Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am

Location: Oval Office

## [The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 8:58 am and 9:48 am.]

Request

Manolo Sanchez [?]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 648-1

Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President dictated a letter to Allen S. Drury.

Drury's letter regarding press in Washington Star

- -The President's appreciation
- -Timing
- -Possible effect
  - -Drury's relations with press corps

Conversation No. 648-2

Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am

Location: Oval Office

### The President dictated a letter to Don Shula.

### Miami Dolphins

- -Loss in Super Bowl, January 16, 1972
  - -Expression of sympathy
- -Shula's coaching
- -Super Bowl game
  - -Dallas Cowboys
- -Previous season

Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Material for briefcase in Executive Office Building [EOB] office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:48 am.

Conversation No. 648-4

Date: January 17, 1972 Time: 9:48 am - 1:23 pm Location: Oval Office

> -Buchanan -Ziegler

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

#### Weather

```
Daily briefing and position paper
     -Distribution
          -Patrick J. Buchanan
          -Henry A. Kissinger
          -Staff dealings with media
                -The President
                -Haldeman
                -Ronald L. Ziegler
                -Clark MacGregor
                -Charles W. Colson
     -Compared with news summary
          -Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
                -Attacks by left and right
                -Kissinger
           -Distribution
                -Buchanan
          -Hubert H. Humphrey
                -Richmond, Virginia busing decision
                     -Buchanan's analysis
                     -John D. Ehrlichman's and staff's work on formulating the
                           President's position
                           -Ziegler
     -Ehrlichman's work
     -Kissinger
     -George P. Shultz
```

```
-The President's involvement
     -Buchanan's work
          -Political content
                -John N. Mitchell and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
     -Frequency
          -Burden on staff
          -Day of issuing
                -Choice of stories
                     -Buchanan
                          -Memoranda
     -Distribution
          -Colson
          -Haldeman
          -Ziegler
          -Ehrlichman
          -MacGregor
          -Kissinger
     -Buchanan
          -Conservatism
                -Ehrlichman and his staff
          -Importance in campaign
Drafts of State of the Union address
     -Circulation
          -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
     -Possible tone
     -Speculation about content
     -Circulation
          -Ehrlichman
          -Kissinger
          -Ziegler
          -Leonard Garment
Official trips
     -Garment
          -Trip with Frank J. Shakespeare
                -Cultural exhibits
     -Buchanan
          -Soviet Union
     -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
     -Garment
     -Long Beach, California
     -Buchanan
     -Perks
     -Meetings and dinners
          -The President's trips
Howard Hughes's loan to the President's family
     -Clark M. Clifford's involvement
          -Law firm
     -F. Donald Nixon
```

-Repayment

- -1962 statement by the President
  - -Rose Mary Woods
- -Transfer of property
- -Hughes
  - -Clifford Irving book
  - -Paradise Island
- -Ziegler's briefings
- -Public interest
- -Public comments by the President
  - -1962 statement
- -Herbert G. Klein
  - -Familiarity with issue
    - -Ziegler
- -Publicity
  - -Ziegler
- -Repayment through transfer of property
  - -Hannah (Milhous) Nixon
- -Donald Nixon
  - -Possible action
- -Ziegler's possible role
- -Washington Post story
  - -Drew Pearson article in 1959
- -Irving book on Hughes
  - -Noah Dietrich's view
    - -Hughes's supplying of information
    - -Hughes's lawyers
- -Dietrich
  - -Book
    - -Effect on Hughes
    - -Publication
- -Irving book
  - -Life and McGraw-Hill Publishing Company
    - -Ownership of rights
    - -Hughes's authorship
  - -Haldeman's possible call to Thomas R. Shepard, Jr.
  - -Publicity

### Eleanor and Franklin [by Joseph P. Lash]

- -Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - -Popularity
  - -Lucy Mercer
    - -The President's conversation with William Bullitt
    - -Children
- -[Anna] Eleanor Roosevelt
  - -Children
- -Excerpts
  - -Haldeman's reading
- -Eleanor Roosevelt
  - -Appearance
  - -Marriage
- -Sunrise at Campobello
  - -Veracity of story

```
-Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's relationship
                     -Children
     -Mercer
           -Franklin Roosevelt's vice presidential campaign in 1920
          -Franklin Roosevelt's position as Under Secretary of Navy
          -Longevity
           -Presence at Franklin Roosevelt's death in Warm Springs, Georgia
                -Publicity
                -Mercer's marriage
                -Portrait of Franklin Roosevelt
                     -Elizabeth Shoumatoff
Abraham Lincoln
     -Mary (Todd) Lincoln
          -Mental state
                -Modern medicine
                -Apparitions
John F. Kennedy
Eleanor and Franklin
     -Tone
           -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's opinion
     -Eleanor Roosevelt
          -Private life
                -Relationship with Lash
                     -Bullitt's view
                     -The President's view
                     -Lash's military service
John and Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis
     -Relationships
          -Lack of publicity
                -Reason
                -Compared to Whigs of 19th century
                     -Divorce
Hughes
Mitchell
Peter M. Flanigan
     -News summary
          -Mitchell
     -Conversation with James L. Buckley
          -Mitchell's knowledge
          -Buckley's request for appointment for [Forename unknown] Corwin [sp?]
          -Buckley's support of the President's opponent [John N. Ashbrook]
          -Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak story
```

Mitchell

-Necessary role

```
-Flanigan
```

- -Buchanan
- -Buckley
- -Flanigan's view of political support
- -Knowledge of Flanigan-Buckley exchange
  - -Buckley's letter
    - -Flanigan letter
    - -Copies to Mitchell and Haldeman

### News summaries

- -Report of political issues
  - -The President's reading of foreign and domestic policy
  - -Edmund S. Muskie
  - -Humphrey
- -Quality
  - -Haldeman's possible comments to unknown person
- -Press corps
- -Networks
  - -Coverage of news
- -Wire service material
  - -Rogers's concerns
  - -Importance
    - -Washington Post
    - -Washington Star
    - -Omaha World Herald
- -Los Angeles Times
- -Chicago Tribune

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

- -Invitations to media
  - -Television
  - -New York Times
    - -James B. ("Scotty") Reston
  - -Networks

\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/19/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[648-004-w001]

[Duration: 25m 14s]

### Networks

-Political reporting

-Patrick J. Buchanan's views

### Edmund S. Muskie

- -Television interview
  - -William P. Rogers's view
  - -Reporters' actions

```
-Interruptions
                 -Effect
           -Wire service coverage
           -Busing
Hubert H. Humphrey
     -Busing
           -Richmond, Virginia decision
           -Quality of education
           -Racial integration
           -Neighborhood schools
                 -Concept
     -Florida primary
           -Edmund S. Muskie
                 -New Hampshire primary
                      -Lack of competition
                      -Charles W. Colson
George C. Wallace
     -Florida primary
           -Hubert H. Humphrey
           -Edmund S. Muskie
           -Support
           -Valid poll
Polls.
     -Florida and Wisconsin primaries
     -New Hampshire primary
           -John N. Ashbrook
                 -Conservative candidate
           -Two way race
                 -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
                      -Percentages
           -Three way race
                 - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr., John N. Ashbrook, and undecided
                      -Percentages
                      -Effect of undecided votes
           -General election trial heats
                 -Percentages
                      -The President, Edmund S. Muskie, and undecided
     -George C. Wallace
           -Undecided votes
           - Percentages
           -Impact on Edmund S. Muskie
                 -Compared with impact on the President
           -Eugene J. McCarthy
           -Shirley Chisholm
           -Left-wing Democrat
           -The President, Edmund S. Muskie, Eugene J. McCarthy, Shirley Chisholm,
     and George C. Wallace
                 -Percentages
     -Wisconsin primary
```

```
-The President
           -Compared with Edmund S. Muskie
                - Percentages
     -George C. Wallace
           -Compared to Edmund S. Muskie
                -Percentages
                      -More damaging to Edmund S. Muskie
     -Democrats
           -Percentages
                -The President's position
           -Eugene J. McCarthy
           -Shirley Chisholm
           -George C. Wallace
                -Points
                      -Taking from Edmund S. Muskie
     -Two way race
           -Undecided voters
           -The President
                -Compared with Edmund S. Muskie and George C. Wallace
                -Compared with Democratic candidates
     -Polish voters [?]
-Florida primary
     -The President
           -Edmund S. Muskie
                -Percentages
           -Undecided voters
                -Percentages
           -Lead over Edmund S. Muskie
                -Two way race
     -George C. Wallace
           -Impact on the President's lead
           -Gallup poll
                -Undecided voters
                      -Percentages
           -Compared to the President and Edmund S. Muskie
                -Effect on polls
-New Hampshire and Wisconsin
     -George C. Wallace
           -Impact on Edmund S. Muskie
           -Impact on the President
-Florida primary
     -Democratic candidates' position
           -Eugene J. McCarthy
           -Shirley Chisholm
     -The President, Edmund S. Muskie, George C. Wallace
-Edmund S. Muskie
     -Democratic candidates' effect
     -Eugene J. McCarthy and Shirley Chisholm
-Eugene J. McCarthy
     -Howard Stein
     -News story
```

-Florida

## -Democratic National Convention -Walkout

-Nomination on separate ticket

-Ballot access

## George C. Wallace

- -Third party ticket
  - -1968 precedent
  - -California

### **Polls**

- -New Hampshire
  - -Poll taken before December 25, 1971
- -John N. Ashbrook
- -The President's Republican strength
  - -New Hampshire
    - -Percentages
- -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. and John N. Ashbrook
  - -Percentages
  - -Two months of campaigning
    - -Possible increase in percentages
- -The President
  - -Strategy
    - -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. and John N. Ashbrook
      - -Percentages
    - -John A. Volpe's comments
- -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. compared to John N. Ashbrook
  - -Policy
- -New Hampshire
  - -Newspaper
    - -Influence
  - -William Loeb
  - -Readership
  - -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
- -John N. Ashbrook candidacy
  - -The President's preference
    - -Compared with Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - -Compared to other candidates
- -The President's performance
  - -Appeal to Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. supporters
  - -Patrick J. Buchanan
  - -Robert H. Abplanalp
  - -Preference to conservatives
- -Hubert H. Humphrey
  - -Conservatism
  - -Edmund S. Muskie
  - -Stand on Vietnam War
    - -Thomas Grey ("Tom") Wicker
    - -1968 stand
      - -Halt to bombing, ceasefire, withdrawal of prisoners
      - -Thomas Grey ("Tom") Wicker's reply
        - -The President's inheritance of the Vietnam War

```
-Florida primary
     -Strategy
     -Republicans
           -Percentages
                -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. and John N. Ashbrook
-Wisconsin primary
     -Percentages
           -Undecided vote
     -Eugene J. McCarthy
     -Gallup [?]
     -Undecided vote percentage
           -Edmund S. Muskie
     -Third party candidates
           -Eugene J. McCarthy
                 -Percentages
     -George C. Wallace
-Christian Science Monitor survey
     -New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey primaries
     -Farm and Mountain states
     -Western states
           -California
     -Ohio primary
     -Pennsylvania and Illinois primaries
           -Governors
     -Ohio
           -John J. Gilligan
-New York
     -Conservatives
-California
     -Percentages
     -Monthly poll in Los Angeles and Orange counties
           -Percentages in November 1971
                 -Question asked
           -Results from November 1971
                 -The President
           -Results from October, September, and August 1971
           -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
           -George C. Wallace
           -Undecided voters
           -August 1971 results
-News summary
-Tom Reed's polls
     -Holmes P. Tuttle
     -Question
```

\*

### Commerce Department

-Announcement of change

-Maurice H. Stans

-Peter G. Peterson

```
-Flanigan
           -Stans's resignation
                -Stans's letter
                     -Draft of the President's reply
           -Peterson's views on reorganization
                -Ehrlichman's and Shultz's view
     -Peterson
          -Concern about public view of position
                     -Opportunity
                          -Jobs
           -Accessibility
                -Compared to Stans
          -Announcement
                -Stans
     -Reorganization
Peterson
     -Replacement by Flanigan
          -Kissinger's view
          -John B. Connally's view
                -Concerns on monetary policy
     -Kissinger
     -Flanigan
          -Treasury Department
                -Haldeman's possible talk with Flanigan and Connally
     -Kissinger
     -The President's view
          -Connally
          -State Department
     -The President's schedule
          -Connally
                -Haldeman
     -Connally
          -Kissinger
          -Flanigan
     -Economic policy
          -Paul A. Volcker Committee
     -Announcement
          -Timing
          -Three way move
     -Flanigan
          -Council on international Economic Policy [CIEP]
                -Effectiveness
                     -Credit
                     -Staff
Commerce Department
     -Stans's departure
          -Leaks
          -Announcement
                -Forthcoming Cabinet dinner
     -Connally's view
```

# Economic policy -Connally's control -International monetary policy -Flanigan's role Ziegler entered at 10:56 am. -Conversation with Haldeman and the President Connally -Possible meeting with the President, January 17, 1972

## Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing

- -Stans announcement
- -State of the Union message
- -Budget
- -Possible questions
  - -Jack N. Anderson Papers
    - -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s view
      - -The President's concerns
      - -Investigation
      - -Leak
        - -The President's concerns
          - -Possible statement
            - -Press involvement
            - -Investigation
            - -Anderson
      - -Investigation
    - -Presidential discussions
      - -Confidentiality
    - -Kissinger's role
      - -The President's confidence in Kissinger
    - -The Administration's public and private positions
    - -Presidential discussions with advisers
      - -Leaks
      - -Options
    - -Possible effects of publication
      - -Advice to the President
      - -India-Pakistan War
        - -US position
    - -The President's confidence in Kissinger
    - -Klein's comments
    - -Gerald L. Warren's comments
      - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - -Hughes biography by Irving
    - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's call to Ehrlichman
    - -Charges regarding Nixon family loan
      - -Clifford
      - -Possible handling
      - -Veracity
      - -1962 statement

```
-Satisfaction of loan
           -Transfer of property
-Ziegler's handling
     -1962 campaign
-Possible Klein statement
     -1962 statement
     -Acquaintance with facts
-Mrs. Nixon's position
     -Constance M. ("Connie") Stuart
-Hannah (Milhous) Nixon's repayment
     -Transfer of property
```

-Irving

-Credibility

-Meetings with Hughes

-Interview with Mike Wallace, January 16, 1972

-Ziegler's possible statement

-Ziegler's age

-Salvador Allende Gossens

-Chilean election of January 16, 1972

-Ghana

-Recognition

-Department of State

-Allende

-Recent election

-The President's possible stopover in Poland after Soviet Union trip

-Italian newspaper report

-Verification

## The President's forthcoming trip to PRC

-Invitations to press

-Ratio of news media to television reporters

-Audience

-"News" compared to "show business" aspect

-Ziegler's meeting with television officials in New York City

-John A. Scali's and Timothy G. Elbourne's presence

-PRC purchase of RCA ground station for Shanghai

-Invitations to press

-Pressure on White House

-Meetings with Ziegler

## Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing

-State of the Union message

-Timing

-Content

-Domestic and foreign policy

-Report

-The President's possible press conference

-Letter to Ziegler from head of Associated Press [AP]

-The President's interview with Dan Rather, January 2, 1972

-Duration

-Reaction

\* [Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/19/2022. Segment cleared for release.] [Personal Returnable] [648-004-w003] [Duration: 6m 17s] 1972 campaign -Edmund S. Muskie interview -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -William P. Rogers's opinion -John D. Ehrlichman's opinion -Press attitude -Edmund S. Muskie's performance -Confidence -Compared to Hubert H. Humphrey -Response to a question -Honesty platform -Hubert H. Humphrey -Support for space shuttle -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's view -Florida primary -Financial support -1973 -Florida primary -Hubert H. Humphrey -George C. Wallace -Attacks on Democratic Party -60 Minutes -Rundown on Democratic candidates -Number of candidates -Florida primary -Edmund S. Muskie -Possible win -New Hampshire primary -Hubert H. Humphrey -Wisconsin primary -Polls -Edmund S. Muskie -Intelligence -Presidential appearance compared to intelligence -Compared to Spiro T. Agnew -Intelligence -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy -Activities -The President's State of the Union message -Bought television time [?]

> -Edmund S. Muskie -Program for America [?] -Presidential or vice presidential candidacy

## -Against the President -David S. Broder

\*

```
The President's possible press conference
          -Democrats
                -Fairness Doctrine response
                     -Mansfield
                     -Carl B. Albert
                     -Phone-in questions
                          -State of the Union message
                          -Press room
[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:56 am and 11:24]
am.]
[Conversation No. 648-4A]
     Kissinger
          -Location
[End of telephone conversation]
     The President's possible press conference
          -Equal time for Democrats
          -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
          -John N. Ashbrook
          -TV coverage
Ziegler left at 11:24 am.
[Haldeman talked with the White House operator at 11:24 am.]
[Conversation No. 648-4B]
[See Conversation No. 18-87]
[The call was placed on hold]
     The President's schedule
          -Camp David
[Haldeman talked with Connally at an unknown time between 11:24 am and 11:30 am.]
[Continuation of Conversation No. 648-4B]
```

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Connally

[End of telephone conversation]

```
-Work on Vietnam statement
    Safire
          -Work on Vietnam statement
               -Compared with Price
         -Previous conversation with Kissinger
    Kissinger
An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:24 am.
    Request for Kissinger to join them
The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:30 am.
    Safire
          -Draft of Vietnam statement
               -State Department
               -Timing
    The President's schedule
         -Florida
               -Draft of Vietnam statement
         -Kurt Waldheim
              -United Nations [UN]
          -Budget signing
              -Ziegler
              -Press
              -Staff
              -Photograph session
                    -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
         -Waldheim
              -Photographs session
                    -Atkins
         -Photographs of the President
               -Frequency
*******************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/19/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[648-004-w023]
[Duration: 49s]
      Football
            -Season
           -Dallas Cowboys
                 -Tom Landry
```

-Peterson -William L. Safire

```
-Defense and offense
-Special teams
-Miami Dolphins
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```
William P. Rogers and Kissinger
          -Relationship
                -Mitchell
Kissinger entered at 11:30 am.
     Statement on Vietnam
          -Safire
                -Conversation with Kissinger, January 17, 1972
                     -Kissinger's briefing
          -Duration
          -Release of text
                -Kissinger's forthcoming briefing
                     -Effect
                -US proposal
          -Scheduling
          -Target dates within speech
                -Effect on US proposal
          -W. Averell Harriman's possible reaction
          -Release of text
                -Timing
          -Troop withdrawal
          -Proposals
                -Phase I
                     -Prisoners of war [POWs] for troop withdrawal
                           -Nguyen Van Thieu
                     -Phase II
                           -Cease-fire
                           -Elections
          -Unknown man's opinion
                -Rose Mary Woods
          -Possible delay
                -Effects
                     -National Press Club dinner speech
                     -North Vietnam response
                           -Timing
          -Draft
                -Timing
                     -Safire
                           -Compared with Price
          -Safire's view
                -Pubic relations
```

-Publicity for Kissinger's trips

-Impact

-POWs

```
Vietnam
     -Negotiations
          -Troop withdrawal proposal
                -Muskie's statement, January 16,, 1972
                     -Muskie's negotiating schedule
                -Administration proposal
                     -Schedule
                     -POWs and ceasefire
                          -Troop withdrawal deadlines
                                -North Vietnam response
                                -Timing
                -North Vietnamese response
     -US Air Force
          -Laos and Cambodia
          -Trails
          -Quality
          -Infliction of casualties in Northern Laos
```

## An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am.

Request for books in President's bedroom

## The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:15 pm.

```
Vietnam
     -Long Tien
     -South Vietnam
          -Morale
                -Effect of US withdrawal
                     -Washington Post article
                     -Timing
                          -Air Force
                          -1972 election
                -US troops
          -Highlands
                -Strategy
                     -Possible consequences
          -Strategic Reserve Division
                -Movement
                -Laos
          -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
          -Operation
                -Compared with US troop actions
          -Prospects
     -Press reports
          -Inaccuracies
                -Loss of Laos and Cambodia
     -Troop withdrawal record
     -Kissinger's meeting with Senior Review Group, January 17, 1972
          -Papers on Vietnam
```

-Time of meeting
-The President's meeting with Connally

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

-Yeoman Charles E. Radford incident

-Kissinger's conversation with Melvin R. Laird, January 14, 1972

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[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 04/19/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[648-004-w024] [Duration: 37s]

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

-Yeoman Charles E. Radford incident

-Kissinger's conversation with Melvin R. Laird, January 14, 1972

-Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] possession of memos

-Memos to the President from Henry A. Kissinger and Melvin R. Laird

-Copies

-Melvin R. Laird's concern regarding recommendations to the President

\*

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
-Channels to the President
-Laird's view

## The President read from a work by H. G. Wells.

Trench warfare in World War I

-Scientists

-Military personnel

-Tanks

-Allies

-Military minds

-Military mind

- -Alexander the Great
- -Napoleon Bonaparte
- -Julius Caesar
- -Muhammed
- -Mongols
- -Oliver Cromwell
- -George Washington
- -Control of World War I
- -Destruction of traditional methods

[End of reading]

```
Author of previously recited work
           -Winston S. Churchill
          -Wells
                -Thesis
                     -Emphasis on education
     Education of women
     Soviets
           -Message from Andrei A. Gromyko, January 17, 1972
                -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's return to US
                     -Schedule
                           -Negotiations
           -Negotiations
                -Communication with Kissinger
                     -Yuli M. Vorontsov
The President read from a work by Wells.
     World War I era
          -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson's role
          -American public's view
                -World outlook
[End of reading]
     Vietnam
          -Military mind
          -Air Force
          -Navy pilots
                -Press reports
                -Interviews on TV
                     -Pilots' views on bombing in December 1971
                -Laos operation
                     -Pilots' views
          -US actions
                -Lack of time
     Anderson Papers
          -Effect on US credibility
                -Evans's poll of European diplomats
                     -Evans's conversation with Kissinger
                           -Max Frankel's statement
                           -Diplomats' views
                -Evans's view
                -Effect on the President's forthcoming trip to PRC
                     -Right and left
                     -Liberals
                           -Soviet Union
                           -View of the President
                           -Possible public reaction to trip
                -The President's conversation with Ziegler, January 17, 1972
```

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-Average person's reaction
                -Trips to PRC and Soviet Union
           -Clayton Fritchey's column
           -Effect of columnists
                -Readership
                      -Opinion makers
PRC trip
     -TV coverage of trip
           -Fritchey's view
     -India
           -US relations
     -Media visitors to PRC
           -Possible effect of trip
     -The President's opening of relations
           -Anderson
           -The President's and Kissinger's role
           -Press
                -Reports
           -Interest
US-Soviet relations
     -India
     -PRC
     -Vorontsov
           -Conversation with Kissinger
                -Dobrynin's schedule
     -Middle East
     -Soviet Minister of Culture's toast
           -Press reaction
     -Press
           -Soviet Summit
           -India
           -Anderson papers
India
     -US relations
           -Press treatment
     -Anwar El-Sadat's speech
           -Intention to start war in December 1971
                -India-Pakistan War
                      -Soviet advice
                           -Intelligence
     -War with Pakistan
           -US policy
                -Middle East
                -PRC
                -West Pakistan
JCS
     -Anderson Papers
```

-Radford

```
-Transfer to Seattle
                -Ehrlichman's conversation with daughter, Jody Ehrlichman, January
                      16, 1972
                     -Jody Ehrlichman's conversation with friend at school
                           -Friend's father's information
                                -Mormon
                                -Job at Indian embassy with Radford
                                      -Mormons
                -Original plan
                     -Memphis
                -Choices
                -R[embrandt] C. ("Hugh") Robinson
           -Possible revelations
           -White House cover-up for JCS
           -Case against Radford
                -Confession
                -Witnesses
                     -Anderson
                -Guilt
                -Witnesses
                     -Purloining papers
                           -Disclosure to Anderson
                -Security violations
                -Disclosure of documents
           -Case against Daniel Ellsberg
                -Ellsberg's confession
           -Ellsberg
                -Conscience matter
           -Administration action
                -Administration record
                -Observation
                -Security regulations
                -Closure of liaison office
                     -Reorganization
           -Intelligence
           -Motivation
           -Espionage
           -Anderson
     -Background
     -Compared with Pentagon Papers
     -Role of press
     -Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]
-National Security Council [NSC]
     -Jordan crisis
-India-Pakistan War
     -Planes in Pakistan
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**WSAG** 

-Role

### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/24/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security] [648-004-w010]

[Duration: 21s]

### INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
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Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]
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-India

-Kenneth B. Keating

-Kissinger's position

### **Anderson Papers**

-Effects

-The President

-Kissinger

-1972 election

-Possible leaks

-Anderson

-Editorials

-Leaks

-Informing bureaucracy

#### Leaks

-Foreign policy

-White House source

-Supreme Court appointments

### Safire

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Robert S. Ingersoll

-Shultz's request

-Acceptance of Japan ambassadorship

-State Department

-Meeting with Kissinger

-Shultz's presence

### Kissinger left at 12:15 pm.

-Meetings with ambassadors

-West Germany

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William P. Clements
-Connally
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Rogers
     -Mitchell
     -Call to Haldeman, January 16, 1972
           -Rogers's memorandum from Kissinger
                -Kissinger's memoranda
                -Soviet Union and PRC
                      -Forthcoming meetings and talking points
           -State Department
                -The President's directives
           -NSC
                -Function
                      -Policy
                           -Operations
           -Informing Kissinger
           -NSC
                -Middle East
                      -Rogers's role
                           -Operations
                      -Kissinger's role
                           -Yitzhak Rabin
           -Grievances
           -PRC
           -Kissinger's meetings with the President
                -Rogers's meetings with the President
           -Rogers's knowledge of issues
                -Kissinger's role
                -Israel
                      -Kissinger's meeting with Rabin
                -The President's directives
                      -Middle East
                -Soviet Union and PRC trips
                      -Information from Haig
                -The President's instructions to Kissinger
                -Haldeman's view
                -Middle East
                      -Rogers's role
                      -Kissinger's role
                           -Rabin
                           -Kissinger's call to Haldeman, January 15, 1972
                                 -Kissinger's meeting with Rabin, January 15, 1972
                                 -Rabin's meeting at State, January 14, 1972
                                      -Rogers's notification of Kissinger
                      -Joseph A. Sisco memorandum to Rabin
                           -Israeli Cabinet meeting
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-Kissinger's tenure

-Relations with Kissinger

-Haldeman's and Mitchell's meeting with Rogers

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-Exchange of information
          -Mitchell
          -Kissinger's role as NSC advisor
                -Compared with role of State Department Secretary
          -Press
     -Kissinger's role as NSC advisor
          -European Security Conference
                -Rogers's role
                -NSC
                -Soviet Summit
                -Rogers's role
     -Rogers's conduct
     -Instructions from the President
     -The President's 1970 talk with Rogers
          -European security
                -Gromyko
     -NSC
          -Policy function in government
                -Previous role compared to revised role
     -WSAG
          -Function
     -Mitchell
     -Rogers's advising of the President
          -Kissinger
     -The President's memorandum regarding speech changes
          -Woods
          -Safire's delivery to Kissinger
          -Delivery to Rogers
          -Length of speech
          -Distribution
                -Woods
                     -Haldeman
                     -Kissinger
                -Safire
          -Price
          -Garment
-Negotiating role
     -Haldeman
     -Kissinger
     -The President's knowledge
     -1972 election
          -Jews
          -Mitchell's possible action
                -State Department
          -Israel
          -Arabs
     -PRC and Soviet Union trips
     -Mitchell's and Haldeman's possible actions
     -Kissinger's memoranda
          -Tone and contact
          -The President's instructions
          -Motive
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## -Rogers

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Kissinger
          -View of Radford case
                -Jody Ehrlichman's comments
Kissinger, Shultz and Ingersoll entered at 12:31 pm.
     Greetings
     Ingersoll's appointment as Ambassador to Japan
          -Job
          -Importance
          -Soviet Union
          -New residence
               -Herbert C. Hoover
                     -"Hoover's Folly"
               -Date of construction
               -Viceroy of India's residence
          -Ingersoll's gratitude
          -Importance
          -Canada
          -Belgium
          -Netherlands
          -Communications
     Japan
          -Economic issue
                -Connally
     Ingersoll
          -Foreign Service role
                -Bureaucracy
          -[David] Kenneth Rush
          -Father
          -Confirmation in Senate
          -Forthcoming meeting with the President
                -Japan
          -Appointment
                -Timing
               -Forthcoming call to Rogers
                -Publicity
                -Senate
     Tokyo
          -Compared with Paris
Kissinger, Shultz and Ingersoll left at 12:36 pm.
     Rogers
          -Kissinger memorandum
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-Rogers's reaction

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-Advisability
           -Haldeman's and Mitchell's actions
           -Kissinger's conversation with Haldeman
                -Clearance of communications through Kissinger
                     -Phrasing
                     -Necessary for directive
           -Kissinger's motive
                -Kissinger's background
                -Rogers's reaction
     -Israel
          -Mitchell
          -The President's control of issue
                -Kissinger's relations with Rabin
          -Kissinger's bias
          -Haig
          -Rabin
     -Memoranda to the President through Haldeman
Memoranda to the President
     -Laird
     -Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes
     -Kissinger
     -Rogers's private delivery through Haldeman
     -Woods
           -Channel of delivery
                -White House staff
Rogers
     -Kissinger
           -Israel
     -European Security Conference
           -Kissinger
     -PRC trip
State of the World message
     -Distribution by Kissinger
          -Rogers
          -Defense Department
     -Defense portion
     -Foreign policy section
The President's State of the Union message
     -Foreign policy section
          -Kissinger
     -Domestic policy section
          -Ehrlichman
Rogers
     -Kissinger
State of the Union message
     -Status
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Vietnam speech
     -Safire
State of the Union message
     -Price
NSC system
     -Kissinger
          -Memoranda
                -Rogers
     -Establishment
           -Conflicts with State Department
Rogers conflict with Kissinger
     -Subordination to foreign policy and reelection concerns
           -Haldeman's and Mitchell's view
     -Middle East
          -Informing the President
          -Kissinger's role
     -European Security Conference
           -Rogers's views
                -Kissinger
          -The President's meetings
                -Reliance on State Department and NSC
British cabinets
     -Past problems
Cabinet
     -Franklin D. Roosevelt's problems
           -Jessie H. Jones
          -Vice Presidents
     -Jealousies
          -Staffs
          -Compared with Rogers conflict with Kissinger
                -Involvement of the President
Rogers conflict with Kissinger
     -The President's confidence
     -Impact on Kissinger's views
     -Kissinger's role
     -Informing the President on issues
          -Rogers
          -Kissinger
          -Laird's memoranda
     -Rogers
Middle East
     -Israel
          -Possible action
                -Kissinger's views
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-US support
           -Kissinger's views
           -Cease-fire
                -Rogers
                -Kissinger
     -Negotiations
           -Planes
           -Soviet Summit
          -Rabin
           -Clearance of Rogers's communications through Kissinger
                -Kissinger's bias
           -Kissinger's meetings with Rabin
           -Informing the President
European Security Conference
     -Kissinger
     -State Department
The President's forthcoming trips to the Soviet Union and PRC
     -State Department
Soviet Union
     -Kissinger's possible trip
          -Kissinger's meeting with Mitchell
          -Dobrynin
          -Kissinger's advance work on the President's PRC trip
                -Rogers
                -Necessity
                     -Romania, Paris
                     -Dobrynin
Kissinger
     -Possible resignation
          -Mood
                -Introspection
          -Conversation with Haig
           -1972 election
          -Rogers
Foreign policy
     -Jewish influence in forthcoming campaign
           -Haldeman's forthcoming talk with Rogers
                -State Department
                -Mitchell
                -Votes
                -Money
                -The President's opponents
                     -Humphrey in 1968
Ziegler
     -View of position as press secretary
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-December

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Rogers
     -Rabin
           -State Department
     -Meetings with Dobrynin
           -Kissinger's meetings with Dobrynin
                -Informing the President
                -Informing Rogers
     -Possible talk with the President
     -Possible instructions
Kissinger
     -Possible instructions
     -Directives
          -Mitchell
          -Haig
                -Delivery to the President
Peterson
     -New position as Secretary of Commerce
           -Ehrlichman
           -Relations with Connally
     -Flanigan
          -International monetary policy
     -Connally's control of domestic and foreign monetary issues
           -White House support
                -Flanigan
Cabinet
     -Flanigan's view
           -Conduct of Ehrlichman and Kissinger
           -Access to the President
                -Connally's view
                -Ehrlichman and Kissinger
           -Role
           -Reorganization
                -Reduction in number
                -Connally
                -Shultz
                -Mitchell
                -Ehrlichman
                -Reliance on under secretaries
                      -Cabinet officers as executive vice presidents
                           -Offices in Executive Office Building [EOB]
                -Model on British cabinet system
                -Elimination of intermediate staff
                      -Kissinger and Ehrlichman
                -Ehrlichman
                      -Work with Cabinet
                           -Staff
                -John A. Volpe
                -Rogers C. B. Morton
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-Maurice H. Stans
     -Kissinger
          -Relations with Laird and Rogers
          -Compared to Sherman Adams
          -Behavior
Behavior
     -Changes from the past
Rogers
     -Contact with the President
     -Management of State Department
     -Talk with Haldeman
          -White House relations with State Department
                -White House staff, NSC, Kissinger criticism
                -State Department criticism
                     -Press coverage
                -Rogers's view
                     -Press
     -Press relations
     -Political judgment
     -Public image
          -Recognition
          -Blame on Kissinger and NSC
     -Analogy to John Foster Dulles
          -NSC
     -Work
          -Briefings
                -Kissinger
          -Vietnam
                -The President's initiative on November 3, 1969 statement
     -Image
           -Spokesman ability
                -Telegenic quality
          -Intelligence
                -Kissinger's view
     -Approach to problems
          -Thought process
The President's schedule [?]
Rogers
     -Conflict with Kissinger
          -Future conversation with Haldeman and Mitchell
The President's schedule
     -Forthcoming announcement
          -Flanigan and Stans
                -Connally
     -Peterson
     -Flanigan
     -Peterson
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-Connally
Cabinet council
     -Peterson
          -Connally
     -"New competition"
Peterson
     -Future work with staff
Cabinet
     -George W. Romney and Volpe
     -Reorganization
          -Forthcoming PRC trip
          -Second term
Kissinger
     -Power
          -Relations with the President
          -Abuse
          -Relations with the Cabinet
          -WSAG
Radford
     -Transfer
          -Leak
                -Ehrlichman's view
                     -Jody Ehrlichman
                     -Public knowledge
                -Perception of White House role
                     -Ziegler's comments
                          -Evidence
                          -Investigation
     -Suspect
     -Anderson
          -Prosecution
          -Supreme Court
                -1972 election
Kissinger
     -Possible press conference
     -Defense by the Administration
          -Klein
          -Ziegler
The President's schedule
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The President and Haldeman left at 1:23 pm.

Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:23 pm and 3:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 1:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 648-5A]

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

[End of telephone conversation]