

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 726-1

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

### **Tape Subject Log**

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Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

- -New York Times
- -Washington Post
- -Wire reports

#### West Wing waiting room

- -Current situation
  - -Shared with a secretary
- -Separate room for distinguished guests

#### 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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-Kissinger
```

- -Meeting with President
- -The President's view
- -People's Republic of China [PRC]
- -Poland
- -Soviet Union
- -Mention of freedom
- -President's trip
  - -News reports
  - -Wording
- -Poland
- -Mention of freedom, religion
- -Kissinger
  - -The President's view
    - -Briefing books

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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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
```

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

- -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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

-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

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

#### 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
  - 11126
  - -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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

#### 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
  - -Retrictions
    - -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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-Hanoi
                     -POL
                -Comments to Agnew
                -Restricted areas
                     -Implementation
                          -Date
                -Changes
                     -Moorer's responsibility
                     -Time
                     -Methods
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
```

#### Kissinger

-Meeting with Congressional Leaders
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

-Soviet Embassy -Power plant

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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
-Agnew's press briefing
     -President's policies
          -Success
                -Vietnamization
     -North Vietnam offensive
          -Failure
```

-US Pacification Program

-Reason

-Soviet attitude toward North Vietnam

-President's policies -Success

-Soviet Summit

Vietnam

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

```
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
*****************************
    Agnew
         -Press briefing
```

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

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-1 (cont.)

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.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-2 (cont.)

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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -An unknown woman
- -Length of meeting

#### 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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -Rogers
- -Kissinger
- -White House staff
- -Kissinger
- -William L. Safire
- -Herbert G. Klein
- -Press office staff

### 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
    - -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- -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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

```
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
```

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -Moore
- -President's veto
- -Call from Ehrlichman
- -Byrd

### 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 memeorandum
  - -Congressional conference report
- -Congressional action
  - -Time
  - -President response
- -Legislation
  - -Time
- -Richard M. Scammon's surveys
- -Domestic Council
- -Edwin L. Harper, Raymond K. Price, Jr., Leonard Garment

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

- -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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

### 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

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-4 (cont.)

-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.

Conversation No. 726-5

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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

```
-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

```
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
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

-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

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

\*

```
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 tot he Soviet Union
    - -Teaching load
    - -Conditions
- -Personnel

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

- -Recruitment
- -Oualities 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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-5 (cont.)

- -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
    - -Ouadriad
    - -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

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

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.

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

## 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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-8 (cont.)

- -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
      - -New York Times, Washington Post
    - -Army of the Republic of South Vietnam [ARVN]
    - -Nguyen Van Thieu's position
    - -Commentaries
      - -New York Times
      - -Washington Post
      - -Time
      - -Newsweek
      - -Networks

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

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.

#### **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Jan-02)

Conversation No. 726-11

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.

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-11 (cont.)

```
-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

#### **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
- -Melvin R. Laird and Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- -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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-11 (cont.)

```
-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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-11 (cont.)

```
-US military command
```

- -Abrams
  - -Future
    - -Laird
- -Gen. John D. Ryan
  - -The President's view
  - -Future
- -Gen. John W. Vogt, Jr.
  - -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

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-11 (cont.)

-Number to Vietnam

Kissinger left at 1:27 pm.

Conversation No. 726-12

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.

Conversation No. 726-13

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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-12 (cont.)

```
-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
- -President's 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

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-13 (cont.)

-Time
-Ehrlichman and MacGregor
-Announcement of decision
-MacGregor's role

-Time

#### 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.

Conversation No. 726-14

Date: May 19, 1972 Time: 5:23 pm - 5:25 pm Location: Oval Office

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-13 (cont.)

#### 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.

Conversation No. 726-15

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

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-14 (cont.)

```
-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"
```

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-15 (cont.)

#### -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

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-15 (cont.)

-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.

Conversation No. 726-16

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 ]

# **Tape Subject Log** (rev. Jan-02)

Conv. No. 726-15 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
***********************
The President's location
[End of telephone conversation]