Date: May 19, 1972  
Time: 10:30 am - 11:42 am  
Location: Oval Office

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

**Vietnam**
- Press coverage
- Response
- Spiro T. Agnew's speech
  - Wording
- *New York Times*
  - Kenneth W. Clawson response to Anthony Lewis column
  - North Vietnam propaganda
  - Ship movements
  - Administration response
  - Criticism of President's policies

**Henry A. Kissinger**
- Location
- Jacob K. Javits
  - Dinner with Kissinger
  - Lack of support for President's policies
- Dinner with Stewart J.O. Alsop
  - Joseph W. Alsop

**Pentagon**
- Bomb explosion
  - Suspects
  - "Weathermen"
  - Note
  - Telephone call
  - *Washington Post*

**Vietnam**
- Press reports on Soviet ships
  - Administration response
    - Charles W. Colson
    - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - Robert J. McCloskey
  - Coverage
    - *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 10:36 am.

Agnew's trip
- Meeting with press
  - Tone
  - Content
  - Report on Saigon and South Vietnam

George C. Wallace
- President’s visit
  - Wire reports
  - Ziegler’s press briefing

Ziegler left at 10:38 am.

Public support for President
- Meeting with unidentified black woman
  - Vietnam
  - Possible trips throughout US

Soviet trip
- Television reports
  - Charles W. Colson
  - Administration response
  - Speeches
  - Articles
  - Press speculation

Wallace
- President's visit
  - Handling
  - Discussion
  - President's Soviet trip
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 1m 59s]  

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  

Kissinger  
- Location  

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:38 and 10:48 am.  

[Conversation No. 726-1A]  

[End of telephone conversation]  

- Meeting with President and Agnew  

George S. McGovern  
Van Cliburn  
- Possible appearance  
- Soviet Union trip  
- Soviets' response  
- Carnegie Hall concert  
  - Playing of Star Spangled Banner  
  - Audience response  
- Possible appearance  
  - President's dinner in Soviet Union  
  - Parallel to dinner for Gen. Charles A.J.M. DeGaulle  
  - Jascha Heifetz  

Radio Free Europe  
- Uses  
  - Kissinger's views  
  - Soviet Union  
  - Poland
Agnew's schedule

Haldeman talked with Kissinger at unknown time between 10:38 and 10:48 am.

[Conversation No. 726-1B]

Kissinger
- Meeting with President and Agnew
  - Time
  - Message

[End of telephone conversation]

Wallace
- Harry S. Dent's analysis

President's policies
- Support
  - Busing
  - Welfare
  - Vietnam
- President's attitude
  - Resignations

Soviet trip
- William P. Rogers
  - Adele (Langston) Rogers
- Poland trip
  - Soviet Union trip
  - Future trips with President
  - Adele Rogers's schedule

Kissinger entered at 10:48 am.

President's message

Agnew entered at 10:48 am.

Greetings

Time

Agnew's trip
  - Itinerary
    - Japan
    - Bangkok
    - Vietnam
  - Fundraiser
    - Tricia Nixon Cox
    - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
  - Press briefing

Haldeman left at 10:51 am.

Vietnam
  - North Vietnam offensive
    - Kontum
    - B-52 strikes
    - Number
    - Intelligence reports
    - North Vietnam attacks
    - Delays
    - Statements for Agnew
    - Loss
    - An Loc
    - Possible loss
    - Hue
    - Possible loss
    - An Loc
    - Kontum
Possible loss
-Pleiku
-Casualties
-New York Times coverage
-Lewis
-The President’s view
-Blockade
-Lewis column
-Failure
-New York Times article
-Polish ship
-East German ships
-Unloading difficulties in Haiphong
-Time in harbor
-Polish ship
-Date of arrival in Haiphong
-Mining
-Effectiveness
-Kissinger’s view
-Previous National Security Council [NSC] meeting
-Melvin R. Laird
-Pentagon
-Rogers
-Richard M. Helms
-Intelligence community
-Agnew
-John B. Connally
-Parallel To 1968 Report
-The President’s view
-Guerrilla war compared with mechanized war
-Supply lines
-Sihanoukville
-Transport of war material to III and IV Corps
-Cambodia incursion
-Precision bombing of North Vietnam
-Blockade
-Impact
-Supplies
-Air strikes
-Railroads
-Destruction
-Petroleum, oil, and lubricants [POL]
-Destruction
-Percentage in Haiphong, Hanoi and Environs
  -Photographs
  -Pumping stations
  -Hanoi
    -Power Stations
  -Rails
    -Bridges to PRC
    -Effect
    -Trucking of POL
    -Problems
-Blockade
  -Use of PRC ports
  -Destinations
    -Haiphong
    -Vladivostok
    -Odessa
-Agnew's use of information
  -Report from French Ambassador
  -India-Pakistan War
  -Reports from North Vietnam
-Sources
-Soviet Summit
  -Impact on North Vietnam
-Air strikes
  -Bridge destruction
    -PRC response
    -Chou En-lai
  -Limits
    -American pilots in PRC
  -PRC response
    -Soviet ships
    -Overland movement to North Vietnam
-Blockade
  -Public support for President
    -Poll percentages
  -Soviet Summit
    -Impact
  -North Vietnam morale
  -US troop morale
    -Television reports
  -South Vietnam Morale
    -Improvements
    -US press reports
- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Impact on North Vietnam
- North Vietnam offensive
  - Gains
    - Quang Tri
  - Limits
  - An Loc
  - Kontum
- Impact of air strikes and blockade
- Hue
  - US holding action
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr. report
  - Kontum

Agnew's previous trip to Japan
  - Report to President
  - Japan
    - Reversion ceremonies
      - Agnew’s view
    - Eisaku Sato
      - Remarks
        - References to US
          - [Unintelligible]
    - [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito
      - Audience
    - Protocol for Agnew
    - Emperor Hirohito
      - Anchorage Visit
      - Possible visit to US
- Support for the President’s Southeast Asia policies
  - Relations with US
    - Sato
    - Takeo Fukuda
  - Kakuei Tanaka
    - Fukuda
    - Liberal Democrats
    - Sato
      - President's visit to PRC
        - Impact on Japan
        - Japanese-US ties
          - Economic
      - Fukuda
        - United Nations [UN] Security Council seat for Japan
-US position
-Possible successor to Sato
  -Tanaka
-Foreign Minister
  -Agnew's meeting
  -Tanaka
  -Agnew's meeting
-Future leaders
  -Stance toward the US
  -Sato's report
-Liberal Democratic Party
  -Strength
  -Opposition
    -Communist and Social parties
  -Demonstrations
    -Reversion
    -Police handling
-Indochina
-Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto visit to Japan
  -Sato
    -View of Indochinese
    -Agnew's response
  -Suharto compared with Thieu
    -Thieu
      -Ellsworth F. Bunker's view of Thieu
  -Sato
    -View of Indochinese leadership
-Vietnam
  -Meeting with Thieu, Bunker, and Abrams
  -Meeting with Bunker and Abrams
    -Tan Son Nhut
    -View of Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] capacities
  -Thieu
    -Demeanor
    -Briefing on North Vietnam offensive
  -Response to North Vietnam
    -Counter attacks
    -Time
-North Vietnam offensive
-Strategy
  -Territorial forces
  -Political structure
  -Quang-Tri
- Hue
- An Loc
- Kontum
- Pleiku
- Coalition government

- Thieu
  - View of mining
    - South Vietnam capacities
      - Timing

- Air Strikes
  - Effectiveness
  - South Vietnam morale
  - North Vietnam supplies and morale
  - B-52s
    - Impact
    - Effectiveness

- Kontum
  - North Vietnam Losses
    - Intelligence reports
      - North Vietnam regiments
    - Thieu, Bunker and Abrams view on retention
      - Pleiku Road

- Military Region One
  - Gen. Ngo Quang Truong
  - South Vietnam defense
  - Strategy
  - Air strikes
    - Surface-to-air [SAM] missiles
      - Movement
      - Hanoi, Haiphong, demilitarized zone [DMZ]

- Air strikes
  - Commando operations in North Vietnam
    - The President’s view
    - Discussion in State Department
    - South Vietnam force
    - Discussion with Thieu

- Meeting with Thieu
  - An Loc, Kontum, Hue
  - Strike into North Vietnam
    - Thieu's position

- Air strikes
  - Bridges
    - Haiphong, Hanoi, Paul Doumer bridge
-Effectiveness
-POL
-Rail lines

The President signaled the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:51 am and 11:16 am.

[Conversation No. 726-1C]

[See Conversation No. 24-156]

-Limits place on Air Force bombing

[The above portion of the office conversation took place simultaneously with Conversation No. 726-1C].

-Reaction by US Air Force [USAF]
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Air Force Chief of Staff
    -Kissinger’s view
  -Kissinger’s orders
    -Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:51 am and 11:16 am.

[Conversation No. 726-1D]

[See Conversation No. 24-157]

[End of telephone conversation]

-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  -Location
  -Targets
    -Buffer zone
      -Restrictions
      -Hanoi area
  -Reluctance
    -Reasons
  -Moorer
    -Meeting with President and Kissinger
    -Location
Stephen B. Bull entered at 11:16 am.

Bull talked with Moorer between 11:16 am and 11:17 am.

[Conversation No. 726-1E]

[See Conversation No. 24-158]

[End of telephone conversation]

Moorer
- Location
- Meeting with President and Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time at or before 11:17 am.

Agnew's trip
- Vietnam
  - Air strikes
  - M-36s

[The above portion of the office conversation took place simultaneously with Conversation No. 726-1E]

Vietnam
- Air Force
  - Limits
    - President's orders
    - The President’s view
  - Responsibility
  - Problems
- Gen. John D. Ryan
  - Replacement
    - The President’s view
- The President’s view
- Attitude
  - Compared with the Israeli Air Force

Moorer entered at 11:17 am.

Greetings
Vietnam
   - Air strikes
   - Limits
     - Comments from South Vietnam and Pearl Harbor
     - Reports to Agnew
   - Ryan
     - Replacement
     - The President’s view
     - Ryan’s son
   - President's orders
   - Restrictions
     - Reasons
     - Hanoi
     - Distance
     - Duration
   - Air Force
     - Reasons For Performance
     - The President’s view
     - Press reports
     - Reports to Agnew
   - Commanders
     - Replacements
     - Air Force Chief of Staff
   - President's orders
     - Ryan
     - McCain
   - Restrictions
     - Reaction
     - Reasons
   - Air Force
   - Performances
     - Moorer’s view
     - Reason
     - The President’s view
   - Israeli Air Force
   - B-52s
     - Location
     - Abrams's report
   - Attitude
   - Support of President
   - Ryan
     - Possible resignation
     - The President’s view
Moorer left at 11:22 am.

Vietnam
-Air strikes
-Raids
-President's orders
-Attitude
-Weather
-Number of sorties in past week
-Ceiling
-Blockade
-Reaction
-Laird, Defense Department, State Department, Central Intelligence Agency
[CIA]
-Air strikes
-Air Force
-Changes
-Ryan
-Moorer
-Restrictions
-Implementation
-Date and duration
-PRC border
-Bridges
-Hanoi
-Soviet Embassy
-Power plant

Kissinger
-Meeting with Congressional Leaders
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
Vietnam
  - Air strikes
  - Authorization
    - Power plants
    - Hanoi
    - Haiphong
    - Restrictions
    - Number of targets
      - Time
  - Reason for action
    - Losses
      - B-52s
    - Hanoi area
      - SAMs
    - Air Force responsibility
      - Compared with US Navy and Haiphong
  - Air Force
  - Hanoi
    - President's orders
    - Haiphong targets compared with Hanoi targets
  - B-52 strikes
  - President's orders
  - Abrams's attitude

Kissinger
  - SALT meeting

Kissinger left at 11:25 am.

Vietnam
  - Air strikes
    - Air Force responsibility

Agnew's trip
  - Vietnam
    - Abrams
      - South Vietnam bombing
      - The President’s view
  - Thailand
    - Leaders
      - Attitude towards blockade
    - US air bases
      - Economic benefits
- North East insurgency
  - US military aid
    - Helicopters
      - Congress
      - Funds
    - Agnew talk with Laird
    - Need for action
    - Agnew report to President
  - Armored vehicles
    - Number unused
    - Significance
  - Small unit communications equipment
- Drug traffic
  - Opium
    - Lester L. Wolff
      - Opium Destruction Program
        - Credit
        - Thais
        - PRC
  - Military briefing by Agnew
- Support for President's policies
- Leonard Unger
  - Views on Vietnam
  - Replacement
  - The President’s view
  - Beliefs
- Ambassador Bunker
  - Attitude toward President's policies
  - Attitude toward Thieu

Vietnam
- Agnew's press briefing
  - President's policies
    - Success
      - Vietnamization
    - North Vietnam offensive
      - Failure
        - US Pacification Program
        - Reason
    - President's policies
      - Success
  - Soviet Summit
    - Soviet attitude toward North Vietnam
- Settlement
  - Failure
    - Consequences
      - Destruction of Hanoi
      - Civilian casualties

- Air strikes
  - Hanoi power plant
  - Report to Agnew at Guam
  - B-52s

- McCain
  - Possible retention
  - Son [John S. McCain, III]
    - POW
  - Extension of command

- Abrams
  - Agnew’s view
  - Meeting with Agnew
  - Attitude toward air strikes
  - Strategy
    - An Loc
    - Kontum
    - South Vietnam morale
    - Targets
      - Thieu's position

- President's policies
  - Blockade
  - North Vietnam bombing

- B-52s
  - Use in South Vietnam
  - Number
  - Limitations
  - Carriers
  - Marine squadrons
    - Number
    - Japan
    - Thailand

Agnew's trip
- Japan
- Thailand
- Consultations
  - Leaks
- Japan
- South Vietnam, Saigon
- Agnew's report to press
  - Success

Wallace
- President's previous visit
- Possible Agnew visit
  - Timing
- Condition
  - Paralysis
    - Extent
  - Doctor's reports
- Attitude
- President's visit
- American flag
- Possible Agnew visit
  - President's suggestion
  - Agnew's statement
  - Call to Cornelia Wallace
  - Arrangements
  - Dr. William M. Lukash
  - Purpose

Agnew's schedule
- Rest
- A dinner
  - Tricia Nixon Cox
  - John Wayne, Francis A. (“Frank”) Sinatra, Hope, James (“Jimmy”) Stewart
- Fundraiser

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 22s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
Wallace
- Gun control legislation
  - Herbert L. (“Herblock”) Block cartoon
  - Sick society
  - President's proposed legislation
- Advocates
- Sick society
- Assassination attempt on Franklin D. Roosevelt and [Mayor Anton Cermak]
- Assassination attempt on Harry S. Truman
  - Blair House
  - Killing of Secret Service agent
- Shooting in House of Representatives
- Price of free society
- Dictatorships
  - Soviet Union
    - Firearms
- Sick society
- Rebuttals
  - Roosevelt
  - Truman

John B. Connally
- Plans
  - Return to Texas
    - Brother

************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 48s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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Agnew
- Press briefing

[This conversation continues on Conversation No. 726-2]
Conversation No. 726-2

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 11:42 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Spiro T. Agnew and Stephen B. Bull; this conversation is a continuation of Conversation No. 726-1.

Agnew
- Escort to press room
- Tricia Nixon Cox

Butterfield left.

Conversation No. 726-3

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 11:42 am - 11:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule
- Press reception
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Presence
    - Remarks

Butterfield left at 11:45 am.
Date: May 19, 1972  
Time: 11:45 am-12:19 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

President's schedule
- 3 o'clock meeting
- Meeting with Robert C. Byrd
- Black lung bill
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
- Meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Plans
  - President's absence

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:46 am.

- Meeting with Shultz
  - Morale
  - Personnel
  - Following John B. Connally’s policies
  - Amount of time

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:46 am.

- Length of meeting
  - Time
- Shultz
  - Time
- Ehrlichman
  - Time
- Shultz
  - Time
- Ehrlichman
  - Meeting on Capitol Hill
  - Time
- Briefing books
  - Number
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- Shultz
  - Meeting with President
    - Time allotted
-Appointments

Soviet Summit
- Robert J. McCloskey call
  - Briefing
- William P. Rogers
  - Call
    - Appearance at McCloskey's briefing
  - Purpose
- President's press conference
  - Time
  - Rogers's briefing
    - The President’s view
      - Kissinger
    - Talking points
      - McCloskey
      - Bilateral discussions
    - Effect on President's press conference
  - Purpose
- Kissinger briefing
  - Austria
  - Date
  - Content
- President's press conference
  - McCloskey call to Ziegler
  - Rogers's call to Ziegler
    - Ziegler's response
      - Ehrlichman
      - Shultz
  - Rogers's press briefing
    - Ziegler's response
    - President's press conference

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 11:46 am.

Kissinger
  - Meeting with President
  - Location

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 11:55 am.

Soviet Summit
- Rogers's press briefing
- Advantages
- Adele (Langston) Rogers
- Presence in Poland
- Rogers
  - Visit to Vladimir Lenin's tomb
  - Described
  - Knowledge
- President's press conference
  - Press coverage
- Rogers's press conference
  - Press coverage

President's visits to George C. Wallace
  - Press coverage

Rogers
  - The President’s view

President's press conference
  - Purpose

Kissinger
  - Meeting with President
  - Rogers
  - Briefing in Austria

Soviet Summit
  - Rogers
    - Absence
    - President's press conference
    - Scope
    - Briefings by Rogers, Peter G. Peterson, and Earl L. Butz
  - Rogers
    - Plenary sessions
      - Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
      - Meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
      - The President’s view
      - Vietnam blockade position
      - Briefings
        - Science

Kissinger
  - Meeting with President
Haldeman talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 11:46 am and 11:55 am.

[Conversation No. 726-4A]

Meeting with President
-Location

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet Summit
-McCloskey
-Rogers
-Call from Ziegler
-Press conference

Kissinger entered at 11:55 am.

-Calls from Rogers and McCloskey
-Reasons
-Kissinger briefing in Salzburg
-President's press conference
-Conflict with Rogers
-Rogers's press conference
-Reasons
-Marvin L. Kalb report
-Rebuttal
-State Department compared with the White House
-Rebuttal
-Rogers
-Position in National Security Council [NSC]
-Talk with Connally
-President's press conference
-The President’s decision
-Relation to Rogers's press briefing
-Time
-Possible attendees
-Rogers
-Staff members
-Purpose
-Attendees
Ziegler
  - Call to Rogers
    - President's press conference

Kissinger
  - Background briefing in Salzburg

President's attitude
  - Priorities
  - Conflicts

Ziegler left at 11:58 am.

Vietnam
  - Spiro T. Agnew's comments
    - Target limitations
      - President's response
  - Air strikes
    - Limits
      - Melvin R. Laird
  - Abrams
    - Future as Chief of Staff
      - Reasons
      - President's orders
      - Kissinger's view
      - Psychological campaign
      - Laird's amendments
      - [David] Kenneth Rush
      - Laird-Abrams telephone call
    - President's orders
      - Air Force comments to Agnew
    - Call to Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.
      - President's response to Air Force's work
  - Rush
-Possible call from Haldeman concerning Laird
-Soviet trip

Kissinger's schedule
-A meeting
-Postponement
-Meeting on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson

Adm. Thomad H. Moorer

SALT
-Described
-Conditions
-Gerard C. Smith
-Hawks' position
-Soviet demand
-Weapons freeze

Ehrlichman entered at 12:00 pm.

Vietnam
-Air action
-President's orders
-Complaints to Agnew
-Agnew's position
-Additional action in North Vietnam
-Propaganda
-Failure
-Richard M. Helms
-Replacement
-The President’s view

Ziegler entered at 12:01 pm.

Soviet Summit
-Rogers
-An announcement
-President's press conference
-Clark M. Clifford
-Rogers's press briefing

President's schedule
-Meetings with Ehrlichman and Shultz

Soviet Summit
- Ziegler's statement to Rogers
  - Plans
  - President's press conference
- Rogers's press conference
  - Plans
  - Statements
- President's press conference
  - Time
- Rogers's press conference
  - Call from Haldeman
  - Problems
- Problems
  - Vietnam
  - Impression
- President's press conference
- Handling
- Roger's press conference
  - Impression
  - Haldeman call
  - Ziegler call
    - Time
  - Soviet Summit

Ziegler left at 12:04 pm.

Vietnam
- Psychological warfare
  - Delay
    - Duration
  - Timing
    - Soviet Summit
- Leaflets
  - Hanoi
- Other forms of propaganda
- Past performance
  - Kissinger's understanding
- Air strikes
  - Agnew's report on Abrams
President's schedule
  - Briefing books
    - Last book
      - Locations
    - Meeting with George P. Shultz
      - Authority

Vietnam
  - Psychological warfare
    - Leaflet drops
      - Locations
    - News story
      - Rebuttal

Haldeman and Kissinger left at 12:05 pm.

Black lung legislation
  - President's signing
  - Cost
  - Administrative concerns
    - Robert C. Byrd's suggestion
  - President's veto
    - Political damage
      - Arch A. Moore
        - Pennsylvania
      - Ohio
      - Illinois
    - Congress
      - Override
      - Byrd
    - Senate and House support
      - Of bill
      - Support for President
      - Effect on President's reelection chances
      - Meeting with President
      - Time
      - News story
        - Date of release
        - Moore
Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] report
- Wallace shooting
  - Arthur H. Bremer
    - The President’s view
    - Political affiliations
      - Wallace support
  - Diary
    - Transcription for President
  - Mental state
    - Wallace, McGovern
  - Motives
    - Publicity
    - Money
    - Political affiliation
      - Wallace, McGovern

Wallace
- Meeting with President
- Physical condition
  - Morale
    - President's visit
  - Physical condition
    - Analysis
    - Effect on Wallace

Busing
- Ehrlichman's briefing
  - Constitutional amendment
    - The President’s memorandum
  - Congressional conference report
- Congressional action
  - Time
  - President response
- Legislation
  - Time
- Richard M. Scammon's surveys
- Domestic Council
- The President’s view
- Political sensitivities
- President's position
- Freedom of choices
- Use of term
  - Housing, schools
- Connotations
- Dual school system
- Ehrlichman's trip to Michigan
- Quote on President's position

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 1m 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Conference report
  - New York Times support
    - President's veto
    - The President’s view

Welfare reform
- Elliot L. Richardson
  - Memorandum to President
  - Compromise with Abraham A. Ribicoff
  - President's orders
  - Ehrlichman's memorandum to Richardson and James D. Hodgson

Rebuttal memorandum
- President's initials
Budget
- President's position
- House Resolution [HR]1
- Ehrlichman memorandum
  - President's signature
  - Effect

Shultz
- Confirmation
  - Timing with Richard G. Kleindienst's confirmation
    - Reason
    - Order of confirmation
      - Clark MacGregor

Kleindienst
- Confirmation
- Timing
- Swearing-in
  - Notary public clerk
  - Shultz
    - President's role

Shultz
- President's view
- Swearing-in
  - President's role

Revenue sharing
- Bill in House of Representatives
- Celebration
  - Connally, Ehrlichman's position
- Statement

Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
- Caspar W. Weinberger plan
- Political considerations
- Funds cutoff
  - Contracts with agencies
    - Termination
    - Method
    - Rationalization
    - Method
- Possible complaints
-Vietnam

Gun control
- Effect of Wallace shooting
- Need for action
  - "Saturday night specials"
- Bremer
  - Gun control laws in Maryland
- Laws
  - Impact on citizen
    - Ehrlichman’s view
  - Impact on criminals
  - Senate bills
    - Birch E. Bayh, Jr. Roman L. Hruska
- Administration’s position
  - Press office
  - Ehrlichman speech
    - Philadelphia
  - Impact on citizen
  - Administration position
  - Press coverage

Soviet trip
- Ehrlichman's best wishes
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman left at 12:19 pm.

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 12:19 pm - 12:49 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz.

[Discontinuities at the end of the conversation appear in the original recording.]

Shultz
- Confirmation
- Clark MacGregor
- Timing with Richard G. Kleindienst's confirmation
  - Tactical considerations
  - Congressional tactics
- Acting Secretary of Treasury
- Confirmation
  - Hearings
    - Support
    - Relationship to Kleindienst hearings
    - Filibuster
    - President's strategy
    - Timing
- Ease
- Acting Secretary of Treasury
- Legality
- Timing
  - The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
    - John B. Connally trip
      - Date
    - Australia, New Zealand, and South America
      - Purpose
- Shultz's assumption of position
  - Legal impediments
  - Date
    - Connally trip
- Transition
- Speed

Shultz's schedule
- Briefings
- Meetings with Congressmen
- Office of Management and Budget [OMB] work

Connally
- Trip
  - Status

Shultz
- Acting Secretary status
Treasury Department
- Personnel
  - Shultz's choices
- Tax reform
- Personnel
  - Edwin S. Cohen
- Personnel
  - Shake-up at top
    - Current problems
  - "Chicago group"
    - Arnold R. Weber
      - Knowledge
      - Work on freeze
- Management needs
  - Internal Revenue Service [IRS], Customs
    - Shake-up at IRS
  - Connally's changes
  - President's expectations of Shultz
- Changes
  - Scope
  - Timing
    - Forthcoming election
  - Preparation
- Qualities
  - Youth
- Possible current changes
  - Effect
    - Top managers
      - Support of President
        - Charls E. Walker
        - Paul A. Volcker
        - Future positions
  - Shultz's team
    - Connally's team
    - Qualities desired

Department of Labor
- Shultz’s previous tenure

George Meany
- Call
  - Meeting
    - Cost of Living Council [COLC], tax reform
-Benefits

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 23s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Work with Shultz
  -Lee Elder
    -Identified
      -Appointment as golf professional at Washington, DC golf course
        -Rogers C.B. Morton

George B. Hartzog, Jr.
  -The President’s view
  -Future
  -Action on Elder appointment

Elder
  -Appointment as gold professional
    -President's orders
  -Shultz's call to Meany
    -President's role
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Economic policy
- Shultz
  - Knowledge
  - Conflicts with Arthur F. Burns
  - Money supply
  - Convertibility
- Tax system
  - The President’s view
  - Reform
  - Use
    - Social goals
      - Legislation and appropriations
      - Charitable deductions
  - Simplification
    - Tax lawyers
    - Value-added tax [VAT]
    - Manufacturers’ excise
- Loopholes
- Milton Friedman
  - Recruitment
  - The President’s view
  - Consultation
    - Possibility
  - Support for President
  - View of wage and price controls
- Recruitment
  - President’s urging
    - The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
  - Teaching load
  - Conditions
- Personnel
-Recruitment
-Qualities desired
-Friedman
  -Radicalism
  -The President’s view
  -Value
  -The President’s message
-Shultz's future plans
-Tax reform
-Treasury Department
  -Shake-up
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower era personnel
    -The President’s view
  -Harry S. Truman era personnel
    -The President’s view
-Congressional partnership
  -Wilbur D. Mills
  -Russell B. Long
    -Meetings with Shultz
    -Advice
    -Work with President
    -Senate role
-Mills
  -Importance
  -Meeting with President
  -Tax bill
    -Mills's position on reductions
    -Problems
  -Loopholes
    -Democratic criticisms
  -Effect of Democratic National Convention
-Republicans
  -Importance
  -Meetings with Shultz
  -Shultz's relationship with President, Republicans
  -Handling

Treasury Department
-Shultz's nomination
  -President's advice on role
  -Connally
  -Relationship with Caspar W. Weinberger on budget
    -Importance
- Trade and monetary policy
  - US National interests
  - Trade terms
  - Protectionism
    - Forthcoming election
    - President's position
    - Support for Connally's position
  - Shultz's position
    - Press reports

-Peter M. Flanigan
- Work on international trade policy
  - Connally
  - Knowledge
- Shultz's role
  - Quadriad
  - COLC

- Controls
  - 1972 election
  - Termination
  - Timing

- Budget
- Projections

Shultz left at 12:49 pm.

Conversation No. 726-6

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:49 pm and 12:51 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
- Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
  - Press reception
- A barber's appointment
- Robert C. Byrd
  - Time
- Bi-partisan congressional leaders
- A barber's appointment
Conv. No. 726-6 (cont.)

-Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:51 pm.

Conversation No. 726-7

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 12:51pm - 12:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule
- A meeting
  - Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
  - Jacob K. Javits
    - The President’s view

Soviet summit
- William P. Rogers's press conference
  - Call from Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Reasons
    - Clark M. Clifford
  - Statements
- Marvin L. Kalb report
  - Source
    - Kissinger
    - Dinner party with Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb
  - Content

Haldeman left at 12:55 pm.

Conversation No. 726-8

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 12:55 pm - 1:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with William J. Porter and Henry A. Kissinger.
Greetings

Porter's schedule
  - Travel
  - Children

Vietnam
  - Paris talks
  - North Vietnam Strategy
    - Le Duc Tho
      - Stay in Paris
      - Stops in Peking and Moscow
  - North Vietnam offensive
    - Losses
    - US and South Vietnam counter action
    - US bombing
    - Limitations
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Ceasefire
    - South, North
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - Purpose
  - Blockade
    - Harm to North Vietnam
    - President's peace terms
    - State Department response
      - Foreign service
    - Pentagon response
      - The President’s view
  - Air strikes
    - Adm. John S. McCain
      - Talk with Spiro T. Agnew
    - McCain
      - Restrictions
      - Ceilings
    - The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
    - Talk with Henry A. Kissinger
    - Future
    - Orders from President
  - Damages
    - Aerial photographs
  - PRC border
-Restrictions
  -Reason
-Targets in Area
  -Bridges
  -Railroad marshalling yards
-Railroad marshalling yards
  -Damage
    -Photographs
-Restrictions
  -Response
    -Basis
-Effect
  -Railroads
  -Trucks
    -Limitations
  -Railroads
    -Pontoon bridges
  -Trucks
    -Usefulness in moving supplies
-Paris talks
  -Porter's role
-Plenary session
  -Timing
    -Private session
-President's offers
  -North Vietnam responses
  -North Vietnam counter offers
  -Soviets
-Possible North Vietnam offer
  -Likelihood
  -Return of POWs for US withdrawal
-North Vietnam offensive
  -Failure
    -Signs
  -Army of the Republic of South Vietnam [ARVN]
  -Nguyen Van Thieu's position
-Commentaries
  -New York Times
  -Washington Post
  -Time
  -Newsweek
  -Networks
Conv. No. 726-8 (cont.)

- The President’s view
- Paris talks
- Porter's work
- Foreign Service evaluated
- Bureaucrats
- Soviet Union

Porter and Kissinger left at 1:04 pm.

Conversation No. 726-9

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:04 pm and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Order

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:08 pm.

Conversation No. 726-10

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:04 pm and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Location
- A barber's appointment
- Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:08 pm.
Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 1:08 pm - 1:27 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Soviet Summit
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Leak
  - State Department
  - William P. Rogers
    - Statement at National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  - State Department statement
    - Kissinger
  - President's departure for the Soviet Union
  - Control of Charles W. Colson's office
  - Meetings with Haldeman
  - Domestic activities

Vietnam
- New York Times article
  - Kenneth W. Clawson's rebuttal
  - White House involvement
  - President's attitude

White House staff
- Papers for President
  - The President's view
  - Clawson's action

Kissinger entered at 1:11 pm.

Soviet Summit
- President's meeting with press
  - Talking points

Haldeman left at 1:12 pm.
-President's meeting with Congressional leaders
  -Topics of discussion
    -Exchange
    -Environmental controls
    -Health, cultural exchanges
    -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
  -SALT
    -Andrei A. Gromyko message to Kissinger
      -Soviet Union position
      -Gerard C. Smith's position
        -Status of negotiation
          -State Department
            -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-Conclusion of talks
-President's meeting with Congressional leaders
  -Topics
    -Vietnam
    -Middle East
    -SALT
    -European Security Conference

-Press
  -Proper framework
  -Briefings
    -Frequency
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Frequency
    -President's press briefing
  -Topics
    -Limits of Summits
      -Vienna, Camp David, Geneva, Glassboro
    -Purpose
    -Preparation
  -Contacts with Leonid I. Brezhnev
    -Unresolved issues
    -Frequency
  -Summit
  -Third nations
    -Concerns
    -US allies
    -PRC
  -Treaties
    -SALT
    -Others
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-11 (cont.)

-Submission to Senate
-Report to American people
  -Television speech
  -Questions and answers [Q&A]
  -Televised arrival ceremony
-President's speech upon arrival in Moscow
-Toasts
  -First toast
  -The President’s view
-Television speech to Soviet people
-Location
  -Kremlin

Vietnam
-Psychological warfare
  -Implementation
    -Problems
    -Kissinger's position
    -President's orders
    -Haig's check on situation
    -[David] Kenneth Rush
    -Call from Kissinger
    -Activities
    -Equipment for South Vietnam
      -President's orders
        -Reasons
        -Implementation
          -Laird's orders
            -Service secretaries
    -Rush's program
      -Kissinger’s view
      -President's authorization
        -Timing
          -Laird

Helsinki talks
- [Smith]
  -Kissinger’s view
  -NSC help

Soviet Summit
-Press briefing
Rogers and Kissinger
- Presence
Meeting with Congressional leaders
- Rogers's presence
- Press briefing
  - Kissinger's presence
  - Rogers's attitude
  - Rogers's presence
    - Talk with reporters
  - Kissinger's presence

Vietnam
- Air strikes
  - Behavior of military
    - The President’s view
- Restrictions
  - Agnew
    - Report
      - The President’s view
  - Military authority
  - Implementation
  - Reasons
- Effects on North Vietnam
  - Haig's report
- Possible riots
  - Reports
    - Ambassadors
      - Indonesia, France, Poland
- Psychological warfare
  - Leaflet drop
    - Hanoi Area
    - US bombing
    - Timing
    - Content
      - President's previous speech
        - Warnings of bombing
- Timing
- North Vietnam offensive
  - North Vietnam
    - Concerns of commanders
    - Threat of collapse
- Prospects for success
- Delays
-US military command
  -Abrams
    -Future
    -Laird
  -Gen. John D. Ryan
    -The President’s view
    -Future
    -Future
    -Experience
  -Army
    -[Forename unknown] Davis
    -Gen. Bruce Palmer
  -Haig
    -Promotion
    -Work with President
  -Laird
    -Replacement
    -The President’s view

-US war efforts
  -Air strikes
    -Agnew's report
      -Limits
      -Railroad Bridge
    -Restricted targets
      -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's list
    -Effect
      -Railroads
    -Military's authority
      -Lyndon B. Johnson stories
      -Extent
    -B-52 strikes on North Vietnam
      -Timing
      -Intensity
    -B-52 employment
      -Advantages
      -Number
        -Assignment to Vietnam from Europe
        -Impact
        -Agnew's conversation
      -Comparison with F-4s
      -Psychological effect
      -Number in Europe
Kissinger left at 1:27 pm.

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 11:27 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen Bull.

Barber
- Location

Unknown guests
- Location

A delivery to the Executive Office Building [EOB]

Bull left at 1:28 pm.

The President left at 1:28 pm.

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 4:05 pm - 4:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert C. Byrd, John D. Ehrlichman, and Clark MacGregor; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

[Photograph session]
- Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
-Arrangements
-Byrd's last visit
-Vietnam
  -US withdrawal
  -Byrd's views

Black lung bill
-Memorandum to President from Caspar W. Weinberger and MacGregor
  -Costs per annum
    -“Budget-buster”
  -Byrd's views
  -MaGregor's report
-Ehrlichman
  -Meeting with President
  -Talk with Byrd
-President's signature
  -Announcement
  -Date
  -Arch A. Moore, Jr.
-Meeting with Byrd
  -Announcement
  -President's decision
  -Announcement
-Costs
  -Byrd's help
-Presidents veto
  -Reason
  -Override in Congress
    -Likelihood
    -Re-introduction
      -Likelihood of passage
-President's support
-Byrd's meeting with President
-Press statement
  -President's considerations
  -Presentation of case for bill
  -Decision by President
    -Date
  -Tone of meeting
  -Decision by President
    -Speculation
-Call to Moore
  -Date
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:05 pm.

Congressional leaders
  -Location

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:13 pm.

Black-lung bill
  -Byrd's meeting with President
    -Press statement
      -Moore's support for bill
      -Byrd's conversation and meeting with President
    -Call to office
    -Time
      -Congressional leaders meeting

President's Soviet trip
  -Byrd's best wishes
  -Expected results
    -Vietnam
    -Effect in Congress

Congressional leaders meeting
  -Byrd's presence

Byrd and MacGregor left at 4:13 pm.

The President left at 4:13 pm.
The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule

Ziegler left at 5:23 pm.

Items for President's signature

Rose Mary Woods entered at 5:24 pm.

Ziegler entered at 5:24 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
  -Call to John C. Stennis

Dr. William M. Lukash

Items for delivery

Butterfield, Ziegler, and Woods left at 5:25 pm.

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: 5:25 pm - 5:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  -Kissinger's work with John C. Stennis
  -Anti-ballistic missiles [ABMs]
  -Offensive weapons
  -Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
    -ABM
    -Objections to provisions
    -Attitude on offensive weapons
    -Meeting in Kissinger's office
  -Don Maynard
-Response on ABMs
-Meeting with Kissinger
-Military recommendations
-Position
-Meeting with Kissinger and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

-Stennis
-Support
-Need for lobbying
-Gerard C. Smith and William P. Rogers
-Understanding
-Press briefing
-President's statement
-Caution
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Compared to information supplied Congress
-Caution
-Areas to mention
-Space
-Environment
-SALT

Soviet Summit
-President's meeting with Congressional leaders
-Expectations
-President's handling
-Expectations
-Kissinger's meetings
-Stennis
-Undersea Long-ranged Missiles [ULMS]
-Others
-President's speech
-Raymond K. Price, Jr. and Kissinger work
-Toasts
-William L. Safire
-Problems
-Speechwriters compared
-John K. Andrews, Jr.
-Safire
-Price
-SALT references

-SALT
-Action in Moscow
-Possible objections by “Hawks”
-ABM
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Kissinger's discussions with Jackson
  -Conflict in Senate

-SALT
  -Support
    -John G. Tower
    -Stennis
  -US weaponry
  -Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles [MIRVs]
  -ULMS

-Soviet Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBMs]
  -Status

-US weaponry
  -Aircraft

-Problems
  -Duration
  -Comparison to PRC Communiqué
    -Administration's position

-Vietnam
  -President's position

-SALT
  -Selling of Administration position
    -Kissinger's absence during Summit
    -Laird and Moorer's role
    -Kissinger's early return
      -Likelihood
      -Work on communiqué, five principles

-ABM
  -President's disagreement with Jackson
  -Sites

-SALT
  -Treaty
    -Kissinger’s view
  -Public response
  -Peter H. Dominick
    -Response
    -Kissinger’s view
    -Threat of funds cutoff
  -James L. Buckley
    -Dominick
    -ULMS
    -Appropriations
- Freeze
- Alternative
- Submarine provision
  - Soviets
    - Number built per year
- Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Support
    - Moorer

Vietnam
  - Meeting with Congressional leaders
    - J. William Fulbright

Soviet Summit
  - Prospects

The President and Kissinger left at 5:35 pm.

Date: May 19, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:35 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield met with unknown people [Secret Service agents].

The President’s location

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:35 pm and 11:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 726-16A]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Agency Statute]
[Duration: _1s_]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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The President’s location

[End of telephone conversation]