

Conversation No. 620-001	Conversation No. 620-002	Conversation No. 620-003
Conversation No. 620-004	Conversation No. 620-005	Conversation No. 620-006
Conversation No. 620-007	Conversation No. 620-008	Conversation No. 620-009
Conversation No. 620-010	Conversation No. 620-011	Conversation No. 620-012
Conversation No. 620-013	Conversation No. 620-014	Conversation No. 620-015

Conversation No. 620-001

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 8:45 am - 9:55 am Location: Oval Office

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

```
Henry A. Kissinger

-Le Duc Tho

-Health

-Meeting with Ronald W. Reagan

-Haldeman

-Time

-Location

-Roosevelt Room
```

```
-Time
-Location
-Roosevelt Room

Invitations to White House Dinners
-Rose Mary Woods
-Alexander P. Butterfield
-Charles W. Colson
-Activities
-Butterfield
-Frederic V. Malek
-Views
-Colson
-Woods
-Josip Broz Tito Dinner
-Butterfield's memorandum
-Haldeman
-The President's instruction
-Japanese Dinner
```



- -Cabinet attendance
- -The President's conversations with Butterfield and Woods
- -Butterfield's conversation with Colson

White House staff

- -Butterfield, Dwight L. Chapin, Lawrence M. Higby and Stephen B. Bull
  - -Female staff members
- -Woods
  - -Haldeman
  - -Female staff members

\*

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[620-001-w015]

[Duration: 3s]

Rose Mary Woods

-President's opinion of her attitude

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- -Conversation with the President
- -Butterfield
- -Butterfield
  - -Memorandum
- -Woods
  - -Haldeman
  - -Conversation with the President
    - -Schedule
      - -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
      - -Marjorie P. Acker
  - -Schedule
    - -Acker
    - -The President's forthcoming State of the Union address



```
-Acker
         -Nellie L. Yates
         -Woods
             -Butterfield
             -Conversation with the President
         -Butterfield
             -Invitations to White House Dinners
                  -Cabinet
         -Woods
             -Colson
             -Views regarding the President's schedule
                  -The President's friends
                  -Jo Anne (Horton) Haldeman
    Oval Office
         -Decor
             -Windows
                  -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[620-001-w001]
[Duration: 2s]
    Oval Office
         -Decor
             -Windows
                  -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
                        -General opinions on home décor
                        -President's description
************************
```

**Oval Office** 



```
-Decor
             -Windows
                 -Curtains
                 -Secret Service
    White House
         -Redecoration
***********************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[620-001-w002]
[Duration: 6s]
         White House
             -Redecoration
                 -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
                        -Work done on White House redecoration
                              -President's view
*******************
         White House
             -Redecoration
                 -Work done on White House redecoration
                      -Fountain
                      -Rooms
                      -Family
                      -Public
                          -Diplomatic reception
                           -Green
             -Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis
```

-Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower

-Wives



\* [Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.] [Personal Returnable] [620-001-w003] [Duration: 2s] White House -Redecoration Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon -Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis -Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower -Wives Mamie G.D. Eisenhower -Role in White House decoration -President's view \* White House -Redecoration Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon -Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis -Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower -[Anna] Eleanor Roosevelt and Bess (Wallace) Truman \* [Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-001-w004] [Duration: 45s]



```
White House
-Redecoration
Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
-Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis
-Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Wives
Mamie G.D. Eisenhower
-President's view
-View of White House as a residence
-Interests
-Interest in redecoration of White House
-Playing bridge
-Background
-Military spouse
```

\*

```
The President's possible speech to American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
```

-Noel C. Koch

-Colson

- -Colson
- -Possible release to press
- -Requirements
  - -James D. Hodgson
- -News summary
- -John D. Ehrlichman's views
- -Alternatives
  - -Colson
- -George Meany
  - -Draft
    - -Quoted
- -White House staff's views
  - -Colson
  - -Ehrlichman's contacts
    - -Hodgson
    - -Willie J. Usery



```
-Possible content
          -Labor support
                -Cambodia
          -The President's comments of November 16, 1971
                -Ehrlichman
Speechwriters
     -Ehrlichman's efforts
The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
     -The President's schedule
          -John B. Connally
     -Value
The President's schedule
     -Reagan
     -AFL-CIO convention
     -Pay Board
          -Retroactivity
                -Vote
David N. Parker
     -Mrs. Nixon's schedule
Julie Nixon Eisenhower
     -Schedule
     -Conversation with Parker
          -Mrs. Nixon's schedule
                -Events
The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
     -Colson's views
     -George P. Shultz
     -Value
          -Symbolism
          -Meany
     -Teamsters, clerks, construction workers
          -Support
     -Meany
```



```
-The President's possible reception
     -Unknown man's views
           -Phase II
           -Dock strike
           -Steel settlement
     -Timing
     -Others' speeches
           -Meany
           -Hubert H. Humphrey
           -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
                -Tallahassee
                -Possible announcement of candidacy for President
     -Timing
           -Television
     -The President's schedule
           -Connally
     -Draft
           -Content
                -Writing
                      -Colson and Koch
                -Colson's material
           -Length
           -Content
                -Labor
                      -Administration actions,
                      -Phase II
                -Omissions
     -The President's schedule
The President's schedule
     -Reagan
Peter G. Peterson
     -Kissinger
```

\*



[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[620-001-w006]

[Duration: 22s]

Peter G. Peterson

-Cocktail parties

-President's view

Peter G. Peterson

-Possible Administration handling

\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[620-001-w007]

[Duration: 39s]

Ronald W. Reagan

- -John N. Mitchell's view
- -Role as governor of California
- -Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger
  - -Managerial role
  - -President's view
  - -Abilities as manager

Reagan

-Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger

- -Compared to Patrick J. Buchanan
- -Former position



```
-Polls
              -Economy and taxes
              -Student demonstrations
              -State income tax problems
         -Political style
    The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
         -Content
              -Hodgson
              -"Laundry list" of accomplishments
              -Phase II
         -Phraseology
************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[620-001-w008]
[Duration: 3m 45s]
      Governors
             -President's view
                   -Indiana
                   -Richard B. Ogilvie
```

-John N. Mitchell's view -Robert Teeter polling

-Impact on 1972 election

-Impact on 1972 election -California

-Ronald W. Reagan

-Chicago Sun-Times polling

-Ability of campaign to recover -President's opinion of appearance

-Gubernatorial race against Paul L. Simon

-Richard B. Ogilvie 25 percentage point deficit

-Impact on President potentially winning Illinois

-Compared to impact of Charles H. Percy



- -Robert H. Finch
- -John N. Mitchell
- -Value to President's re-election campaign
- -Potential rejection of President's foreign policy
- -New York
- -Impact of conservatives
- -Rallying point for conservatives
- -Impact on President's re-election chances

\*

Connally's previous speech

- -Haldeman's possible call
- -Characterized

The President's schedule

-Connally

Woods

-Haldeman

Invitations to White House Dinners

- -Haldeman's conversation with Butterfield
- -Willy Brandt
- -Christmas
  - -Woods

Mrs. Nixon's schedule

- -William Codus's role
  - -Kissinger

-Marshall Wright

- -Constance Stuart
- -John V. Brennan

-Emil ("Bus") Mosbacher, Jr.

-Compared to Bill [Surname unknown]

Mosbacher

-The President's foreign trips



-Duties

-Social functions

-Camp David

-Blair House

-Patricia R. Mosbacher

### An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am

Delivery of information

### The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:55 am.

Thailand

-Thanom Kittikachorn's coup -Purpose

Herbert Stein

-Health

-Possible call from the President

\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-001-w012]

[Duration: 1m 41s]

Maurice H. Stans

-The President's conversation with John N. Mitchell

- -Role and responsibilities of Maurice H. Stans
- -President's view
  - -Fund-raising
- -Role in 1962 campaign
  - -Memorandum
  - -President's campaign for California governor
  - -Ideas and access to President
    - -Newspaper ads



-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's role
-Compared to Henry Salvatori and Ronald W. Reagan
-Conversations with the President
-Role in 1968 campaign

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

```
Peterson
         -Schedule
             -Haldeman and Ehrlichman
             -Foreign trips
                  -Cabinet
                      -1972
                      -1973
    Cabinet
         -John A. Volpe
         -Elliot L. Richardson
         -Hodgson
         -Peterson
*******************
[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 02/22/2019. Segment
cleared for release.]
[Privacy]
[620-001-w013]
```

Cabinet

[Duration: 3s]

-Peter G. Peterson -Wife

-Behavior

-President's view

\*



```
Cabinet
     -William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird
     -Resignations after 1972 election
          -Volpe
                -Possible ambassadorship
     -Possible second term
          -Recruiting
          -The President's schedule
                -Camp David
           -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's role
                -Meetings
           -Members' roles
                -Administering departments
                -Policy
           -Goal
White House staff
     -Congressional liaison
          -The President's conversation with Mitchell
                -Clark MacGregor
                     -Kissinger
                     -Bryce N. Harlow
           -Harlow
                -Approach
                -Views regarding the President's schedule
                     -Gerald R. Ford
                     -Margaret M. Heckler
                           -Ehrlichman and Connally
          -MacGregor and William E. Timmons
MacGregor
George H. W. Bush
Cabinet
     -Requirements
     -Walter J. Hickel, George W. Romney and Volpe
```



```
Reagan
     -Possible role with administration
           -The President's conversation with Mitchell
           -Experience
Nelson A. Rockefeller
     -Possible role with administration
           -Defense Department
                -Compared to State Department
Cabinet
     -Laird and Rogers
     -Rogers
           -Mitchell's views
                -Kissinger
           -Compared to Kissinger
           -Meeting
                -John A. Scali
                      -The President's conversation with Mitchell
                           -Calls to Agnew, Mitchell, Haldeman
                -The President's role
     -Dwight D. Eisenhower
           -John Foster Dulles
           -Rogers
                -Compared with Mitchell
     -Rogers
           -Foreign policy
                -Kissinger
The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
     -Forthcoming decision
     -Draft
           -Content
                -Work
                -Meany
                -Foreign policy
                -Accomplishments
```

-Phase II

-Connally's schedule



The President's schedule

\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-001-w016]

[Duration: 2m 28s]

The President's schedule

-Football game

-Oklahoma-Nebraska

- -Announcement on November 22, 1971
- -Possible invitations to those joining President
  - -United States Secret Service [USSS]
  - -Staff members
  - -Press attendance
  - -Carl B. Albert
  - -Page Belcher
  - -[Unknown Republican] [Ken?]
  - -Henry L. Bellmon
  - -Carl B. Albert
- -Seated with President
  - -Henry L. Bellmon
  - -Carl B. Albert
  - -Governor David Hall
  - -Page Belcher
- -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
- -Timing of announcement
  - -November 23, 1971
  - -Last-minute decision

-Dedication of Eisenhower Hospital



```
-Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
-Plans
-Timing of announcements
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Stuart
-Mrs. Nixon
```

\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-001-w017] [Duration: 3s]

The President's schedule
-Plans
-Football game
-Time

\*

The President's schedule

-California

-Tricia Nixon and Edward R. F. Cox

-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Christmas

-Florida

-Mrs. Nixon's trip

-State of the Union speech

-Brandt

-Mrs. Nixon's trip

-The President's forthcoming remarks

### Haldeman left at 9:55 am.



Conversation No. 620-002

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:55 am and 9:59 am

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Ronald W. Reagan
- -Attorney General [John N. Mitchell]
- -Reagan
- -Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:59 am.

Conversation No. 620-003

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: 9:59 am - unknown before 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

John D. Ehrlichman

Ronald W. Reagan

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.



Conversation No. 620-004

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:59 am and 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 14-149]

Conversation No. 620-005

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:59 am and 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Clock

-Travel

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 620-006

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:59 am and 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 14-150]

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Conversation No. 620-007

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 10:05 am - 10:18 am Location: Oval Office

### The President talked with John B. Connally.

[See Conversation No. 14-151]

Conversation No. 620-008

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 10:18 am - 10:42 am Location: Oval Office

### The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Ellsworth F. Bunker
-Cable
Ronald W. Reagan

-Conversation with Kissinger
-Conservatives
-Liberals
-Popularity
-Polls
-Conversation with Kissinger
-The President's schedule
-Conservative groups
-Dinners
-International situation
-Jordan



- $\hbox{-} Cienfue gos$
- -Cambodia
- -Laos
- -Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles [MIRV]
- -Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
- -Amchitka
- -Defense budget
- -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- -United Nations [UN] vote on Taiwan, Republic of China
- -State Department
- -Personal style
- -Conversation with Kissinger
  - -Foreign policy
  - -Domestic policy
    - -Liberals
    - -John N. Mitchell
    - -Robert H. Finch
    - -Peter M. Flanigan's brother
      - -Patronage
    - -Welfare
      - -John G. Veneman
      - -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
      - -Deal with Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - -Bureaucracy
      - -Senate, press
  - -Foreign policy

\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 04/03/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security] [620-008-w001]

[Duration: 20s]

Ronald W. Reagan

-Conversation with Henry A. Kissinger -Foreign policy



```
-Taiwan
                                  -President's opinion on future sovereignty of Taiwan
                                  -Lack of deal with People's Republic of China [PRC]
***********************
    Ronald W. Reagan
          -Possible presidency
               -1968 campaign
                    -Rockefeller
          -Conversation with Kissinger, November 17, 1971
               -William P. Rogers
                    -Tenure in office
    The President's foreign policy
          -Public perceptions
               -Rogers
                    -Middle East
               -People's Republic of China [PRC]
                    -Kissinger and the President
               -Melvin R. Laird
    Reagan
          -Forthcoming meeting with the President
          -Possible role with administration
               -Ambassadorship
                    -Timing
               -Cabinet
          -Political future
               -US Senate
                    -Finch
    Senate
    The President's conversation with Connally
          -The President's possible appearance at American Federation of Labor-Congress of
              Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO] convention
          -International economy
```



- -Forthcoming meeting
  - -Kissinger
  - -George P. Shultz
- -Peter G. Peterson
  - -Lunch with Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
  - -John D. Ehrlichman and Shultz
  - -Possible position
    - -Secretary of Commerce

### Flanigan

- -Possible role with administration
  - -Richard V. ("Dick") Allen
  - -Anthony J. Jurich
    - -Mitchell's view
    - -Allen
  - -Kissinger

## Hoyt Ammidon and Walter N. Thayer

- -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] ambassador
  - -Senate
  - -Rogers
- -Flanigan's work
- -Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
  - -State Department
- -David M. Kennedy
  - -Forthcoming conversation with Kissinger

#### David Packard

- -Possible role with Administration
  - -Ambassadorships
    - -Japan
    - -NATO
  - -Wife, Lucile S. Packard
    - -Views

### William W. Scranton

- -Possible role with Administration
  - -Ambassadorship
    - -NATO



```
Packard
Kennedy
Kissinger's schedule
     -New York
     -Cincinnati
     -Hedley W. Donovan's group
          -Clark MacGregor and Ehrlichman
Time
     -Cover
Kennedy
     -Forthcoming conversation with Kissinger
          -Scranton and Stoessel
          -Connally
The President's schedule
     -Miami
Kissinger's schedule
     -Robert A. Taft, Jr. reception
     -Miami
Reagan
     -Foreign policy
     -Conversation with Kissinger
          -Bureaucracy
                -Leaks
Kennedy
William S. Renchard
     -Chemical Bank
     -Possible role with Administration
          -Ambassadorship
                -Japan
```



# Packard Kennedy -Forthcoming conversation with Kissinger -Wife, Lenora (Bingham) Kennedy -Brussels -National Security Council [NSC] meetings -NATO -Cabinet Vietnam -Negotiations -Nguyen Van Thieu's views -Bunker -North Vietnam -Morale -PRC -United Nations [UN] -Possible message to North Vietnam -Proposals -Dates -Le Duc Tho -Health -Xuan Thuy -Forthcoming meeting in Paris -Instructions for William J. Porter -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Rogers -Laird -Le Duc Tho -Porter -Possible bombing -Thomas H. Moorer -Duration -Negotiations -Le Duc Tho -Congress actions -Continuing resolution

-Duration



-Impact

-Bombing

- -Cornell University study
- -Timing
- -Duration

PRC and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

**PRC** 

-Kissinger's message -Response -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

Kissinger left at 10:42 am.

Conversation No. 620-009

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown after 10:42 am until 10:47 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Military Appropriations Bill

Press statement
-Ronald L. Ziegler

Butterfield left at 10:47 am.

Conversation No. 620-010

Date: November 17, 1971

Page | 26



Time: 10:47 am - unknown before 11:06 am

Location: Oval Office

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

```
International economy
```

-The President's conversations

-John B. Connally

-George P. Shultz

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Connally

-Arthur F. Burns

-Quadriad

-Peter G. Peterson's role

-Connally

-Pierre-Paul Schweitzer

-Burns

-Shultz

-Memorandum

-Connally's role

-Shultz and Paul W. McCracken

-Kissinger

-Burns

### Kissinger's schedule

-Conversation with Ronald W. Reagan

### Reagan

-Robert H. Finch

-Conversation with Kissinger, November 17. 1971

-Conservatives

-Amchitka and Anti-ballistic missiles [ABM]

### White House staff

-Amchitka

-Environmentalists

### Conservatives

-Congress



```
Reagan
     -Conversation with Kissinger
           -Peter M. Flanigan
                -Brother
                -California
                      -Patronage
                -Finch
     -Conversation with John N. Mitchell, November 17, 1971
           -Meeting with the President and Reagan
The President's possible speech to American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial
    Organizations [AFL-CIO]
     -Schedule
           -Charles W. Colson's contacts
           -The President
          -George Meany
     -Written text
           -Speechwriters
                -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
           -Colson
          -Ronald L. Ziegler
           -Haldeman's conversation with Price
```

White House staff

-Leaks

-News summary

New York Times Magazine story
-Kevin P. Phillips
-Richard J. Whalen

### Ziegler entered at 10:52 am.

Reagan's schedule

-Meeting with press

-Meeting with the President

-Elliot L. Richardson

-Location



#### -John D. Ehrlichman

### Ziegler left at 10:53 am.

```
The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
     -Colson
          -Report regarding Executive Committee
                -Phase II
     -Meany
          -Pay Board
National economy
     -Pay Board
          -Retroactivity
                -Vote
                     -Unknown person
The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO
     -Timing
          -Meany
          -Announcement
          -Ziegler
                -Press corps
          -Meany
                -Possible conversation with Shultz
                     -Boland Amendment
                -James D. Hodgson
     -Meany's possible action
          -Executive Committee
          -Colson's views
```

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:53 am.

The President's schedule -Reagan

### Bull left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.

The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO



```
-Meany's possible action
     -Colson's views
-Ziegler
-Speechwriters
     -Possible message
          -Length
-Shultz
-The President's schedule
     -Announcement
          -Florida
          -Television news
                -Today show
          -Ehrlichman's view
          -Timing
                -[Press]
                -Possible call to Meany
```

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.] [Personal Returnable]

[620-010-w002]

[Duration: 4s]

The President's possible speech to AFL-CIO

-The President's schedule -Sleeping

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

-Helicopter -Miami Beach

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.



Conversation No. 620-011

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:53 am and 11:06 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-John N. Mitchell
-Press photograph

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.

Conversation No. 620-012

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 11:06 am - 12:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald W. Reagan; Stephen B. Bull and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Reagan's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger

-John N. Mitchell

Photographs

Mitchell

Bull and the press left at an unknown time before 11:09 am.

Leaves

Page | 31



Reagan's Far East trip
-Chiang Kai-Shek
-Konrad Adenauer

### Mitchell and Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 11:09 am.

Reagan's previous conversation with Kissinger

```
Reagan's trip

-Meeting with Chiang

-The President's forthcoming trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

-Military deployment

-US Senators

-Political considerations

-Hubert H. Humphrey, Edmund S. Muskie, Edward M. Kennedy and Henry M. Jackson

-Thailand, Taiwan, Republic of China
```

#### Thailand

-Coup

-Thanom Kittikachorn

-US interests

### Reagan's trip

-Meeting with Chiang

-Tone

-Politics

-Trade

-US treaty commitments

- -Meeting with Vice President of Taiwan, Republic of China
- -Chiang's call to Trade Minister
- -Meeting with Vice President of Taiwan
- -Meeting with Chiang and (Madame) Chiang Mayling Soong

-Nancy Reagan

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 04/03/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security] [620-012-w001] [Duration: 1m]

Ronald W. Reagan's trip

-Meeting with Chiang Kai-shek (Madame) Chiang Mayling Soong

-Potential People's Republic of China [PRC] invasion of Taiwan

-Meeting with Vice President of Taiwan

-Taiwanese concerns over People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

-Potential détente effort by President

-Potential pressure on Taiwan

-Consequences for Taiwan

-Taiwanese response

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```
Ronald W. Reagan's trip
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-Taiwanese soldiers

-Esprit de Corps

-Compared to Americans

-The President's visit in 1967

-Madame Chiang

-Letters

-Health

-Meeting with Chiang

-US treaty commitments

-The President's forthcoming visit to PRC

-Purpose

-Singapore

-Industrial Park

-Japan

-Competition with US

-Construction

-Contracts

-US anti-trust laws



```
-Peter G. Peterson
                      -Subsidies
                      -Government role
Supreme Court
     -Decisions
     -Nominations
           -Unknown judge
           -Senate
     -Michael J. Mansfield
           -Meeting with the President, November 16, 1971
                -Amchitka
Amchitka
     -Public mail
           -Sierra Club
           -Environmentalists
     -Supreme Court decision
           -The President's possible action
                -National security
                -The President's conversation with Kissinger
                      -Testing
     -The President's statement at dinner
Supreme Court
     -William H. Rehnquist and Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
     -William J. Brennan, Jr., Thurgood Marshall and William O. Douglas
United States anti-trust laws
     -Study committee
Singapore
     -Chinese
Reagan's trip
     -Singapore
           -Dinner
                -Embassy
           -Public housing
```



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-Reagan's speech
                 -Compared to suburbia
                      -Private ownership
                 -Financing for ownership
                 -Government role
    Public housing
         -Value of ownership
             -Example
         -Nelson A. Rockefeller's co-op program
         -George W. Romney
         -Miami
             -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
             -Inhabitants
                 -Press
                 -Comparison
         -Pruitt-Igoe
             -St. Louis
    Reagan's trip
         -Singapore
             -Lee Kuan Yew
         -Bangkok
*******************
[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number
LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 04/03/2019. Archivist: MAS]
[National Security]
[620-012-w004]
[Duration: 8s]
     Ronald W. Reagan's trip
           -Bangkok
                 -Meeting with King Bhumibol Adulyadej
                        -Concern of People's Republic of China [PRC] road construction
******************
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Ronald W. Reagan's trip
     -Bangkok
           -Insurgency
                -Morale
           -Textiles
                -Quota
                      -Export
                -Reagan's effort
                -Demonstration
           -Rubber
           -Public Law 480 Aid
                -Matching funds
     -The President's possible notes regarding forthcoming visit to PRC
           -Thailand
          -Lee Kwan Yew
                -Treaty
     -Korea
           -Textiles
          -Park Chung Hee
Foreign aid
     -Senators' views
           -Humanitarian aid
           -Military aid
                -Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand
     -Stennis Amendment
     -California Senators
           -Arizona Senators
     -Senators' views
           -Vietnam
          -Turkey and Greece
           -Isolationism
                -Foreign military aid
                     -Vietnam
     -Korea
           -US troops
           -Military capability
```



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-Park
                -The President's forthcoming letter
Reagan's trip
     -Korea
           -Meeting with Park
                -Taiwan
                     -United Nations [UN] vote
           -Student riots
                -Berkeley, California
                -Use of troops
                -Draft
                -Gen. Sese Seko Mobutu
US students
     -Berkeley
          -City Council's policy regarding deserters
          -US attorney
                -Statement
Amnesty
     -The President's press conference of November 12, 1971
          -Prisoners of war [POWs]
     -Choices
     -Executive clemency
     -1972 Democratic platform
     -Development of administration policy
           -News summary
Reagan's trip
     -Japan
           -Eisaku Sato
          -Views regarding US economic policy
          -Visits to PRC
                -Unknown businessman
                -North Korea
           -Takeo Fukuda and Sato
                -Conversations with Reagan
```

-North Korea



-Taiwan

-Albanian resolution in UN

-South Korea

-US military presence in South Korea

\*

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(6) on 04/03/2019. Archivist:MAS] [National Security]

[620-012-w010] [Duration: 22s]

**TAIWAN** 

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*

Reagan's trip
-Japan

-Takeo Fukuda and Sato

-Conversations with Reagan

-International monetary policy

-Fukuda

-Conversation with Edward R.G. Heath

-Bet

- -South Korea
- -Japanese constitution
- -Okinawa



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-032. Segment declassified on 04/03/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security] [620-012-w011]

[Duration: <u>58s</u>]

Ronald W. Reagan's trip
-Japan

-Takeo Fukuda and Eisaku Sato

-Conversations with Ronald W. Reagan

-Written guarantee concerning Okinawa

-Ronald W. Reagan's advice to Takeo Fukuda

-US policy on nuclear weapons

\*

#### Haig left at 11:45 am.

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Plan
```

-Unknown person

Reagan's trip

-Saigon

-Food

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Reagan's statements

-Trade

-California

-US treaty commitments

-UN vote on Taiwan

-Chiang Kai Shek

Asia

-Rimland

-Population

-Governments

-Japan



- -Indonesia
- -Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan
- -Importance

#### Reagan's trip

- -US Ambassador to Singapore [Charles T. Cross]
  - -Saigon
    - -Trade mission
  - -Previous experience
  - -Dinner for Reagan
  - -Age
- -US Ambassadors to Taiwan and Japan, Walter P. McConaughy and Armin H. Meyer
- -US Abassador to Korea, Philip C. Habib

#### Experimental welfare program

- -Reagan's negotiations with Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
  - -Analogy
    - -Screen Actors Guild
  - -Numbers of people and regions affected
    - -Counties
  - -Duration of agreement
    - -Elliot L. Richardson
  - -Numbers of people affected
    - -Phase-in procedures
    - -Reagan's conversation with James M. Hall in California
  - -HEW's agreement with New York
  - -Differences between California and New York
- -Reagan's programs
  - -Reagan's public speaking
  - -Reporters actions
    - -Articles
  - -Effect on numbers on welfare rolls
- -Mitchell's schedule
  - -John D. Ehrlichman
- -Richardson
  - -HEW
    - -Deal with New York
- -Duration of agreement with California
- -Numbers involved



-Reagan's negotiations with HEW

-Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Riverside and Orange Counties

-Law on public service employees

-Reagan's conversation with Richardson

-Bureaucracy

-Illinois, New York, California

-Richard B. Ogilvie's conversation with Reagan

-Tokenism

-Rockefeller

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 $[Previous\ PRMPA\ Personal\ Returnable\ (G)\ with drawal\ reviewed\ under\ deed\ of\ gift\ 02/21/2019.$ 

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-012-w007]

[Duration: 1m 22s]

Richard B. Ogilvie

-President's opinion

-Difficulties in Illinois

-Cash problems

-Opinion of Richard B. Ogilvie's friends

-Appeal to wrong constituencies

-Compared to Nelson A. Rockefeller

-Compared to Charles H. Percy

-Different constituencies

-Importance of being independent

-Potentially running as a liberal

-Richard B. Ogilvie's track record

-Gubernatorial race against Paul L. Simon

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Welfare

-Charles H. Percy's amendment



- -Possible reform
- -Francis W. Sargent's wire to Reagan
- -Wires to John V. Tunney and Alan Cranston
- -The Administration's position

# Percy

- -Comments at dinner
  - -The President's legislative program
    - -Reagan's comments
- -Legislative record
  - -Foreign policy
    - -Vietnam
  - -Cooper-Church Amendment
  - -Mansfield Amendment
- -Reagan's comments
- -Statement regarding the President's foreign policy
- -Leslie C. Arends's views

#### Child care centers

- -Walter F. Mondale Bill
  - -Possible veto
  - -Provisions
  - -Tax package
    - -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
    - -Wilbur D. Mills
  - -Possible wire
- -Purpose
  - -Functions
- -World War II
  - -Women volunteers
    - -"Rosie the Rivetter"
- -Catholic Church

The President's schedule

-Lunch

\*



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[620-012-w008]

[Duration: 3m 49s]

Republican support for the President

- -Letters received by Ronald W. Reagan
  - -Walter Knott
  - -Lance Stever [?]
    - -Refusal to support fund-raising dinner
  - -Pat Rowine
  - -Level of Republican support
  - -Importance of briefing prominent Republican supporters
    - -Letting them vent
    - -Mailer
    - -Larry Mizell's letter
- -California
  - -Jaquelin H. ("Jack") Hume
  - -Holmes P. Tuttle
- -Republican Party chances to win
  - -Enthusiasm of supporters
- -Suggestion from Ronald W. Reagan
- -California
- -Method of outreach to skeptical Republicans
  - -Break up into groups
    - -Split up most obstinate
- -John Birch
- -Lee Tyson
  - -John N. Mitchell's view
  - -Interactions with Larry Mizell
- -John N. Mitchell
  - -Lunch with James L. Buckley
    - -Views of James L. Buckley
    - -Importance of signal to Republicans

\*



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Republican support for the President
     -Reagan's conversation with Kissinger
     -UN vote on Taiwan
           -State Department
     -The President's forthcoming trip to PRC
           -Taiwan
     -National defense
           -Anti-ballistic missiles [ABM]
     -Liberals
     -Amchitka
     -Budget
     -Cambodia, Laos, unilateral withdrawal from Asia
     -The Presidency
     -National defense
           -Reagan's efforts
                -John F. Kennedy
                      -Cuban Missile Crises
                      -Missile Gap
                           -1960 campaign
           -ABM
                -Eisenhower years
     -Possible briefings by the President
     -Possible attacks on liberals
     -Possible briefings
           -Congressional leaders
           -Size
           -Kissinger
                -Schedule
                      -Cincinnati
     -Reagan's conversation with unknown publisher
           -Possible Democratic candidates in 1972
                -Editorial
     -The President's forthcoming trip to PRC
           -Democrats
     -Relations with Reagan
     -James L. Buckley
           -New York, Texas
           -William F. Buckley
```



The President's schedule

## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973 Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

```
-Reagan's schedule
National security
     -The President's difficulties with Congress
     -US role in world
          -ABM
                -USAir Force
                -Navy
                -Minuteman fields
           -US foreign policy initiatives
           -Japan and West Germany
           -USSR
                -Armaments
                     -Compared to US
                           -Missile, airplanes, submarines
                           -Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicles [MIRV]
     -Support
     -Negotiations with USSR and PRC
     -Possible military build up
          -Offensive weapons
     -The President's difficulties with Congress
          -ABM vote
                -Agnew
     -Possible issue in 1972 campaign
           -Jackson
                -American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
                      [AFL-CIO] endorsement
                -Nomination
           -Humphrey, Muskie and Edward M. Kennedy
                -Voting records
                     -ABM
                -Environment, ghettoes, child care centers
          -Jackson
     -Negotiations
     -Federal budget
          -California
```

-Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger



#### Stephen B. Bull entered at 12:30 pm.

Reagan's schedule
-Press room

#### The President et al left at 12:30 pm.

Conversation No. 620-013

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 12:31 pm - 12:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with John N. Mitchell.

Ronald W. Reagan

-Contacts with conservatives

-Walter Knott and Lance Stever [sp?]

-Larry Mizell [sp?]

-George C. Wallace

#### Conservatives

- -The President's schedule
- -John Birch Society
  - -Knott
- -Jaquelin H. ("Jack") Hume
- -Lee Tyson [sp?]
- -Henry A. Kissinger's schedule
- -The President's schedule
  - -Mitchell's view
    - -Birchites
- -Kissinger
  - -Reagan
- -Complaints

#### Reagan



# -James L. Buckley

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[620-013-w001] [Duration: 4m 58s]

Ronald W. Reagan

-Future political plans

-Senate

-Other possibilities

-Time left as Governor

-Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger

-Possible role in campaign

-Liaison with right-wing

-Management skills

-President's opinion

-Compared to Patrick J. Buchanan

-Management skills

-Solitary nature

-Gordon Luce

-Reluctance to leave job

#### 1972 campaign

-Nomination

-Potential of winning New York

-Need support of Nelson A. Rockefeller

-California

-Ronald W. Reagan

-Political organization

-John N. Mitchell's conversation with Ronald W. Reagan

-Nature of President's re-election campaign

-Operations out of California

-Executive Committee

-Leonard K. Firestone



```
-Holmes P. Tuttle
-Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger
       -Rapport with White House
-Maintaining distance between President's campaign and Ronald W. Reagan
-Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger
       -Possible role and responsibilities
              -President's opinion
       -Republican Convention
```

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#### Reagan

- -Political position
  - -Thomas C. Reed
  - -Recent meeting with the President
  - -Public opinion polls
  - -Strength
    - -Enemies
      - -Campus event
  - -Platform
  - -Legislative program
    - -Taxes

#### Experimental welfare program

- -Reagan's negotiations with Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
  - -John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Elliot L. Richardson
  - -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

#### Child care center legislation

- -Richardson's view
- -Possible veto
  - -Richardson's possible action
- -Blacks
  - -Whites, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans
  - -Family
  - -Social workers
    - -Communists



#### Conservatives

- -Kissinger's schedule
  - -Mitchell
- -The President's schedule
- -Mizell [sp?]
  - -Richard V. Allen
- -George Champion's study
- -Reagan
- -Role in 1968 campaign
  - -Knott
- -Role in 1972 campaign
  - -Funds and influence

#### Mitchell left at 12:46 pm.

Conversation No. 620-014

Date: November 17, 1971 Time: 12:50 pm - 1:13 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Ronald W. Reagan

- -Previous meeting with the President
  - -Report on trip
  - -Conservatives
- -Approach to problems

#### Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:50 pm.

Items for Old Executive Office Building Office [EOB]

Refreshment

#### Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:13 pm.

Page | 49



```
Reagan
     -Previous conversation with the President
           -Peter M. Flanigan's brother
                 -Reagan's previous conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
     -John Flanigan's activities
           -John N. Mitchell
           -Civil Service jobs
                 -Robert H. Finch
                 -Peter M. Flanigan
                 -Mitchell
           -Finch
           -Timing
Polls
     -George H. Gallup on approval of the President
           -Timing
                 -Phase II
                 -United Nations [UN] vote on Taiwan, Republic of China
           -By region
     -Gallup and Louis P. Harris
           -Volatility
     -Gallup on approval of the President
           -By education level of the electorate
     -White House handling
           -Supporters
           -Harris and Gallup
     -Albert E. Sindlinger
     -Margin for error
```

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [620-014-w001] [Duration: 2m 23s]



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Polling
       -Democrats
              -Edmund S. Muskie
              -George H. Gallup
                     -Provision of information to Donald H. Rumsfeld
              -Dwight L. Chapin
                     -Attempts to get information from John Davies
              -Timing of polls
                     -August 1971
                     -October 8, 1971
                     -October 29, 1971
              -Louis Harris poll
                     -Two-way
                     -Edmund S. Muskie
                     -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
              -Gallup poll
                     -Two-way
              -Harris poll
                     -Edmund S. Muskie vs. field
                     -Polls showing Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy ahead
              -Gallup polling
                     -Edmund S. Muskie gains
```

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#### **Polls**

- -Release
  - -Timing
- -News summaries
- -Gallup on approval of the President
  - -Timing
    - -UN vote on Taiwan
- -Swings
  - -Harry S. Truman
  - -The President
  - -John F. Kennedy
  - -Lyndon B. Johnson
  - -Dwight D. Eisenhower



```
-Gallup on approval of the President
           -Undecided
           -Timing
                -Current issues and events
                      -Phase II
                      -UN vote on Taiwan
                      -Phase II
                            -The President's televised address
Washington, DC
     -Subway system
           -The President's schedule
                -Domestic advisors
                      -Possible motorcade to Judiciary Square
                -Walter E. Washington
                -Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, Joel T. Broyhill, William L. Scott, Lawrence J.
                      Hogan and Gilbert Gude
           -Possible statement by the President
           -Forthcoming vote in Congress
           -The President's schedule
           -Importance
                -National implications
                -Bicentennial
                      -Visitors
Polls
     -Gallup on approval of the President
           -By region
                -Possible issues
           -By age
           -By education
                -Possible issues
           -By region
           -Volatility
                -Lt. William L. Calley, Jr.
Votes
     -Taiwan, foreign aid
           -Impact
```



-Public perception -Media

**Polls** 

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 02/21/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[620-014-w002]

[Duration: 1m 55s]

**Polls** 

-President's view

-Trial heat

-Importance

-Gallup and Harris polls

-Results favorable to President

-Gallup polls

-Edmund S. Muskie

-Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

-Nature of polls for Democratic Party nomination

-Two-way race

-Edmund S. Muskie vs. Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

-Compared to Edmund S. Muskie vs. larger field of candidates

-1972 Democratic Convention

-Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

-Opposition in Democratic Party

-Chances of getting nomination

\*

#### The President's schedule

-Possible speech to American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]

-George P. Shultz's forthcoming conversation with George Meany



#### -Forthcoming report to the President

#### The President and Haldeman left at 1:13 pm.

Conversation No. 620-015

Date: November 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:13 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

Greetings

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:13 pm and 11:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 620-15A]

The President's location
-Old Executive Office Building [EOB] Office

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's location -EOB

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 1:13 pm and 11:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 620-15B]

The President's location

\*



[Previous PRMPA Statute (A) withdrawal. This segment was rereviewed 02/21/2019 with new guidance. Segment cleared for release.]

[Federal Statute] [620-015-w001] [Duration: 3s]

Secret Service agent
-Answering phone

\*

-EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.