Conversation No. 720-1

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 8:45 am - 8:48 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

John B. Connally
-Meetings with the President
-Time
-Subjects for discussion
-Time

Butterfield left at 8:48 am.

Conversation No. 720-2

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 8:50 am - 8:51 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Tricia Nixon Cox
-Television interview with Barbara Walters
-Woods’s view
-Duration
-Taping

Woods left at 8:51 am.
Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:51 am and 8:55 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 23-163]

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 8:55 am - 10:09 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Peter J. Brennan.

[Conversation No. 720-4A]

[See Conversation No. 23-164]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 8:56 am.

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:58 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
  -Location
  -Meeting with the President
    -Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:14 am.

Tricia Nixon Cox
  -Interview with Barbara Walters
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon's report
    -Walters's demeanor
    -Tricia Nixon Cox's appearance
    -Walters's questions
- Anti-war hecklers
  - George S. McGovern's appeal
  - Tricia Nixon Cox's handling
- Tricia Nixon Cox's appearance
- Tricia Nixon Cox's self-assessment
- Personal strength
- Manner
- Comments on the President's job
- Manner

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Meeting with the President

Nixons' travel
  - Mrs. Nixon
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Funding
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's public appearances
  - Woods's opinion
    - Mrs. Nixon
  - Democrats

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 10m 49s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Forthcoming letter to Francis E. Meloy, Jr.
  - Retirement of Donald L. Jackson
  - Dictation

Kissinger entered at 9:14 am.

Kissinger's previous speech in New York
  - Response
-Soviet Summit
-Asia Society
  -People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  -Foreign Affairs Council
  -Audience
  -Columbia University/Time-Life sponsorship
  -Kissinger statement on Vietnam
    -A heckler
    -Hedley W. Donovan
    -Applause

Vietnam
  -Press reports
    -President's talk with Brennan
    -Effect of President's televised speeches
      -Lyndon B. Johnson comparison
    -Kissinger's Asia Society audience
      -Statement
      -Response
      -Donovan

Woods's schedule
  -New York

Kissinger's schedule
  -Speeches

Woods's schedule
  -Camp David
    -Visit
    -President's trip
      -Departure time

Woods left at 9:15 am.

Soviet Union
  -Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    -The President's instructions
      -Mrs. Nixon
      -Irina N. Dobrynin

Vietnam
  -North Vietnam offensive
-US response
  -Planning
  -Orders to Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Kissinger's schedule
  -President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting
  -Meeting with Haig and Moorer
- Leak on blockade
  -Dan Rather’s report
  -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  -John A. Scali
  -Haldeman
  -John D. Ehrlichman

Haldeman entered at 9:21 am.

  -Rather
  -Ehrlichman
  -Richard A. Moore
  -Charles W. Colson
  -Scali
- News reports
  -Rather
  -Wall Street Journal
  -Rather report
  -Source
  -Melvin R. Laird
  -Moorer
- State Department leak
  -Robert Keatley [?] report
  -Terms for settlement
  -Source
  -William H. Sullivan
  -Cable about cease-fire
    -William P. Rogers
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
    -Haig
    -Rogers
- Department of Defense [DOD] briefing
  -Soviet arms
- Speculation
  -President’s previous remarks
  -Settlement
  -Blockade
-Bombing
-Sources
-Marvin L. Kalb report
  -Sources
-Rather report
  -Sources
-Haig

-Press
  -White House staff
    -The President’s instructions
  -Moorer

-Plans
  -Kissinger meeting with Moorer
    -Attendees
    -Time
  -President's review
    -Haldeman
    -Notes

Haldeman left at 9:30 am.

-State Department involvement
  -Timing
  -Rogers
  -U. Alexis Johnson

-Blockade
  -Advantages
  -Disadvantages

-Bombing
  -Disadvantages
  -Peace demonstrations

-Blockade
  -Commitment
  -Soviet response
  -India's response
  -PRC response

-Bombing
  -Targets
  -Dissent

-Blockade
  -Advantages
  -Alternatives

-Ground action
Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

-Latest reports
-Weakness
  -Kontum
-North Vietnam casualties
-North Vietnam attacks
-US response
  -US landing in panhandle
    -Effect
-US bombing
  -Effectiveness
-Blockade
  -Effectiveness
-Bombing
  -Impact
    -Haiphong
    -Hainan
-President's instinct
  -Su Nan [Sp?]
-William J. Porter walkout
-Kissinger backgrounder
  -Talk with Henry Hubbard, Jerrold L. Schecter, and Max Frankel
-Blockade
-Kissinger's view
-Public support
-Advantages
  -Decisiveness
  -Effect on forthcoming election
  -End of war
-Bombing
  -Advantages
  -John B. Connally's advice
-Advantages
  -Soviet response
  -Cancellation of Summit

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

-Soviet Summit

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

-Timing with North Vietnam offensive
  -Public perception
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

-Bombing
  -Timing

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

-Lines of communication
  -Ellsworth F. Bunker
  -Instructions
    -Abrams
    -The President
    -Kissinger
    -Bunker
    -Abrams
    -Laird
    -Moorer
    -Abrams
    -Laird
    -Abrams
    -Moorer
    -[David] Kenneth Rush
    -Bunker
    -Laird
    -Actions
    -Motives

-US position
  -Haig
  -Moorer
  -Connally

-Soviet reply to US message
-Bombing
  -Soviet response
    -Effect on bombing
  -PRC summit
  -Effect of Hanoi and Haiphong bombing
-Blockade
-Soviet goals
  -Kissinger's assessment
-Foreign Affairs Council speech
-Hubert H. Humphrey, McGovern, Edward M. Kennedy
-Dealings with Soviets
-Connally's advice
-Escalation
-Issues in Vietnam
-Communist government
-Control of US policy
-US response
-Peace offers
-North Vietnam motives
-US long-term interests
-Soviet Summit
-Cancellation
-Connally's advice
-Public response
-Dwight D. Eisenhower’s cancelled trip to the Soviet Union
-Eisenhower’s cancelled trip to Japan
-The President’s trip while Vice President to Venezuela
-Bombing
-Soviet response
-Summit
-Comparison with blockade
-Connally's advice
-Avoidance of defeat
-Bombing
-Effectiveness
-Blockade
-Effectiveness compared with bombing
-Commitment
-Soviet Union response
-PRC response
-President's foreign policy
-Risks
-Legacy
-PRC
-Compared to Laos operation
-End of war
-President's efforts
-Dealing with Soviets, PRC, Europeans, and Japanese
-Alternatives to President
-Connally
-McGovern
-Humphrey
-Kennedy
-Ability to conduct foreign policy
-US stakes
-President's incumbency
-US foreign policy
-Rogers and Laird
-Disentanglement from war
-North Vietnam terms
-Kissinger’s view
-May 31, 1971 proposals
-Forthcoming election
-Effect on South Vietnam
-Blockade compared with bombing
-North Vietnam actions
-Break-off of talks
-Responsibility
-Porter
-Peace groups
-Press coverage

Forthcoming election
-Democrats
-Draft of Connally
-Possibility

Vietnam
-McGovern
-Impact on US foreign policy
-Humiliation
-Blockade
-Necessity
-Bombing
-Moorer
-Extent
-Civilian casualties
-Targets
-Petroleum, Oils, and Lubricants [POL] dumps
-Dikes
-Civilian casualties
-Forthcoming study
-President's familiarity
-Evacuation of civilians
Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

-Destruction
  -Impact
-Questions raised by Kissinger
  -The President’s view
-Effectiveness
  -Coordination with blockade
  -Relationship to averting defeat
-Return of prisoners of war [POWs]
-South Vietnam performance
  -Collapse
  -Losses
    -Kontum
    -Provincial capitals
      -Slow movement
    -Quang Tri
      -Capture
        -Value
-Blockade
  -Effectiveness
  -Only sure option
-Peace terms
  -Nguyen Van Thieu
  -US dignity

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

Forthcoming PFIAB meeting
  -Delay
  -Refreshments

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:09 am.

Vietnam
  -Blockade and bombing
    -Effect on South Vietnam
    -Effect on North Vietnam
      -Connally’s comment
  -Haig
    -Trip to South Vietnam
      -Haldeman
  -Trip to South Vietnam
  -Abrams
    -Lt. Col. W.E. Depuy
-Kissinger’s view
-Assignment
  -Bunker
-Responsibility to the President
-New assignment
-Replacement for Abrams
-Laird involvement
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Kissinger's call to Laird

-President's meeting with Laird and Rogers
-Johnson
-Cable from Bunker
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Contents
    -Abrams
    -Moorer
    -Abrams
    -Bunker
    -Moorer
    -Rush
    -Laird

-President's meeting with Laird about the blockade
  -Kissinger's instructions
    -Secrecy
    -Rogers and Cambodia comparison
    -President's need for Laird's support
    -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] comparison
    -President's decision on blockade

-Rogers
  -Meeting with the President
    -Time
    -Day
    -Kissinger's schedule
    -Day

-President's speech
-President's meeting with Rogers
-Laird
  -Meeting with Kissinger
-Briefings
  -Congressmen
    -Rogers
    -John J. McCloy
  -Announcement
Conv. No. 72-4 (cont.)

Kissinger left at 10:09 am.

Conversation No. 720-5

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 11:37 am - unknown before 11:40 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s forthcoming meeting
-Press

Gifts
-Costs

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:40 am.

Conversation No. 720-6

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 11:40 am - 11:46 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Frank J. Rauscher, Elliot L. Richardson, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and James H. Cavanaugh; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

The President’s schedule
- Previous meeting with the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

Greetings
- Rauscher
  - Accomplishments

Photograph
- Arrangements

Steuben crystal [“Star of the President”]
  - Walter H. Annenberg gift

[Photograph session]

Cancer program
- President's support
  - Instructions to Rauscher
  - New approaches
  - Other health fields
  - Concentration of resources

Gifts
- Cuff links
  - New set

Congress
- Duplicity
- Health program
- Revenue sharing
- Welfare reform
- Social Security
- Spending policies

Rauscher, et al., left at 11:46 am.
Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 11:47 am - 12:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule
  - John B. Connally
    - Meeting with the President
    - Day
  - Camp David
    - Speechwriters
      - William L. Safire
    - Speech content
      - Henry A. Kissinger
      - Patrick J. Buchanan
      - John K. Andrews, Jr.
      - Safire
        - The President’s view
    - Draft
      - President's efforts
      - Andrews
      - Kissinger's draft
      - Previous speech
        - Kissinger collaboration

Vietnam
  - President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
    - Winston Lord
    - Kissinger's follow-up briefing
  - Contents
    - Public acceptance
    - Conclusion of war
      - Blockade
    - Haldeman's view
      - Andrews's assistance
      - Safire
      - Andrews's instructions
An unknown man entered and left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting
- Dr. Edward Teller
- Dr. William O. Baker
- Advice on speech
- Dissent
  - Ivy League college presidents
  - Media
    - Networks
    - Los Angeles Times
  - University presidents
  - Religious leaders
    - William F. (“Billy”) Graham
    - John Cardinal Krol
  - Press opposition
  - Supporters of President's policies
    - International Brotherhood of Teamsters
      - Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Joseph (“Joe T.”) Trerotola
    - George Meany
    - Franklin D. Murphy
  - Leaders of American society
  - Failures
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller's comments
    - Murphy's comments
  - Support for People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
  - Criticism of South Vietnam policy
    - Lack of criticism of North Vietnamese offensive

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 42s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
Vietnam
- President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
  - Andrews
    - Trip to Camp David
    - Time

Haldeman's schedule
- Trip
  - Return to Washington, Dc
  - Time

Vietnam
- President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
  - Kissinger
  - William P. Rogers's return
  - Kissinger briefing
  - President's briefing of congressional leaders
    - J. William Fulbright
    - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Rogers's briefing
    - Foreign Relations Committee
  - Melvin R. Laird's briefing
    - Armed Services Committee
  - Mansfield's schedule
  - Hugh Scott
  - President's briefing
    - Size of group
    - Relationship to speech delivery

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

President's meeting with Delbert L. Latta

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

Vietnam
- Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church Amendment
  - John Sherman Cooper-Church Amendment
  - Provisions
  - Defeat
    - Likelihood
  - Possible vote
    - Mansfield Amendment
-Delay by "doves"
-Negotiations breakdown
-Soviet Summit
   -Possible cancellation
   -"Hawks" position
-Democrats and "Doves"
   -Blame for North Vietnam intransigence
     -Publicity
     -The President’s instructions
     -Speeches
   -Encouragement of enemy
-American leader class
-Murphy
-Failures
   -Businessmen
   -Economic concerns

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

Instructions

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

Vietnam
-Scientists
   -Soviet weapons for North Vietnam
     -Quality compared with South Vietnam weapons
   -American scientists refusal to work on weapons
   -Contrast with Soviet scientists
-MIT
   -Resolution on weapons research
     -Defeat
   -Grants

Haldeman's schedule
-Trip
   -Time of departure

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:47 am.

Latta
-President's meeting
   -Ronald L. Ziegler’s comments
Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm.

Vietnam
- President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
- Trip to Camp David
  - Andrews
  - Kissinger
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Rose Mary Woods
  - Kissinger

Haldeman left at 12:09 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 12:09 pm – 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Delbert L. Latta, Delbert Springer, Mrs. Delbert Springer, Jill Springer, and John E. Nidecker; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
- Latta
- Springer
- Mrs. Springer
- Miss Springer

Photographs
Springer's woodcarving
  - The President’s praise
  - Time spent

Photographs
- Arrangement

Wood
-Type and amount used

Springer's hometown
-Size
-Small-town America
-The President’s view
-Latta
-The President’s view
-Support for the President

Gifts
-Cuff links
-Bow
-Ashtray

Jill Springer
-First name
-Request for President's autograph
-For Jill
-For Rose Ellen
-Gift of pen

White House tour

Goodbyes
-Latta

Latta, et al., left at 12:15 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown after 12:15 and before 12:16 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:16 pm.
Conversation No. 720-10

Date:  May 5, 1972
Time:  12:16 pm - 12:18 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, Mrs. Jerome H. Jaffe, Miriam Jaffe, Celia Jaffe, and Ari Jaffe; and Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
- Celia Jaffe
- Ari Jaffe

Photographs
Jaffe's job
- Confirmation

Photographs
- Arrangements
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
    - People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Cameras used

Gifts
- Cuff links
- Tie clasps
- Bows

Jaffe's work

Jaffe, et al., left at 12:18 pm.
Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown after 12:18 and before 12:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with John D. Rockefeller III group
- Length
  - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- Seating
- Refreshments
- Length
- Seating

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:19 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 12:19 pm - 12:32 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Rockefeller III, Grace Olivarez, Dr. Christian N. Ramsey, Jr., Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and Raymond J. Waldmann; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
  - Rockefeller
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Olivarez
  - Ramsey

Photographs
  - Arrangements
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  - Arrangements

Father Theodore S. Hesburgh and Father Edmund Patrick Joyce
  - President's acquaintance
Commission on Population
- Dorothy Buffum Chandler
  - Discussion with the President on population problems
    - Rockefeller's commission [Commission on Population Growth and the American Future]

- Beginning
  - President's population message to Congress
    - Daniel P. Moynihan

- Abortion issue
  - Sensitivity
  - Differences between commission and the President

- President's message
  - Goals
  - Means
    - Bureau of the Budget
    - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]

- Report
  - Service of commission
  - Abortion issue
    - Handling

- Population problem
  - Scope
    - Elliot L. Richardson

- Legislation

- Latin America
  - Urban areas
    - Rio De Janeiro
    - Sao Paolo
    - Buenos Aires

- Africa
- India

- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Japan
- PRC
- India

  - Difficulties
    - Political leadership
    - Indira Gandhi
    - Studies
    - Speeches

- Citizens committees
  - Moynihan's role
  - Bill Draper
Conv. No. 720-12 (cont.)

-Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
-John D. Ehrlichman
-Richardson

-Recommendations
-Citizens committees
-Representation
-West Coast
-Chandler
-Nationwide
-Youth and minority representatives

-Population problem
-Gandhi's problems
-US problems
-Minority and younger members
-Presidential leadership

-Reports
-Follow-up report
-Work with Cole, Ehrlichman
-Richardson
-The President’s view

Gifts
-Cuff links

Walter H. Annenberg gift
-Steuben piece [“Star of the President”]

Gifts
-Bow

Commission
-Work
-President's appreciation

Doctors, lawyers

Rockefeller, et al., left at 12:32 pm.
Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown after 12:32 pm and before 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Meetings

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown after 12:32 pm and before 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Documents for signature

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 12:34 pm - 12:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Tricia Nixon Cox
- Television appearance
  - Follow-up call
  - Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:34 pm.
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:41 pm.

President's viewing of interview videotape

President's schedule
  -Camp David
    -Time
    -Woods's schedule
      -Speech draft

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Schedule
    -Trip to Camp David
    -Time with the President

President's schedule
  -Blockade of Haiphong
    -Forthcoming announcement
      -Timing
      -William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird
        -The President’s view
  -Number of people

Vietnam
  -Blockade
    -Necessity
    -Sovrnait Summit
      -Cancellation

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 17s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
Conv. No. 720-15 (cont.)

Tricia Nixon Cox’s television appearance
  -Call from Woods
  -Call from Carol (Crothers) Finch
  -Barbara Walters
    -Possible letter
    -Anonymity
  -Appearance

Camp David trip
  -Woods's preparation
  -Time of departure

Woods left at 12:41 pm.

Conversation No. 720-16

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown person's schedule
  -Lunch
  -Meeting with the President
    -Time

Conversation No. 720-17

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: Unknown after 12:41 pm and before 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
- Camp David
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Rose Mary Woods

Bull left at 12:43 pm.

Date: May 5, 1972
Time: 12:44-unknown before 1:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

Haldeman's schedule
- Weekend
- Camp David
  - Day of arrival
  - Purpose

Vietnam
- President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
  - John K. Andrews, Jr.
    - The President’s view
    - Concerns
      - Confrontation compared with compromise
    - Assignment
    - Schedule
    - Instructions
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - Compared with Price and William L. Safire
    - John B. Connally
- Connally
  - Meeting with Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger
  - Contribution to President's decision

Soviet Summit
- Possible cancellation
  - Kissinger's position
  - President's previous position
  - Connally's position
  - Soviet position
  - Responsibility

People's Republic of China [PRC]
- The President's trip
  - Dr. Franklin D. Murphy
    - Support for the President's trip
      - Reasons
    - American leader class
      - Attitude toward Nixon's stand on communism
        - Mao Tse-tung
        - Chou En-lai
    - PRC relations with Soviet Union
- President's policies
  - Reasons
  - American leader class
William P. Rogers
- The President’s view
- Relationship with Andrei A. Gromyko
- Attitudes

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Kissinger
  - Criticism
  - Public support
  - Criticism
    - Media
      - Possible Soviet Summit cancellation
  - Announcement
  - Soviet Summit
    - Kissinger's views
    - Soviet experts
      - Helmut Sonnenfeldt
    - Importance
      - Comparison with Vietnam
- Stakes in Vietnam
- Bombing
  - Effectiveness
- Blockade
  - Impact
  - Scope
  - Comparison with bombing
    - Effectiveness

Kissinger entered at 12:52 pm.

- President's decision
  - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB] meeting
    - Murphy
  - A previous dinner
    - Frank Pace, Jr.’s conversation with Kissinger
      - Support for President
      - Social circles
PFIAB meeting

- The President’s view
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- Dr. Edward Teller
- Rockefeller
  - Support for the President's Vietnam policy
  - The President's view
  - Possible role in an administration
    - Vice President
- Ideas
- Friends
- Reactions

- Attendees
  - National Security Council [NSC] staff
    - Jack N. Anderson
    - Leaks
- Review of meeting
  - Discussion of strategic weapons
    - “Open skies”
- President’s instructions
  - Study of conventional US forces
    - Weaknesses evident in Vietnam War
    - Soviet weapons
      - Quality
      - Styx missiles
    - Compared with US weapons
      - Effect on Nixon Doctrine

- Quality of US weapons
  - Middle East
  - Previous conversation with Nihat Erim
  - Western Europe
  - Compared with Soviet weapons
- President’s instructions for a study
- Work by US scientists
  - Dr. William O. Baker
    - Kissinger’s view
  - Plans for programs
    - Teller
  - Ivy League colleges
    - Opposition by president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT] to Vietnam policy
- Murphy's suggestion
-Speech by the President
  -Effects
    -Young people
      -Influences
        -Universities
      -Media
        -Los Angeles Times
        -Newsweek
        -Time
        -Major networks
        -New York Times
        -Washington Post
  -Failure of leader class
  -President's decisions
    -Teller
      -Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] movement
  -Opposition to the President
    -Media
      -Time
      -Newsweek
      -New York Times
      -Washington Post
      -Networks
      -Los Angeles
    -Education leaders
    -Religious leaders
      -William F. (“Billy”) Graham
      -John Cardinal Krol
    -Business leaders
      -“Main Street” businessmen
      -Elite
        -Business Council
        -Trade with Soviet Union and PRC
        -Products
  -Support for the President
    -Farmers
    -Southerners
      -John C. Stennis
      -James O. Eastland
      -Richard B. Russell
  -American leader class
    -Labor leaders
      -International Brotherhood of Teamsters' previous meeting with President
-Frank E. Fitzsimmons
-Joseph ("Joe T.") Trerotola
-William J. McCarthy
-George Meany
-The President’s view
-Contrasted with other leaders
  -Business
  -Education
  -Press
  -Religious
-Relation to US decline
  -H.G. Wells
  -Examples from history
    -British
    -French
    -Romans
    -Greeks
  -Opposition to the Presidency
    -Pre-World War II
    -Post-World War II
    -George C. Marshall Plan
  -Rockefeller's report to Kissinger
    -Kissinger's meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and U. Alexis Johnson

President's forthcoming speech
  -Kissinger's conversations with Haldeman
  -Tone
  -Tone toward Soviets
  -Rhetoric
    -Compared to the President’s November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam
  -Blockade
  -Length
  -Time
  -Tone toward Soviets
  -Tone toward PRC
  -Request for support
  -Work by speechwriters
    -Winston Lord draft
  -Time

Rockefeller's advice
  -Similarity to Connally's advice
  -Consequences of blockade
President's decision to enforce a blockade of North Vietnam
  -Consequences
    -For Soviet Summit
    -For forthcoming election
  -Alternatives
    -Consequences
    -Effect on forthcoming election
    -Charles W. Colson
    -John D. Ehrlichman
  -Disagreement between Kissinger and the President
    -Bombing
      -Civilian casualties
        -President's attitude
        -Kissinger's attitude
          -Reasons
        -Lyndon B. Johnson's actions
          -The President’s view
        -Irresponsibility of US military
          -Kissinger’s view
    -Blockade
      -Scope
    -Bombing
      -Rail lines
      -Highways
      -Size
    -Gunships
      -Use around Hue
      -Number
    -B-25s
      -Kissinger's and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s position
      -Effectiveness
    -C-130s
      -Use by Air Force
  -North Vietnamese offensive
    -South Vietnam performance
      -New South Vietnamese General
      -Gen. Ngo Quang Truong
    -Movement of units
      -Hue
        -South Vietnamese division
      -Gen. Ngo Quang Truong
- Harsh measures
  - Execution of deserters
  - Press stories

- Blockade
  - Commitment
    - Laird and Rogers's position
  - Rogers
    - Briefing
    - Meeting with the President
      - Time
  - Laird
    - Meeting with Kissinger
      - Support for the President
        - Rogers
  - Soviet response
    - North Vietnamese delegate to Moscow
      - Proposals
        - Ceasefire
          - US conditions for acceptance

- Negotiations
  - Ceasefire

- Blockade
  - President's decision
    - Necessity
    - Kissinger's concerns
      - Rockefeller
      - Connally
  - Implementation
    - Intensity
      - Leaks at State Department
        - Ceasefire
  - President's speech
    - Cessation
      - Terms
        - Ceasefire
        - Prisoners of war [POWs]
        - Ceasefire
        - POWs

- POWs
  - Wives
  - Negotiations for release
    - Conditions
      - Cessation of bombing
-Lifting blockade
-Possible North Vietnamese offers
-Withdrawal of POWs
-Return of POWs
-Honolulu
-May 31, 1971 proposal
-Blockade
-Kissinger's discussion with Soviets
-Summit

Press coverage
-Henry Hubbard
-Meeting with Kissinger
-Assessment of President's actions
-Washington Post editorial
-Newsweek reporter
-Hubbard's information
-Assessment of President's actions
-Image of irrationality

Kissinger left at 1:19 pm.

-Washington Post editorial
-Negotiations
-South Vietnam government
-J. Edgar Hoover eulogy
-Television coverage
-Length
-Camera work
-Church layout
-Length of eulogy
-Reception
-Television coverage
-Camera shots
-Mrs. [Forename unknown] Gartner [sp?]
-Card
-Victor Gartner [sp?]  
-Stamp
-Photograph of the President
-American flag sticker

President's attire
-American flag lapel pin
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-Vietnam
  -President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
    -Kissinger's advice
    -Length
    -Tone
    -Contents
    -Delivery
    -Ceasefire
      -Duration
      -Mining of Haiphong

-Kissinger
  -North Vietnamese delegation
    -Le Duc Tho
  -Lunch with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    -Postponement
    -Instructions from the President
      -Kissinger's tenor

-Vietnam
  -Blockade
    -White House staff leaks
      -John A. Scali
      -Kissinger's view
      -Work
      -Amount of information given

-President's public appearances
  -Impression to be conveyed
  -Impression from media
    -Dan Rather
    -John F. Osborne
  -Use of television
    -Rather
      -Instant analysis

-Media
  -Kenneth W. Clawson's idea
  -Herbert E. Kaplow
    -Job offer
      -Acceptance
The President left at an unknown time after 1:19 pm.

*************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 43s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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

The President entered at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

A previous meeting
  -Connally
  -Attendance

Media
  -Kaplow
  -Clawson
  -Background
  -Kaplow
    -Information from Mrs. Kaplow to Mrs. Clawson
    -Work with National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
      -Conflicts over content
      -Attitude toward treatment
    -Talk with Clawson

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:19 pm.

Beverage order

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Media
  -Robert D. Novak paper
  -Distribution
Conv. No. 720-19 (cont.)

-NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan-02)

-Source
  -Rowland Evans
-Copyright
  -Cambridge College
-Novak's revisions
-Distribution
  -Analogy to Pentagon Papers
    -Use of Congressional Record
  -Internal distribution and instructions

Thomas E. Kurtz's book, *Programming for Conservatives*
  -Distribution
  -Arguments

Media
  -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    -Demonstrations at Kent State
      -Story
        -Distortions
          -United Press International [UPI] reports
        -Number of students participating
    -Call of protest to CBS
      -UPI reports
  -President's belief
  -Kevin P. Phillips's comments
    -Student attitudes on Vietnam
      -Ignorance
      -Survey
      -Campus culture
        -Students
          -Phillips’s opinion
    -Murphy
      -Report on Dorothy Buffum Chandler

Vietnam
  -Demonstrations
    -Capitol Hill rally
      -Judy Collins
        -Identified
      -William Kunstler
        -Identified
      -Number attending
        -Effect on Senate "Doves"
- Trenton rally
  - Number attending
- New York City rally
  - Number attending
- Tucson rally
  - Number attending
  - University of Arizona
- San Diego rally
  - Number attending
- University of Maryland rally
  - Number attending
- Kent State rally
  - Cancellation of classes
    - Glenn A. Olds
  - Anniversary observance
    - Speeches
      - Number attending
    - Parade
      - Number marching
- Media reports
  - Distribution
    - Colson

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 5m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Vietnam
- President's forthcoming speech on the blockade
  - Time
  - Television schedule
    - "Gunsmoke"
    - "Laugh-In"
  - Movies
President's assessment of past week

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Losses
    - Provincial capital
- Hue
  - Nguyen Van Thieu's visit
- Gen. Ngo Quang Truong
  - Image
  - Command of Hue
    - Evacuation of refugees
- DeserTERS
  - Execution wall
- Counteroffensive
  - Highway reopened
- South Vietnam
  - Air support
- Bombing
  - Hanoi
- US casualties
- Kontum
- Refugees from cities

President's public appearances
- Hoover statement and eulogy
  - Image of the President
- Law and order message
  - Ehrlichman's view
    - Frank L. Rizzo

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 17s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] directorship
  -Louis Patrick Gray, III
  -Tenure
-Rizzo
  -Meeting with Ehrlichman
    -Job possibilities
      -Bicentennial job

Bicentennial
  -Scope
  -Planning
    -Delay
      -Temper of nation
        -Effect of Vietnam

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 47s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Tricia Nixon Cox’s television appearance
  -Rose Mary Woods' report
  -Interview with Barbara Walters
    -"Today" show

Patrick J. Buchanan
  -Interview with National Educational Television [NET]
    -Criticism of media
      -South Vietnamese defeats
    -Busing
      -President's proposals
    -President's meetings with press
- Press
  - Liberal domination
  - Recruitment of conservatives
    - David Brinkley
  - Pulitzer Prize
    - Anderson
    - New York Times
    - Anderson
      - Pakistan issue
        - President's view

Media
  - New York Times
  - Washington Post
  - Time
  - Newsweek
  - Life
  - Three major networks

Vietnam
  - Blockade
    - Navy
    - Mining
      - Functioning of mines
      - Advantages
        - Moorer
        - Prior warning
    - Announcement
  - Congressional criticism
    - Difficulties
      - POWs
      - US forces
      - Communist government in South Vietnam
  - Purpose
    - Criticism
      - George S. McGovern
      - Difficulties

Press conference
  - Arrangements

The President's schedule
  - Executive Office Building [EOB]
Marjorie P. Acker entered at an unknown time after 1:19 pm.

Woods
  -Location
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

Haldeman left at 1:58 pm.

  -President's call

Acker left at an unknown time before 1:59 pm.