Conversation No. 876-1

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Kennedy Center
-Use of Presidential box
-Plans by Haldeman and William E. Timmons
-Guests of President
  -Cabinet officer or White House staff member
  -Congressmen and Senators

Conversation No. 876-2

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Transcription of memorandum
  -Rose Mary Woods

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Conversation No. 876-3

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:29 am and 9:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.
Request that Henry A. Kissinger

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: 9:30 am - 10:29 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

France’s election
- Gaullists
- Results
- Computer projections
- Communists and Socialists
  - Washington Post articles by Jonathan Randall
    - Compared to New York Times [?]
    - Distortions
- Gaullists
  - Losses of deputies
    - Compared to reporting on winning of majority
    - Significance
    - Reasons
      - Impact of unity between Communists and Socialists
- Message to Georges J. R. Pompidou
  - President’s congratulations
  - Hot line

People’s Republic of China [PRC]-US relations
- Liaison office
- Announcement by President
  - Press conference
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Format
  - Advanced notice
-Release of John T. Downey
  -Publicity

Vietnam
  -Press coverage
    -James B. ("Scotty") Reston
  -Cease-fire
    -Criticism
  -Cambodia
    -Casualties

**********************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 6s]
INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
**********************************************************************

Vietnam
  -Cease-fire
  -Cambodia
    -Casualties
  -Weaponry
  -Defeat
  -US Air Force attacks
    -B-52 strikes
      -Chup Plantation
      -Civilians
      -Daily report
        -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
        -Elliot L. Richardson
  -Infiltration
    -Cease-fire violations
    -Response by US
Conversation No. 876-4 (cont’d)

-Delay
-Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
-Message to North Vietnam
-B-52 strikes on Ho Chi Minh Trail

-Aid to North Vietnam
-“Baltimore Sun” editorial
-Criticism of President
-Justifications
-National conscience
-Congressional votes
-Anti-war advocates
-George S. McGovern

-McGovern
-Meeting with Kissinger
-Gridiron
-Statements during 1972 campaign
-Criticism of President

-POWs
-Impression on public

-Book on Vietnam War
-President’s memorandum to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Robert G. K. Thompson
-No Exit from Vietnam
-Publisher
-Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis

-Joseph Alsop
-Nicholas P. (“Nick”) Timmesch
-Thompson
-Knowledge of war
-Timmesch
-Kissinger’s conversations

-Alsop
-Laos

-Laos and Cambodia
-North Vietnam’s withdrawal
-B-52 strikes
-Massive basis
-Frequency
-Impact on US aid to North Vietnam
-Necessity
-South Vietnam
  -Fighting with North Vietnam
  -Growing strength
  -Press reports
    -Washington Post
      -[First name unknown] Lippman [?]
      -Distortions
        -Cambodia
-Thompson's book
  -Insights
    -US troop commitments
    -Ngu Dem Diem
      -Overthrow
  -Comments on US will
    -Consequences of withdrawal
      -Impact on role of US in world
-US policy
  -President’s November 3, 1969 speech
  -Demonstration of will
-Peace settlement
  -Criticism
    -Paul Warnke’s speech
    -Conversation with Gen. Alexander M. Haig and Kissinger during 1972 Campaign
      -Distortions
  -1969 negotiations
    -South Vietnam’s viability
      -US troop withdrawal
  -Press relations
    -Distortions
      -Administration’s response
  -Impact on 1974 election in Vietnam
    -South Vietnam’s viability

Governor of Bermuda
  -President’s acquaintance
  -Assassination
    -Suspects
-Condolences
  -Telegram
    -Edward R. G. Heath
  -Protocol
    -Elizabeth II [Elizabeth, Queen of England]

President Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru
  -Death
  -Condolences

Argentina
  -Presidential, legislative elections
    -Peronista victory
    -Military coup
      -Alejandro Lanusse
    -Peronista government
      -Nationalism
      -Anti-Americanism

Latin America
  -Extremist politics
    -State Department’s assessment
  -Future trends
    -Right-Wing leaders
      -Left-Wing programs
    -Argentina
      -US responsibility
    -Right, Left-Wing coalition
    -Isolationism
    -Jingoism
    -International Communist influence
      -Left-Wing
        -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], People’s Republic of China [PRC]

International economy
  -Common float
    -Great Britain
    -Success
  -George P. Shultz
-Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt

Foreign policy
- Middle East
- Summit with USSR
- Meeting between Kissinger and President
  - Philosophical discussion
- Briefings for President
  - Hermann Kahn
    - Ability
    - US role in world
    - Abilities
  - Centrist
  - Daniel Joseph Boorstin
    - Historian
    - Smithsonian Institution
    - Meeting with President
    - Conservative point of view
- Rand Corporation, Brookings Institution
- Policy planners from State Department and Defense Department
- Problems with using research groups
  - Request for money
- Robert S. Elegant
- [First name unknown] Hoffman
  - Liberalism
  - Talk with Kissinger
    - France’s election
  - Paper on European-American relations
  - Position on European Unity
- Midwest university representative
  - Chicago
  - Compared with “Old Establishment”
    - Kahn, Hoffman
- Boorstin
  - US role in world
  - Support for President
- Meetings with small groups of thinkers
- Kahn
- Necessity of discussions
-Need for a philosophy and formulation of goals
-French election, monetary issues
-Remainder of President’s second term

-Long range thinking
  -John B. Connally
  -Charles H. Percy
  -Nelson A. Rockefeller
    -Intelligence
    -Knowledge of foreign policy
    -Skepticism, enthusiasm
    -Speech in Europe
      -European federalism
        -Compared to New York State

-Alliance for Progress
  -Organization of American States [OAS]
    -Failure
      -State Department’s reaction

-Africa
  -Token gestures [?]

-Latin America

-Japan
  -Importance

-Southeast Asia

-India-Pakistan
  -Casualties at partition

-Japan
  -Importance
  -Insularity in policies
    -Nationalistic attitudes
  -Comparison to [PRC]
  -Economic power
  -Realpolitik compared to sentimentality
  -Future role
  -Leadership
    -Kakuei Tanaka and Eisaku Sato compared to Chou En-lai

-Respect for US
  -Diplomacy
    -Hirohito [Emperor of Japan]
      -State visits
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont’d)

- Involvement in other parts of the world
  - Siberia, Southeast Asia
    - Impact on PRC, USSR
- Ties to US compared to PRC
  - Economic activities in Asia
    - Impact on US
      - Compared to European Economic Community [EEC]
    - North Vietnam, Siberia, PRC
      - Impact on PRC, USSR
      - Overextension
      - Imbalance
- PRC
  - Deal with Mao Tse-Tung, Chou En-lai
  - Ties with US
  - Letters from president
    - Delay
      - Kissinger's trip to New York
  - Dr. David K. E. Bruce
    - President’s announcement of appointment
      - Meeting with Kissinger
      - North Vietnam’s infiltration
      - US-USSR summit
- USSR
  - North Vietnam’s infiltration
  - Loss of tanks in PRC
    - Anatoly F. Dobrynin
  - Warning to Dobrynin
    - Potential North Vietnam offensive
      - Equipment source
      - Impact on relations with US

Vietnam
- US bombing
  - Release of Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Ho Chi Minh Train
  - Opposition in Congress
    - Money, budget
    - Laos, Cambodia
    - Cease-fire violations
Conversation No. 876-4 (cont’d)

- Provocation
- Ho Chi Minh Trail
- Impact on North Vietnam
  - Khe Sanh
- President’s critics
  - Thomas Grey (“Tom”) Wicker
  - Change in mood
    - Compared to President’s trip to PRC
  - Unintelligible name
  - Floundering
  - Gridiron dinner
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Speech by Spiro T. Agnew
  - Hugh S. Sidey
    - Conversation with Kissinger
  - President’s experience in Vietnam
- Mollification
- Hugh Breslin [?]
  - Support for President
  - North Vietnam’s infiltration
  - Aid to North Vietnam
- Aid to Vietnam
  - Congressional relations
    - State Department and Defense Department roles
      - Elliot L. Richardson
      - William P. Rogers
    - Compared to role in Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty
      - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - Leverage
    - Memorandum
    - Committee chaired by Rogers
      - Jurisdiction
        - William E. Timmons’s role compared to Rogers
      - Richardson’s, Rogers’s responsibilities
- North Vietnam’s infiltration
  - US report to International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
    - Rogers’s recommendation
    - Delays
    - Impact on US actions
-Avoidance
-US bombing
-Aid to Vietnam
-Congressional relations
-State Department’s role
-John Foster Dulles
-Key Congressional figures
-Kissinger, Ziegler [?]
-Meeting with Kissinger, President [?]
-Burden of work
-Kissinger’s role
-Middle East
-SALT
-US-USSR summit
-President
-ABM issue
-Bryce Harlow’s role
-Role of President and Kissinger
-Timmons
-Work with Congress
-Comparison to Clark MacGregor
-Rogers and Richardson
-Work with Congress

Middle East peace negotiations
-Kissinger’s talks
-Rogers’s knowledge
-Rogers’s statement
-Private talks
-Israel and Egypt
-Egypt’s response
-Value
-Kissinger’s talk with Yitzhak Rabin
-Golda Meir’s response
-Interim agreement compared to general principles, United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 [1967]
-US pressure
-Meir
-Dealings with US
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-4 (cont’d)

- General principles
- Hussein Ibn Talal [King of Jordan
  - Settlement
  - Interim agreement
    - Egypt
- Rabin
  - Compared to Moshe Dayan
  - Character
  - Intelligence
  - Problems
    - Dayan
  - Abba Eban
  - Ambassadorial posting in US [?]
  - Cabinet posting [?]

President’s administration
- Foreign policy planning
  - President’s discussions with Kissinger
  - President’s schedule
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Howard K. Smith’s article
  - President’s news summary
  - Comparison with Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration
    - World War II, Great Depression
  - Success in PRC, USSR, Vietnam
- Landslide presidential elections
  - Warren G. Harding
    - Corruption
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Vietnam War victory
    - Re-election
- President’s critique
  - Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - 1936 victory
      - Congressional results
    - Supreme Court packing attempt
    - 1938 election
      - Congressional results
  - Decline of popularity
Impact of WWII
- Divestment of presidential power
  - Domestic programs
    - Special revenue-sharing
      - State, local government spending
    - Opposition from liberals
- Foreign policy mistakes
  - Overreach
  - Complacency
    - Postwar period
    - Campus unrest
  - Inflation
- President’s legacy
  - Peacemaker
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency
- USSR, PRC
  - Compared to peace in Vietnam
  - Negotiations
- Revolutionary compared to nation-building leaders
  - George Washington
  - Dr. Achmed Sukarno
  - Kwame Nkrumah
  - French Revolution
- President as peacemaker
  - Trip to PRC, SALT agreement, Vietnam settlement
  - New structure of peace
  - Need for vision, skill, permanence
- Compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - Support of intellectual elite
    - Press
    - Walter Lippman
    - Support for Herbert C. Hoover
- Chicago Tribune
  - Iron Cross
  - Lack of opposition
  - Decision making
    - Opening with PRC
  - Opposition
- Foreign policy establishment
-Institutionalization
-Need for President and Kissinger to stay in office

Foreign policy
-Middle East
-Settlement
 -Progress
-Ongoing “games”
 -PRC, USSR, Japan, Europe
-USSR
-Summits
 -Trip plans
   -President’s reception in Russia
     -Kissinger’s conversation with Dobrynin
       -Gridiron dinner
     -Leonid I. Brezhnev
       -Letter
-Kissinger's trip to PRC
 -Chou En-Lai's trip to US
   -UN
   -PRC liaison office
   -State dinner invitation
   -USSR visit
-USSR visit
  -Scheduling conflict
    -Conference on European Security and Cooperation
      -Andrei A. Gromyko
        -Date
          -Weather in San Clemente
        -Gromyko’s attendance
  "3-corner game"
   -Delicacy of diplomacy
   -Files
     -Destruction
       -Compared to John F. Kennedy administration
         -Cuban Missile Crisis
         -Bay of Pigs
       -Sensitivity of conversations
         -Nuygen Van Thieu
Conversation No. 876-4 (cont’d)

- PRC, USSR
- Disposition
  - President’s library
  - President's possession
- Pentagon Papers case
  - Damage
  - McGeorge Bundy
  - North Vietnam’s knowledge
  - Foreign government’s concerns about US leaks

North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] [?]  
- Kissinger’s discussions with someone
- President’s telephone call to Kissinger

Kissinger left at 10:29 am.

Conversation No. 876-5

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:30 am and 12:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] state visit to US
  - Changes
    - European Security Conference
    - USSr compared to US requests
  - Negotiations
  - Problems
  - Date
  - Preparations
  - Delay
- Prisoner of war [POWs] reception dinner
  - President’s meeting with Col. Robinson Risner and Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:34 am.

-Germany
  -Need for experience, loyalty, sophistication
  -Compared to businessmen
    -Japan
    -Problems
  -Vail
    -Strength
    -Compared to Spain
      -Businessman
        -[First name unknown] Herra
        -[First name unknown] Serridi [?]
      -Stockholder
        -Radio Corporation of America [RCA]
    -Horatio Rivero’s tenure
    -[First name unknown] Taro [?]
  -Vail
    -Appointment
    -Call from Kissinger
    -Talk with President
      -Interest in Germany
    -Publicity
      -Ohio
      -Confidentiality
    -Replacement
Cleveland Plain Dealer
- Newhouse chain
- Background [?]
- Appointment
  - Background check
- United States Information Agency [USIA]
  - Board member

Pakistan
- Sophistication
- Robert C. Hill [?]
  - Qualifications
- Vacancy
  - Joseph J. Sisco
  - Henry A. Byroade
    - Thailand
- Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.
  - Appointment
    - Thailand
    - Taiwan
    - PRC reaction
    - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
      - Claire Boothe Luce

Taiwan
- Friend of President
  - Overcapacity
Pakistan
- Kissinger's call to Hill
  - Canada
  - Appointment
Sisco
- Retention
  - Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
G. McMurtrie Godley, [First name unknown] Cooper
Walter Stoessel
- Europe
- [First name unknown] Meyer
Cooper
David Newson
- Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
-Pakistan
-William P. Rogers’s viewpoint
-Sisco

-USSR
-Sisco
- Greece
-Malcolm Toon
-Yugoslavia
-Ambassadorial duties
-Sisco
- Problem
- David K. E. Bruce
-Peking liaison office
- Announcement

-Joseph Simpson Farland
-Greece
-Henry J. Tasca
-Latin America
-Mexico
-Panama
-Experience with Pakistan
-Mexico
-Robert H. McBride
-Columbia
-Venezuela
-Proximity to US

-Argentina
-Businessman

-Brazil
-Businessman
-[First name unknown] Scarsovson [?]
-Columbia
-[First name unknown] Scott
-Commerce Department
-USSR experience
-Problem
-John D. J. Moore
-Contribution
-Columbia, Venezuela
-Argentina
  -Businessman
    -Scott
    -Ed Fry
  -Complexity of filing appointments
    -Haldeman
  -John Sherman Cooper
  -Kenneth B. Keating
    -Meeting with Kissinger
    -Israel
    -Nelson A. Rockefeller [?]
    -Qualifications
    -Experience in India
  -John D. Lodge [?]
    -Departure
      -Timing
      -Letter
  -Philip K. Crowe
    -Contributors
      -John Mulcahy, John Olin, Thomas Pappas
        -Ireland, Greece
  -Greece
    -Tasca
      -Job performance
  -USSR
    -Sisco
    -Businessman
      -State Department [Foreign Service] opposition
    -Sisco
      -Career Foreign Service Officer [FSO]
  -Career Foreign Service compared to political appointments
    -Iceland, Malta, Yugoslavia, Venezuela, Indonesia, Malaysia, Afghanistan, Dominican Republic, Upper Volta, Chad
  -Businessman
    -Problems
  -European posts
    -England
    -France
      -John N. Irwin, II
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

Schedule of state visits
-Date
-Summit
  -Date
  -Preparation
-Kakeui Tanaka
  -Message to Kissinger
  -Announcement
    -Japan’s Diet
      -Budget debate
Date
  -Convenience
-State visit
  -Length
-Congressional recess
  -Non-election year
    -August
  -Break for President
    -San Clemente
-Date
-Le Duc Tho
-Ivory Coast
  -Felix Houphouet-Boigny
-Mohammed Reza Pahlavi [Shah of Iran]
  -Time of visit
    -USSR summit
  -Richard M. Helms
    -Back channel
    -Invitation
-Houphouet-Boigny
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

-Latin America
  -Columbia
  -Mexico
-Poland
-Latin America
  -Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil
  -Uruguay
    -Problems
  -Peru
    -Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado
      -Sickness
-Uruguay
  -Juan Maria Bordaberry
    -Tupamaros
    -Military support
-Leonid I. Brezhnev
  -[Unintelligible name]
-Columbia, Venezuela
-Guilio Andreotti
-Other state leaders
  -Lee Kuan Yew
    -Stag dinner
      -Women government officials
-Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  -Impact on India
    -Decision
      -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
  -Delay
-Europeans
  -Replacement for Shah of Iran
    -Willy Brandt
      -Brezhnev visit
        -Georges J. R. Pompidou
-Shah of Iran
  -PRC support
-Visits before USSR visit
  -Important visitors
    -Brandt, Shah, Andreotti, Tanaka
  -Africans, Latin Americans
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

- Fall schedule
  - Japan
    - Emperor Hirohito’s visit
  - Poland
- President's foreign travel
  - Europe
  - Africa, Latin America
- Shah, Brandt
  - Kissinger's contacts
    - Alternates
      - Houphouet-Boigny
      - Latin America
        - Uruguay
        - Peru, Bolivia, Columbia, Paraguay
      - Argentina
      - Central America
        - Value
      - Uruguay, Ecuador

John T. Downey
- Release
- Thanks for President's, PRC’s efforts

President's schedule
- Visits by President
  - Brazil
  - Venezuela
    - Reception in Caracas
      - Student protests
  - Mexico
    - Mexico City
- African trip
  - Nigeria
  - Congo
    - Leopoldville [Kinshasa]
    - Reception
      - Mobutu Sese Seko [?]
  - Kenya
    - Jomo Kenyatta
-Ethiopia
  -Haile Selassie
  -Organization of African Unity [OAU] location
  -Support for US

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National security]
[Duration: 2 sec]

US-ETHIOPIA RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Sudan
  -Symbolism
  -Gen. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri
-Itinerary
-Length of trip
-Number of countries
-Timing of Africa, Latin America trips
  -Compared to state visits to US
    -Bordaberry
    -Houphouet-Boigny
    -Tanaka
-European trip
-Latin America
  -Brazil
-European trip
-Africa trip
-October
  -Brazil

Ambassadors
  -Moynihan
  -India
Kissinger left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm [?].

Domestic issues

Ambassadorships
  -Henry Tasca
    -New assignment
      -Qualifications
      -State Department
        -Opposition
        -African Desk
        -Economic expertise
      -Replacement for Peter M. Flanigan
    -Replacement in Greece
      -Pappas's opinion

-Nepal
  -Appointment
  -Marijuana
    -Demonstrators
    -Legalization
Assistant Secretary of State
  -Middle East
    -Sisco [?]
  -Changes
    -Far East
    -Godley
      -East Asia
    -Stoessel
      -Europe
    -Jack B. Kubisch
      -Latin America
    -Africa
    -Marshall Green, Martin J. Hilenbrand, Charles A. Meyer
      -Departure
    -Newsom
    -Middle East
    -Newsom
      -Compromise
    -Sisco
      -New post
      -USSR
      -Kissinger's opinion

President's schedule
  -State visits
  -USSR visit
    -Use of Camp David
      -Compared to other head of state functions
    -Edward R. G. Heath's February 1973 visit to US
  -State visits
    -Planning
    -Format
    -Andreotti
    -Shah of Iran

Head of protocol
  -Candidates
    -Financier
    -Qualifications
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

- Tom Pawnall [?]
  - Contributor support
- Bradford Cook
- Henry Catto
  - Wife
    - Liberalism [?]
  - New post

Head of state visits
  - Protocol
    - President's activities
    - Chief of protocol
      - Duties
      - Problems
        - Lesser dignitaries
        - Emil and Patricia (“Bus”) Mosbacher, Jr.
        - Establishing a pattern

Use of President’s Kennedy Center box seating
  - Attendance at shows
    - Congress
    - Cabinet
    - White House staff
    - William E. Timmons
  - Number of seats
    - Availability
  - Planning
    - Lawrence M. Higby[?], Timmons
    - Invitation to use
      - Tickets
    - Champagne in anteroom
    - Host for party
      - Number of guests
      - Congressman, Presidential aid
      - Possible dinner party option

Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Meetings with President
    - Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
Middlesex Club of Boston
  - Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
  - Award to President
    - Charles W. Colson
    - Lincoln Day dinner
    - Presentation
      - Denton
  - Family member attendance
    - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
    - Stag
    - Edward R. F. Cox and Tricia Nixon Cox

President's meeting with William J. B. Dorn
  - Veterans Affairs Committee chairman
    - Olin E. Teague
    - Science and Aeronautics Committee
    - John P. Hammerschmidt
  - Veterans bills
    - Delay
    - Vetoes
      - Priorities
    - Talking paper
      - President’s notes to John D. Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman
  - Schedule

Domestic affairs
  - Patrick J. Buchanan’s news [?] summary
    - POWs
    - Criticism
      - Watergate
      - Veterans problems
    - Aid to North Vietnam
    - Indians
    - Economy
    - Phase III price, wage controls
    - Budget battle
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

-Harris polls
  -Alarm over prices
  -Unemployment
  -Recession
  -Disapproval of Phase III
-Need for better public relations [PR]
  -Ehrlichman
  -Rogers
  -"Meet the Press," “Face the Nation”
    -George S. McGovern

Spiro T. Agnew
  -Demands for more office space
    -Roy L. Ash's space
    -Letter to Haldeman
  -Problems
    -John B. Connally
      -Party switch [?]
        -Need for discretion
        -Colson, Harry S. Dent
  -President's involvement
  -Response by Haldeman
  -New Executive Office Building [EOB]
    -Reassignments
  -Work on Capitol Hill
    -Office space
  -Amount of office space
  -Staff reduction
  -President's involvement in controversy
  -Gridiron presentation
    -Kissinger's, Ziegler’s assessment
    -Compared to President

Gridiron dinner
  -Harold Brayman
    -Attendance at church service
    -Work at DuPont
    -President of Gridiron
    -Historian of Gridiron
-Opening chapter
  -President’s, Agnew’s piano duet
-President’s, Agnew’s piano duet
  -Publicity
    -Herbert G. Klein
  -President's composition
    -William L. Safire, Ziegler
  -Pianos
    -John L. Steele
  -Secret
    -White House staff’s knowledge
  -Brayman
  -President’s Checkers speech
  -President's toast to Harry S. Truman
  -Arthur H. Vandenberg's remarks in 1948
    -Loyal opposition
-Vice presidential files
  -Copies of President’s speech
    -Rose Mary Woods, Loie Gaunt McGovern
-Vandenberg’s remarks
  -1948 election
    -Loyal opposition
    -Compared to remarks about McGovern
-Performances
  -George H. W. Bush
  -Speechwriters
    -Paul W. Keyes
  -Bush
  -Self-deprecation
    -Bush compared to President, Agnew, McGovern, Hubert H. Humphrey
  -Humphrey
    -Lyndon B. Johnson

Polls
  -Gallup
    -Results
    -President's popularity
    -Level of disapproval
Domestic issues
  - Inflation
  - Veterans
    - President's case
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger (?)
    - Professional Vietnam veterans, disabled veterans
      - Ehrlichman
  - Price freeze
    - Food
      - Phase III
      - PR approach
      - Earl L. Butz
    - Food
      - Transportation problems
        - Wheat
        - Meeting
          - Ehrlichman
      - Stockpiles
        - Copper
        - Sales
    - Budget battles

Ehrlichman
  - Value to administration
    - Speaking compared with writing
  - Action on various issues
  - Editing

President's speeches
  - Editing
    - Ehrlichman
      - Speech on cities
        - Line in speech
        - Wording
      - Compared to Raymond L. Price, Jr., David R. Gergen, Lee W. Huebner
  - Price
    - Amount of work
  - Ziegler
President's meetings with intellectuals
   - List from Kissinger

White House staff
   - Buchanan's memorandum, news summary
      - Sense of crisis
      - Food prices [?]
      - News analysis
        - Negative compared with positive coverage
   - Orientation toward crisis
     - Negative attitude
     - Congressional relations
   - New approach
     - Peter Drucker's advice
       - Seizure of opportunities compared with problem-solving
   - Follow-up on crime speech
     - Amount of staff work
       - Copies to law enforcement officials
         - Memorandum
   - Buchanan's advice on USSR and PRC
     - Deficiencies
     - Compared to crime, race [?] issues
   - Thinking of White House staffers
     - Negativism
       - Overemphasis on problem-solving
       - Morale

Watergate
   - Ervin hearings
     - Length of time
   - John W. Gardner
     - Possible Senate candidate
   - Internal Revenue Service [IRS] investigation
     - Candidate from Ohio
       - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
       - Background investigation
   - IRS audit
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

- Congress
  - Timmons
- List of targets
  - Ehrlichman
  - McGovern contributors
    - Vance Hartke
- White House, Cabinet officers

Press relations
- Positive issues
  - POWs
- End of war
  - POWs
    - Publicity
      - Maurice H. Stans
      - Negative stories
      - Encouragement
      - Risner, Denton
- End of war
  - Analysis
  - Cease-fire
  - Aid to North Vietnam
- USSR summit
- Foreign policy
  - Head of state visits
    - President’s fall travel
    - Value
      - US-USSR summit [?]
    - President’s fall travel
      - Timing
      - Battles with Congress
- Positive issues
  - POWs
  - Battle with Congress
    - Taxes
  - War
    - Critics
- POWs
  - Gridiron dinner
Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

-NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

-Introduction
-Finale of dinner
-Ovation
-Presidential’s attendance
-Issue of repression
-Effect on public
-Buchanan’s memo
-Perception of bias
-Ziegler
-Newsweek story on Haldeman
-Ziegler’s view
-Haldeman’s view
-Robert H. (“Bob”) Taylor
-Author, Peter Goldman
-Jew
-Al [?] Bruno, interviewer
-Henry Trewhitt
-Old incidents
-Walter J. Hickel, Taylor, Watergate
-Positive aspects
-President
-White House staff

-Press corp
-Discredited program
-Colson, Ziegler
-Roles
-Ziegler
-President
-Haldeman
-Colson

-Accuracy in media
-Administration’s program
-Focus on factual errors
-Newsweek article

-Buchanan
-Press watch
-Op-Ed
-Closeness to President
-Reputation
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-5 (cont’d)

-Honesty
-Comparison with Herbert G. Klein
-Ehrlichman
-Washington Post story
  -Ehrlichman’s television [TV] appearance [?]
-Gridiron dinner
-Washington Post
  -Ehrlichman’s briefing, Harris poll
    -Lack of coverage
    -Carroll Kilpatrick
    -New York Times
    -Ziegler

-Gridiron dinner
  -Philip Geylen [?]
    -Colson’s analysis
-William Paley's meeting with Haldeman
-Arthur R. Taylor of Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  -Meeting with Ehrlichman
  -Support for President
  -Broadcasting experience
  -Business manager
-Dealing with press
  -Confrontation
    -Haldeman’s, Colson’s viewpoint
    -Focus on economic issues
    -Ehrlichman’s viewpoint
-President's stance
  -Aloofness
    -President’s attendance at White House Correspondent’s dinner
      -Compared to Agnew at Gridiron dinner
-Press hostility
-Appearance of fairness
-Colson's view
  -Success in foreign policy, failure on domestic policy
  -Steadfastness
  -Clay T. (“Tom”) Whitehead's program on TV
  -Howard J. Phillips, Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  -Skillfulness
    -Colson, Buchanan
Overreaction
Bluntness
Whitehead
Local control of media
American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
National Broadcasting Company [NBC], CBS
Impact on networks
Press hostility
Lack of coverage of positive aspects
Radio speech

Congressional relations
Republican leadership meeting
Crime issue
Revenue sharing
Briefing on crime
Richard G. Kleindienst
Samuel J. Ervin, Jr [?]

Price freeze
Herbert Stein
Benefits
Short term
Costs
Production cutbacks
Beef, chicken
Shrinkage of supply

White House staff relations
George P. Shultz
Problem
Free market philosophy
Political implications
Crisis compared to opportunity orientation
Buchanan
News analysis [?]
POWs
Impact on morale
Problems
An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:06 am.

Arrival of Kleindienst
  - Manfredi Award ceremony

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

White House staff relations
  - Handling of Watergate hearings
    - Buchanan
      - Hostility to media
    - Media
      - Provocation
      - Hostility to administration
  - News summary
    - Balanced analysis
    - Length
      - Content
        - Indians
        - Shortening

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm; an unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:30 am.

President's meeting with family of slain narcotics agent
  - Format, introduction
  - Award
    - Presentation
  - Mothers
  - Fiance
  - Photographer
  - Navy film crew

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.
Date:  March 12, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 12:20 pm and 12:21 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Phone call to Adele Rogers
-Background information

Date:  March 12, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 12:20 pm and 12:21 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Phone call to Adele Rogers
-Time

Date:  March 12, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 12:21 and 12:46 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Samuel Tummillo, Clara Tummillo, Mary Ann Tummillo, Connie Fletcher, Thomas Devine, Mrs. Thomas Devine, Thomas Devine [Jr.], Michael Devine, Mary Rita Devine, W. Robert Devine, Richard G. Kleindienst, Jack Ingersoll and Geoffrey Shepard/the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Boehm birds

Frank Tummillo
-Circumstances of death
Awards

Presentation of Henry L. Manfredi Award

Photograph

Frank Tummillo
  -Loss to family
  -Sacrifice
    -Significance

War on narcotics
  -Importance
  -Comparison to war against North Vietnam
    -Significance
      -Future generations
  -President's speech on law enforcement
    -Death penalty
      -Death of officer
    -Pushers
  -Thanks

Award to Thomas Devine
  -Appreciation
  -Handicap
    -Comparison to war veterans

Photographs
  -Arrangements

White House tour
  -Accommodations for Franklin D. Roosevelt

Rose Garden
  -Flowers

Children
  -Age
Frank Tummino characterized

Crime legislation
   -Congress
   -Passage
   -Nelson A. Rockefeller's crime bill
   -Meeting with Republican leaders

Samuel Tummino, et al., left at 12:34 pm; Kleindienst remained.

Schedule
   -Kleindienst
      -Rogers C. B. Morton
      -Donald Santarelli

Kleindienst left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:34 and 12:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
   -Telephone call to Adele Rogers
   -Meeting with Republican Congressional leaders
      -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
      -Agenda
   -Tuesday
      -Farewell call to John J. McCloy
        -US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
        -General Advisor Committee
        -Resignation
        -President’s call
        -Reasons
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Letter to McCloy
-Meeting with Cost of Living Council [COLC]
-Timing
-Farewell meeting with McCloy
-Reasons
-Hearings
-Vacancies on committee
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
-Kissinger, William E. Timmons, and [First name unknown] Jones
-President’s reluctance
-Crime and Drug speech
-Meeting with customs agents
-Arrest and conviction of Auguste J. Ricord
-Heroin
-Press
-Friday
-Hermann Kahn
-Meeting with President
-Support for President
-Think tank
-Lawyer [?]
-Briefing for President
-Kissinger
-Meeting with President
-Kissinger’s attendance
-Haldeman’s opinion
-Meeting with departing staffers
-Hebert G. Klein [?]
-Number
-Necessity
-Circumstances
-Length
-Dinners [?]

Protocol
-Receiving line
-Unnamed aide's work
-Cards
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-9 (cont’d)

-Dinners
  -Cards
  -Unnamed aide’s work
  -President’s role
-Reception lines
  -Civilian aides
    -Appointments
  -Military aides
  -Secret Service Agents
  -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s viewpoint

President’s schedule
  -Meeting with McCloy
    -Kissinger
    -Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft’s attendance

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm.

Conversation No. 876-14

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 3:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.

******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President’s location

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 3:06 pm.
Conversation No. 876-10

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:06 pm and 3:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

William E. Timmons

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:08 pm.

Conversation No. 876-11

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: 3:08 pm - 4:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Col. Robinson Risner. Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introduction

Photographs
- Arrangements

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez
- Introduction to Risner

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:34 pm.

Sanchez's background
- Refugee
Prisoners of war [POWs]
- President's appreciation
- Character
- Leadership
- Risner
  - Length of captivity
  - Missions
    - Number
    - Than Hoa
    - Ham Rong bridge
    - Encounter with MiG aircraft
  - Downing of airplane
    - Type of weapon
    - Missile site
      - Ground defense
    - Ejection from plane
      - Parachute
    - Escape from plane
      - Wingman
      - Escape

Risner’s captivity
- Imprisonment
  - Isolation
    - Impact
  - Roommates
  - Isolation
    - Length
    - Contact
  - Exercise
  - Bathing
  - Food
  - Cell
    - Windows
    - Beds
    - Ceiling
Brainwashing
-Communism
-Capitalism
-Contradictions
-Methods
-Writings
-Camp radio
-Speakers
-Tape recorders
-Programs
-Length
-Volume
-American music
-Ills of American society
-Studies of North, South Vietnam
-“Voice of Vietnam”

Contacts with other POWs
-Communications
-Knowledge of other prisoners
-Whistles
-Morse code
-Tapping on walls
-Codes
-Capt. Carlyle ("Smitty") Harris
-Tap code
-Sweeping
-Laundry
-Exercise
-Body signs
-Mute code
-Semafor

POWs
-South Vietnamese prisoners

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
FOREIGN RELATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Communication
- W ards
- Cups
- Morale
- Reassignment
- Risner
- Son Tay prison
  - Col. [First name unknown] Huber [?]
- Approval of rescue
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - President’s decision
  - Henry A. Kissinger [?]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: 5s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

-Hanoi Hilton [Wah Lo?]
- Consolidation of prisoners

Risner’s captivity
Isolation
- Length
Roommate
Publicity for North Vietnam
- Meetings with visitors
  - Refusal
  - Personal photographs from Risner's wife
Letters received
Publicity for North Vietnam
- Risner's cooperation
- Meeting with East German film crew
  - Dissatisfaction with Risner
Punishment
  - Interrogation room
  - Major [first name unknown] Bai
    - Loss of face
  - Destruction of personal photographs
  - Physical abuse
  - Anger
  - Destruction of personal photographs
  - Repetition
  - Injuries
  - Destruction of letters, personal photographs
    - Latrine
    - Physical abuse
    - Memory failure [?]
Capitulation
  - Apology, newspaper writing, tapes
Period of isolation
- Contacts
- Reading
- Writing
  - Denial
  - Reading materials
    - Propaganda
    - Atrocity stories
      - Recitation
Brainwashing
  - Realization of failure
North Vietnamese expectations
-Consolidation of prisoners
  -Roommate
  -Risner’s isolation
    -Time magazine photograph
    -Notoriety compared to Lyndon B. Johnson, Dean Rusk
-Use of Risner
  -Delegations
  -Statements
  -Propaganda
    -Fellow POWs
    -Torture
-Period of isolation
  -Morale
    -Religious faith
    -Hope in government
    -American people
    -Family
  -Mental, physical health
    -Kidney stones
      -East German film crew
      -Medical care
    -Windowless room
    -Vents
    -Effect on vision
-Consolidation of prisoners
  -December 26, 1969
    -1969 election
  -Number of prisoners
  -Beds
    -Matting
  -Clothes
    -Washing
  -Shaving
    -Frequency
    -Razor blades
    -Cold water
    -Soap
  -Toilet papers, toothpaste, toothbrush
Dispossession
-Punishment

Meals
-Timing
-Soup
-Contents
-Bread
-Variety
-Vegetables
-Meat
-Pork fat
-Fish
-Lean quality
-Fish meal
-Alcoholic beverages
-Holidays
-Tet, independence day, Christmas
-Beer, liquor
-Risner’s home in Oklahoma

Mental activities
-Math problems

Physical exercise
-Frequency
-Kinds

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[Privacy]
[Duration: 2m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Personal plans
-Age
-Experience compared to President
-Fitness

Risner's captivity

******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

-Teeth
  -Condition
    -Compared to Holocaust survivors
      -Dr. William O. Chase

******************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Privacy]
[Duration: 13s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
******************************************************************************
-Diet
  -Rice compared to bread
  -Effect on teeth

-Watch
  -Passage of time
    -Gongs
    -Bells of Hanoi

Personal plans
  -Military service
    -Fighter pilot

*****************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Privacy]
[Duration: 23s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
*****************************************************************

-Corrective eyewear
-Flying

Oval Office
  -Risner’s first visit
  -Theodore Roosevelt
  -Seal
  -Flags
    -President’s possession
    -Library

Risner's family
  -Wife
  -Preparation for homecoming
Risner's captivity
  - Women
    - Kitchen help
  - Medical care
    - Doctors
      - Competence
      - Medics
    - Quality

Risner's family
  - Wife
    - Faith
  - Children
    - Boys
    - Number
    - Ages

US culture
  - Gratitude for POWs’ contributions
  - Changes in nation
    - 1960s
      - Revolutionary decade
  - Decline of patriotism
    - 1968 election
    - Eugene J. McCarthy candidacy
      - Radicals
    - Mainstream viewpoint
      - Campuses
      - Media
    - Television [TV], radio, newspapers
  - Splits in religious groups
    - President’s, Risner’s religious affiliation
      - Catholics
        - Anti-Communist
      - Protestants
-William F. ("Billy") Graham
  -Fundamentalist
    -Demographics
    -Support for war [?]
  -Quakers
    -Pacifism
    -Conscientious objectors [?]
  -Presbyterian
  -Loss of faith in nation
    -University teachers, students
    -Elite
    -Business leaders [?]
  -Vietnam
  -Isolationism
  -Federal budget
    -Ghettos
    -Armed forces
  -Prevalence
  -Impact on POWs
    -Loss of values
  -General public’s view
  -End of Vietnam War
    -Duration
    -Reasons
      -South Vietnam’s integrity
      -Credibility of US
      -Domestic impact
    -Method
      -Nuclear option
    -Sense of national spirit
    -Impact of returning POWs
      -Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
      -Public statement
      -Press manipulation
        -Brainwashing comment
  -Asset to nation
  -Exploitation of POW’s
    -Criticism by press
  -New role on return
-Suffering
  -Significance
-Impact on American spirit
  -Revitalization
-Survival
  -Significance for nation
-Continued military service
  -Return to civilian life
-Reception from public
  -Discouragement
    -Criticism
      -GI program
      -Vietnam War
  -Encouragement
    -POWs’ leadership
-Role in nation's future
  -Attempts to isolate nation from world's problems
    -Cutbacks
    -Europe, Asia
    -Opportunity for Communists
-Risner's reaction to US
  -Youth
    -Searching
    -Unrest
    -Optimism
  -Talks to students
    -Reassessment of values
    -Religious faith, patriotism
      -Reassertion
    -Letter from Oklahoma high school counselor
      -Copy for President
      -Students’ reception
        -Ovation
  -Talks with school children, college students
    -Nazarean College
      -Oklahoma
      -Fundamentalist
      -Reception
      -High school

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont’d)
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont’d)

-Size
-Effects of college

POWs
- Reception at White House
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Denton
  - Date
  - Announcement
  - Plans
    - Attendees
      - Children
        - POW’s wife, mother, fiancée
      - Briefing on foreign policy, national security
        - Kissinger
      - President, Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Evening dinner party
      - Entertainment
        - Numbers
        - Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
          - Vietnam Christmas show
        - Les Brown Band
        - Hollywood celebrities
        - TV broadcast
    - Briefing
      - State Department
      - Wives
        - Attendance
        - Value
    - POWs charged with collaboration
      - President’s news summary
      - Sensitivity
        - Risner’s viewpoint
      - Defense Department’s recommendations
    - Numbers
    - Acts
      - Code-of-conduct violations
      - Antiwar statements
        - Torture
-Charges
  -Col. John Flynn
    -Senior officer
    -Repatriation to US
    -Rank compared to Risner
  -Confidentiality
    -Risner’s briefing of POWs
    -Debriefing of misconduct
      -Timing
        -POW returnees
        -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    -POWs’ preference
  -Leaks
  -Defiance of orders
    -Taped statements
    -Writings [?]
    -Meetings with delegations
    -Correspondence with “peaceniks”
    -Three who accepted early release

-Aid to North Vietnam
  -Problems
    -Vietnam
      -Communism
      -Cruelty
      -Destruction
      -POW treatment

-Reasons
  -Reparations
  -National interests
    -Cease-fire
    -Laos

-Reaction of POWs
  -Clark Air Force Base press conference
    -Risner’s comments
  -Previous discussion
  -Risner's discussions with high-level official
    -POW statements
    -Kissinger's visit to Hanoi
    -President’s visit to North Vietnam
-Nixon's discussion with Maj. [first name unknown] Bai
  -Threats
  -Denton, James B. Stockdale
  -Attitude towards Vietnam
  -Support for President
  -Purpose
    -Level of negotiation
      -Cease-fire violations
      -Aid restrictions
      -Ho Chi Minh Trail
      -US reaction
    -Influence over North Vietnam
      -People's Republic of China [PRC]
      -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      -Sino-Soviet rift
      -US diplomacy
    -High councils
    -Threats compared to aid
    -Pragmatism

Vietnam
  -President's meeting with Moorer
  -Peace marches
    -October 1969
    -Cambodia invasion
  -Cambodia invasion
    -Purpose
    -Nixon's knowledge
  -May 8, 1972 decision on bombing Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor
    -Impact on summit with USSR
    -US standing
      -Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev
      -Soviet tanks in Hue
      -Position of strength
  -December 18, 1972 decision on bombing
    -1972 election
    -Cease-fire
    -Breakdown of negotiations
    -Conditions
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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Aug-2010)

Conversation No. 876-11 (cont’d)

-Release of civilian prisoners
  -South Vietnam

-Impact on POWs
  -Use of airpower
    -B-52s
      -Moorer’s reluctance
      -President’s decision
      -Losses
      -Criticism
      -Chicago Tribune
  -Message to North Vietnam
  -Resumption of talks

-December 26, 1972 bombing
  -State Department’s viewpoint
  -President’s conversation with Moorer
    -Kissinger
    -B-52s
      -Number
  -Impact on negotiations

-Bombing
  -POWs’ knowledge
    -Proximity of bombers
    -Reaction
    -Damage to structures
  -Support of POWs
    -Dr. Roger E. Shields
      -Responsibility of President
      -President as “mad bomber”
  -Necessity of bombing
    -Critics
    -Lyndon B. Johnson's decision
      -Bombing and mining
      -Military training
    -Peace negotiations
  -Accuracy of B-52s
    -Civilian casualties
    -Risner’s knowledge
  -POW support
    -Night vigil
-Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
-Damage to Hanoi
-Reaction of captors to B-52s
  -Psychological effect
  -Talk with Risner
  -Accusations
  -Change in attitude of guards
  -Fear

POWs
  -B-52 crews in captivity [?]
  -Attitudes
  -Generational differences
    -Torture
  -Risner’s strength

Presidential gifts
  -Golf balls

Risner’s support for President
  -Conversations with POWs
    -Reconstruction aid
    -Stories of treatment
      -Delay
        -POW repatriation
    -Torture
      -Public knowledge
    -Support for aid
      -POW leaders

POWs
  -Reunions
    -Harry S. Truman’s artillery unit from World War I [WWI]
  -Bond

President's thanks

Risner’s hat
Risner left at 4:34 pm.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:24 pm and 6:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule
- Signature
  - Disaster assistance for Texas [?]
  - Telephone call from Julie Nixon Eisenhower

President's meetings with Prisoners of war [POWs]

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:24 pm and 6:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr. Stephen B. Bull and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Photo session
- Flags
- Seating

Legislation
- President’s signature

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:24 pm.
Sanchez
- Return to Cuba
- Visit to North Vietnam

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Oval Office
- Previous visits
- White House tour

Denton
- Public statement
  - Effect on nation
- Letter to President
  - Publication
    - Respect for privacy
- Experience as Prisoner of war [POW]
- Plans for White House dinner for POWs
  - Wives
  - Discussions
- Reaction
  - Repatriation
- Captivity
  - Length

President's conversation with Col. Robinson Risner
- Honorable conclusion to war
  - Reasons
    - POWs
    - Fate of South Vietnam’s people
      - War casualties
    - US credibility
      - People's Republic of China [PRC], Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

President's trip to PRC
- Peking
-Meeting with Chou En-lai
  -“Handshake around the world”
-State dinner
  -Reputation as anti-Communist

Vietnam
  -Honorable conclusion to war
  -South Vietnam’s integrity
  -US credibility
  -President’s advisors
  -Withdrawal
    -1969
    -John F. Kennedy’s, Lyndon B. Johnson’s responsibility
  -President’s November 3, 1969 speech
    -US defeat
      -Loss of power, pride
  -US as great power
    -Compared to France, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, USSR, PRC
  -US self-image

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:24 pm.

Schedule
  -Buzzer

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:34 pm.

Denton’s letter to President
  -Effect on nation
  -American spirit

POWs
  -Ordeal in prison
    -Mohandus K. [Mahatma] Gandhi, Dr. Achmed Sukarno, Radha Krishna [?]
    -Significance
    -Personal strength
      -Adversity
  -Meaning for US
    -Sense of pride
Sense of shame
-Retreat
-Denton's captivity
-Survival
-Reasons
-Solitary confinement
-Length
-Means of survival
-Curiosity
-Mental, physical activity
-Awareness of time
-Prayer
-Solidarity [?]
-Reception at White House
-Scheduling
-Plans
-President’s meeting with Risner
-Briefing on national security
-State Department
-Wives
-Henry A. Kissinger, President, William P. Rogers
-Changes in world
-Dinner on White House lawn
-Tent
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Greeting
-Blue Room
-Dress
-Long dresses
-Uniforms
-Arrangements
-Entertainment
-Television [TV]
-Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
-Other celebrities
-Les Brown Orchestra
-Dancing
-Captivity
-Treatment
-Torture
-Risner
-Exercise
-Notoriety
-Isolation
-Denton’s leadership [?]
-Communication
-Isolation [?]
-Communications
-System
-Tapping on walls
-Code
-Dangers
-Coughing
-Code

President's foreign policy
-Denton's support
-US history
-Benefits for nation, world
-Opening to PRC
-US aid to North Vietnam
-POWs’ support
-Reasons
-Opposition to PRC, USSR
-Influence in Hanoi
-Communist revolution
-US restraint
-Situation in Laos
-Condition for withdrawal
-Cease-fire violations
-Condition for adherence
-World War II precedent
-Differences
-Japan, Germany
-Regime change
-Economic pursuits
-Peaceful pursuits
-Questionable effectiveness
-Alternatives
  -Bombing
   -North Vietnam’s impressions of President
   -December 1972 bombing
     -Difficulty
      -Compared to Denton’s captivity
      -Survival
      -Impression of irrationality
   -Liberal critics
     -Questions about President's sanity
     -“Mad bomber”

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 6:34 pm. The conversation continues on a subsequent tape [Oval Office Tape 877-1].