-Gray

Unknown person's visit to White House
- Law Enforcement Assistance Act [LEAA] grant

Press picture

Meeting with the President
- Appreciation
- American Bar Association [ABA] program for Prisoners of War [POWs] and Missing in Action [MIAs]
  - Purposes
    - Contacts with families
    - Civil problems
    - Judge Advocate General [JAG]
  - Remedial legislation
    - Power of attorney
    - State legislatures
    - California
  - Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act
    - Problems
      - Department of Defense [DoD]
      - Jurisdiction
      - US Air Force [USAF] Reserve lawyers
    - Possible amendments
    - Hearings in California
  - Coordination with military
    - Contacts with families
  - The President's help
    - Endorsement
    - Contact person at White House
      - Scowcroft

POWs
- Efforts at release
- Importance of subject
- US bargaining power
  - Maintenance
    - Reasoning
- North Vietnamese offensive
- Air strikes
  - Possible resolution
- Conclusion of war
  - Critics
    - Withdrawal
    - Problems for POWs
  - The President’s January 25, 1972 speech
  - US bargaining power
- POW group
  - Position on war
    - Commitment from the President
- Legal problems
  - Titles

Photographs
  - Copies

POWs
  - Attorney group

Gray
  - Appearance

Murray et al left at 11:58 am.
Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown after 11:58 am until 12:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Prisoner of War/Missing in Action [POW/MIA] lawyers
- Gifts
- Pens

John B. Connally
- Idanell (Brill) (“Nellie”) Connally
- Use of Camp David

Bull and Butterfield left and Oscar Dystel, Markus Jaffe, Samuel Schulman, Richard L. Wilson and Herbert G. Klein entered at 12:00 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Introductions
- Klein
- Dystel
- Jaffe
- Schulman
- Wilson

Photograph session

Presentation of *The President’s Trip to China*
- Copies
- Page of book
- Production quality
- Time
- Value

*******************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 36s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*****************************************************************
The President's trip to the Soviet Union
-Possible book
-Leningrad
-Kremlin
-Iran And Poland
-Impact on world
  -Comparison to World War II
-Substance
-News stories
  -Pictures
    -Kremlin
    -Leningrad
    -Warsaw
    -Teheran
    -Crowds
    -Railroads and trains
-Size of press corps
  -Television
    -Compared to PRC trip

Presidential gifts
  -Cuff links
  -Pens

Book on the President's trip to Soviet Union
-Pending decision
-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Preface by the President
-Possible contents
-Arms control
-Middle East

Middle East
  -Ceasefire
The President’s Trip to China
- Binding
- Cost
- Subsequent book on Soviet Union trip
  - Topics
    - Arms control
    - Trade
    - Space
  - Wilson

Gridiron Dinner
- The President's absence
  - Women
- Henry A. Kissinger's attendance
- The President's schedule
  - Florida
- Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

Unknown person's support

San Diego Chargers
- Status
- Seattle Supersonics
- Season's record
- John Hadl

Dystel, et al left at 12:11 pm.
Conversation No. 701-12

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:11 pm and 12:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Melvin R. Laird and John H. Chafee
- Meeting with LynRae McClintock
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Gordon C. Strachan
  - McClintock's husband
    - Justice Department lawyer

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:12 pm.

Conversation No. 701-13

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 12:12 pm - 12:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, LynRae McClintock and Gordon C. Strachan.

Introduction

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:13 pm.

Change of jobs

Photographs

Home
- New job
- Hometown
- College [University of Southern California]
  - Major
- Hometown [Riverside]
  - High School
McClintock et al. left at 12:13 pm.

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 12:13 pm - 1:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger’s schedule
- Meeting

Vietnam
- Weather
- Naval gunfire
- Mining operations
  - Kissinger’s previous conversation with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - Plans
  - Preparations
    - Philippines
- Richard M. Helms
- Information
- Reaction

- [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Conversation with Kissinger
  - Dated statement
  - Review of requests for bombing authority
  - Melvin R. Laird's approval
    - Surface to Air missiles [SAMs]

- Air strikes
  - Increase
    - Marine planes
    - Location
      - Support personnel
  - US Air Force [USAF]
  - Marine Aircraft
    - Marines compared to USAF
- USAF pilots
- Aircraft
  - Quality
  - The President’s view
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Haig’s opinion
- Moorer
  - Response to the President's orders
- The President's orders
  - Politics
  - US foreign policy
  - Military's role and responsibilities
    - Ground troops
    - Moorer
- B-52s
  - Increase
- F-4s
- Carriers
  - Number
- Destroyers
  - Number
  - The President’s opinion
- Cruisers
- Naval gunfire
  - Targets
    - Dong Hoi airfield
    - Logistics
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Air strikes
  - Weather
  - Improvement
  - Possible delays
- Moorer’s plans
  - Kissinger’s previous conversation with Moorer
    - Authority
      - 18th parallel
      - Extension
        - 48 hour strike
        - US position
- Mining
  - Impact
- Delays
  - Impact
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Challenge
- South Vietnamese strategy
  - Retreat and consolidation
  - The President’s theory
  - Winston S. Churchill on World War I
    - Comparisons to present situation
  - Lt. Gen. Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough
  - Allied victory
  - German losses and victories
    - Ypres
    - Numbers
  - British retreat
    - Erich Ludendorff
    - Churchill’s point
      - Necessity
- Hue and Da Nang
- Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Possible strategy
- Formation of line
  - Exposure of North Vietnam
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
  - Impact on North Vietnam
    - Compared to Laos
    - Possible end to the war by year’s end
- Political impact
  - Election
    - Timing
      - Democratic National Convention
- North Vietnamese Offensive
  - Need for decisive defeat
  - Break in weather
    - Negotiations
    - Probability before trip to Soviet Union

Announcement on Warsaw
  - Notification of State Department and Warsaw
  - Laird

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:13 and 12:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 701-14A]
Message for Herbert G. Klein
   -Message for Richard L. Wilson
   -Announcement on Warsaw
     -Delay
     -Diplomatic channels

[End of telephone conversation]

US-Soviet Union relations
   -Kissinger's meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
     -Note to the President
     -Purpose

Laird and John H. Chafee entered at 12:25 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Chafee
   -Departure from administration

[Photograph session]

Seating

Cabinet officers
   -Subcabinet officers
     -Importance
     -Gratitude for Chafee's work
Kissinger's departure
-Phone call

Kissinger left at 12:35 pm.

Portsmouth Navy Yard
-Decision to keep open
  -Described
  -Norris Cotton
-Value
  -Laird
  -Cotton
-Uses

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:42 pm.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles [SLBMs]
  -Passage
    -Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles [SLBMs]
-Naval vessels
  -Submarines
    -Technical problems
      -Keel laying

Presidential gifts
  -Money clip

Chafee
  -Laird

1972 election
  -Chafee
    -Campaign practices

Chafee left at 12:44 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 41s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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SALT
- SLBMs
  - Laird's position
    - US negotiating position
      - Helsinki
  - An agreement
    - Undersea Long-Range Missile System [ULMS]
  - Keel laying
- Limitations
  - Appeal
    - Powered by the State Department and Joint Chief of Staff [JCS]
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

- Problems
  - Public apprehensions
    - Soviet Union
- Submarine agreement
  - Political problems
    - Development of facilities
  - Soviet [Delta Class] submarines
    - Missiles
      - Range
      - Number
    - Facilities
- US facilities
  - Limitations

Vietnam
- President’s instructions to Laird
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Stakes For US
    - US withdrawal
  - President’s view
    - US defeat
    - Consequences
      - US foreign policy
      - Presidency
    - President’s awareness of situation
- US counteraction
  - National Security Council [NSC]
    - William P. Rogers
  - State Department
- Risks
  - Election
  - Necessity for strong action
    - Air and naval power
    - Increase
  - The President's meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and [David] Kenneth Rush
    - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] reports
- Laird's Role
- Criticism
  - Assessing success and failure
- Laird's recommendation
  - Cancellation of bombing
    - Target areas
- Geographical limit
- US options

- Air strikes
  - Laird’s recommendation
    - 18th parallel
    - No restrictions on authority
    - Timing
  - Authority
    - Extension
  - Time frame
    - US actions
  - Resources
  - Support role
  - Target areas
    - B-3 area
    - Activity
  - Weather
    - Forecasts
    - Timing
  - USAF reluctance
    - Battle of the Bulge
    - Comparisons
    - Risks

- Naval Gunfire
  - Ships
    - Number
  - Guns
    - Capacities
      - Accuracy
  - Shore batteries
  - Destroyers

- Targets
  - Tactical Air Support [TACAIR]
    - Performance
  - Tanks
  - Personnel
  - Sir Robert Thompson
  - North Vietnamese vulnerability

- South Vietnam military
  - Hue
  - Thieu
  - Retreat
  - Advantages
- Battle of Verdun
- French
- Reports of battle
  - Criticism of Department of Defense [DoD]
  - Bombing requests
    - Possible problems coming from Laird’s office
- Blame on Laird for reluctance
- JCS
  - Lack of forthcoming information to the President
- Air strikes
  - Laird's role
  - Loyalty to the President
    - Possibly questioned
- Press conference
- Rogers
  - Timing
  - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ] violations
  - Schedule changes
    - Recognition of Bangladesh
    - Rogers’s responsibilities
    - Laird’s previous conversation with the President
      - Previous telephone conversation with Robert J. McCloskey
- Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Line for the press
  - Conversation with Laird’s people
- President’s instructions for Laird
  - Points to make
    - US purposes for air strikes
      - Protection of Americans
      - Vietnamization
        - Continuation
      - Aid to South Vietnam's defense
      - Prisoners of War [POWs] return
    - US actions
      - Ground troops
      - Air power
        - Target areas
    - Violation of international law
      - Strong, hard line from Laird
- Rogers
  - Comparison to Laird
- Cambodia
-Changes in character of war
  -Compared with Korean Conflict
-Violations by North Vietnam
  -1954 agreement, 1968 bombing halt
  -Rogers
-Air strikes
  -Targets
-Protection of Americans
  -Number
-Escalation of war
  -Edmund S. Muskie's charges
  -The President’s response
-Hubert H. Humphrey
  -Demands for more aid to South Vietnam
-North Vietnamese offensive
  -Vietnamization
    -Impact
    -Laird's statement
      -Possible credibility problem
-South Vietnamese strength
  -Chances of success
    -Thieu
    -US confidence in South Vietnamese Abilities
    -Abrams comment
      -Football analogy
    -Past retreats
      -Battle of the Bulge
      -World War I
        -Great Britain and Germany
-Public relations response
  -Laird's statements
    -Follow-up from the President
    -Timing
  -Scheduling
    -Rogers and Laird
  -Coordination of various agencies
  -Authorities
  -Ziegler
    -Report of meeting between Laird and the President
-Laird
  -Loyalty to the President
The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:44 and 1:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 701-14B]

Request that Ziegler join them

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
- Laird
  - Loyalty to the President
  - Problems of communication within the DoD and between the DoD and the White House
- Weather
  - Forecasts
  - Effect on air sorties
    - Number
    - B-3 Area
      - Possible psychological impact
    - Effect on air sorties
- B-52s
  - Problems
  - Surface-To-Air Missiles [SAMs]
    - Countermeasures
- Target Areas
  - DMZ
- Effectiveness
  - SAMs
- Target Areas
  - Risks
    - DMZ
    - SAMs
- Losses
  - Florida
- US countermeasures
  - Options

Ziegler entered At 1:11 pm.
-Impact on People’s Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
  -US credibility
-Impact on US allies
  -Asia, Europe and Latin America

Kissinger left at 1:12 pm.

- The President's meeting with Laird
  - Ziegler's report
  - Statement for press
  - Laird's press conference
    - Timing
      - Rogers
    - Presentation

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

- Weather
  - Impact on air strikes
    - Public reaction
- Air strikes
  - Muskie's criticism
- Escalation of war
  - Responsibility
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - McCloskey
  - Ziegler's report
    - Administration’s stance
      - Ziegler’s previous conversation with Haig
- Public relations
  - Strategy
  - Comments to press
  - Confidence
    - Possible outcome
- Press
  - Contradictory reports
    - Robert Pierpoint
    - Crisis in White House
      - Ziegler’s previous conversation with Bill Jarriel [?]
  - WSAG meetings
  - Templeton [first name unknown]
Ziegler left at 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 701-15

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 1:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Unknown person's schedule
- Meeting with the President

Conversation No. 701-16

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 1:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
- Old Executive Office Building [EOB]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:17 pm.

Conversation No. 701-17

Date: April 4, 1972
Time: 1:17 pm - 1:32 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.
Vietnam
   - Melvin R. Laird
   - Protestations of loyalty

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

************************************************************

- Public relations efforts
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Importance
    - Weather
    - Pessimism
- Weather
  - US Air Force [USAF]
    - Reluctance in bad weather
    - B-52s
- Naval gunfire
  - Laird's evaluation
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Kissinger's trust
  - Range
  - Employment
- Laird's Pessimism
  - Gen. Robert E. Pursley
- [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Support for the President
  - Compared with David N. Packard
    - Loyalty
- Laird
  - Pessimism
    - Naval gunfire
    - B-52s
    - Possible psychological impact
- Soviet Union and People's Republic Of China [PRC] and Hanoi
- India-Pakistan war
- Similarities to present situation
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - Kissinger’s view
      - US counteraction
        - Dong Hoi
          - Supply Depots
        - B-52s
        - Effectiveness
      - B-3 area
    - Air strikes
      - Effectiveness
  - Weather
    - PRC and Soviet Union
    - Duration of bad weather
    - Limitations on air power
  - Current aircraft
  - Impact on aircraft
    - Comparisons to the Battle of the Bulge
      - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
        - Previous conversation with Kissinger
          - Comparison to the early stages of the Vietnam war
  - Commercial planes
  - Richard M. Helms
    - Support for administration's policy
    - Comments
  - South Vietnamese resistance
    - Hue
      - Blockade of Haiphong
        - Strength of South Vietnam
    - Compared with the Battle of the Bulge
      - Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.
  - US equipment
  - Laird and Rush
    - Comparisons
  - Public relations
    - William P. Rogers
      - Press conference
        - Bangladesh
        - Vietnam
  - Air strikes
    - Northern limits
    - Administration’s stance
    - Options
- Target areas
  - Blockade of Haiphong
  - Mining
    - Preparations
    - Philippines

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Subject: Vietnam]
[Duration: 10s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-North Vietnamese offensive
  - PRC and Soviet Union warnings against US interventions
  - US actions
    - Administration’s stance
    - Appearance
    - Jordan
    - India-Pakistan war
    - Impact on PRC and Soviet Union
    - Impact on election

-Soviets
  - Interests
    - Berlin agreement
    - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      - Talk with Kissinger

-Summit
  - Kissinger’s previous conversations with the State Department
  - Likelihood of cancellation

-Military mission in Hanoi
  - Analysis
    - Military equipment
      - Inclusion in Laird’s statement
  - Equipment in Vietnam
- Tanks, planes, trucks
- Joseph W. Alsop
  - Forthcoming meeting with Kissinger
  - Social occasions
  - Kissinger’s previous conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - 1972 election
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Air strikes in North
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
    - Effectiveness
- South Vietnam
  - 1968 Tet offensive
    - Khe Sanh

The President and Kissinger left at 1:32 pm.