Date: June 18, 1973  
Time: 9:20 am - 10:13 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

President’s schedule
- Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Beltsville, Maryland
  - Signing ceremony
  - Signing of agreements
    - Cultural, scientific
    - Tax, agriculture
  - Camp David
    - Andrei A. Gromyko, William P. Rogers
    - Travel arrangements
    - Middle East communique
  - Private meeting between President and Brezhnev
  - Blair House
    - Impromptu meeting
    - Kissinger
  - 4:00 pm meeting
    - Private meeting between President and Brezhnev
    - Rogers, Kissinger, Gromyko
      - President’s concerns about Rogers
  - President’s forthcoming toast, June 18, 1973
    - Coverage
      - Text of toast
      - Preparation
  - San Clemente
    - Departure time
      - Blair house
      - Dinner arrangements
Conversation No. 943-1 (cont’d)

- Air Force One
- El Toro Air Force Base
  - Farewell ceremony
- Helicopter trip
- Signing ceremony
  - Communique
  - Housing arrangements
    - Gromyko, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Kissinger’s evaluation
- Release of dissident Jewish leaders
  - Leak to media
- Afternoon meeting
  - Time, location
  - Media coverage
  - Meeting at Blair House

Watergate
- Washington Post story, June 18, 1973
  - H. R. (‘Bob’) Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
  - J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.’s forthcoming conversation with John J. Wilson
- News summary
  - Gordon C. Strachan
  - Haldeman
- Possible leaks
  - Leonard Garment
    - Telephone call from Haig
  - David R. Gergen
    - Relationship with Robert U. (‘Bob’) Woodward
    - White House employment
    - Capabilities
    - President’s view
  - Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright
  - Gergen
  - Forthcoming conversation with Haig
  - Capabilities
    - Haig’s view
- Washington Post story, June 18, 1973
Conversation No. 943-1 (cont’d)

-Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Wilson
-President’s strategy
-President’s knowledge
-John N. Mitchell
-Martha (Beall) Mitchell, Helen A. Thomas

Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President’s schedule

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

Watergate
-Brezhnev visit
-Editorials
-President’s negotiating position
-Content
-Roman L. Hruska’s editorial
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson’s statement
-Allegations concerning President’s role
-Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
-John W. Dean, III
-Break-in of Ellsberg’s psychiatrist’s office
-Krogh’s letter concerning Ehrlichman
-President’s knowledge
-Effect on Brezhnev visit
-Dean
-Fred D. Thompson
-Possible immunity
-Buzhardt

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President’s schedule
-Meeting with Kissinger [?] 

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.
Watergate

-Washington Post story, June 18, 1973
  -Buzhardt’s view
  -Goal
    -Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean
  -White House strategy
  -Haig’s forthcoming call to Wilson

-Dean
  -Allegations concerning President’s role in funds for defendants
    -Krogh
    -Buzhardt’s view
  -Possible cross-examination
  -Meeting with President, Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, March 21, 1973
    -Need for full disclosure
    -Haldeman’s possible statement
      -Buzhardt’s conversation with Wilson

-Ervin Committee hearings
  -Witness schedule
    -White House strategy
      -Buzhardt
      -Haldeman’s possible statement
  -White House strategy
    -Buzhardt, Garment, Ronald Ziegler
    -President’s schedule
    -Dean’s possible allegations
    -Buzhardt’s statement

-Dean
  -March 21, 1973 conversation with President concerning funds
  -Possible documents
    -Buzhardt’s views
  -Statement
  -Possible effect on Brezhnev visit
  -Press
    -Washington Post, Baltimore Sun
  -Jackson
  -White House statement
An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President’s schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.
An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 9:20 am.

President’s schedule
-Kissinger

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:45 am.

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:45 am.

Brezhnev visit
-Story concerning 17 soviet journalists
-Kissinger
-President’s conversation with Dobrynin
-Arrangements for photos
-Media coverage
-Comments during photos
-President’s forthcoming toast, June 18, 1973
-Coverage
-Length
-Preparation
-Transcript for translation
-President’s composition of the toast
-Kissinger

Kissinger entered at 9:49 am.

Brezhnev visit
-Length
-Preparation, length
-President’s assessment of the toast
-Gergen
-Speechwriters
-Toast prepared by Kissinger’s staff
-Length
-Brezhnev’s toast
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Advance copy for the President
Ziegler left at 9:50 am.

Brezhnev visit
- President’s meeting
  - Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt
  - Note taking
  - Soviet interpreter
- Brezhnev’s children’s letter to Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
  - Fatherly advice
  - Graduation ceremony
- Blair house meeting
  - Time
  - Improvised meeting
- Rogers’s possible meeting with Gromyko
  - European Security Conference
- Media coverage
  - Photographs
- Gromyko, Dobrynin, Kissinger, Rogers
- Release of Jewish dissidents
  - Kissinger’s conversation with Garment
    - US Jewish leaders
      - Possible meeting with President, Kissinger, or Garment
    - Previous meetings with Jewish leaders
      - Credit for release
    - Previous meeting with Kissinger
    - Garment’s request for President
    - Jewish support for President
    - Jewish emigration
- President’s image
  - Effect on Soviet policy
  - Demeanor
  - Soviet actions toward PRC
Strength
- US domestic situation
- President’s visit to Soviet Union in 1972
- Toughness
- Soviet goals
  - Europe
  - China

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 1 s ]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Brezhnev visit
- Sequoia
  - Brezhnev
- State dinner, June 18, 1973
  - Kissinger’s discussion with Dobrynin
  - Lincoln memorial
- Rogers’s possible meeting with Gromyko
  - Camp David
    - Assignments
      - European Security Conference
        - Communiqué
          - Middle East

- Schedule
Conversation No. 943-1 (cont’d)

-Brezhnev’s schedule
  -Invitation to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -Forthcoming toast
  -Transcript for President
-President’s forthcoming toast
  -Content
    -Family
    -Diplomacy
    -Results of summit
-Schedule
-Brezhnev’s evaluation of president
-Effect of Dean’s Ervin Committee testimony
  -Kissinger’s assessment
    -Patriotism
    -Dean
    -Goals of Soviets
    -US national interest
    -Publicity of summit
-Press coverage
  -Time and Newsweek
  -Final summit agreements
    -Oceanography
-US and Soviet Agreements
  -Oceanography
  -Number of agreements
  -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    -Negotiations
      -Principles
-Compared to President’s 1972 visit to Soviet Union
  -Preliminary work for summit
    -Agreements
    -Communique
    -Nuclear treaty
    -Principles
    -Speed of negotiations
-Brezhnev’s forthcoming toast
  -President forthcoming toast
Conversation No. 943-1 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s staff
  -Length of toast
-Speechwriters
  -Quality
-Private meeting between President and Brezhnev
  -Dobrynin, Gromyko
-President’s forthcoming toast
  -Length
-Schedule
  -President’s remarks
    -Soviet and American relations
    -Future negotiations
    -SALT
    -Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
      -Dates
-Nuclear treaty
  -Brezhnev’s toast
-Rogers
-European Security Conference
-SALT agreement
  -1974
-Southeast Asia
  -Cambodia
  -Vietnam
    -Cease-fire violations
-Middle East
-Far East
  -China
  -Japan
-Economics
  -Long term relationship
  -Reaction of Politburo
-Lunch
-Photographs
-Sonnenfeldt, Dobrynin
-Blair House meeting
-Brezhnev
Conversation No. 943-1 (cont’d)

- Remarks
- Support for President
- Watergate
  - Brezhnev reaction
- Future visits
- Form of address
- President’s remarks
  - US-Soviet relations
  - Europe
    - Brezhnev’s trip
      - France, Warsaw, Poland
  - SALT
  - Far East
  - Middle East
  - Economics relations between US and USSR
  - Forthcoming nuclear agreement
    - Letter to Brezhnev from President
    - Brezhnev’s forthcoming trip to Paris
      - French criticism
- President’s forthcoming toast
  - Text of toast
  - President’s preference for extemporaneous speech
  - Pravda
  - Zielger [?]
- Kissinger’s efforts

Watergate
- Kissinger’s outrage

President’s schedule

Kissinger and Haig left at 10:13 am.
Conversation No. 943-9

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:35 am
Location: Oval Office

Two unknown men met at an unknown time after 10:13 am.

President’s schedule
- Photographs
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
- Meeting schedule

The two men left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-2

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:35 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Watergate
- John W. Dean, III
  - President’s previous conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - White House strategy
    - Press reports
    - Press coverage
      - William Safire’s column, June 18, 1973
  - White House response
    - J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
    - Fred D. Thompson
    - Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
      - Statement
Conversation No. 943-2 (cont’d)

- White House response
  - $1,000,000
- *Washington Post* story, June 18, 1973
  - David R. Gergen
  - Haig
  - Leonard Garment
- Dean
  - Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
    - Possible White House response
    - $1,000,000
  - March 21, 1973 meeting with President
  - Funds for defendants
    - President’s response
    - Clemency offer

- Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
  - Possible responses
    - John J. Wilson, Haldeman
    - Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright

- White House response
  - Specificity vs. generality
  - Haldeman
- *Washington Post* story, June 18, 1973
  - Haig
  - Robert U. (“Bob”) Woodward and Carl Bernstein
  - Source(s)

- *New York Times*
- Dean
  - Possible allegations concerning President
    - White House response
    - Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.’s comments to Dean concerning Ellsberg break-in
- Ellsberg break-in
  - Dean’s conversation with President, March 1973
  - Krogh’s statement concerning Ehrlichman’s knowledge
- Dean
Conversation No. 943-2 (cont’d)

-Possible allegations concerning President
  -White House response
  -Counsel’s office, Buzhardt
  -Howard H. Baker, Jr.
    -Statement concerning President
  -Dean
    -Strategy

Henry Kissinger entered at 10:26 am.

Leonid I. Brezhnev’s visit
  -Press statement
    -World domination
    -Superpower condominium

Watergate
  -Dean
    -Strategy
    -White House response
      -$1,100,000
      -Safire’s column, June 18, 1973
      - Compared to President

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-3

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:27 am and 10:35 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
  -Brezhnev’s schedule
Conversation No. 943-3 (cont’d)

-Television [TV] coverage
  -Location of media

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-4

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:27 am and 10:35 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
  -Schedule
    -Helicopter delay
    -Weather
    -Maj. John V. (“Jack”) Brennan

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Conversation No. 943-5

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: 10:35 am - 10:40 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Watergate
  -John W. Dean, III
    -J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
    -$4,000, $12,000
Conversation No. 943-5 (cont’d)

-Charles W. Colson
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-White House statement
-David R. Gergen
-Raymond K. Price
-June 18, 1973 Washington Post story
-Ronald L. Ziegler

President’s schedule
-Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
-Signing of agreements
-Schedule
-Economic agreements
-Sequoia

Watergate
-Dean
-White House response
-Colson
-Ziegler’s views
-Buzhardt, Charles Allen Wright
-Haldeman’s possible testimony
-$12,000
-Colson
-Possible Larceny of $4,000
-Fred D. Thompson
-Colson
-Buzhardt’s view
-Story concerning President’s role in break-in
-Internal Revenue Service [IRS] audits
-Lawrence F. O’Brien
-$200,000
-George P. Shultz
-Dean
-Forthcoming Ervin Committee testimony
-Buzhardt’s view
-Thompson
An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:35 am.

Brezhnev visit
- Weather delays

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Brezhnev visit

Haig left at an unknown time before 10:40 am.

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:40 am
Location: Oval Office

An unknown man and unknown woman met.

President’s schedule [?]

The unknown persons left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.
Leonid I. Brezhnev visit

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:40 am and 10:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Leonid I. Brezhnev visit
   -Arrangements for arrival ceremony

The President and the unknown man left before 10:54 am.

Date: June 18, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:40 am - 10:54 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

Arrival ceremony

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:54 am.
Conversation No. 943-8 (cont’d)

The President met with Leonid I. Brezhnev and Viktor M. Sukhodrev.

Oval Office
- Description

Weather
- Camp David

Ronald L. Ziegler

Seating arrangements

Reporters

Ziegler and members of the press entered at 11:33 am.

[Photograph session]

Ziegler and the press left at 11:37 am.

Weather
- Rain
  - Athens
  - Russian folklore
    - Moscow and Washington, DC

Well wishes
  - Brezhnev’s colleagues
    - Moscow airport

Smoking in the Oval Office
Conversation No. 943-8 (cont’d)

-Cigarette case timing mechanism
  -Discipline

Brezhnev’s send-off in Moscow
  -Brezhnev’s speech
    -Brezhnev’s colleagues
  -Support for summit

June 14, 1973 politburo meeting
  -US-Soviet relations
    -Achievements
    -Future goals
    -Agreement with Politburo
    -Talks with President
      -Developments

Brezhnev’s expectations from visit
  -High hopes
  -Resolution of difficult questions

Brezhnev’s itinerary
  -Casa Pacifica
    -President’s invitation
      -Brezhnev’s reaction
        -“House of peace”
          -Symbolism

Brezhnev’s family
  -Wife’s health
  -Grandson’s graduation from high school
    -Entrance exams
      -Moscow University
      -Student exam reactions
  -Children
  -Meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox
    -Positive impressions
  -Schedule
-Letter to Tricia Nixon Cox
  -Brezhnev’s son, daughter, daughter-in-law
  -President’s personal delivery
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia and Edward R. F. Cox
  -Reception in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -Welcome to the Brezhnev family in the US

Future of US-Soviet relations
  -Future visits
  -President’s relationship with Brezhnev
    -President’s remaining three years in office
    -Keys to US-Soviet relationship
      -Ability to change the world
      -Brezhnev’s meeting with American Senators
        -Respect for President
        -Party affiliation
        -Vance Hartke
          -Hopes for US-Soviet relations
          -Brezhnev’s reaction
          -Democratic Senator

Brezhnev’s visit
  -Press interest in Brezhnev’s trip to US
    -Brezhnev’s meeting with Georges J. R. Pompidou
    -Brezhnev’s meeting with Willy Brandt
      -Brezhnev’s reaction to questions
    -Brezhnev’s meeting with US Senators
    -Brezhnev’s meeting with 11 American correspondents
      -President’s role in diplomacy
    -Brezhnev’s conversation with an unknown Soviet diplomat in 1961
      -Advice to Brezhnev
        -Personal relationships in diplomacy
        -Handshake
        -Gestures of respect
          -President’s in 1972 Moscow trip
          -Brezhnev’s 1973 US trip
Brezhnev’s conversation with Henry A. Kissinger, June 17, 1973
-Request for President to return to USSR in 1974
-Brezhnev’s trip to US in 1975
-Invitation from the Politburo
  -Unanimous support from Soviet leadership
-President’s visit to USSR in 1976
-Relationship between US and USSR

US-Soviet relations
-Importance of head of state visits
  -Future summits
    -Planning
    -Travel
      -Caucasus region
  -President’s relationship with Brezhnev
    -Assessment of Brezhnev
    -Cooperation
      -Benefits
      -Detriments of non-cooperation

Soviet Union
-Resources
  -Geography
  -Military
  -Population
  -Agriculture
  -Minerals
  -Industry
-Compared to US
  -Strengths of US

US-Soviet Union
-Brezhnev’s comments to central committee
  -Respect for US
-Role in world
  -Superpowers world peace
  Reduction of importance
Guinea
-Third parties
  -Disruption of relations
-Luxembourg
  -Size
  -Police
-Brezhnev’s possible speeches
  -Battle against dissent

-Relations
  -Peace seeking future
  -Friendship
  -Respect for populace

Brezhnev’s schedule
  -President’s suggestions

Camp David
  -Meeting
  -Attributes

San Clemente
  -Attributes
    -Pacific Ocean

Agenda for visit
  -Attendees
    -Andrei A. Gromyko, William P. Rogers, Henry A. Kissinger
    -Plenary session
      -Moscow trip 1972
        -Gromyko, Nikolai S. Patolichev [?]
    -Economic meeting
      -Camp David
    -Nuclear agreement
      -Press leaks
        -Media coverage
    -Brezhnev’s forthcoming statement
      -President’s preference
Kissinger, Rogers, Gromyko, Helmut (“Hal”) Sonnenfeldt, and Anatoliy F. Dobrynin entered at 12:32 pm.

Arrangements for photos and seating

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:32 pm.

Arrangements for photos

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

President’s previous conversation with Brezhnev
- Successful negotiations
- Rogers, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Gromyko
  - Advice
  - Value
    - Friendship between leaders and nations

Negotiation strategy
- Discussions
  - Mutual advantage
  - Mutual compromise

Oval office
- Placement of gift from Brezhnev

Agenda for visit
- Signing ceremony
- Plenary session
  - George P. Shultz
  - Brezhnev’s assistants
Rogers and Gromyko
- Forthcoming communique
- Middle East
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]
  - Camp David
  - Brezhnev’s demand for agreement
  - Importance

US-Soviet relationship
- History
  - Focus on present and future
  - Uneven development of relations
  - Battles against fascism in 1940
- Roles of President and Brezhnev
  - President’s visit to Moscow in 1972
  - Brezhnev’s visit to Washington
  - Relationship of American and Soviet people
- World peace
  - Agreement signed in Moscow 1972
  - Endorsement of American and Soviet people
- President’s schedule
  - Return visit to Moscow in 1974
  - Announcement of trip
- President’s visit to Moscow in 1972
  - World response
- Importance of confidence
  - Trust of people
- Views of soviet people
  - Variety of citizens
  - Letters to Central Committee
  - Importance of summit
  - Volume
  - Brezhnev’s sharing of letters
  - Letter containing poetry
- Creation of historical narrative
- President’s visit to Moscow in 1972
Conversation No. 943-8 (cont’d)

- Epoch-defining
- Need for peace

World history
  - Study of conflict
    - Wars between monarchs
    - Roman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire
  - Future generations study of peace
    - Historians

US-Soviet relationship
  - Views of soviet communists
    - Support for Brezhnev
      - Communist Party
      - Workers
      - Brezhnev’s representation of Soviet people
    - Agreements
    - Brezhnev’s visit
      - Signature of agreements
    - CSCE
  - US-Soviet Union
    - Relationship
    - Strengths
    - Role in world
      - Influence
    - President’s visit to Moscow in 1972
      - Support from Europe
        - France
        - West Germany

Time difference between Moscow and Washington
  - Brezhnev’s watches
    - Moscow time
    - Washington time
    - Help from Ministry of Foreign Affairs

US-Soviet relationship
Conversation No. 943-8 (cont’d)

- President’s visit to Moscow in 1972
  - View of European political parties
    - Social Democratic parties, Communist parties
  - Value
    - Peaceful relations
    - New phase in relations
- Brezhnev’s visit
  - Cooperativeness
  - Interest of the world

World progress
- Political importance of the age
  - Cooperation
- Role of Europe
  - US, USSR, France, West Germany
- World War II
  - Cooperation to defeat fascism
- Progressive ideals
  - Will of people
- President’s and Brezhnev’s visits
  - Assessment of goals
  - Progressive ideas
    - Peace
    - Destruction of war-making capabilities

US-Soviet relationship
- Politics and economics
  - Progress
  - Future goals
- Principles of Soviet foreign policy
  - Party Congress
  - Relations with US
  - President’s visit in 1972
  - Central committee’s resolution
    - Future goals
    - President’s goals
- Brezhnev’s visit
Conversation No. 943-8 (cont’d)

- President’s welcoming remarks
- Value
  - Political and economic progress
  - Creation of peaceful and progressive qualities
- Criticism of US and USSR
  - Luxembourg military

Schedule
- Brezhnev’s concern over remarks
  - Rogers
  - Protocol
  - Kissinger
  - Watch

US-Soviet relationship
- Pride
- Strength of each nation
  - Vladimir I. Lenin
- Importance of confidence
  - Leaders and people throughout the world
  - President’s and Brezhnev’s visits
    - Creation of trust
    - Lasting peace
- World War II
  - Bonn, West Germany
  - Brezhnev
    - Experience
    - Reception in West Germany
      - Veterans
- Confidence
  - Agreements to be signed
- Importance of world peace
  - Possibility of future wars
    - Destruction
- President’s schedule
  - Future visit to USSR
- Development of relations
-Continued communication
  -Discussion of future agreements
  -Future meetings in 1974, 1975, 1976
-President’s interest in remarks
-Most-Favored Nation [MFN] status
  -Future negotiations
-US Trade center in Moscow
  -Construction agreement
-Brezhnev’s report to Central Committee on foreign policy
  -Distribution to local Soviets
  -Support for Brezhnev’s policy
  -Lasting effect of policy
-Soviet foreign policy
  -Support for Brezhnev
-Economics
  -Contact between US and Soviet officials
-Goals
  -Expectations
  -Isaac Newton
    -Discovery of gravity
    -Creation of cooperation policies
      -Attractiveness for nations
  -Possible opposition to peace
    -Brezhnev’s influence
      -Personal opinion
        -Struggle for Detente
  -Peace, progress, co-operation
    -Brezhnev’s goals

The recording cut off at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

An unknown portion of conversation was not recorded while the audiotape reels were changed.

[Continued on Conversation No. 944-1]