# Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-1

Date: January 25, 1972 Time: Unknown between 8:30 pm and 11:59 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Mark I. Goode [?] and unknown people.

Arrangements for the President's speech -Ceiling -Placement of unknown object

Weather -Coat -Wind

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

Conversation No. 656-2

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's location -Desk -Breakfast

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.



### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-3

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Request for Charles W. Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-4

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule -Timing -John B. Connally

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-5

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Rose Mary Woods.

[See Conversation No. 19-90]

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-6

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Schedule -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Colson left [?] at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-7

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 7:52 am - 8:03 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

[The President talked with Rose Mary Woods between 7:52 am and 7:53 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-7A]

[See Conversation No. 19-91; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

[End of telephone conversation]

Newspaper stories concerning reaction to the President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972 -News summary -Washington Post -New York Times -Washington Post -Richard ("Dick") Lyons -Accuracy -Effect

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-7 (cont.)

-Administration reaction -Herbert G. Klein

#### H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 7:57 am.

-The President's schedule -Forthcoming congressional leaders meeting -Talks with Haldeman and Colson, January 25, 1972 -Administration's handling -Truth -Lyons -John Sherman Cooper -Michael J. Mansfield -Edmund S. Muskie -Philip A. Hart [?] -F. Bradford Morse -Administration handling -Klein -Need to challenge stories -Positive information -Nature of stories -Tone -Sander Vanocur -Administration handling -Friendly journalists -Need to attack -Publishers -Compared to the President's November 3, 1969 speech -Public perception -Polls -Press releases -Ronald L. Ziegler

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 8:03 am.

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-8

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:02 and 10:08 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: <u>7s</u>]

# END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:08 am.

Conversation No. 656-9

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:02 am and 10:08 am Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Paul J. Fannin.

[See Conversation No. 19-92]

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-10

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 10:08 am - 12:02 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger.

Congressional resolution -Preparation of a letter -Kissinger's talk with Hugh Scott and Gerald R. Ford -Scott's and Ford's view -The President's talk with Ford -Scott -Benefits -Kissinger's schedule -Ford's and Scott's location -Ronald L. Ziegler -Scott

Kissinger briefing

Proposed terms of cease-fire -Kissinger's briefing -Political benefits -George S. McGovern's comments concerning the President's statement about Nguyen Van Thieu and North Vietnam -Possible revelation of North Vietnamese position -Thieu overthrow -Troop withdrawal -Documentation -As consequence of denial

Kissinger left at 10:11 am.

[The President talked with Paul J. Fannin between 10:11 am and 10:12 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10A]

[See Conversation No. 19-93]

#### 7

### NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972 -News coverage -Inaccuracy of reporting -Administration handling -Assigning responsibility -The President's schedule -Recent Congressional leaders meeting -Kissinger -Kissinger briefing to staff, January 25, 1972 -Tone -Secret diplomacy -First draft of speech -Robert H. Finch's reaction -Politics -John A. Scali -State and Defense Department -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew -Congressional leaders meeting -Staff meeting -Thieu resignation -Timing of announcement -Peace proposal -Public relations -Kissinger

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:12 am and 10:17 am and requested a call to William P. Rogers.]

[Conversation No. 656-10B]

[See Conversation No. 19-94]

[End of telephone conversation]

Budget meeting -Agnew -Complaints -Political future -Demeanor

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Compared to John B. Connally -Approach to problems

[The President talked with Rogers between 10:17 am and 10:18 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10C]

[See Conversation No. 19-181]

[End of telephone conversation]

Agnew -Demeanor

White House staff -Charles W. Colson -Scali -William L. Safire -Scali -Kissinger's call to Scali, Rogers, Connally -The President's schedule -Congressional leaders meeting -Agnew -Demeanor -Consultation -Staff meeting -Kissinger -Handling -Loyalty of White House staff -Meeting with Haldeman -Winston Lord -Demeanor concerning Vietnam -Troop withdrawal -Negotiations -Status -Trips -Kissinger's comments -Progress of talks -Rogers -Alexander M. Haig, Jr. -Ellsworth F. Bunker

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Creation of record -Positive outlook -Press conference -Press conference -Ziegler -Necessity The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech -News coverage -Marvin L. Kalb -Kissinger briefing -Scali -First draft -Kissinger's reaction -Edits -Safire -Kalb -Scali -Dan Rather -Possible letters -Demand for apology -Vietnam troop withdrawal -Timing -1972 election -Kalb -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid -Public perception -Prisoners of war [POWs] -Troops -Ceasefire -Korea -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. -F. Bradford Morse -Letter -Colson -Withdrawal from race -Conditions -Effect on credibility of Administration -McCloskey's comment -Secret negotiations -Administration action

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Right wing's reaction -Speech ending -Effect on attention to budget message -Thrust of PR -"Keep America United" theme -Congressional leaders meeting -Negotiations -Clark MacGregor -Delivery -Lack of Vietnam speeches -Complexity of subject -Clarity -Process -Style -Atmosphere -Eye contact with camera -Campaign benefit The President's schedule -Signing of economic report -Press interest -Need for study -Forthcoming meeting with Richard M. Scammon -Congressional leaders meeting -Press picture -Maurice H. Stans' announcement -Peter G. Peterson -Camp David -Economic report signing -Press interest -Photographs -Quadriad meeting -Timing -Connally -Economic report -Stans -Dinner -Peterson -Press interest -Swearing-in -Earl L. Butz

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Rogers C. B. Morton -Camp David -Friday schedule -Dr. Rainer Barzel -Dewitt Wallace dinner -Weekend plans -PR -Preparation for People's Republic of China [PRC] trip -Briefing books -Rogers and Kissinger

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:18 am.

-Kissinger's schedule -Press briefing

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:42 am.

-PRC trip

-PR -Camp David -Preparations -Return to Washington, DC -McGovern and McCloskey -Administration counterattack -Congressional leaders -Vietnam critics -Media support

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:18 am.

-Kissinger -Briefing

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:42 am.

-Television messages and domestic affairs -John D. Ehrlichman -Environment -Drugs -Benefits

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-J. William Middendorf, II
-The President's meeting with Prime Minister of Netherlands [Barend W. Biesheuvel]
-Review
-Kissinger
-Rogers
-Attendance at meeting of the President and Biesheuvel
-Haig
-State Department
-Rogers

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:18 am and 10:42 am and requested Haig.]

[Conversation No. 656-10D]

[See Conversation No. 19-95]

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with Haig between 10:42 and 10:43 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10E]

[See Conversation No. 19-96]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule -Middendorf

Kissinger entered at 10:44 am.

Kissinger schedule

Vietnam -North Vietnamese terms -McGovern -Thieu government -Overthrow

-Secret deal

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Thieu -Publication of terms -Kissinger press conference -Review of peace process -Timetable -Withdrawal -Government -Ceasefire -Eight point plan -US proposal -Terms -Unilateral withdrawal -Surrender -Deadline -Return of POWs -Overthrow of government -South Vietnamese people -US reaction -Agnew -Attitude -The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech -Separation of military and political issues -Clarity -Demeanor -Support for the President -Kissinger's comment to Bryce N. Harlow -Congressional meeting -Budget meeting -Possible approach to the President or Kissinger -Effects -Patrick J. Buchanan -Troop withdrawal for ceasefire and POWs or political issues -January 25, 1972 meeting -Agnew stance -Ceasefire -Effects -North Vietnamese ceasefire terms -Troop withdrawal -Administration offer -Troop withdrawal for POWs -May 31, 1971 negotiations

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Political proposal -Indication of weakness -Laos and Cambodia -South Vietnam -Bombing -US aid to Thieu -North Vietnamese thinking -Michael J. Mansfield Amendment -POWs -Administration defense -Kissinger -Rogers -Agnew -Analogy to the President vis-à-vis Dwight D. Eisenhower -Football analogy -Support for US proposals -Agnew -Compared to Congress -Congress -Scott and Ford -Meeting with Kissinger in Ziegler's office -Press conference -Ziegler -Preparation by Kissinger -Kalb -Possible interview with Kissinger

The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

Press conference -Ziegler

Kissinger left at 10:57 am.

-Timing -Ziegler

Public support for peace proposals -Mail

> -Quotes from Winston-Salem; Maryland; New York; Birmingham; Philadelphia; Connecticut; Searsdale; Texas; Amherst; Columbia, South

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

Carolina; Arlington, Texas; Wichita; La Grange Park, Illinois -Frank L. Rizzo -William A. Rago [?] -Maureen Mullen [?] of Brooklyn -Religious and minority groups -Judge William Garbose of Massachusetts -Mrs. Joseph Patrick Kennedy of Winnipeg -Generation of peace, Adelphi [?], Illinois

### Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:57 am.

Biesheuvel meeting -Schedule -Protocol -Baron Rijnhard B. Van Lynden

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:02 am.

PRC trip -Emil ("Bus") Mosbacher, Jr. -Herbert G. Klein -Domestic matters -Domestic Council -The President's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union

Haldeman left at 11:02 am.

Biesheuvel, Middendorf, and Haig entered at 11:02 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions -Seating arrangements -Photographs

Biesheuvel's schedule -Antilles and Surinam

[Photograph session]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:02 am.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

#### Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:20 am.

Travel -Indonesia -India -Indonesia -The President's visits Colonial legacy -Jakarta, Indonesia -Education -The president's conversation with Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto -Antilles -Retention of influence -African and Caribbean nations -Nassau, Bahamas -Soviet Union -British withdrawal -Tourism -Transition pace -Indonesia -Relations with the Netherlands -Brink of war in early 1960's -West Iran (West New Guinea) -Suharto -Inflation -Progress -Possible visit by Biesheuvel -Dutch professionals -Suharto -Sukarno -Indonesian revolution -State visit by Queen Juliana, 1971 -Students -Suharto -US position in Pacific area -Edward R. G. Heath -Singapore -Georges J.R. Pompidou

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-West Germany -Relations with Japan -The Netherlands' role in world -European community -Inter-government committee -Financial aid to Indonesia -Japan's role in world -Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia -Indonesia -Population -Geography -Natural resources -Java -Population -Jakarta -Indonesia The Netherlands relations with the Pacific area -Surinam and Antilles -Role -Kingdom of the Netherlands -Foreign policy and defense -United Nations [UN] -Small nations -Antilles -Geography -English-speakers -Venezuela -Aruba -Oil -Defense -Autonomy -Preparation for independence -African nations -The President's previous trip around the world in 1953 -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -The president's meeting with Winston Churchill in 1958 -Autonomy -Great Britain's experience

Common market

-National sovereignty

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Great Britain -France -Economics -International trade -Political cooperation -Use of economic power -Effects -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] Power centers -Brazil -Africa -Asia -Indonesia -US -Europe -Soviet Union -People's Republic of China [PRC] -Japan -Coexistence with PRC, Soviet Union -Philosophical differences -Europe, Japan, US -Productivity -Compared to Communists -Monetary system, trade -Security -Japan -Economic power -Military -World War II -Reassurances by US, Europe -Treaty commitment -Nuclear deterrent -PRC, Soviet Union Europe -NATO -West Germany -Forces -Unilateral reduction -Soviet Union and Warsaw pact

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Sense of belonging -West Germany -Soviet Union -East Germany -Willy Brandt -Kurt Kiesinger -Great Britain -Ostpolitik -Unity -Konrad Adenauer -Alcide de Gasperi -Robert Schumann -Biesheuvel's experience -The Netherlands' role -World affairs Common Market -Statement -US role -Protectionism -Economic prospects -Britain -Heath -Pompidou -Compared to previous one -Rotterdam -Perception of market -Wars -Manufacturing

Attendance of ambassador -Protocol

Rotterdam -Exports -Compared to New York -Common Market -Trade -West Germany

Van Lynden entered at 11:25 am.

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

# Greetings

World affairs -US protectionist sentiment -US intentions -Outward look -Reaction to possible European protectionism -Japan -Europe, US, Canada, Japan cooperation -Security -Competition -Monetary matters -Group of Ten -Japan -The President's talks with Heath, Brandt, Pompidou [?] -Group of Ten -Beliefs -Compared to western world -Economic self-interest -Political cooperation -World War II -[Emperor of Japan] Hirohito -Visit -Contributions -PRC -Soviet Union -Productivity -World War II -Tanker purchase by Dutch -Oil companies -Dutch-Shell -US economic power -The President's trip preparation for trips to PRC and Soviet Union -Meetings with European leaders -Italy -Italy -Government -Emilio Colombo -French constitutionalism -Latin countries

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Italy, France, Spain -French Constitution -Fragmentation -France -Gen. Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle -Political unity -Communist Party -De Gasperi -Meeting with Biesheuvel -Benefits -NATO -Netherlands as an ally -Public opinion -Joseph M.A.H. Luns -Manlio Brosio The President's forthcoming trips to the PRC and Soviet Union -Difference between trips -Enmities -US position vis-à-vis PRC and Soviet Union -Soviet Union relations with PRC -PRC -Japan -US, Soviet Union PRC trip -US intentions -Contact -Prospects of recognition -Taiwan, Republic of China -US treaty commitments -Benefits -Communication -Reduction of chance of confrontation -Korea -Vietnam -PRC nuclear power -PRC power -Population -Japan -US pacific responsibilities

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Gulf in philosophies between US and PRC -Need to bridge gap -Nuclear weapons -Nuclear weapons in PRC

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [National Security] [Duration: <u>32s</u>]

PRC

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

-Prospects -Soviet reaction to PRC trip -Paranoia -Bilateralism -PRC's relationships -Isolationism -Soviet Union -Hostile border -US -Korea -Vietnam -Japan -India -Rivalry with US, Soviet Union

Defense spending -Biesheuvel's conversation with William P. Rogers -Effect on Europe -The Netherlands -Increase in 1972

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-Michael J. Mansfield amendment -Alternative uses -Ghettoes Soviet Union trip -Substantive nature -US relations with Soviet Union -Relations -Difference -Trade -Middle East -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] -Europe -Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR] -Arms limitation -SALT -Briefing of NATO countries -US commitment to NATO -Scope -Familiarity -Problems and benefits -Pragmatism -The President's background -European discussions -European security conference -Rogers -Timing -Bilateral discussions -Benefits -Views -Italy

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:25 am.

Rogers's arrival

-NATO

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:02 pm.

-Nicolae Ceausescu -Soviet intentions

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

-US view -Need for security -Germany -NATO -Defense budgets -Soviet aims -Germany -Loosening of Europe's ties with US -MBFR -Timing -Linkage to European Security Conference -US caution -Agreement among allies -Brosio -Danger of linkage to European Security Conference -Cultural component -Agenda -Andrei A. Gromyko -Likelihood -Eastern Europeans -The President's previous travles -Poles, Romanians, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians -Agenda -Possible benefits -Communication, trade, security -Germany -Italy -Brandt -Ostpolitik -Rogers -Gromyko -MBFR -Rogers -Gromyko -Search for formula -Dutch domestic situation -Multilateralism -NATO -Need for caution -Timing

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

Forthcoming European meeting on monetary matters -Timing -Possible location -The Hague -World Court -Europe's relationship with Communist nations, Japan -Possible locations -Rivalries -London, Paris, Bonn, Rome -Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg -The Hague -Belgium The President's schedule -Biesheuvel -Schedule -PRC and Soviet Union trips State dinner, January 25, 1972 -Van Lynden -Rogers -The president's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972 -Location -Oval Office -Preparation -Drafts -Idiom -Michael J. Mansfield -Rogers -Rogers -Talk with the President -Biesheuvel's interest in television -Mass media impact on politics -Dutch cabinet sessions -Reporting -Interviews Dutch television -State involvement

-Broadcasting companies

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

#### Vietnam

-The President's peace proposal plan -Possible reaction in Europe -Elections -Thieu offer of resignation -International oversight -North Vietnamese reaction -Possible North Vietnamese military action -South Vietnam -US aid -North Vietnam -Analogy to North Korea -Peace proposal plan -US troop withdrawal -Political agreement -US aid to South Vietnam -Soviet and PRC aid to North Vietnam -Political agreement

Biesheuvel's schedule

Briefcase

The President, et al. left at 12:02 pm.

Conversation No. 656-11

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:02 pm and 12:05 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 12:05 pm.

#### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-10 (cont.)

Conversation No. 656-12

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 12:05 pm - 12:08 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and J. William Middendorf, II. [Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Middendorf plans -Retirement -Jerry [Surname unknown] -Middendorf's loan of painting [Washington crossing the Delaware] in Roosevelt Room -William P. Rogers -Replacement

Announcement of resignation -Timing -Maurice H. Stans and Jerry [Surname unknown]

**US-Dutch relations** 

Presentation of gifts -Money clip

Middendorf and Haig left at 12:08 pm.

Conversation No. 656-13

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 12:11 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Ronald W. Reagan.

[Conversation No. 656-13A]

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-12 (cont.)

[See Conversation No. 19-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at 12:09 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger -Schedule

Bull left at 12:11 pm.

Conversation No. 656-14

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:09 pm and 12:12 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule -Board of trustees meeting

Butterfield left at 12:12 pm.

Conversation No. 656-15

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 12:12 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Cornelius A. Scott.

[See Conversation No. 19-98]

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 656-16

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:12 pm and 12:14 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule -Items for signature -The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972 -Butterfield's view -North Vietnamese -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

Conversation No. 656-17

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 12:14 pm - 12:57 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's schedule -Recent meeting with Barend W. Biesheuvel

Woods's schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:<u>16s</u>]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-16 (cont.)

### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Speeches -The President's Vietnam peace proposal, January 25, 1972 -Woods' conversation with Joseph Woods -Length -Preparation -Possible story -Henry A. Kissinger -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson -Theodore Roosevelt -Editing

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 9s]

### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[The President talked with Cornelius A. Scott at an unknown time between 12:14 pm and 12:22 pm.]

[Conversation No. 656-17A]

[See Conversation Nos. 19-99 and 19-100; one item have been withdrawn from 19-100]

[End of telephone conversation]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:\_11s\_]

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

The President's schedule -Telephone calls -Wiley T. and Mrs. Buchanan -Murray M. and Nancy Chotiner -Family -Possible note to Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -John W. McCormack -Wife's death -Possible overnight stay at White House -The President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China

# [PRC]

-Kissinger

Letter from John J. McCloy
-Advisor to Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament

-Judge G. Harrold Carswell

Thank you note

-Dan L. Beebe

Letter
-Editorials
-Correspondence

-Visits by friends

-Mrs. Olive Marshburn
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower's wedding
-Church services
-Kennedy Center tickets

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:22 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

-White House tour -Western White House -Herbert W. Kalmbach

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:<u>39s]</u>

#### END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

White House gifts -Paperweight -Dwight D. Eisenhower -John R. ("Tex") McCrary -Box -Thomas A. Pappas -Greek Orthodox Church head

White House dinner for DeWitt Wallace, January 28, 1972 -Guest list -Pappas -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis -Emil ("Bus") and Patricia R. Mosbacher -Alice Roosevelt Longworth -Barry M. Goldwater -Edward W. Brooke -John J. Rhodes

Woods left at 12:25 pm.

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

**Kissinger briefing** -Quality -Outline -Clarity, feeling -The President's letter -Television coverage -Still photographs -The President's communications -US intentions -Recap of the President's position outlined in Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972 -Negotiation progress -Duration -Details of secret negotiations on Vietnam -Comment by J. William Middendorf, II [?] -Helen A. Thomas -Travel -Airplanes and airports -July 1971 -PRC

Kissinger entered at 12:27 pm.

-New York Times editorial -Hanoi -Duration -Hugh Scott and Gerald R. Ford meeting with press -Exchange of Prisoners of war [POWs] -Cease-fire -Cease-fire -US position -George S. McGovern -Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu -US aid -Confidentiality of channel -Effect -India-Pakistan War -Truthfulness of administration -Relations to other governments -PRC -Eight point proposal

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

-Compared to nine point proposal Reparations

#### Woods entered at 12:32 pm.

Gift from head of Greek Orthodox Church -Greek junta -Catholics -Mrs. Nixon -Catholics -Value -Disposition -Julie Nixon Eisenhower -Pappas -"Handling" of gifts

### Woods left at 12:34 pm.

Kissinger's briefing -Tone of questions -The President's point at congressional leaders meeting -North Vietnam's war aims -Overthrow of South Vietnam government -Michael J. Mansfield amendment -John F. Kennedy -Initial involvement in war -McGovern opposition -Reason for criticism -Nature of proposal -Complications -Reasons -North Vietnamese outline -Compared to US proposals -POWs, ceasefire, withdrawal -Political components -Pace of negotiations progress -Reason for criticism -Critics of administration's policy -The President's April 7, 1971 speech -Kissinger's briefing -Tone

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

-Politics -Timing of publicity -Scott -Peter Lisagor -David Kraslow -Domestic politics -The President's meeting with congressional leaders -Mansfield amendment -Effect on negotiations -New developments in negotiations -Publicity -Thieu resignation -Nature of governments -Timing of the President's Vietnam peace proposal speech -North Vietnamese offensive -Possible effect -December 1971 -Congress -Need for unity -Release of terms -Difference in proposals -Nine points -Compared to seven points -Cease-fire provision -Cease-fire in principle -Eight points -Disputes -Withdrawal -Deadline -Overthrow of Thieu -Installation of North Vietnam allied government -US support -Political aspects -US view toward particular governments -August 16, 1971 proposal -Thieu resignation -Electoral commission -Formation -Press reaction

Legislative leaders meeting

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's demeanor -Ziegler's schedule -The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech -Terms -Timeline -Clarity

### Agnew

-Objections to administration's proposals -Staff briefing comments -Withdrawal and ceasefire -Leak of proposals

Kissinger's briefing

-Reading of secret notes of Vietnamese meetings -Purpose -Folders -Speeches

Public relations

-Kissinger's talks with Ziegler and the President -Press -Congress -Vietnamese -Kissinger telephone call -Brian MacDonald -Fast in LaFayette Park -Background -Reaction to proposals -Possible statement -Death of wife, Alice MacDonald -Ziegler telephone call -[Forename unknown] Marino [sp?] of St. Joseph's College -Reaction to proposals -Voting record -Administration strategy -PRC trip -Kissinger briefing -Effect on McGovern -Effort toward unity -Press coverage

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

-New York Times -Scott and Ford -Scott's comment about surrender -Attack on liberals -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. -Roger H. Mudd -Brooke -Statement -Mudd -The President's State of the Union address -Influence -Previous evening's speech -Length -Delivery -Pace -Tone -John A. Scali -Patrick J. Buchanan -Charles W. Colson's group -Reaction to criticism -William P. Rogers -New proposals -US stance -Congressional leadership meeting

#### Ziegler left at 12:56 pm.

-Kissinger's briefing -Ziegler's view -Peaceniks -Administration reaction -Kissinger's briefing, January 26, 1972 -Television coverage -Radio -Extemporaneous speech -Effect of television -Text of proposals

# Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:56 pm.

Return telephone call from Ronald W. Reagan

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# NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-17 (cont.)

Butterfield and Kissinger left at 12:57 pm.

Conversation No. 656-18

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 12:57 pm - 1:02 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Ronald W. Reagan.

[See Conversation No. 19-101]

Conversation No. 656-19

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Instruction about picking-up unknown item

The President and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Conversation No. 656-20

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Henry A. Kissinger briefing

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

-Preparation for briefing book
-Questions and answers [Q&A]
-Patrick J. Buchanan
-William L. Safire
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Distribution of Q&A
-Congressman, senators, press

Conversation No. 656-21

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Schedule -John B. Connally

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Conversation No. 656-22

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:02 pmand 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Peter J. Pitchess.

[See Conversation No. 19-102]

Conversation No. 656-23

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to M. Gene Snyder.

[See Conversation No. 19-103]

Conversation No. 656-24

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 1:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversations No. 19-105]

Conversation No. 656-25

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 2:00 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 19-106]

Conversation No. 656-26

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 2:00 pm

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule -John B. Connally

Bull left at 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 656-27

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: 2:00 pm - 3:20 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with John B. Connally.

Greetings

Agenda for forthcoming meeting -International monetary situation -Quadriad -Budget -Deficits -Inflation -Unemployment -Forthcoming report

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:02 pm.]

[Conversation No. 656-27A]

The President's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Trade

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### NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:02 pm.]

[Conversation No. 656-27B]

Request to hold all telephone calls

[End of telephone conversation]

Connally's schedule

Arthur F. Burns, George P. Shultz, and Herbert Stein entered at 2:02 pm; Stephen B. Bull and Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins were present at the beginning of this meeting.

Greetings

Photographs

[Pause]

-Agenda

The President's speech of January 25, 1972 -Connally's telephone call to Henry A. Kissinger -Charles W. Colson's request of Shultz to call Clark Kerr -Colson's talk with the President and Kissinger -Kerr's possible public statement -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] -Kerr's previous comments about the President's unknown speech

Kerr's activities

-Vietnam committee -Ceasefire -Political orientation

Economic problems -Stein's memorandum -Budget -Federal Reserve Board [FRB] -International monetary affairs -Economic forecast

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Congressional leadership meeting -Federal spending -Increases -Revenue sharing -Drop in economic indicators -Drop in retail sales -Reasons -Commerce Department -Automobiles -Durable orders -Steel -Home building -M-1 -Gross National Product [GNP] -Expansionist fiscal policy -Reaction -Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] -France's concern -Wage and price controls -Performance -Dock strike -Impact -Settlement -Upward movement of economy -Retail sales -Seasonal adjustments -Monthly figures -Indications -Projected rise -Business -Possible cyclical recovery -1971 indicators -Contracts -Orders for capital equipment -Capital expenditure appropriations -Durable goods -GNP -Retail figures -Wall Street Journal survey of retailers -Sears-Roebuck. unknown stores -Christmas sales

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Commerce Department figures -Labor market indicators -Increased work week -Unemployment and employment -Prices -Housing starts -Leading economic indicators -Forthcoming report -Revision -Stein's view -Compared to Burns's and Connally -Public expectations -Manufacturing layoffs compared to new hiring -1969 -Federal spending -Unemployment -Connally's forthcoming study -Cabinet meeting -Stein's office -Commerce Department -James D. Hodgson -Identifying the unemployed -Household heads -Women -Multi-jobs -Eighteen year olds -Timing -Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW] -Development -Common sources -Survey -Statistics -Revision -1967 -Survey question -Phrasing

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:02 pm.

Unknown matter

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:26 pm.

Economy -Wording of unemployment studies -Effects -Statistical experts -Politics

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 2:26 pm.

Photograph session -Quadriad meeting -Novelty -Congressional leadership meeting -Business magazines

Ziegler left at 2:27 pm.

Economy -Budget -Federal spending -Gerald R. Ford -Note to the President -Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] -Unused money -George W. Romney -Queens, Forrest Hills -Check by administration -Housing -Inner city public housing -Forthcoming testimony by unknown person -Camp David -Water and sewer spending -Press perception of administration -Withholding and dumping funds -1972 election -Withholding funds -Deficits -Office of Management and Budget [OMB] -Spending ceiling -OMB pressure on departments

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Timing -Effect on economy -Spending ceiling -1973 -Congress -Intentions -Spending ceiling -Defense spending -GNP -Employment -Past record -1969, 1970 -Decline -Trends -Rates -Domestic agencies -Fiscal management -Compared to Defense Department -Information technology -Rolling budget system -OMB effort -Record keeping -Treasury Department -General Services Administration [GSA] -Concerns for upcoming budget -Deficit -Handling -Inflation -Shultz's and Connally's comments at briefing -Employment -Economic expansion -Fiscal year [FY] 1973 budget -Spending ceiling -FY 1974 budget -Spending ceiling -Probability of cuts -Defense -Domestic programs -Congressional intentions -Edmund S. Muskie -Edward M. Kennedy

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

-Largesse

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-FY 1975 -Congressional actions -Shultz's efforts -Departments -Revenue sharing -Revenue sharing -Benefits -State and local spending -Ways and Means Committee action -Hearings -Timing -House of Representatives -State and local action -Shift from FY 1972 to FY 1973 -Effect -Construction projects -Welfare payments -States -Revenue sharing -Rate of expenditure -Defense contracts -Employment -Congressional action -Timing of administration proposals -FY 1972 -Cabinet -Recent meeting -Budget responsibilities -Unknown Defense Department official -Money supply -M-1 -Ability to control -Reserve control -Individual decisions -Checking accounts -Interest bearing accounts -Rates of increase -M-1 -M-2 -Savings deposits

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Certificates of deposit [CDs] -Individual decisions -Liquid assets -Form -Commercial bank reserves -Administration action -Reaction -New York Federal Reserve bank management -Burns's possible action -Manager's activities -Administration links -FRB system -Management personnel -Salaries -Burns's possible action -The President's possible action -Andrew F. Brimmer

Brimmer

-United Nations [UN] -Under Secretary General -[Kurt Waldheim] -Dr. Ralph Bunche -Request of Burns to call William P. Rogers -Possible ambassadorship

International economic situation -Trade negotiations -Status -European agreement -Substance -Preferential treatments -Citrus -Tobacco -Grain (wheat, barley) -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] -Pricing -France -Italy -Citrus, tobacco -France

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Japan -Tariffs -Soybeans -Sales value -Beef -Wheat -Citrus -Oranges -US concessions -Canada -Status -Politics -1973, 1972 -US strategy -Possible unilateral action -Possible termination of automobile agreement -Tourism -Possible repeal of unknown act -The President's forthcoming trip to USSR -Substance -State and Commerce Departments -Pierre E. Trudeau -Timing -Trudeau's visits with Soviets -Benefits -Possible reconsideration -Kissinger -France -US responsibility -Budget deficits -European central bankers -US stance on International Monetary Fund [IMF] -Convertibility -Paul A. Volcker, Bill Dale [?] -Moratorium -Ghana -Methods of payment -Dutch guilders -Belgian francs -US negotiating position -Effect on central bankers

# Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Great Britain	
-Ceylon [Sri Lanka]	
-West Germany	
-International confidence	
-US budget	
-The President's message to Congress	
-Connally's action on debt	
-Trade	
-Surplus	
-Great Britain	
-Japan	
-Revaluation	
-US	
-Competitive position	
-Administrative, tariff barriers	
-Trade deficits	
-Expectations	
-Common Market	
-Preferential trade ties	
-Power	
-Convertibility	
-Feasibility	
-US trade policy	
-Japanese decisions	
-Canadian decisions	
-[Common Market]	
-Canada	
-US strategy	
-The President's possible meeting with Connally, Kissinger, Roger	rs
-Backchannels	
-State Department	
-Attitude	
-Need for consistency	
-Trudeau	
-Aleksei N. Kosygin	
-Dinner	
-Convertibility	
-Banking	
-Need for new plan	
-Exchange markets	
-Smithsonian Agreement	

#### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Gold -Legislation -Trade negotiations -Fiscal and monetary policy -Location of money -Quantity of money -Customers -US business confidence -Damage since 1965 -Vietnam -Riots -Rebuilding -Time required -Gold bill -Debt ceiling -Revenue sharing -Timing -Trade negotiations -Need for confidence by bankers -Conally's possible talks

The President's schedule -Quadriad meetings -Frequency -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Timing

Ziegler -Photograph session

#### Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:27 pm.

Photograph session

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:20 pm.

The Netherlands -Dutch Prime Minister [Barend W. Biesheuvel] -Recent meeting with the President -Travel to Indonesia -State visit by Queen [Juliana]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Relations with Indonesia
-The President's 1953 trip
-Dutch tourists
-Colonial legacy
-School, health systems, language, cultural ties

Africa

-US relations -Colonial powers -British, Dutch

#### Ziegler and members of the press entered at an unknown time after 2:27 pm.

[Photograph session] -[General conversation]

#### Ziegler, et al. left at an unknown time before 3:20 pm.

#### Brazil

-Compared to the US -Alaska -Natural resources -Climate -Compared to US Midwest -Prospects -Population -Portugese -Government -The President's previous conversation with Biesheuvel -Latin needs -French constitution -Strong leaders -Italians -Spain -Gen. Francisco Franco -Latin government -Need for moderation, balance -French -Gen. Charles A.J.M. De Gaulle -Contributions -National spirit

# Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

-Presidency -Parties

-Needs -State Department -US constitutional model

The President's telephone call to Wilbur D. Mills, January 24, 1972 -Health -Mills's schedule -Mother [Abbie L. (Daigh) Mills] -Granddaughter

Connally, et al. left at 3:20 pm.

Conversation No. 656-28

Date: January 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 3:20 pm and 3:23 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman[?].

Schedule -Executive Office Building [EOB]

Conversation No. 656-29

Date: Jaunary 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 3:20 pm and 3:23 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-29 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: <u>5s</u>]

# END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The President and Sanchez left at 3:23 pm.

Conversation No. 656-30

Date: Jaunary 26, 1972 Time: Unknown between 3:23 pm and 5:01 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

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

An agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 656-30A]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 656-30 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Federal Statute] [Duration: <u>6s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The President's location -EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

An agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 656-30B]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Federal Statute] [Duration: <u>5s</u>]

# END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[End of telephone conversation]