Conversation No. 723-1

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 10:03 am - 10:04 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Soviet trade delegation
- Seating arrangements
- Meeting with the President
- Length

Kissinger left at 10:04 am.

Conversation No. 723-2

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown after 10:04 am and before 10:06 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Telephone call
  - Time
  - Purpose

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.
Date: May 11, 1972  
Time: 10:06-10:07 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Soviet trade delegation
-Press picture
-Ziegler's presence
-Size of group

Ziegler left at 10:07 am.

Date: May 11, 1972  
Time: Unknown after 10:07 am and before 10:08 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Gifts to Soviet representatives
-Cuff links
-Time to present

Meeting with Soviet representatives
-Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:08 pm.
Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 10:08-11:01 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Nikolay S. Patolichev, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Peter G. Peterson, Henry A. Kissinger, and Peter M. Flanigan; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

President's knowledge of Russian

President's forthcoming Soviet trip
  - Russian language

Photographs
  - Seating arrangements

Dobrynin

Interpreter

US-Soviet Union relations
  - Trade
    - Peterson's report
    - Previous meetings between Kissinger and Leonid I. Brezhnev, Kissinger and Dobrynin

Photographs
  - Arrangements
  - Copies

[Photograph session]

Russian language
  - Compared with Polish

Seating

Soviet Union
-Meetings with the President
  -Patolichev report to Politburo
-Central Committee
  -The President’s view
-Trade relations with US
  -Peterson’s meetings with Patolichev
  -Expansion
  -New era
  -Discussion between US and Soviet officials
    -Peterson
    -Meetings with Maurice H. Stans
  -Patolichev
    -Dealings with Peterson
      -Benefits
  -Economic relations
    -Expansion
      -Recent figures
    -Obstacles
-Most Favored Nations [MFN] status for Soviet Union
  -Importance
  -Political problems in US
  -Other nations
  -Patolichev
    -Report to Central Committee
      -Value of US trip
-Economic relations
  -Credit
    -Current problems
    -Benefits
    -Expansion
    -Current problems
    -Soviet problems
    -Resolution of problems
      -Reciprocity
-Foreign trade
  -Cost of machinery
    -Need for credit
  -Machinery
    -Imports
      -Amount of credit
  -Credit in foreign countries
    -France
- Italy
- West Germany
- Great Britain
- Japan
  - Amounts
  - Bargaining
- Oil pipelines
- Gas pipelines
- Copper ore
- Problems
  - Private solutions
    - Example of Far East seaport
    - Construction
- Credit for Soviet Union
- Orders for goods
- Effect on US-Soviet trade
- Economic relations with US
  - President's trip to Soviet Union
    - Kissinger's meeting with Brezhnev
- Grain trade
  - Terms
- Credit for Soviet Union
- Agricultural problems
  - Patolichev's view
  - Current conditions
  - Frost in Siberia
  - Seasons
  - Patolichev's work during World War II
    - Location
- Credit for Soviet Union
- Grain
  - Purchases by Soviet Union
- Exports
    - Amounts
    - Costs
  - Future trade
    - Problems
    - US-Soviet resolution
- Credits
  - Terms
- President's comments
  - President's approval of previous meetings
US-Soviet relations
- World War II alliance
  - Cooperation among leadership
- Military might
- Economic strength
- Differences
  - Philosophy
  - Areas of conflict
  - Resolution
- Future relations
  - Reciprocity
  - Trade development
- Long-term interests
- Resolution of differences
  - Objectives
  - Tactics
- US-Soviet Union Summit
  - Significance
  - Soviet leadership and people
    - President’s respect
  - President’s meetings with Brezhnev
    - Goals
  - Future cooperation
- Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank credits
- MFN status
  - Congressional approval
  - President’s position
- Differences
  - Resolution
  - Mutual interests
- Long-range goals
  - Economic relations
  - Distractions
    - Areas of conflict
  - Economic agreement
    - Importance
  - President’s meeting with Brezhnev
  - President’s authority
- Patolichev’s report to Brezhnev and other leaders
Conv. No. 723-5 (cont.)

-A joint commission

Gifts
-Cuff links
-Presidential's seal

Artifacts in Oval Office
-Walter H. Annenberg's gift ["Star of the President"]
-Steuben glass design
-Crewelwork by Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Patolchev, et al., left at 11:01 am.

Conversation No. 723-6

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown after 11:01 am and before 11:02 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signatures

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:02 am.

Conversation No. 723-7

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 11:02-11:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President's previous meeting with Nikolay S. Patolchev
-Ziegler's statement
-Meeting description
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:02 am.

President's previous meeting with Soviet trade representatives
   - Ziegler's briefing
   - Soviet summit
   - Questions

Refreshment order

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:08 am.

President's previous meeting with Soviet trade representatives
   - Ziegler's statement
     - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s suggestion
     - Bilateral discussions
       - Arms limitation
       - Trade
     - Leonid I. Brezhnev
     - Purpose of meeting
       - Trade
     - Wording of statement
       - Progress
       - Trade expansion
     - Vietnam discussion
       - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:08 am.

   - Wording of statement
     - Kissinger’s view
     - Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin, Maurice H. Stans
       - Exchange of representatives
     - Vietnam topic
Ziegler left at 11:10 am.

Soviet summit
- Poland’s prediction
- Significance
- Kissinger’s call to Jerzy Michalowski
- President’s meeting with Patolichev and Dobrynin
- US-Soviet relations
  - President’s comments on World War II alliance
    - Winston S. Churchill’s experience
    - Kissinger’s meeting with Brezhnev
    - Adolph Hitler
- Kissinger’s call to Michalowski
  - Ships in Haiphong
    - Polish response
    - Significance
- President’s trip
  - Likelihood of cancellation
  - Press comments
    - Alarmist
      - Ziegler’s reports
      - The President’s view

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - President’s letters to Brezhnev and Chou En-lai
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC] statement
    - Tone
    - Wording
  - Message to Chou En-lai
    - US goals
    - PRC statement
      - Restraint
      - Soviet statement
        - Wording
        - PRC statement
          - Kissinger’s view
-Press reaction
-Soviet summit
  -Political repercussions
  -Press
  -Democrats
-Agreements
  -Benefits for president
-Blockade
  -Decision
    -Kissinger’s view
  -Kissinger staff's assessment
  -William P. Rogers
    -Soviet summit
  -President’s previous decision
    -Risks
      -Election
      -Soviet response
    -Motives
    -Previous decisions
      -Cambodia
      -India-Pakistan war
      -Risks
-Soviet summit
  -Likelihood of Cancellation
-North Vietnam offensive
  -Military region one
    -B-52 strike
      -Time
      -Extent
      -Location
    -South Vietnam marine landing
      -Number
-WWII
  -President’s expertise
    -Suggestion for Haig and military
  -Tanks
    -Use in World War I
-US tanks
  -Use in South Vietnam
  -The President’s suggestion
-An loc
  -B-52 attacks
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-7 (cont.)

-Time
-Impact
  -Forthcoming Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting
  -Kissinger’s view
-Hue
  -Use of President's suggestions
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-Soviet summit
  -President’s preparations
  -Kissinger meeting with Dobrynin
-Likelihood of Cancellation
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Previous meeting with Patolichev
  -Significance
-Presidential preparations

Kissinger left at 11:21 am.

Conversation No. 723-8

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown after 11:21 am until 11:22 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

President's schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

The President and the unknown person left at 11:22 am.

Conversation No. 723-9

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:03 pm and 3:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

An unknown person’s return
- Return call

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 3:09 pm - 3:24 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam
- Soviet Union response to the blockade
  - Kissinger’s previous meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev message
      - Content
      - Meanings
      - Wording
      - Major point
        - Soviet ships
          - US attacks
          - Interference
          - Kissinger’s reassurance

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:09 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:24 pm.

US-Soviet Union relations
- Brezhnev's message
  - Soviet Summit
    - Reply by Dobrynin
      - US statements
German Treaty
- Dobrynin references
- US position

Soviet Summit
- Cancellation
  - Timing
  - Likelihood
  - Kissinger’s view
- Dobrynin's assessment of diplomatic moves
  - President's letter
- Comparison to Cuban missile crisis
  - Public statements
- President's peace proposals

Soviet Summit
- Impact on North Vietnam

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - US countermeasures
    - Effect
    - President's trip to Soviet Union
    - Kissinger's trip to Peking
- Blockade
  - Press response
    - Ronald L. Ziegler's report
    - World War III predictions
    - President's meeting with Nikolay S. Patolichev
    - Significance
      - Politburo decision
- Mining
- US air strikes
  - Cessation in Hanoi and Haiphong
    - Time
    - Damage
    - Timing
    - Soviet Summit
- Soviet ships
  - Instructions to Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Reason
- Soviet Response
- Soviet Summit
- Demonstrations
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 723-10 (cont.)

-Inspiration
-William P. Rogers
  -Forthcoming meeting with the President
    -Time
    -Substance
      -Peace proposals
      -Instructions for Rogers
  -Comments before Soviet Summit
    -Soviet Summit
      -Rogers's knowledge of Polish response

President's forthcoming meeting with Rogers
  -Time
  -Substance of discussion
    -Soviet response to blockade
  -State Department
    -Statement
      -Release
        -Time

Vietnam
  -Blockade
    -Soviet response
      -Tone
      -US response to Soviet note
        -Timing
          -Delivery
        -Study
        -Dobrynin
          -Attitude
  -Soviet Summit
    -Dobrynin's stake
    -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Dobrynin
  -Soviet note
    -US response
      -Time
    -German Treaties
      -Ratification
        -Soviet moves
          -Time
        -Cancellation
          -Likelihood
Conv. No. 723-10 (cont.)

-Kissinger’s view
-Polish response
-Interpretation
-Timing
-Press response
-German Treaty vote

President's meeting with Rogers

Kissinger left at 3:24 pm.

Conversation No. 723-11

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown after 3:24 pm and before 3:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-Meeting with William P. Rogers
-Time
-Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
-Camp David helicopter
-Time
-Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:25 pm.

Conversation No. 723-12

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 3:25pm - 3:39 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
Meeting with William P. Rogers
- Time
  - Henry A. Kissinger

Manolo Sanchez
- Health
- Schedule
  - Key Biscayne

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - President's meeting with Rogers
  - Rogers's public statements
  - Peace offer
    - Kissinger's view
    - President's line
    - Rogers's line
    - Melvin R. Laird's line
    - Administration's stance
  - Prisoners of war [POWs] wives
  - Forthcoming events
    - Locations
      - Boston, Richmond, Washington
    - President's presence
  - Meeting with the President
    - Timing
    - Press reaction
- Congressional strategy
  - Clark MacGregor's recommendation
    - Sense of Congress resolution
      - Similarity to Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church Amendment
    - Fund cutoff
      - Timing
    - Advantages for administration
  - Kissinger's advice
    - Instructions to Haldeman
      - MacGregor
    - "Hawks"
- President's goals
- South Vietnamese morale
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Effect of Congressional actions
  - Congressional actions
    - Administration actions
    - Case-Church Amendment
      - John Sherman Cooper-Church Amendment
    - Resolution to cut off funds
  - Administration response
    - Kissinger's advice
    - President's decision
      - Time
        - Rogers meeting
      - Delay
- Blockade
  - Thomas W. Benham poll results
    - Difference between student demonstrators and general public
  - Demonstrations
    - Administration response
    - Minnesota
- President's meeting with Rogers
  - Haldeman's and Kissinger's presence
  - Press conference
- Haldeman’s forthcoming meeting with Kissinger
  - Strategy with Congress
- Lyndon B. Johnson's policies
  - Concern for Senate, Soviet Union
- Congress
  - Administration stance
- Blockade
  - Press response
    - Alarmism
      - Ronald L. Ziegler's report
      - Fear of World War III
    - Laos
    - Cambodia
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]

Haldeman left at 3:39 pm.
Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 3:39 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 24-79]

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:39 pm and 3:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 24-80; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: Unknown after 3:40 pm and before 3:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's trip to Camp David
  -Arrangements for secretarial services

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 3:45 pm.
Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 3:45-3:51 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Woods's location
- Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

President's schedule
- Camp David
- Departure time

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Manolo Sanchez
  - President's previous visit
    - Sanchez's response
  - Sanchez's health
    - Knee operation
    - Recovery time
    - Possible trip to Florida

Vietnam
- Blockade
  - Elmer H. Bobst's letter
    - Support for the President
    - Support for peace
  - Walter Williams
    - President's speech
    - Message to the President
- Public support
- Public support for the President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal-Returnable]
[Duration: 41s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 7s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Soviet Summit
- President's attitude
- Possible cancellation
President's meeting with Rogers
- Instructions to Woods
- Bull

Woods left at 3:51 pm.

Conversation No. 723-16

Date: May 11, 1972
Time: 3:51-4:44 pm
Location: Oval Office


Greetings

Weather
- Lack of privacy for the President
  - Lyndon B. Johnson's greeting tourists

Vietnam
- Rogers's statements
  - Business Council
    - Forum
    - Support for the President
    - Peter G. Peterson
    - Peter M. Flanigan
    - Problems in getting support
    - Plans
      - Similarity to subcabinet meeting
      - Response
      - Difficulty of decision to blockade
        - Political risks
      - Effect on business market morale
      - Need to support the President
        - Peterson and Flanigan’s roles
    - Congressional testimony
      - Timing
-Kissinger
-Melvin R. Laird
-Pres conference
-Timing
-Reason
-Soviet Summit
 -President's meeting with Nikolay S. Patolichev
   -Significance
   -Politburo awareness
 -Polish message
 -President's suspicions
   -Parallel to John F. Kennedy and Cuban missile crisis
     -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 -President's meeting with Patolichev
   -Substance of discussions
     -Vietnam
     -Ronald L. Ziegler's questions
     -Length
     -Previous discussion by Patolichev with Peterson, Maurice H. Stans
     -Patolichev's statements
       -The President's view
 -Peterson
 -Flanigan
 -Control of Peterson and Earl L. Butz
 -Possible change in Soviet policy
   -Bank credits
   -Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
   -Official statements compared with action
-Soviet response to the President's letter
   -Official Response
-US response
   -Delay
   -Interim response
     -Soviet statement
     -Tenor
       -Richard M. Helms's view
-Alfred L. Atherton draft
-Distribution by Ziegler, Robert J. McCloskey
-Soviet statement
   -Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union [TASS]
-Coordination between Rogers and Kissinger
- Timing
- Soviet Statement
  - Method of distribution
  - Motives
- Summit cancellation
  - Timing
  - Risks
- Challenge to blockade
- Soviet statements
  - US official's response

- Media reports
- Leaks
  - White House sources
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - Check of Kissinger's office
  - John A. Scali
  - Ziegler
  - National Security Council [NSC] staff
- Robert B. Semple story in New York Times
  - NSC meeting details
  - Kissinger, John B. Connally

- Handling of leaks

- Official comments
  - State Department
- President's schedule
  - Camp David
- United Nations [UN] Security Council action
  - Soviet Union, People's Republic of China [PRC] positions
- Incidents at sea
  - Negotiations with Soviets
    - Department of Defense [DOD] position
    - John W. Warner
- Soviet ships
  - US ships and aircraft proximity to Soviet ships
- Limitations on US forces' overflight
  - Problems
  - Intelligence units’ position
  - Negotiations With Soviets
    - Dangers
    - Delay
- Paper For The President
- Negotiations
  - Indochina
    - Ceasefire
  - Other parties
    - Cambodia, Laos

- Blockade
  - British statement
  - Pierre E. Trudeau's statement
  - Belgian statement
  - Malaysian statement

- Negotiations
  - Geneva-type convention
    - Participants
      - British
      - French
      - Soviets
      - PRC
      - US
      - Laos
      - Cambodia
      - North and South Vietnam
  - Timing
    - British proposal
      - Sir Alec Douglas-Home
      - Soviet response
      - PRC
  - US stance
    - Soviet Summit
    - President's previous offers
      - Details
      - Laird
  - Public comments
  - Soviet Summit discussions

- 1954 Geneva Convention
  - Issue
    - Ceasefire
    - Guidelines
  - Soviet response to Geneva-type conference
  - Paris negotiations
    - Limitations
  - Scope of conference
    - Laos
- Cambodia
- British proposal
  - Possible response
  - Rogers's and Kissinger's advice
- 1954 conference
  - French role
- Study of proposal
- British initiative compared with French initiative
- US response
- Previous negotiations
- Supporters in Congress
  - John C. Stennis
- Funds termination
  - Current proposal
  - President's terms
- White House reaction to funds cut-off proposals
  - Possible effects of cutoff
    - Ceasefire
    - Withdrawal of US troops
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Timing
- Negotiations
  - President's stance
    - Actions in Congress
    - Problems for South Vietnam
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
- President's proposals
- Congressional proposals
  - Problems
- Blockade
  - President's decision
    - Potential opposition
    - Effect on South Vietnam
- Support for President's peace proposals
- Stennis and Robert C. Byrd's stance
  - Public statements
    - Wording
    - Clifford P. Case-Frank F. Church amendment
    - Stennis's position
- Byrd proposal
- Congressional action
  - Sense of Congress resolution
-Provisions
-Support for President
-President's concerns
  -Public opinion
  -Negotiating position
-House Armed Services Committee
-Need for Congressional appropriations
-Delay in White House response
-Stennis and Byrd
  -Importance
-Public statements
  -Adm Thomas H. Moorer [?]
  -Instructions to Haldeman for White House staff
  -Laird
-Military action
  -Plans for weekend
    -Railroads
    -Petroleum, Oil, and Lubricants [POL]
-B-52 strikes
  -Number in South Vietnam
    -An Loc
    -Kontum
  -An Loc
  -Kontum
-Plans for future
-Haiphong
  -Soviet ships
-Railroads
-POL
-Power plants
-Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] discussions
  -U. Alexis Johnson
-Limitations
-B-52s strikes
  -Public support
    -Erosion over time
    -Effect on North Vietnam
-Congressional action
  -Time
  -Threat to negotiations
  -Danger to Summit
-Message to Congress from White House
Rogers left at 4:27 pm.

Vietnam
- A Geneva-type conference
  - Kissinger's assessment
    - British, French, Cambodian, Soviet, and Chinese roles
  - Congressional action
  - Stennis
- Blockade
  - Public support
  - Congressional support
  - Press comments
- Soviet Summit
  - Congressional resolution effect
  - Timing of Patolichev's visit
  - NBC news report
    - Distribution
    - Jerrold L. Schecter's comment
- Dobrynin
  - Rogers's comments
  - Kissinger's view
- Cancellation
  - Timing
    - German treaties
  - Public support for the President in event of cancellation
  - Timing
  - Damage to Soviets
  - Timing
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev note
      - Rogers's knowledge
      - Tenor
- Soviet ships
  - US guidelines
    - Dobrynin letter
    - Interpretations
  - Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
- Soviet Summit
  - Parallel to John F. Kennedy and Cuban missile crisis
  - Cancellation
-Timing
  -German treaties

-Soviet actions
  -Possible scenarios
  -Press campaigns
  -Demonstrations in US
  -Effectiveness

-Soviet Summit
  -Soviet response
    -Tone
    -Cancellation
      -Kissinger's expectations
  -Press reports
    -Rogers's report about leaks
      -Connally at NSC meeting
        -Leaks
          -Rogers's knowledge
    -Marvin L. Kalb story
      -Sources
        -White House
        -State Department
      -Content
      -Stories on Summit
        -Kalb story
        -Ziegler

-Soviet Summit
  -Cancellation
    -Time
    -Likelihood
    -Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
  -Advance party in Moscow
    -Preparations
  -Cancellation
    -Timing
    -Likelihood

-Blockade
  -Press relations
    -Connally
    -White House staff
  -Strategy for Congress
    -Kissinger’s forthcoming call to Stennis
      -Appeal for support
-Congress
  -Role in foreign policy
    -Support for President
  -Church
  -Motives
-Blockade
  -North Vietnam response
  -Necessity for US
-North Vietnamese offensive
  -South Vietnam collapse
    -The President’s efforts
    -Likelihood
-North Vietnam collapse
  -Likelihood
-An Loc
  -Capture of North Vietnamese commander
    -Interrogation in Saigon
    -Similarity to *The Godfather*
-Soviet Summit
  -Patolichev
    -Kissinger’s view
    -NBC
  -Dobrynin

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:41 pm.

Haldeman left at 4:43 pm.

Trip to Camp David

The President, Kissinger and Butterfield left at 4:44 pm.