

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-1

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:50 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Temperature in office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:50 am.

Conversation No. 658-2

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:50 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule

-Medal of Freedom citations -Raymond K. Price, Jr. -John K. Andrews, Jr.

Funeral of Carl T. Hayden
-Richard G. Kleindienst
-Representation of the President

Butterfield left at 8:50 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-3

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 9:10 am - 10:05 am Location: Oval Office

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

```
Vietnam negotiations
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- -Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Recent press conference
 - -Schedule
- -Opposition
 - -Clark M. Clifford
 - -Unknown person's comment
- -Ceasefire
 - -Terms
 - -Reaction by the North Vietnamese
- -George S. McGovern
 - -Nguyen Van Thieu overthrow
- -Kissinger's recent briefing

Middle East

- -Rogers view
 - -Airplane delivery
 - -Haldeman's talk with Rogers
 - -Political signals
 - -Joseph J. Sisco
 - -Schedule of delivery
 - -Israeli view
- -Kissinger's view
 - -Memorandum
 - -Problems
 - -Sisco
 - -Bargaining chip
 - -Bargaining chip
- -The President's conversation with Golda Meir
- -Israeli's conferences with Arab nations
 - -Timing
 - -US participation
 - -Anwar El-Sadat participation
 - -Student uprisings

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
-US strategy
                -Use of conferences
                     -Soviet Union
     -Kissinger's view
          -Haldeman's briefing
          -Rogers
          -Overreaction
          -Plane deal
Media conference by Rogers
     -Kissinger
     -Television
          -John A. Scali's skill
          -Kissinger
                -Scali
                -Clark MacGregor
                -View of questions
Dinner, January 26, 1972
     -The President's telephone call to Kissinger during dinner
          -The President's talk with Kissinger
          -Effect
                -Impression
                     -Tape
                -News coverage
     -The President's possible presence
          -John D. Ehrlichman's view
     -Gridiron-type dinners
          -Women's view
     -Frank F. Church's comments
     -Kissinger's comments
          -Paul W. Keyes
          -Delivery
                -Accent
     -Church comments
          -Kissinger references
                -Forthcoming People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
     -Kissinger's comments
          -Protocol
```

Forthcoming dinners

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
-Gridiron
          -Attendance
                -Herbert G. Klein
                -Edgar Allan Poe
                -Barry M. Goldwater
     -White House photographers
     -White House correspondents
          -Ronald L. Ziegler
     -Gridiron
          -Poe
                -Loyalty
          -Previous dinners
                -Democrats' behavior
                -Press relations
          -The President's attendance
                -Drop-in appearance
                     -Poe
                     -Show
Rogers's briefing
```

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

-Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

```
Kissinger's recent press conference
-Advisability
-Television appearance
-Pros and cons
-Necessity
-Rogers
-Impression of Kissinger
-Public perception
-Bryce N. Harlow's view
-Television
-Press coverage
-John B. Connally
-Kissinger delivery
-Pros and cons of television appearances
-Direct answers
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

-Compared to the President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

Rogers

-Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

- -Kissinger
 - -Vietnam
- -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Oval Office

-Position of sun

Agnew

- -Ehrlichman's view
- -Criticism of administration policy
 - -Congressional leaders meeting
 - -Input to policy making
- -Role with administration
- -Congressional relations
 - -Harlow
 - -Agnew's view
 - -Presiding over the Senate
 - -The President's experience
 - -Vice President's job
- -Outlook
- -Associates
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -John Birch Society members
- -Republican Governors Dinner
 - -Attendance
 - -White House staff
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -Cabinet
 - -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - -White House staff compared to Cabinet

-Rogers

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

Unknown request

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Personnel management

- -Partisanship
 - -Unknown person
 - -Transfer
 - -Donald H. Rumsfeld

Senate action on equal opportunity bill

- -The President's memorandum to Ehrlichman
 - -House of Representatives
 - -Possible veto
- -Radicals
- -Rev. Theodore S. Hesburgh Commission
 - -Business harassment
 - -Black reaction
 - -Votes
 - -Leonard Garment
 - -William L. Safire
 - -Ehrlichman
- -MacGregor
- -Possible veto
 - -Compared to 18 year old vote amendment
 - -Liberals
 - -Frank L. Rizzo

The President's schedule

- -Graham A. Martin meeting
 - -Kissinger's view
- -Future meetings with members of Foreign Service officers, prime ministers
- -Reasons for Martin meeting
 - -Vietnam
 - -Presidential elections

Kissinger entered at 9:30 am.

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
Dinner, January 26, 1972
     -Telephone call from the President
     -Church comments
          -PRC trip
          -Herbert J. ("Jackie") Gleason
          -Keves
          -Partisanship
          -Crowd reaction
          -Kissinger's theme
                -Call for national unity
          -Art Buchwald
                -Today show
                -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news
Distribution of Questions and Answers [Q&A] sheet
     -Completion
     -Distribution
          -Rogers
          -Timing
          -MacGregor
     -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s telephone call to Theodore L. Elliott
          -Briefing
          -State Department responsibility
                -Haldeman's talk with Rogers
Kissinger's recent press conference
     -Television
     -Media coverage
     -Rogers briefings
          -Compared to Kissinger's
Vietnam
     -Ceasefire demand
          -Clifford's proposal
          -North Vietnamese position
                -Point Seven
                -Kissinger's briefings
                     -Timing of ceasefire
```

-Settlement

-Accuracy of criticism -Administration rebuttal

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
-Ziegler
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-Rogers's responsibility

-Telephone call from Kissinger

-News summary

-Part in overall plan

-North Vietnamese position

-Edward M. Kennedy attack

-Prisoners of War [POW] return for withdrawal

-Rogers's possible rebuttal

-Ceasefire

-North Vietnamese position

-US proposal of May 31, 1971

-Rogers's possible rebuttal

-Ziegler

-US offers

-Negotiating tactics

-New York Times editorial

-Washington Post article

-Inaccuracy

-Current proposal

-Compared to October 7, 1970

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Ceasefire

-Timing

-Electoral commission

-Deadline

-Mutual withdrawal

-Compared to unilateral withdrawal

-Possible letter to Washington Post

-Authorship

-State compared to Kissinger

-Rogers

-Marshall Green

-Kissinger's preparation

-Content

-Administration initiative

-Washington Post

-Alternative to the Washington Post

-Washington Star editorial

-Smith Hempstone, Jr.

-New York Times

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

- -Editorials
- -Benjamin C. Bradlee
- -Representation on PRC trip
 - -Consequences of invitation

Reporters on PRC trip

- -Ziegler effort
- -The President's friends
 - -Nicholas P. Thimmesch
 - -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
- -Exclusion of Washington Post
 - -Washington Star
 - -Hugh S. Sidey
 - -United Press International [UPI], Associated Press [AP]
 - -Instruction for Ziegler
- -Instruction for Ziegler
 - -Unknown reporter
 - -Marquis Childs
 - -Washington Post's policy
 - -Notification of reporters
 - -The President's approval of list
- -Criticism
 - -Fairness
- -Television
- -Exclusion of Washington Post
- -PRC view

Vietnam

- -Terms of settlement
 - -Rogers
 - -North Vietnamese reaction
 - -Request for surrender

PRC

- -Interest at dinner, January 26, 1972
 - -Washington Post
 - -Entertainment
 - -Theme
- -Soviet Union trip compared to PRC trip
 - -Substance

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
Q&A prepared by Rogers
     -Staff meeting
          -News summaries
     -Vietnam ceasefire
          -Clifford
          -Negotiating point
     -Kennedy's criticism
          -North Vietnamese position
                -POWs for withdrawal
          -Ziegler
          -History of proposal
                -Military and political issues
                     -Linkage
                          -New York Times
     -Kissinger's telephone call to Rogers
          -Forthcoming briefing
```

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

```
List of reporters on PRC trip
-Delivery
-Ziegler
-Haldeman
```

-Kennedy

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:52 am.

```
Vietnam

-Opinion of the President's program by news community

-January 26, 1972 dinner reception

-The President's efforts

-Tone

-The President's efforts

-The President's talk with Charles W. Colson, January 26, 1972

-Colson's view

-David Brinkley

-James Doyle of the Washington Star

-Unknown captain's comments

-Sacrifice for POWs

-South Vietnam

-Communism
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

- -Possible administration counter-attack
 - -Attack on Democrats
 - -Surrender
 - -Michael J. Mansfield
 - -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - -Robert J. Dole
 - -Communism in South Vietnam
 - -Need for initiative
 - -Advantages
 - -Audience size
 - -Media support
 - -Hubert H. Humphrey criticism
 - -Edmund S. Muskie criticism
 - -Ceasefire terms
 - -Negotiating point of North Vietnam
 - -Clifford criticism
 - -Overall plan
 - -POWs
 - -Administration strategy
 - -North Vietnam, Vietcong, Democrats
 - -Nancy (Hanschman) Dickerson
 - -Talk with Kissinger at dinner
 - -Press

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 9:52 am.

-Response to *Washington Post* editorial

-Ziegler

-Marshall Green

-Dictation of letter

-Authorship

-State Department

Kissinger left at 9:55 am.

Press list for PRC trip

-Washington Post

-Stanley Karnow

-Review

Butterfield left at 9:55 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

```
Vietnam
     -Kissinger
          -State Department reply to Washington Post editorial
     -Haldeman meetings with Colson, Ziegler, Scali
          -Analysis of and responses to coverage
                -PRC trip
     -Foreign policy line
          -Camp David
          -Politics and peace
                -Administration critics
                     -Partisanship
                          -POWs
                -Written statement
                     -Buchanan
                     -Noel C. Koch
                          -Colson
                     -Buchanan
```

-Lee W. Huebner

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:55 am.

```
The President's schedule
-Signing ceremony
-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
-Press
-Announcement
-Maurice H. Stans
```

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

-Haldeman's attention to scheduling
-Bull
-Ziegler

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:52 am.

-Signing ceremony
-Details of photograph session
-Time limit
-Removal of photographers

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

-January 26, 1972 event

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

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 9:52 am.

-Peter G. Peterson replacement
-Knowledge by Cabinet
-Notification
-Announcement
-Peter M. Flanigan

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

Vietnam

-Counter to Democratic criticism

-PRC trip

-Surrender, communism, defeat

-Sustaining attack

-Washington Post

-Administration supporters

-Mailings

-Kissinger

-Public confusion

Press list for PRC trip

The President and Haldeman left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 658-34

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: 10:05 am – unknown before 10:14 am

Location: Oval Office

<u>Unknown men [Secret Service agents] met.</u>

[Unintelligible]

Tape Subject Log

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The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 10:14 am.

Conversation No. 658-4

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 10:14 am - 10:27 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Dinner, January 26, 1972

- -Henry A. Kissinger's performance
- -Frank F. Church's performance
- -Reception of Church's remarks
 - -Contrasted with reception of Kissinger's
- -Audience

The President's schedule

- -Herbert G. Klein
- -White House correspondents
- -Broadcasters' dinner
- -Gridiron
 - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - -Edgar Allan Poe

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:14 am.

-Richard M. Scammon

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:27 am.

Dinner, January 26, 1972

- -Kissinger
 - -Reception
- -Church's comments
 - -Forthcoming People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - -Convention

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-4 (cont.)

```
Court decision
     -Stock case
          -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo's conversation with the President
          -Dismissal
          -Details of decision
                -Unknown person
                     -International Business Machines [IBM]
           -Press coverage
                -Consistency
Julie Nixon Eisenhower's trip to Texas
     -Reception
          -The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
Dinner, January 26, 1972
     -Feedback on the President's Vietnam speech
          -Ruth Haggey [?] and husband
          -The President's sincerity
     -Mr. and Mrs. Vance Hartke
     -Kissinger's remarks
          -Church
          -Harvard University
     -The President's call to Kissinger
          -Perception
                -Tape
                -Vera Glazer [?]
     -Glazer [?]
Camp David trip
Dewitt Wallace dinner
     -Woods
     -Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis
     -White House staff
     -Lewis, Wallace
          -Financing of the President's articles, 1962-1968
                -Trips
     -Albert L. Cole
Camp David
     -Woods's schedule
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-4 (cont.)

-Renwick Gallery opening -Preparation for PRC -Reading, dictation

Dinner, January 26, 1972
-Kissinger
-Talk with Woods

-Outlook

Woods left at 10:27 am.

Conversation No. 658-5

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 10:27 am - 11:12 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Richard M. Scammon and Charles W. Colson; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

[Photograph session]

Seating

- -Prime Minister of Ghana [Kofi A. Busia]
 - -Education
 - -London
 - -Coup d'etat

Scammon's book with Ben Wattenberg, *The Real Majority* (1970)

- -Effect
 - -1970 election
- -Responsibility
 - -Soundness of theories
- -Marijuana legalization
 - -John V. Lindsay's position
 - -Polls

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

```
Politics
     -Prohibition Party
     -Use of election process
           -Robert M. La Follette
                -Effect on politics
                      -Political orientation
                      -Grover Cleveland
                      -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
                      -Progressivism
           -Herbert Hoover
                -Depression
                -Contribution
           -History of politics in early twentieth century
                -La Follette
                      -Compared to Alfred E. Smith
                      -Historical speculation
                           -Theodore Roosevelt
                           -Wilson
Book on historical counterfactualism
     -Charlotte Corday's murder of Jean Paul Marat
     -J. William Fulbright
     -Edward M. Kennedy
     -Civil War
Social issues
     -Busing
          -Richmond decision
          -Forest Hills
     -View of whole country
           -Feasibility
     -Voting blocks
           -Philadelphia
                -Frank L. Rizzo
                      -Republican coalition
                      -Jewish votes
                      -Black votes
           -Cleveland
                -Ralph J. Perk
                      -Black votes
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

```
-Black voting psyche
            -Education
                 -James M. Carney
            -Rizzo
            -Difficulties
                 -Party identification
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 13m 28s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
*****************************
        -Perception of the Administration
        -Rizzo
            -Law and order
        -Samuel W. Yorty
        -Tom Bradley
        -Liberal views
        -Forest Hills
        -Jews
        -Perception of public
            -Supreme Court
        -Presidential action
            -Lyndon B. Johnson
            -Effect
                 -Compared to Rizzo
            -Johnson
        -Busing
        -Housing
        -Public wishes
            -Crime
```

-Morality -Marijuana

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

```
-New York-Washington axis
-Los Angeles, Chicago
-Commentators
-Problems
```

-Liberal viewpoints

-Lack of "guts"

-Strength of America

-George Meany

-Busing

-Milton Viorst

-Judith Viorst

-George S. McGovern stance

-Court decisions

-Detroit, Richmond

-Problems

-Fear of violence

-Public education

-Internal Revenue Service [IRS]

-Edward M. Kennedy

-George C. Wallace

-Economic issues

-Social security

-Unemployment insurance

-Government spending

-Individual and group fears

-Ghetto problems

-Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans

-California

-Montgomery County, Maryland

-Black residents of Washington, DC

-Guess Who's Coming to Dinner

-Sidney Poitier

-Bourgeoisie

-Race relations

-Social mobility

-Polls

-Busing, crime, housing

-Economic issues

-Leadership

-Message to Democrats

-Encouragement of strongest elements

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

```
-Fitness to rule
```

- -The President's reading
 - -Biography, history
- -H.G. Wells
- -Nineteenth century Britain
- -Wells
 - -Importance of education
- -History of ruling classes
- -Politicians
- -Intellectuals
 - -Use of intellectuals
 - -College environment
 - -Elites

-Fitness to rule

-Republicans

-New York, Los Angeles

- -Resentments
- -Vietnam
- -Meany
- -Peter J. Brennan
- -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
- -Intellectual in power
 - -Democrats, Republicans
 - -Washington Post
 - -New York Times
 - -Time, Life
 - -Networks
 - -Consequences
 - -Analogy to France
 - -Isolationism
 - -"Guts", coverage
 - -Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Background
- -"Hard hats" compared to intellectuals
 - -"Know nothings"
 - -Blacks
 - -Farmers
 - -William F. Buckley, Jr.
 - -Problem with college graduates
 - -Scammon's military experience
 - -Willingness to fight in war

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

```
-Stamina
          -McGovern
                -Programs
          -Democratic Party
                -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
          -Abdication of power
          -Shame
          -Power
     -Presidential qualities
-US leadership
     -The President's reading
          -Editorials
                -News summaries
     -Ultra-liberals, right-wing
     -Prospects of US in world
     -US sense of destiny
     -Desire to excel
          -Effects
     -Compared to other nations
          -British
          -French
          -Dutch
          -Danes
          -Swedes
          -Economy
                -Japan
                -Britain
                -France
                -Japan
          -Chinese, Soviets
                -Governmental system
                -Strength of people
          -West Germany
```

-Britain -Problems

-Courage -Drive -Socialists

-Turn inward

-Japan

-Division

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

-Consequence

-Decline

-"Intellectual incest"

-Strength of US

- -Majority
- -Public perception of issues
- -Rejection of permissiveness
- -Size of strong elements in population
 - -John Wayne
- -Qualities of majority
 - -Religion
 - -Compared to intellectuals
- -Administration strategy
 - -Doing what is fashionable
 - -National Press Club
 - -Compared to doing what is right
 - -Presidential qualities
 - -Responsibility
 - -Appeal to majority

Presentation of gifts -Cufflinks

Scammon and Colson left at 11:12 am.

Conversation No. 658-6

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:13 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with Secretary [Maurice H. Stans]

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:13 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-5 (cont.)

Conversation No. 658-7

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 11:13 am - 11:24 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Maurice H. Stans.

Stans's resignation

- -Announcement
- -The President's gratitude
- -Announcement
 - -Stans's forthcoming role
- -Secrecy
- -The President's gratitude
 - -Stans's past support
 - -1960 election
 - -1962 election
 - -1968 election

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Political returnable]

[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Business

-Support for the Administration

Economy

-As issue

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 658-7 (cont.)

- -Democrats
- -Retail sales
 - -Arthur F. Burns
- -General thrust
- -Economic indicators
 - -Retail sales
 - -Stans's reports
 - -Stock market
 - -Rise in economy
 - -Unemployment

Stans's future attendance at meetings

- -Legislative leaders
- -Robert J. Dole
- -Cabinet
- -Bryce N. Harlow
- -Notification of H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Attendees at White House functions

- -Dinners
- -Rose Mary Woods notification
- -Haldeman
- -Stans's talk with Woods

Business problems

- -Federal Trade Commission [FTC] decision
- -Breakup of breakfast cereal companies
- -FTC administrator [Miles W. Kirkpatrick]
- -The President's support for business
 - -Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M. Kennedy
- -Perception of business community
 - -Stans
 - -Peter M. Flanigan
 - -Control of commissioners
 - -William D. Ruckelshaus
 - -Kirkpatrick
 - -Virginia H. Knauer

Stans's notes to the President

- -Telephone call to be made
 - -Former head of 3M, Camden Knight

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-7 (cont.)

- -View of wage and price controls
- -Political pressure from right wing
- -Foster [?] McGraw [sp ?]
 - -Birthday greetings

Mike McGill

- -Books
- -Possible position with administration
 - -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
- -Qualifications
- -Stans's possible talk with Flanigan
- -Possible ambassadorship

Forthcoming announcement

- -Duration
- -Speaking rules
 - -Stans, Peterson, Flanigan
- -Council on International Economic Policy [CIEP]

Peter G. Peterson, Flanigan, and the photographer entered at 11:20 am.

Forthcoming announcement

Arrangement for photograph session

[Photograph session]

- -[General conversation]
 - -Germany

Announcement of appointments

- -Protocol
 - -Flanigan's forthcoming position
- -The President's remarks
- -Stans's remarks
- -Peterson's remarks
 - -Duration
 - -Content

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:23 am.

Camera

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-7 (cont.)

-Position

The President, et al. left at 11:24 am.

Conversation No. 658-35

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:24 am and 11:30 am

Location: Oval Office

<u>Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.</u>

The President's location
-Press Room

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 658-35A]

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 658-8

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: 11:30 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-131]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-9

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 11:30 am - 11:45 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Weather

[Signing documents]

The President's schedule

[The President talked with John B. Connally between 11:32 am and 11:41 am.]

[Conversation No. 658-9A]

[See Conversation No. 19-132; two items have been withdrawn from the conversation]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:32 am.

Herbert Stein

[Signing documents]
-Ezra Solomon

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

- J. Willard Marriott
 - -Request of Butterfield to be liaison
 - -Honor America Day
 - -Unknown person

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:41 am.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Charles W. Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-9 (cont.)

-Camp David -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Forthcoming meetings

Butterfield left at 11:45 am.

Conversation No. 658-10

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 11:47 am - 1:03 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Maurice H. Stans

- -Loyalty
- -Responsibilities
- -Preferences in assignments
- -Performance
- -Previous assignments

George Meany

- -Possible telephone call from the President
- -Report from Murray M. Chotiner's source
 - -Labor relations with Administration
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -Charles W. Colson
 - -John B. Connally
 - -Alleged anti-labor feelings
 - -Relations with the President
 - -Treatment of the President at union convention in Miami, November 19,
 - 1971
 - -Reasons
 - -Schedule
 - -Meany's mood
 - -Gift from the President
 - -Telephone call by the President

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

-Meany's health
-Reluctance by Meany to initiate call
-Reason

Colson entered at 11:49 am.

- -Shultz
- -John F. O'Connell
 - -Talk with Meany
 - -Meany's health
- -Productivity Commission meeting
 - -Treasury Department
- -O'Connell
 - -Meany's view of administration relations
 - -James D. Hodgson, Connally
 - -Possible telephone call from the President to Meany
 - -1972 election
 - -Budget briefing by Shultz
 - -Defense
- -Relations right-wing Republicans
 - -Common views
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Defense
 - -Communism
- -Health
 - -Golf
- -Administration strategy
 - -Telephone call from the President
 - -Shultz briefing

Richard M. Scammon

- -Recent meeting with the President
 - -Observations
- -Qualities
 - -Polling
 - -Social science
- -Compared with Elmo Roper
- -Intelligence
- -Friendship with Colson
- -Political views
- -View of meeting with the President

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Intellectuals
          -Domestic Council
     -Labor relations
          -Alexander E. Barkan, Meany
Meany strategy
     -Attack on administration
          -Severity
Scammon
     -Recent meeting
     -Social issues
          -Perception of Administration action
               -Patrick J. Buchanan
               -Meetings with John D. Ehrlichman
                     -Busing
               -Law and order
               -Scatter housing
          -Colson's talk with Scammon
                     -Democrats
                     -Scatter housing
                          -Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
                     -Busing
                          -Amendment
                     -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
          -Possible George W. Romney resignation
Social issues
     -HUD
          -Romney resignation
          -Possible Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger appointment
               -Oualifications
               -Instructions
     -Scammon's arguments
          -Quality
          -Busing
               -White supremacy
                     -Richmond decision
               -Canada analogy
                     -Roman Catholic minority
```

-School system

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Parochial schools
          -Tax exemption
                -Connally
-Ehrlichman's position
     -Difficulties
     -Washington, DC
-Integration
     -Haldeman's view
     -Colson's view
          -Background
                -Boston
     -Haldeman's view
     -Blacks
          -Administration's treatment
-Scammon's views
     -Possible paper
     -Book, The Real Majority
          -Effect on 1970 election
                -Adlai E. Stevenson III
                -Peter Williams
     -Visit with the President
          -Effect on Scammon
          -Reason
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 5m 51s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

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- -Perception of administration action
- -Haldeman possible conversation with Ehrlichman
 - -Need for administration action
- -Integration
 - -Richmond decision
 - -Court appointments
 - -Possible administration action
 - -Suburbs
 - -Charlotte-Mecklenberg decision
 - -HUD, HEW
 - -Judge Robert R. Merhige, Jr.
 - -Court appointments
 - -Edward L. Morgan
 - -Politics
 - -Attorney General's [John N. Mitchell] role
 - -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -Law compared to politics question
 - -Amendment possibility
 - -Decision of people
 - -Scammon's view
 - -Effect on other issues
 - -Schools, housing
 - -Authors of Declaration of Independence, Constitution

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 40s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

Social issues

- -Youth group
 - -White House visit
 - -Media coverage
 - -Memoranda
 - -1972 campaign
 - -Henry A. Kissinger and Robert H. Finch meeting
 - -Result
 - -White House tour
- -Meetings at White House
 - -The President's availability
 - -Kissinger's availability

Vietnam War issue

- -Reaction to the President's January 25, 1972 speech
 - -Albert E. Sindlinger
 - -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - -Texas
 - -Telegrams
 - -Favorable
 - -Unfavorable
 - -Details
 - -Majority sentiment
 - -Unfavorable
 - -Dr. Carl McIntyre
 - -Liberals
 - -Surrender
 - -New York Times story
 - -John Finney
 - -Content
 - -Republicans
 - -Democrats' stand
 - -Surrender
 - -Administration reaction
 - -Attack on Democrats
 - -McCarthyism
 - -Communism in South Vietnam
- -Administration strategy
 - -Democrats' remarks
 - -Humphrey, Muskie
 - -Statements

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

- -Wire service coverage
- -Washington Post
- -New York Times

Dinner, January 26, 1972

- -Colson's reaction to the President's telephone call
 - -Position of Colson's table
 - -Others' reaction
 - -Rose Mary Woods
 - -Tape
 - -Woods's action
 - -Kissinger
- -Washington Post

The President's relations with Meany

- -Possible telephone call to Meany from the President
 - -Meany's health
 - -George P. Shultz meeting
 - -Meany support for the President
 - -Michael J. Mansfield amendments
 - -The President's appreciation
 - -Meany reaction

Social issues

- -Effect on administration
- -Child care veto, December 10, 1971
- -Scammon's view
 - -Nationality of social issues
 - -Possibility
 - -Federal Government involvement
 - -Crime
 - -Local problem
 - -Education
 - -Housing
- -Dinner [for DeWitt Wallace], January 28, 1972
- -The President's *Reader's Digest* article on Vietnam
 - -Timing of appearance
 - -Speech
- -John Wayne's movies
 - -Popularity
- -Heckling of Jackson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Florida universities
```

- -Defense spending
- -Perception
 - -Accuracy

```
Edith Efron's book, The News Twisters (1971)
```

-Staff

-1972 campaign

-1968 campaign

-Media coverage

-Receptions

-Jackson

- -Scammon
- -Leonard Garment
- -Sales
 - -Testimony by Efron

-Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. committee

- -Testimony
 - -Daniel L. Schorr
 - -Colson's schedule

-Ervin

- -Roman L. Hruska
- -Strom Thurmond
- -Viewers
 - -Book sellers
- -Book publication
 - -Promotion
 - -Re-orders
- -Compared to Scammon's book, *The Real Majority* (1970)
- -Efron's appearance on Today show
- -Broadcasters' view
- -Irving Kristol's article in Fortune

Public relations

- -Circulation of information
- -Q&A circulation
 - -Kissinger's briefing
 - -Consistency of line
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Refinement
 - -Haldeman's and Colson's effort

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-William L. Safire
                     -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
                     -Readability
                     -Simplification
                           -Kissinger's speech draft
                                -Negotiating points
                     -Editing
                     -Purpose
                -Main point
                     -The President's efforts for peace
                           -North Vietnam's recalcitrance
Colson left at 12:26 pm.
     The President's schedule
          -Camp David
          -Public relations
     The President's schedule
          -Announcement of cancer panel
                -Administration strategy
                     -Make-up of panel
                     -Photograph opportunity
                           -Details
                           -Brevity
                           -Benno C. Schmidt
          -Pearl Bailey visit
                -Award
                -Elmer H. Bobst
                -Timing
                     -Oval Office press conference
          -Camp David visit
                -Reading
          -Visit with US attorneys
                -Benefits
                     -Drug programs
           -Benefit of public relations from visits
                -Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
```

Colson

-Athletes

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-News coverage
```

- -Domestic programs
- -Reception for athletes
 - -Attendance
 - -Preparation
- -Governors dinner
 - -Brevity
 - -Attendees
 - -Purpose
 - -Timing
- -Jaycee leadership conference
 - -The President's attendance
 - -Length of conference
 - -Attendance
 - -Political considerations
 - -Location
 - -Reception
- -Volunteers dinner
 - -Need for brevity
- -Long range schedule
 - -Kissinger's office, State Department
 - -Set visits
- -State visits
 - -Nihat Erim of Turkey
 - -Canada
 - -Connally
 - -Postponement
 - -Trade
 - -US retaliation
 - -Possible pickets
 - -Erim
 - -Dinner
 - -Duration of visit
- -Scheduling strategy
 - -Open days
- -Luis Echeverria Alvarez visit
 - -Timing
 - -Moscow summit
- -Television anchormen reception
 - -George Putnam
 - -Briefing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Receiving line
          -Photographs
          -Attendees
                -Radio disc jockeys
          -Benefit
          -Timing
     -Gridiron dinner
          -Edgar A. Poe
          -Timing
     -California visit
          -Timing
                -Congressional recess
     -Correspondents' dinner [?]
          -Press attendance
                -Writing press
     -White House correspondents and photographers, radio and television corespondents
     -Overseas visits
          -Rogers
                -San Francisco
                     -Latin America
          -Connally
          -Tehran
                -Soviet Union trip
Ambassadorial appointment to Iran
     -Rogers's recommendation
          -Walter J. Stoessel, jr.
          -Armin H. Meyer
          -Herman Idles [?], War College Advisor
          -William H. Sullivan
     -Kissinger's recommendation
          -Sullivan
                -Reasons
                     -Southeast Asia
          -Stoessel
     -Sullivan
     -Meyer
           -State Department experience
```

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:26 pm.

-Previous experience

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

The President's possible address to black group
-Patrick J. Buchanan's recommendation
-Purpose
-Political possibilities
-Black feeling for Muskie
-Busing
-Black middle class
-Possible forums
-Editors, publishers
-United Negro College Fund [UNCF]
-Whites

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 46s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
***********************************
    Presidential citizens medal
         -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
         -History
         -Intent
             -Awardees
                  -Amputees, medical people, adoption program for Korean children
         -Voluntarism
         -Awarding
             -Public ceremony
             -Publicity
             -Cabinet officer
             -Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
             -Publicity
                  -East Room
         -Contrast to Congressional medals
    The President's schedule
         -Preparation for PRC trip
             -Political staff
                  -Instructions to Haldeman
                  -Harry Dent, Buchanan
             -Staff access to the President
         -Congressional relations
             -Page Belcher
                  -Access to the President
                       -Compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower
                       -Plane trip
                           -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
```

-Church trip

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Clark MacGregor
                -Compared to Bryce N. Harlow
          -Telephone calls to Congressmen
                -Birthday greetings
                -Votes
                     -Letters
Personnel
     -Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes
          -Departure
          -Qualities
          -Performance as military aide
          -Accomplishments as military aide
                -Women
                -Arrivals
                -Interservice competition
                     -History
                          -Delivery of reports
                -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                -Contact with dead congressmen's families
                -Transition of power
                     -Prospects
                     -Replacement
          -New command
                -Austin, Texas
                -Responsibilities
                -Prospects
                     -Vietnam
                          -Reconnaissance
```

Butterfield entered at 12:46 pm.

-Herbert G. Klein operation -Ronald L. Ziegler -Colson

Butterfield left at 12:47 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

```
-Counselor to the President
     -Finch
          -Arthur F. Burns
     -Daniel P. Moynihan
     -Finch
          -Future
                -Congress
                -California
                     -Campaigning
     -Donald H. Rumsfeld
     -Abolition
     -Expansion of Cabinet
     -David M. Kennedy
          -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
-Richard V. ("Dick") Allen
     -Job preferences
          -Ambassadorship
                -Portugal
                     -Klein
          -Stoessel
                -European Economic Community [EEC]
                     -Brussels
          -EEC
                -Kennedy, Allen, Robert Strausz-Hupe
          -Portugal
          -Value to the President's reelection
                -Haldeman's view
                -Foreign policy
                     -Domestic political impact
                     -Colson
                -National security
                     -Responsibilities
                           -Political attacks
                           -Monitoring opposition
                -Post-reelection possibilities
                     -Stoessel
                     -Portugal
                     -Allen's fears
                     -Kissinger
                -Location
                     -White House
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

-Colson

-Campaign organization

-Stoessel

-1972 election

-EEC

-Connally

-Strausz-Hupe

-Qualifications

-Franklin D. Murphy

-President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

Haldeman left at 1:03 pm.

Conversation No. 658-11

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

[Unintelligible]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Conversation No. 658-12

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-133]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Conversation No. 658-14

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

The President's schedule -Reading

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-15

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 2:10 pm - 2:17 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Michael J. Mansfield.

[See Conversation No. 19-134]

Conversation No. 658-16

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:17 pm and 2:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-135]

Conversation No. 658-17

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: 2:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-136]

George Meany's schedule
-Request for a return call

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:23 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-137]

Conversation No. 658-19

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:23 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Photograph opportunities

-Rate

-Previous Quadriad photograph

-Herbert Stein

-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

-Bull's responsibility

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:23 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-20

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 2:23 pm - 2:24 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Jerry V. Wilson.

[See Conversation No. 19-138]

Conversation No. 658-21

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:24 pm and 2:32 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-139]

Conversation No. 658-22

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 2:32 pm - 2:34 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Peter J. Pitchess.

[See Conversation No. 19-140]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-23

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:34 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

Telephone call to unknown person cannot be completed

-Meeting

-Urgency

Conversation No. 658-24

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:34 pm and 2:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-141]

Conversation No. 658-25

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 2:40 pm - 2:45 pm Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John N. Mitchell.

[See Conversation No. 19-142; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 2:50 pm - 3:00 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Telephone call to George Meany
-Return of telephone call

Butterfield left at 2:52 pm.

-Trip to Camp David

-Helicopters

-Photograph opportunities

-Rate

-Meeting with Jewish group, January 28, 1972

-Jewish group

Bull left at 2:56 pm.

[The President talked with George Meany between 2:56 pm and 3:00 pm.]

[Conversation No. 658-26A]

[See Conversation No. 19-143]

Conversation No. 658-27

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:00 pm and 3:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 658-27 (cont.)

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:07 pm.

Conversation No. 658-28

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:00 pm and 3:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-144]

Conversation No. 658-29

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: 3:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 19-145]

Conversation No. 658-30

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:13 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

George P. Shultz's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Testimony
     -The President's attempted call
-Message from the President
     -The President's telephone call to George Meany
          -Content
          -Meany's reaction
```

-Possible meeting with Shultz

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Briefing

-John C. Stennis

-Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

-Collective bargaining

-Meany

-Compared to business leaders

Conversation No. 658-31

Date: January 27, 1972 Time: 3:13 pm - 3:46 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's meeting with newsmen

-Procedure of Vietnam peace talks

-Kissinger's trips

-The President's involvement

-Reports

-Instructions

-Media-created impression

The President's schedule -Camp David

Unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:13 pm.

Refreshment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

Unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:28 pm.

The President's involvement in Vietnam negotiations

- -Physical effects
 - -State of the Union address, peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- -Dynamics of creation
- -Media interests
- -The President telephone conversation with Meany
 - -George Meany briefing by Kissinger
 - -Details of negotiations
 - -The President's forthcoming trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Soviet Union
 - -The President's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
- -Critics of negotiations
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson
 - -Michael J. Mansfield
 - -Responses
 - -Advocacy of surrender
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - -Charles W. Colson's rebuttal
 - -Communism in South Vietnam
 - -Colson's rebuttal
 - -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's rebuttal
- -Public opinion
 - -The President's recent talk with John N. Mitchell
 - -Congress
 - -News media
 - -The President's peace proposal speech
 - -Quality
 - -Delivery
 - -Impact
 - -Kissinger briefing
 - -Impact

Kissinger's briefings

- -Contrasted with the President's peace proposal speech
- -Meany

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 1m 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Administration accomplishments

- -PRC trip
- -Soviet Union trip
- -Prestige
 - -Compared to previous presidents
- -Soviet grain deal
- -Consistency
 - -Aggressive rebuttal
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -Accepting criticism
- -Abuse of President by opponents
 - -Peace
 - -Dan Rather
 - -Bureaucracy

Vietnam

- -Attack by Senators
 - -Edward M. Kennedy
 - -John F. Kennedy
 - -Ngo Dinh Diem
 - -Edward Kennedy's 1968 peace plan
 - -Wooster, Ohio
 - -Details
 - -Vietnamization
 - -Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu government
- -Recent peace proposal speech
 - -Reference to overthrow
 - -Recent congressional leadership meeting
 - -North Vietnamese position
- -Attack by opponents
 - -Overthrow

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

-Ceasefire
-North Vietnamese desires
-Negotiating points

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 3:28 pm.

Schedule

Butterfield left at 3:30 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations
     -Significance
          -The President's recent talk with Kissinger
          -Historical context
                -British prime ministers
                -Theodore Roosevelt
                     -Panama Canal
                -World War II
                     -[Franklin D. Roosevelt]
                     -Morality
                     -The President's experience
                          -Pacific
                                -Rome
                          -New York
                                -V-J Day
                     -London Times
                          -Compared to Washington Post
                     -Television
```

US-relations with the PRC and Soviet Union

-Significance

-Soviet fears

-US détente with the PRC

-Kissinger view

-The President's possible talk with Chou En-Lai

-Return trip to the PRC

-Soviet summit

-Timing

Vietnam

-The President's peace proposal speech

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

```
-Lack of national unity
```

- -The President's part in negotiations
- -Post-election strategy
 - -Bombing

The President's schedule

- -National Security Council [NSC]
- -Kissinger schedule
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] meeting
 - -Melvin R. Laird orders
- -January 31, 1972
 - -Announcement

Vietnam

- -Kissinger's forthcoming talk with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - -Mitchell
 - -Verification panel meeting
 - -Pentagon Papers
 - -Jack N. Anderson papers
 - -Laird
- -Story on bombing targets
 - -Laird
 - -Haldeman
 - -Accuracy
 - -Military targets
 - -Bombing period
 - -Bureaucracy

Nixon presidency

- -Critics
 - -Haldeman's role
 - -White House staff
 - -Period since July 1971
 - -Response
 - -US public
- -Legitimacy
- -Intellectuals attack
 - -Hugh S. Sidey
 - -Talk with Kissinger
 - -The President's background
 - -Nicholas P. Thimmesch

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

```
-The President's background
```

-Whittier

-Kissinger's background

-Germany

-Kissinger's talk with Sidey

-Robert F. Kennedy

- -Robert Kennedy
- -Reasons
 - -The President's independence
- -Irrelevance of intellectuals
 - -New York Times
 - -Washington Post
- -Voice of American people
- -Democrat prospects
 - -Kissinger's conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - -1972, 1976 elections
 - -Foreign policy comprehension
 - -Domestic policy
 - -India-Pakistan War

-PRC

-Soviet Union

-Bangladesh

-Intellectuals

- -Liberals
 - -Kissinger's friends
 - -Blindness
- -College campuses
 - -Harvard University
 - -University of California
 - -Whittier College
- -Dangers to nation
 - -The President's view
 - -George C. Wallace
 - -Danger on left
 - -India
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Communists

-Opponents

- -Accusation of critics
 - -Involvement in Asia
 - -Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

```
-The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech
          -Fitness to rule
                -The President's conversation with Richard M. Scammon
                     -Kissinger
The President's conversation with Scammon
     -Administration opponents
     -US responsibilities
          -PRC
          -Criticism of US
          -Europe
                -West Germany
                -Great Britain
                -West Germany
                     -Geography
                     -Philosophical differences
          -War
     -Communism
          -As a system
          -Soviet people
          -Chinese people
     -Japanese people
     -German people
     -US leadership
     -Critics of policy
          -Intellectuals
                -Washington, DC, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis
                -Manner
                -Lack of courage
                     -Compared to Meany
                     -Business, college presidents
          -Democrat leadership
                -Possible consequences
The President's opponents
     -Awareness of the President's view
          -Barry M. Goldwater
     -The President's point of view
```

The President's schedule

-Training

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 558-31(cont.)

Kissinger's relations with news media

- -Magazines
- -William L. Safire
- -John A. Scali
- -Story of negotiations

Vietnam

- -Negotiations
 - -Prospects
 - -The President's talk with Mansfield
 - -North Vietnam
- -Soviet Union trip
- -US military
 - -Bombing
 - -Air Force
 - -Navy
 - -Success

Kissinger left at 3:46 pm.

Conversation No. 658-32

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:46 pm and 3:49 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

[Unintelligible]

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:49 pm.

The President left at 3:49 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 658-33

Date: January 27, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:49 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.