

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-20

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 8:42 am and 9:18 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Instruction [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:18 am.

Conversation No. 866-1

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 8:42 am and 9:18 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Clock

-Malfunction

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:18 am.

Conversation No. 866-2

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 8:42 am and 9:18 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Request for John W. Dean, III

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:18 am.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-3

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 9:18 am and 9:46 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with John W. Dean, III.

[A transcript of this conversation appears in RG 460, Box 59, pp. 1-20]

[End of transcribed portion]

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]
[Duration: 10s]

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*

[Begin transcribed portion]

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 9:18 am and left at an unknown time before 9:46 am.

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:18 am and left at an unknown time before 9:46 am.

Dean left at an unknown time before 9:46 am.

Conversation No. 866-4

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 9:47 am – 10:44 am

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Prisoners of war [POWs]

-List

-Dates of release

-Release

-Transportation

-Starting time

President's press conference

International Conference on Vietnam

- -Signing of documents
- -Kissinger's handling
  - -William P. Rogers

#### Berlin Wall crises

-Malcolm E. Smith, Jr.'s book [Kennedy's 13 Great Mistakes in the White House]

-John F. Kennedy

-Skybolt decision

- -Nassau meeting
- -France, Great Britain
- -[Maurice] Harold Macmillan, Gen. Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
  - De Gaulle's veto of common market entry
    - -Withdrawal from NATO
- -Kennedy's handling
  - -Kissinger's article in *Reporter*

# Kennedy's handling of foreign policy

-Cuban missile crisis

Italy, Turkey, Great Britain, France

-Skybolt

-Nassau meeting

-Public relations

-Compared with President

- -Jordan crisis
- -India-Pakistan war

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Cien Fuegos
```

```
National Security Council [NSC] meetings
     -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
     -Frequency
     -Subject
     -George P. Shultz and Richard G. Kleindienst
           -Attendance
                 -John N. Mitchell, John B. Connally
                 -European Economic Community [EEC]
     -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
     -New European policy
           -Pentagon
     -Elliot L. Richardson, Rogers
     -Changes
           -William P. Clements, Jr., [David] Kenneth Rush, Rogers
                 -attendance
                      -precedent
                            -Dwight D. Eisenhower
                            -Deputies
           -Richardson
                 -Balance of views
     -Meeting on Latin America
     -Rush
     -Subjects
           -SALT, Europe, Latin America
                 -Kissinger's report
World report
     -Completion
     -Kissinger's trips
Treasury Department
     -Shultz
           -Under Secretary candidate
                 -Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
     -Sonnenfeldt
           -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
           -Intelligence
```

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Hard-line attitude
           -Replacement
           -Lawrence S. Eagleburger
           -Desire to leave
                 -Promotion
           -Transfer to new position
                 -Defense Department
                      -Richardson
                      -International Security Affairs [ISA]
                            -Candidate
                                  -Chuck Cooper
           -Relations with Kissinger
Treasury Department
           -East-West trade
```

# -Shultz

-William E. Simon

-Prospects

-Shultz

-Value to administration

-Toughness

-Compared to Connally

-Public relations finesse

-Thoughtfulness

-Loyalty

-Peter G. Peterson

-Departure

-Behavior since departure

-Job offer

-Comments against administration

## Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:56 am.

### POWs' release

- -Press relations
- -Henry A. Kissinger's call to President

-Governors' dinner

-Kissinger, Haldeman, Ziegler, President's knowledge

-Relations with North Vietnam

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Behind the scenes action
```

-Rogers

-Troop withdrawals

-Messages

-Compared with Jordan crises

-State Department

-Compared to India-Pakistan negotiations

-Air craft carrier

-West Pakistan

-Press relations

-Headlines

-Washington Star

-Ziegler's briefing

-President's call to Ziegler

-John C. Arbuckle

-Associated Press [AP]

### Vietnam settlement

-Press questions on President's reaction to settlement

-Statement for press

-Implementation of agreement

-POW release

-Highest priority item

-US position

-Linkage with other issues

-Troop withdrawals, mines

-North Vietnam's adherence

-Cease-fire

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Rationale for war

-POWs

-Ziegler's press briefing

-President's reaction

-Thieu

-POWs release

## Ziegler left at 10:05 am.

Golda Meir's visit

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Crisis
```

-United Nations [UN] condemnation of airliner destruction

-Meir's visit to US

-Election in Israel

-John A. Scali

-Conversation with Israel's UN ambassador [Yosef Tekoah]

-Yitzhak Rabin

-Tekoah's partisanship

# Negotiations and weapons

- -Meir's position
  - -Interim agreement
  - -Running in election
  - -Interim settlement
  - -Private talks
    - -President's request
    - -Anwar el-Sadat
    - -Egypt, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - -Initiative

### -Airplanes

- -Briefing paper
- -Defense Department recommendations
  - -US aid
  - -Purchase, production
  - -Kissinger's recommendations
    - -Number of airplanes
      - -F-4s and A-4s
        - -Meir's political position
- -President's dealings with Meir
  - -Airplane production, purchase
    - -Numbers
      - -State Department
      - -Area of discussion
    - -Delivery

### **Alliance For Progress**

- -Disaster
- -Latin America

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Results
           -Brazil
                 -Communist
Kennedy's foreign policy
     -Smith's book
     -Europe
     -Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
     -Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard
     -De Gaulle
           -Opinion of Kennedy
           -Roland Evans
     -Adenauer
           -Jacquelline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis's statement
           -Pierre Salinger's statement
           -Opinion of Kennedy
     -Germany's domestic politics
           -Willy Brandt
                 -Chancellor
                      -Christian Democratic Party
                            -Adenauer, Erhard's departure
                                 -Offset agreement
                                  -Socialist parliamentary coalition
                                       -Brandt, Karl Schiller
     -Brazil
           -Joas Goulart
     -Indonesia
           -Achmed Sukarno
     -Relations with Europe
           -Eisenhower
           -Compared with John Foster Dulles
                 -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
                 -Adenauer, Germany
                 -De Gaulle
De Gaulle
     -American press reports
           -Kennedy
```

-President's opinion

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen
           -Reaction to France's withdrawal from NATO
     -Economics
           -EEC
                 -Brussels
World leaders
     -Edward R. G. Heath
     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
     -Leonid I Brezhnev
           -US relations
     -Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-lai
           -President's dealings
Golda Meir's visit to US
     -President's talk with Mrs. Marvin Mandel
           -Middle East
           -Airliner incident
Airliner incident
     -UN resolution
           -Investigation
                 -US vote
                      -Condemnation of Israel
           -Kissinger's opposition
                 -Meir's visit to US
     -Scali
           -Vote in UN
                 -President's knowledge
                      -Preoccupation with POWs
                      -State Department
     -Israel's action
           -Meir
Golda Meir's visit to the US
     -US aid
           -Airplanes
                 -Numbers
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Meir's support
     -Negotiations
           -Interim agreement
           -General Principles
                 -Private talks
Kissinger's call to Rabin
Bay of Pigs
     -Smith's book
     -Congress
           -Briefing
     -Cabinet meeting
           -Dean Rusk
           -Robert S. McNamara
           -Douglas Ddillon
           -Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer
           -Allen W. Dulles
           -David Bissell
           -McGeorge Bundy
           -Paul H. Nitze
           -Thomas Mann
           -Adolf Berle
           -Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
           -Richard Goodwin
           -J. William Fulbright
           -Compared to President's meetings
                 -William L. Safire, Raymond K. Price, Jr., Patrick J. Buchanan
     -US Air Force
           -Fulbright
     -Kennedy's approach
           -Compared to President's approach
                 -Removal of Fidel Castro
                 -US involvement
                      -Denial
     -Loss of surprise
           -Rumors of US action against Castro
```

-Chester Bowles -Anger

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

-Rusk

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
-Leaks to press
                                 -Kennedy's comment to New York Times publisher
                                 -Pentagon Papers
                                 -Damage to US government
Smith's book
     -Quality
     -Analysis of mistakes with Europe
           -Kennedy
           -NSC staff
US relations with Europe
     -Arnold Bordstram [?]
     -President's policies
           -USSR
           -NATO
     -Leaders
           -Quality
     -US consultation
           -Dwight Eisenhower
     -EEC
     -Domestic politics
           -Criticism of US
     -President's policies
           -Berlin
           -Modernization of NATO
           -New Program
     -Haig
           Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster [?]
     -NATO
           -Donald H. Rumsfeld
                -Great Britain
                      -Complaints
                      -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
     -USSR
           -Build-up of forces
           -Missiles
                -Dr. Edward Teller
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

-MBFR

-SALT meeting

- -Richardson
- -Clements
- -Negotiations
  - -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM]
  - -Multiple Independently-Targeted Reentry Vehicle [MIRV]
  - -US domestic support
  - -Areas of discussion

Kissinger's call to Rabin

<u>Kissinger talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:05 am and 10:36 am.</u>

[Conversation No. 866-4A]

[See Conversation No. 37-13]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bay of Pigs

- -Smith's book
- -Leaks
  - -Kennedy's press conference
  - -Policy planning meeting
    - -Goodwin
    - -Confidentiality
- -Air cover
- -Naval cover
- -Air strikes
  - -Effects on Cuban air force, shipping
  - -Amphibious landing
  - -Anti-Castro Cubans
    - -Demoralization

Kissinger talked with Rabin at an unknown time between 10:05 am and 10:36 am.

[Conversation No. 4B]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

```
[See Conversation No. 37-14]
[End of telephone conversation]
       President's press conference
            -Ziegler
            -Kissinger's opinion
                  -Timing
             -POW issue
             -East-West trade
                  -Announcement
                        -Ziegler
                        -Shultz, Frederick B Dent
             -Questions
                  -Vietnam cease-fire
                        -Violations
                        -Meeting with Meir
                        -US military restraint
                        -Infiltration
                        -Civil war
                              -Evolutionary process
             -Nguyen Van Thieu government
                  -International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
                        -Joint Military Commission
                        -Cease-fire violation
                              -US helicopter
                                   -ICCS
             -Laos
                  -Bombing strikes
                        -Cease-fire
                  -US position
             -Cambodia and Laos
                  -Cease-fire agreement
                        -Withdrawal of North Vietnam's forces
                              -Timing
                  -Bombing
```

-Comments on military activities

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

-B-52 strikes

-Cambodia

-News reports

US observers

### NATO

-Haig as commander

-Possible appointment

-Promotion

-Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] chairman

-Navy, Air Force

-Strategic thinkers

Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

-Retirement

-Opportunism

-McNamara, Nitze

-Performance in office

-Chile

-Navy morale

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's and Clements's opinion

-Handling of racial problems

-Compared with marines

Unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:05 am.

John W. Dean, III

<u>Unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.</u>

Meeting with Meir

-Conclusion

-Israel's ambassador to us [Yitzhak Rabin]

John W. Dean, III entered at 10:36 am.

Richard G. Kleindienst

Kissinger left at 10:37 am.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

### End of meeting

### Kleindienst

- -Conversation with Dean
- -Talk with L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
  - -Change in Gray's position
- -Fedearl Bureau of Investigation [FBI] files
  - -Gray's offer to Congress
  - -Attorney General's approval
  - -Attorney General's criteria for turning over to Congress
- -Hiss case
  - -No cooperation from F.B.I.
  - -Six Crises
    - -Executive privilege
      - -Clark Mollenhoff questions
  - -Cooperation of FBI and Justice Department -Ziegler

### An unknown person entered at an unknown time before 10:37 am.

Copy of Six Crises
-Delivery

## The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:44 am.

### **FBI**

- -Smith's book Kennedy
  - -Harassment of newsmen during steel crisis
  - -Material for publicity
  - -Robert F. Kennedy misuse of authority

### Amnesty issue

- -Carl Sandburg on Abraham Lincoln
  - -Lincoln's position
    - -Amnesty for South
    - -No amnesty for number of deserters

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-4 (cont'd)

### An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:36 am

Hiss case

-President's 1950 or 1951 speech

The unknown man left at 10:44 am.

Hiss case

Dean left at 10:44 am.

Conversation No. 866-5

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:44 am and 10:57 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Telephone line

Conversation No. 866-6

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 10:51 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-15]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-7

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President met with an unknown man.

Stephen B. Bull's schedule

President's schedule

- -Visit by governors
  - -Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - -Arrangements

Yitzhak Rabin

- -Israel's ambassador to US
- -Birthday
  - -Ashtrays

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:56 am.

Conversation No. 866-8

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with an unknown man.

Gifts

- -Ashtrays
- -Cufflinks

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:56 am.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-9

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Items for signature

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:56 am,

Conversation No. 866-10

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-16]

Conversation No. 866-11

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and before 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-11 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:56 am.

Conversation No. 866-12

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:52 am and 10:56 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Richard G. Kleindienst.

[See Conversation No. 37-17]

Conversation No. 866-13

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 10:57 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Ronald L. Ziegler's meeting with the President

Bull left at 10:57 am.

Conversation No. 866-14

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: 10:57 am - 11:00 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with William L. White.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-14 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 37-18]

Conversation No. 866-15

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: 11:00 am - 12:39 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

William P. Rogers

President's telephone call to William L. White

Press conference

- -Reactions
- -Robert Pierpont
  - -Comments
    - -Vietnam settlement
    - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

### President's press conference

- -Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
- -Timing
- -Reasons
- -Story on POWs and cease-fire
- -Possible questions on Watergate, George P. Shultz, George

Meany

- -Timing
- -Rogers's

-Nine point agreement

- -POWs
- -Public relations [PR]
  - -News magazine
  - -Press reaction
    - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], Berlin agreement
  - -Economic questions

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

-Preparation
-William L. Safire, Patrick J. Buchanan
-Length
-Content
-Kissinger
-Kevin Phillips

# Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 11:00 am.

Yitzhak Rabin's birthday

Photographs

Notes

-Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft

# Photographs

- -Kissinger's appearance
- -Golda Meir
- -Scowcroft

### An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:00 am.

Meir's arrival

Scowcroft

-Schedule

### Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft entered at an unknown time after 11:00 am.

Phyllis Gallante (?)

- -Talk with President
- -Missing In Action [MIA] families

Prime Minister Golda Meir, Rabin, and Simcha Dinitz entered at 11:06 am. The White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting. The unknown man left at 11:06 am.

Arrangements for photograph

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

Kissinger's schedule

[Photograph session]

- -Rabin's birthday
- -President's first meeting with Rabin

-1967

Ziegler, the White House photographer, and the press left at 11:10 am.

Dinitz's [?] work with Meir

Presidential gifts

-Pens

International security

- -US role in world
  - -Peace
- -American idealism
  - -President's meetings with Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-lai
  - Leonid I Brezhnev
    - -SALT
  - -Scientific exchanges
- -Changes in world
  - -Communists
  - -Security
  - -Dialogue
- -Chances of peace
  - -Misunderstandings
    - -Vietnam Settlement
    - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - -Reduction of US armaments
      - -Spending on Ghettos
      - -Mutual reductions
        - -USSR
    - -Israel's idealism
    - -Need for realism
      - -Dangers
    - -Public optimism
      - -Vietnam settlement

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

-Dialogue with PRC -USSR

-Brezhnev

-Willy Brandt

-Socialist

-Need for realism

-European socialists

Europe's leadership

-Edward R. G. Heath

-Georges J. R. Pompidou

-Socialists

-Italy

-Giulio Andreotti

-Germany

US defense posture

-Europe

-Need to maintain

-Cold War

-USSR

-Golden rule

Peaceful coexistence

-Interpretations

Vietnam cease-fire

-Socialist International

-Meir's role

-Kissinger's press conference

-Questions

-United Nations [UN] observers

-Meir's view

Socialist conference

-Alaf Palme

-Bruno Kreisky

-Austria

-Germany

-Brandt

-Pompideau

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
-Belgium
      -Shadow cabinet
           -Great Britain
                 -[First name unknown] Wilson [?]
                 -[First name unknown] Gallager [?]
Idealism and pragmatism
      -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
           -Religiosity
           -World War I
                 -Fourteen points
                 -Versailles conference
                       -Treaty
                             -Effect on Germany
                                  -Adolf Hitler
                                  -Compared with US role in reconstruction
                                        -World War II
                            -France
                            -USSR
Kissinger's talk with Rabin
Libyan airplane incident
      -President's viewpoint
           -Israel's statements
           -Uneasy truce
           -Israel's intentions
```

\*

-Israel's UN ambassador [Yosef Tekoah]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [NATIONAL SECURITY]

-UN resolution

-Amendment

-POWs -Investigation -John A. Scali

-State department

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
[DURATION: 13 S]
      COMMUNICATIONS
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
****************************
      Black September
           -Warnings
           -Plans
                -Airplane
                     -Suicide bombing
                          -Tel Aviv, Bersheeba
                          -Kamikazis
           -Japanese terrorists at airport
      Airplane incident
           -Israel's explanation
                -Passengers
           -Meir's reaction
           -US concern
                -Israel's standing in world
                     -US bombing of North Vietnam
                          -Hospital
                          -Non-military targets
           -US-Israeli cooperation
                -Public relations
Israel's raid in Lebanon
      -Strategy
           -Airplanes compared with ground troops
                -Safety
                -Terrorist training camps
                     -Proximity to refugee camps
```

US arms and economic aid to Israel

-Casualties

-Soldiers and civilians

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

- -US government's position
  - -Administration's commitment to Israel
    - -Arab-Israeli negotiations
- -Israel's position
  - -US commitments
  - -Arms for self-defense
    - -Prevention of war
      - -Suez Canal
      - -Egyptian front

### Arab-Israeli negotiations

- -US involvement
  - -Vietnam war
- -Intentions of Arabs
- -Israel's negotiating position
- -Rumania
  - -Deputy foreign minister's visit to Israel
    - -Meeting with Sadat
  - -Meir's visit to Bucharest
    - -Sadat
      - -Meeting
    - -Meir's response to Nicolai Ceausescu
      - -Sadat's reply
- -Israel's desire for peace negotiations
  - -Proximity talks
  - -Domestic opinion
  - -Egypt
  - -Jordan
    - -Hussein Ibn Talal [King of Jordan]
      - -Message to Meir
- -Two tracks
  - -Public talks
    - -Pressure to succeed
  - -Private talks
    - -US dealings with PRC and USSR
    - -Exploratory discussions
    - -Summits
- -Israel's position
  - -Election
- -US position

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
-Energy crisis
-Israel's bargaining position
     -Middle East, USSR
     -Desire for settlement
-Egypt's desire for settlement
      -Opening to US
-USSR's desire for settlement
     -Egypt's position
-Kissinger's role
     -Private talks
           -Egypt, USSR
           -Brezhnev's visit
                 -Change in position
                       -Talks with Andrei A. Gromyko, Brezhnev
                       -Troop withdrawal
      -Confidentiality
-Goal
      -Egypt's position
           -Overall settlement
                 -Sovereignty, security
      -Interim settlement
           -Vagueness
                 -Sadat
-Kissinger's role
     -Chou's remarks about Kissinger
-President's two-track plan
      -Advantages
           -Preparation
           -Confidentiality
-US contacts with USSR and Egypt
     -Israel's strength
     -Egypt's goals
     -US consultation with Israel
-Security compared to sovereignty
-Egypt's goals
     -Peace
           -Insincerity
      -Sovereignty
           -1967, 1947 territorial borders
```

-Palestinians

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

- -Yassar Arafat
- -Terrorists
- -Suez Canal
  - -Israel's withdrawal
    - -Interim step
    - -Peace treaty
  - -natural border
    - -Fortifications
      - -Israel's need for air force
  - -Clearing and operation
    - -Cease-fire
  - -Civilian reconstruction, rehabilitation
  - -Technical support
  - -Police presence
  - -Israel's right of transshipment
    - -Egypt's recognition
    - -Israel's use of canal
    - -Sadat
- -Interim settlement talks
  - -State Department
  - -Proximity talks
  - -Confidentiality
  - -Public talks
    - -State Department
    - -Egypt
  - -Israel's withdrawal from Suez Canal
  - -Private talks
- -Overall agreement
  - -Egypt's position
    - -Hafez Ismail
- -USSR's role
  - -Kissinger's talk with Hafez Ismail
    - -US role
    - -Egypt's proposals
  - -Gromyko and Brezhnev
  - -US position toward USSR
    - -Analoyiy F. Dobrynin
    - -Effect on Israel
- -Egypt
  - -Ismail's visit to moscow

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
-USSR's position
                 -Inflexibility
                 -War
      -Brezhnev's promise
           -MiG-23s
           -Training of pilots
      -Transcripts
           -Information exchange
     -Inflexibility
     -Sadat
     -1957 negotiations
     -Support for radicals
           -Syria, Iraq
-Syria
      -Equipment from USSR
     -Mammar Qaddafi
     -"Madman"
     -Syria
-Sadat
-US-Israeli contacts
     -Kissinger's role
     -Dinitz's role
           -Access to Meir
```

# Fighters

- -Israel's production
  - -Prototypes
    - -Defense Department
  - -Israel's needs
- -US military aid
  - -Phantoms, Skyhawks
  - -Number
  - -Confidentiality of decision
- -Number
  - -Negotiations at later date
  - -Recommendations
    - -State Department, Defense Department
  - -Linkage
- -US position
  - -Public statements

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
-Balance of power
-Private agreement
-Airplane delivery
```

```
Israel's production of airplanes
```

- -Numbers
  - -Israel's economy
- -Israel's situation
  - -Technological knowledge
    - -US corporations
  - -Spare parts
- -Numbers
  - -Limitations
- -US commitments
  - -Defense Department
    - -Elliot L. Richardson

### US-Israeli economic relations

- -Israel's finance minister's meetings with George P. Shultz
- -US budget problems
  - -Aid to Israel
    - -Cuts

### Schedule

-Break

### **USSR**

- -Emigration to Israel
- -Condition of Jews
  - -Prisons
  - -Anti-Semitism
- -Treatment of Jews requesting emigration
  - -Exorbitant fees
  - -Loss of employment
    - -Legal status as parasite
    - -Trial
    - -Prison
- -Anti-Semitism
  - -Eugene Lyons
  - -American Jews

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

```
-Hitler
-US role
     -Talks with Dobrynin
           -Confrontation
                -Congress
                      -Most Favored Nation [MFN]
                            -American Jewish communities
                            -Vietnam War
                                 -December 1972 bombing
-US concern
     -Inhumane treatment
           -Rumanians
     -Private negotiations
           -Leverage
                -Wheat
           -Confrontation on Cuba
-Treatment of Jews
     -Russian people
           -President's attitude
           -Communists
-Public pressure
     -Problems
           -Congress
           -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
           -Congress
                -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
                      -Trade
     -Meir's appeal to American Jewish communities
           -Soviet Jews
                -Emigration
                -Exit visas
-Soviet policy toward Jews
-Jackson amendment
     -Israel's influence on Congress
-Proper use of US influence
     -Confrontation with USSR
     -Cuba
     -"Mutual suicide"
-Israel
```

-Strengths

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-15 (cont'd)

-Military

- -Brezhnev
- -Toughness

Meir's appearance at National Press Club

-Questions on Libyan airplane incident

Gifts

- -Rabin's birthday
- -Value

Coat

The President, et al., left at 12:39 pm.

Conversation No. 866-21

Date: march 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 12:39 pm and 12:41 pm

Location: Oval Office

Two Unknown men met.

Clean up

Two unknown men left at an unknown time before 12:41 pm.

Conversation No. 866-16

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: 12:41 pm – 1:06 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press briefing

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-16 (cont'd)

- -Subjects of discussion from meeting with Golda Meir
  - -US aid
  - -Security
  - -Negotiations
- -President's meetings with Hussein Ibn Talal [King of Jordan], Hafez Ismail
  - -Nature of talks
    - -Future negotiations

## Middle East negotiations

- -Settlement prospects
- -Israel's negotiating style
  - -Egypt

President's press conference

-Scheduling

# Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:44 pm.

## Press briefing

- -Questions on president's meetings with Ismail and Meir
  - -Frankness
  - -US policy
    - -Talks with various parties
  - -Nature of settlement
  - -US talks with parties
    - -Egypt
      - -Public channel
      - -Direct talks
- -Timing
- -Reporters from Israel

# Ziegler left at 12:49 pm.

### Meeting with Meir

- -Difficulty
- -William P. Rogers meeting with Egyptians
  - -Israel's knowledge

Egypt

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-16 (cont'd)

- -Acceptance of Meir's proposal
  - Israel's withdrawal
  - -Joseph J. Sisco
  - -Suez Canal
    - -Egyptian police, military
- -Interim agreement
  - -Fuzzy language
    - -General principles
  - -Sisco proposals
    - -Procedures for talks
- -Conversations with Kissinger
  - -General principles
  - -Private channel
- -Desire for US involvement
  - -Ismail
    - -Egypt's position
  - -Pressure on Israel

### Meeting with Meir

- -President's negotiating style
  - -Compared with John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
  - -Airplanes
  - -Linkage
  - -Meir's negotiating
  - -Kennedy's foreign policy knowledge
  - -Johnson's interest in foreign policy
    - -Johnson's crudeness

### **Emigration of Soviet Jews**

- -Kissinger talks with Jacob K. Javits and Jackson
- -American Jewish community
  - -Exit permits
- -Soviet treatment of Jews
  - -US foreign policy interest
  - -Gas chambers
  - -Humanitarian concern
  - -War
  - -Right of emigration
    - -Indians
    - -Parsis

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-16 (cont'd)

```
-Jackson
           -Contributions
           -Jews
           -1976 campaign
     -Javits
           -Congress
                -Anti-Semitism
                -Anti-Communists
                -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
US-USSR relations
     -Most Favored Nation [MFN] status for USSR
     -Brezhnev
           -Dealings with President
     -US advantage
           -Vietnam settlement
           -Middle East
           -Europe
           -Berlin settlement
     -Soviet gains
           -MFN
           -Gas deal
           -Nuclear treaty
USSR weapons build-up
     -Intelligence
     -Richardson
     -Strategic arms balance
           -SALT
           -President's role
                -US strategic programs
                -Clements, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer,
                      -Richardson
     -SALT
           -Negotiations
           -Gerald C. Smith
           -U. Alexis Johnson
           -Military proposals
                -Expense
                -SS-9, SS-11 missiles
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-16 (cont'd)

```
************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[NATIONAL SECURITY]
[DURATION: 1M 14S]
     MISSILES
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
******************************
     US-USSR relations
          -National Security Council [NSC]
          -Scholars
               -Foreign policy expertise
                   -SALT
                        -1972 agreement
                        -Future agreements
                             -Necessity
          -Compared with John F. Kennedy [?], Lyndon B. Johnson, Robert S. McNamara
          -Meetings with scholars
               -Support for SALT
               -Camp David
               -Scientists
               -Zbigiew Brzezinski
               -Marshall Shulman
                   -NSC group
     Prisoners of War [POWs] issue
          -Press
          -President's policy
               -Firmness
               -International Conference on Vietnam
               -Mines
                   -Private talks
               -Compared to John F. Kennedy
          -Public impact of return from Vietnam
```

-Support for President

-Press reports

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-16 (cont'd)

```
Arab-Israeli negotiations
-State Department's role
-Sisco
-Talk with Kissinger and President
-Timing
-Kissinger
-Verification meeting
-US policy
-New approach
```

Kissinger left at 1:06 pm.

Conversation No. 866-17

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 1:06 pm – 1:14 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

John W. Dean, III's arrival

Dean entered and the unknown person left at 1:06 pm.

```
Watergate investigation
```

- -The President's conversation with Richard G. Kleindienst
- -Dean's notes on precedents on information release
- -A "freeze" order
  - -Page in report
    - -Information from Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- -Dr. Connally
- -FBI files
  - -Raw files to Congress
  - -Harry S. Truman precedent
  - -Clark R. Mollenhoff
    - -Executive privilege

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-17 (cont'd)

-White House Staff

-Procedures for obtaining information

-Mollenhoff

- -Willingness of White House to reveal information to Congress
- -Testimony issue characterized
- -Attorney General
  - -Dealings with Dean
    - -Pressure on Kleindienst

-Loyalty

-Affection for John N. Mitchell

-Mitchell

-Vulnerability

Weather

Dean left at 1:14 pm.

Conversation No. 866-22

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 3:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown Secret Service agents met.

Security

Unknown Secret Service agents left at an unknown time before 3:06 pm.

Conversation No. 866-18

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:02 pm and 3:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-18 (cont'd)

The President met with an unknown man.

Ronald L. Ziegler's schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:06 pm.

Conversation No. 866-19

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 3:06-3:30 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert Roth, Walter T. Ridder, Richard L. Wilson, John L. Steele, Lucian C. Warren, Jerald F. terHorst and Ronald L. Ziegler. The White House Photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

**Photographs** 

Press passes [?]

Gridiron Club

-[Unintelligible name]
-Associate member

Seating arrangements

-Visiting heads of state

Edward R. G. Cox

-Attendance at Gridiron Club dinner -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II -Navy

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

Refreshment

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-19 (cont'd)

-George P. Shultz's drink

# Manolo Sanchez left at an unknown time after 3:26 pm.

```
Invitation to Gridiron dinner
```

- -President's inability to attend
- -Other meetings
  - -White House Correspondents
  - -Radio and Television Correspondents
  - -White House Photographers
  - -Women reporters
- -President's attendance
  - -1974, 1975, 1976

### Gridiron Club

- -Presidents
  - -1976 Woody Hoffman
- -Admission of women

### Gridiron dinner

- -William P. Rogers
- -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Spiro T. Agnew
- -Rogers
  - -Vietnam settlement
  - -Prisoners of War [POWs] issue
    - -List of names
      - -Clark Air Force base
- -President's contributions
  - -Checkers
  - -Duet skit
    - -Agnew
- -Guests
  - -President's toast
- -President's schedule
  - -White House Correspondents
  - -Radio and Television Correspondents
    - -Conflict
      - -State dinner
- -Skits

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-19 (cont'd)

- -Duet -Milto
  - -Milton S. Eisenhower
  - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - -Nikita S. Khrushchev take-off
    - -William B. Thompson
- -Foreign visitors
  - -Head of state
    - -Reactions
    - -Invitation
      - -Planning
    - -Golda Meir
    - -Edward R. G. Heath
      - -Reaction
      - -Possibility
      - -Annual visit
- -Maxine Chesire, Francis A. ("Frank") Sinatra
  - -Appearance
    - -Hair
- -Resident's contribution to current dinner
  - -Agnew

### Gridiron Club

- -Traditions
  - -Pressure from women
- -POW appearance
  - -Social events
  - -Air Force colonel
    - -Robinson Risner
      - -Virginia
      - -Sergeant
      - -[First name unknown] Flagg
      - -Doug Ramsey
  - -Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.
  - -Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., Risner
  - -John S. McCain, III
    - -Captivity
  - -President's meeting with wife of sailor
    - -U.S.S. Saratoga
    - -POW bracelet
      - -Jack S. McCain, III

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-19 (cont'd)

```
-Past dinner
           -Judge
           -Publishers
Gridiron dinner
     -Invitation to Heath
           -Kissinger
           -Great Britain
                 -Alliance
           -Skit
           -Speech
           -Possibility
           -Heath's wit
     -Leonid I Brezhnev
           -Invitation
     -Chou En-lai
           -Invitation
     -Skits
     -Kissinger
     -Gifts
           -Cufflinks
     -Heath
     -[Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlevi
Gifts
     -Photographs
President's speech on impoundment
```

# Roth et al. left at 3:26 pm. Ronald L. Ziegler remained.

```
Gridiron dinner
-Heath
-Foreign visitor
-Demeanor of Gridiron dinner

Church services
-Gridiron Club officers
-List
-Rose Mary Woods
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-19 (cont'd)

```
-New York Times
```

- -Washington Post
- -Baltimore Sun-Times
- -Detroit News
- -Hearst newspapers
- -Mike Cole
- -Wilson
  - -Criticism of editorial policy of paper
- -TerHorst
- -Ridder
  - -Alcoholism
- -Roth
  - -Liberalism
- -Lucian Warren

### Gridiron dinners

-Year to attend

-1974

-1973

-Reasons for not attending

-George S. McGovern

- -Roth, Ziegler, Wilson
- -Refusal to attend 1973 inauguration
- -Press comments

President's schedule

-Woods

Ronald Ziegler left at 3:30 pm.

Conversation No. 866-23

Date: March 1 or 2, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:30 pm, March 1 and 11:00 am, March 2, 1973

Location: Oval Office

Unknown Secret Service agents met.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-2010)

Conversation No. 866-23 (cont'd)

Door [?]

President's location [?]

- -Question
- -Executive Office Building [EOB]

Unknown agents left at an unknown time before 11:00 am, March 2, 1973.