

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 1:28 pm - 3:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Welfare reform legislation

- Meeting with Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
 - John G. Veneman
 - Elliot L. Richardson
- Administration line
- Budget deficit
- Abraham A. Ribicoff's amendments
- Call from the President to Ribicoff
 - Desire for reform
 - Public statements by the President
 - State of the Union address
- Ribicoff's tactics
 - Pilot projects trade off
- Ribicoff's possible meeting with the President
 - Timing
 - Hearings
 - The President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Scheduling
 - Russell B. Long, Wallace F. Bennett
 - Richardson, Ehrlichman
- Richardson view
 - Pilot projects
- Public posture
- Possible Ribicoff meeting
 - Long, Bennett inclusion
 - Timing
 - PRC trip
- Family assistance
 - Strength as political issue
 - Polls
 - State of the Union [?] address
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Liberals
- Ribicoff
- Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey calls to Ribicoff
 - Advocacy of the President's bill
 - Pressure

F. Donald Nixon

- Jack N. Anderson
- Ehrlichman's schedule
- Lines of White House communication
 - Instructions to operators

- Herbert W. Kalmbach role
- Possible telephone
- White House schedule
- Interview with Anderson
 - J. Willard Marriott, Sr. role
 - Talk with Ehrlichman
 - Analogy to James B. ("Scotty") Reston
 - Invitation to Gen. Charles A.J.M. De Gaulle
- Problems
 - Howard R. Hughes's association
 - John H. Meier's role
 - Clifford Irving's biography
 - News coverage
 - Access to information
 - Robert A. Maheu's role
 - John J. ("Jack") Caulfield
 - Noah Dietrich
 - Frank Waters's role

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:28 pm.

Unknown item or service

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:38 pm.

Hughes

- Legal action
 - Maheu's action
 - Service of subpoena for a deposition
 - [Nevada] Supreme Court ruling

Ziegler entered at 1:38 pm.

Press relations

- Choosing reporters for PRC trip
 - Ziegler's telephone call to James J. Kilpatrick
 - Holmes Alexander
 - William F. Buckley, Jr. request
 - Herbert G. Klein
 - US Information Agency [USIA]
 - View of Chinese
 - Comparison with Kilpatrick
 - Television presence
 - Position on Taiwan, Republic of China
 - Influence
 - Alexander
 - William S. White
 - Columnists on trip
 - Washington Post*, *Washington Star* representation
 - Smith Hempstone
 - Joseph C. Kraft
 - White

- Compared to Hempstone
- Kilpatrick
- Nicholas P. Thimmesch
- Alexander
- Compared to White
- Influence
- Number of papers
- Taiwan
- Forum
- White's qualifications

Ziegler left at 1:43 pm.

Donald Nixon

- Meier's role
- Air West deal
 - Anderson
 - [Forename unknown] Hillings
 - Marriott's role
 - Agreement with Anderson
- Meier's connection
 - Trip to Dominican Republic
- Hughes loan
 - Public interest
 - Media coverage
- Administration handling
- Innocence
 - Proof
- Marriott's influence with Anderson
 - Ehrlichman request
- Anderson
- Marriott
- Anderson use of material
- Problem
 - Meier
 - Air West
 - Kalmbach's role

Official secrets meeting

- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
 - Television appearance
 - Media relations

Anderson column

- Donald Nixon request
 - Marriott
 - Call from Ehrlichman
- Threat of suit
 - Hughes loan
 - Ehrlichman's advice

Donald Nixon

- Hughes publicity
 - Public perception
 - Dietrich's book
 - Loan story
 - News coverage
 - Newsweek*
 - Timing
 - Irving's book's account
 - Mike Wallace interview of Irving
 - Hughes loan coverage
 - Clark M. Clifford role
 - Clifford's reaction
 - Irving's contact with Hughes
 - Jimmy Golden's role
 - Jimmy Crosby
 - Donald Nixon's role
 - Hughes's loan
 - The President's view of politics and family
 - Book account by Dietrich
 - Waters's view
 - Vic [?] Johnson's role
 - Waters's telephone call to the President
 - The President's reaction
- Service station as security
- Media coverage of Hughes story
- Security for loan
 - Dietrich
 - Service station
 - Present value
 - Waters's view
 - Compared to time of loan
 - Appraisal
 - Market value
 - Covenant provisions
 - Loan proceeds
 - Effect on mortgage and property value
 - Use of loan proceeds
 - Restaurants
- Handling
 - Kalmbach role
 - White House telephones
 - Possible taps
 - Logs
- Telephone call
 - Timing
 - Benefits
 - Marriott
 - Anderson and Drew Pearson
- Marriott view
- Business relationship with Marriott Corporation
 - Airline food service
 - Political aspect

John B. Connally's schedule

- Pittsburgh
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting

The President's property

- Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Frank De Marco, Jr.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/08/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[661-001-w007]

[Duration: 6m 18s]

The President's property

- Nixon Foundation
 - Sale of papers
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
 - Maintenance of San Clemente home
 - Maintenance of office
 - Florida
 - Staff for the President
 - Mail
 - House
 - Gift to government
 - Personal papers
 - Payment
 - Staff
 - For house
 - For the President
 - Government payment
 - Rose Mary Woods
- Remuneration for papers
 - Use
 - Staff
 - Taxes
 - Garden
 - House
 - Office staff
 - Amount necessary
 - Hiring practices
 - Foundation role
 - Tax payments
 - Structure of agreement
 - Maintenance of house
- Use of property
 - Compared to Gettysburg
 - Rent to the President

-Maintenance by Foundation

The President's property

- Access to the President's papers
 - Intellectuals
 - Ehrlichman's forthcoming trip to Lyndon B. Johnson Library
 - Release of Johnson papers
 - Claim
 - Talk with archivists
 - The President's use of papers
 - Assistance
 - Pressure on Johnson
 - Oral histories
 - Douglas Cator
 - Swimming
 - Abuse of staff
 - Cator
 - Reason for release
 - Walter W. Rostow's advice
 - Johnson book, *The Vantage Point* (1971)
 - Criticism
 - Sales
 - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.'s view
 - Lesson from Johnson
 - Distrust of intellectuals
 - Rostow
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Decisions on release
 - Johnson role
 - Oral history
 - Mellowing of public view of Johnson
 - Harry S. Truman
 - Herbert Hoover

Johnson

- Treatment by Democrats
 - Visits from candidates
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
- Ehrlichman visit
 - Timing
 - Conversation with Johnson
- Volubility
- Ehrlichman visit
- Schedule
 - Watching the President's PRC trip on television
 - Mexico
- Brother, Samuel Houston Johnson

-Handling

Donald Nixon

-Handling

-Greece

-Dinner with leadership

-Thomas A. Pappas

Preview of Tivoli Gardens project

-Ehrlichman visit

-Rogers C.B. Morton

Ehrlichman's schedule

-Vernon E. Jordan of Urban League, Maurice H. Stans

Ehrlichman left and Ziegler at 2:15 pm.

Press relations

-Choosing reporters for PRC trip

-Kilpatrick attendance

-White attendance

-Health

-Support for the President

-Alexander

-Buckley

-Kissinger's view

-Chinese impression

-Buckley support for Chiang Kai-Shek

-Possible criticism of Administration

-Letter

-Alexander

-Availability

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-White

-Kilpatrick

-Buckley

-Buckley influence

-Number of papers

-Joseph W. Alsop

-Availability

-Alexander

-Influence

-Buchanan's view

-Other columnists

-Victor Lasky

-Maury [Surname unknown]

-Thimmisch

-Alexander

-*Dallas News*

-Justification for choices

-Attempt at balance

-Richard ("Dick") Wilson

- Joseph C. Kraft
- Stewart J.O. Alsop
- Kraft and Wilson requests
 - Balance
 - Dallas News
- Courtney R. Sheldon
- Roscoe Drummond
 - Background
 - Christian Science
- Money considerations
 - White
- White
 - Health
- Vermont C. Royster
- Drummond
 - Geoffrey Drummond
- Wilson
 - Position on roster
 - Other openings
 - Voice of America [VOA]
 - Dallas News
 - Alexander
 - Clark R. Mollenhoff
- White
 - Health

Ziegler left at 2:22 pm.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022.
 Segment cleared for release.]
 [Personal Returnable]
 [661-001-w010]
 [Duration: 4m 45s]

F. Donald Nixon

- Contact with the President's staff
 - Rose Mary Woods
 - Robert H. Finch
 - James D. ("Don") Hughes
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
- John D. Ehrlichman handling
 - Qualifications
 - Compared to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Rose Mary Woods
 - Time spent with the President
- Limitations
- Clara Jane Nixon
 - Intelligence
 - Influence

- Compared to Jack Drown
- Political involvement
- Managerial capability
- Drive
- Involvements in deals
- Problem of the President's position
 - Effect on F. Donald Nixon
 - Expectations
 - Analogy of blacks

The President's possible speech to black group

- [The President's appearance at Robert J. Brown testimonial dinner, January 30, 1972]
- Buchanan view
- Benefits
- Possible theme
- Haldeman's possible talk with Buchanan
- Prospects of support
 - South
 - Harry S. Dent
 - Compared to North
 - New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Ohio
 - Richmond
 - Atlanta
- White compared to black event
 - Timing
 - News coverage

The President's schedule

- NSC meeting
 - Kissinger's view
 - Kissinger's schedule

The President left at an unknown time after 2:22 pm.

The President entered at an unknown time before 2:34 pm.

The President's schedule

- Revenue sharing meeting
 - Benefits
- Ronald W. Reagan and Daniel J. Evans meeting
 - Dock strike
- NSC
- Boy Scouts meeting
 - Past scout meeting
 - Agnew's role
- NSC meeting
 - Timing
- Connally testimony

-Conflict in scheduling

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:22 pm and 2:34 pm and requested a telephone call to Ribicoff.]

[Conversation No. 661-1A]

[See Conversation No. 20-2]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Press conference
- Reading for the PRC trip
- Reception for White House Conference on Drug Abuse, February 3, 1972

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 2:22 pm.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:34 pm.

- Florida trip
 - Timing
 - Rationale
 - Return to Washington, DC

[The President talked with Ribicoff between 2:34 pm and 2:42 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-1B]

[See Conversation No. 20-3]

[End of telephone conversation]

Ribicoff's possible meeting with Ehrlichman

- Welfare reform bill
 - Prospects
 - Working poor provision
 - Ribicoff's view

White House Conference on Drug Abuse

- Athletes
- Opening by the President
- Briefing
- Reception
- Ehrlichman role
 - Federal program
- William P. Rogers role
 - Diplomatic strategy, supply
- Myles J. Ambrose role
 - Domestic law enforcement
- Dr. Jerome Jaffe role
 - Treatment

- Opening
 - Publicity
 - Television
- Reception
 - Experience of gratitude

Scheduling

- Ribicoff
- Florida trip
 - Weather
 - Timing
 - Congressional recess
- PRC preparation
 - Camp David
- Benefits of relaxation
 - Kissinger view
 - Reading
- PRC preparation
- Prayer breakfast

PRC trip

- Gifts
 - Recommendations
 - Kissinger view
 - Porcelain swans ["Birds of Peace"]
 - Background
 - Helen F. Boehm
 - For Chou En-lai
 - For Mao Tse-tung
 - Mounted clock
 - Swans
 - Public gift
 - For Chou
 - Mounted clock
 - People to people gift
 - Trio of live musk oxen
 - Delivery
 - Photographs of national parks
 - Recipients
 - Parker pens presentation
 - Apollo spacecraft metal
 - Mayors of Shanghai and Hangchow
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's gifts
 - Bean birds
 - Gorham silver flower arrangements
 - Viewmasters
 - Titanium parker pens
 - Presidential seal
 - Recipients
 - Redwood saplings
 - Hangchow Park
 - National Park Service

- Musk oxen
- VOA representation
 - Frank J. Shakespeare
 - James A. Michener
 - Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis
 - Ziegler
 - Benefits
 - Bureaucracy
 - USIA coverage
 - Size
 - Restriction
- Columnists
 - Wilson
 - Kraft
 - Kissinger
 - Value
 - Ziegler view
 - Kissinger
 - Possible columns
 - Value
- General schedule
 - Reading
 - Details
 - Need for flexibility

Welfare reform

- Ehrlichman
 - The President's talk with Ribicoff
- HEW

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022. Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]

[661-001-w012]

[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

Welfare reform

- Ziegler's schedule
- Houston
- Busing
- Budget

Hughes books

- Dietrich
- Irving book
 - Publication status
 - Sales
 - Interest in Hughes
- Dietrich book
 - Timing of publishing
 - Possible confusion with Irving
- Irving's book
 - Publication status
- Public interest
 - Compared to movie magazines
 - Lana Turner
- Interest in Hughes
 - Ehrlichman's view
 - Compared to Charles Manson murder trial

Power of incumbency

- The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- Brown testimonial dinner
 - Reception
 - Compared to business groups
- Public contact
 - Motorcades
- Press coverage
- Ability to draw crowds

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:42 pm.

James R. Schlesinger meeting

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

Brown testimonial dinner

- Stans
- Brig. Gen. Daniel ("Chappie") James, Jr.
- Benefit to Brown

Time and *Newsweek* stories on Kissinger

- Quality
- State Department information
- Bureaucracy
- Quality
 - Topics
 - Secret negotiations
 - Details
 - Travel
 - Surprise of press
 - Kissinger's social life
 - Kissinger reaction

- Kissinger demeanor
- Kissinger sympathy for Prince Klemens von Metternich
- The President's leadership in decisionmaking
 - Kissinger's executive role
 - Cover captions
- Substance

The President's television appearances

- Vietnam peace proposal speech
 - Kissinger
 - Preparation
 - State of the Union speech
 - William L. Safire
- January 1972
 - Washington Post* story
 - State of the Union speech, January 20, 1972
 - Dan Rather interview, January 2, 1972
 - Cabinet changes announcement
 - Mrs. Nixon's return from Africa
 - Quality
 - PRC trip
 - Repetition
 - Public viewing patterns
 - Political conventions
 - John F. Kennedy assassination
 - Moon landing
 - PRC trip
 - Great Wall
 - Forbidden Palace
 - Chou En-Lai meeting
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Unanticipated opportunities

Telephone call to William F. ("Billy") Graham

- Graham schedule
- Prayer breakfasts

Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:42 pm.

The President's schedule

Haldeman and Bull left at 3:12 pm

Conversation No. 661-2

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: 3:13 pm - 3:51 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with James R. Schlesinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Greetings

Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]

- Number of commissioners
- Staff make-up
 - James T. Ramey
 - Lyndon B. Johnson protégé
 - Congressional

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 3:13 pm.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 3:51 pm.

AEC staff

- William O. Doub
- Wilfrid E. Johnson
- Clarence E. Larson
- Political loyalty
- Vacancy
- Commissioners
 - Length of term
 - Frederic V. Malek
 - Replacements
 - Possible appointment of woman
 - Nuclear scientist
 - Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
 - Marina von N. Whitman
 - John von Neumann
 - Jane Hall
 - Los Alamos
 - Political preferences

Amchitka

- Criticism
 - Reason
 - Effect
 - World attention to US military power
 - Moscow, Peking
- Press
- Scientist
- Press
 - Turnaround
 - Mike Gravel's statement
 - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
 - Native Americans
 - Indiscretion

AEC

- Schlesinger's job
- Compared to previous job at Office of Management and Budget [OMB]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment excluded under the Atomic Energy Act on 05/31/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[661-002-w001]

[Duration: 19m 30s]

ATOMIC WEAPONS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Nuclear applications

- History
 - Seaborg
 - John A. McCone
 - Plowshare
 - Projects

Plowshare

- Upcoming program
- Natural gas release
- Problems
 - Public perception of safety
 - Environmental concerns
 - Tritium
- Australia
 - Harbor construction
- The President's view
 - Environment
- Soviet advances
 - Reservoir construction
- Geography
- Excavation
 - Problems
 - Undersecretary's committee
 - Possible violation of nonproliferation treaty
- Natural gas release
 - Revenue
 - Algeria
 - Local politics
 - Colorado

- John A. Love
- Wyoming
 - Stanley K. Hathaway
- Denver
- Revenue increases
 - Clifford P. Hansen
- Plans
 - Gordon L. Allott meeting
 - Political problems
 - 1972 election
- Fears of population
 - Amchitka
 - The President's visit to Alaska
 - [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito
 - Supersonic Transport [SST] cancellation
 - Reasons
 - Leadership

Foreign energy sales

- Balance of payments
 - Schlesinger talks Peter G. Peterson and John B. Connally
 - Status of balance of payments
 - Brazil contacts
 - Joint Committee
 - Chet Holifield
 - Connally's view
 - Problem
 - Industrial compared to government structure
 - Budget process
 - Availability of products to US business
 - Sacrifice of foreign exchange
 - Connally
 - Borrowing
 - Follow up with Connally
 - Peterson
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Maintaining US military presence
 - Foreign exchange

Nuclear applications

- New programs
 - Breeder-reactors
 - Goals
 - Fusion
 - US supremacy
 - National security
 - Problems
 - Fear
 - Environment
 - Soviet reaction
 - Timing
 - Elections

- Colorado
- International talks
- Political acumen
- Undersea Long-range Missile System [ULMS]

[*Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment declassified on 05/31/2019. Archivist: MM*]
[National Security]
[661-002-w005]
[Duration: 1m 20s]

Nuclear applications

- Lasers
 - Missiles
 - Energy problem
 - Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] capability
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] developments in space
- Laser technology
 - Space platform
 - Atmospheric use
 - Problems
 - Space use
 - Benefits

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Schlesinger's family
-Alaska

Schlesinger and Haig left at 3:51 pm.

Conversation No. 661-3

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:51 pm and 4:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signing of documents

White House meeting with governors
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew role

- Cocktails in Blue Room
- Reception
- Agenda
 - William G. Milliken role
 - Number of guests
 - Ronald W. Reagan role
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller role
 - Linwood Holton role
- Seating
 - Rex W. Scouten
 - Table configuration
- Cabinet attendance
- Other guests
 - Harry S. Dent
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - John D. Ehrlichman
- Press attendance

Deaths of policemen [Gregory Foster and Rocco Laurie]

- Details
- Funeral arrangements
 - Representative of the President
 - Possibilities
 - General Robert E. Cushman, Jr.
 - John V. ("Jack") Brennan
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Cushman
 - Wreaths
- Location of shootings
 - New York
 - Harlem
 - Bedford-Stuyvesant
- Age of policemen
- Funeral
 - Timing
- Cushman attendance at funeral
- Brennan

Ronald L. Ziegler entered and Butterfield left at 3:55 pm.

Press relations

- Representation on PRC trip
 - Patrick J. Buchanan

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:55 pm and 3:57 pm and requested a telephone call to Robert McClory.]

[Conversation No. 661-3A]

[See Conversation No. 20-4]

[End of telephone conversation]

Press representation on People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

- Ziegler's talks with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger
 - William F. Buckley, Jr.
- Holmes Alexander
- Buckley
 - Buchanan's view
 - Benefits
 - Feeling toward administration
 - Influence
 - Kissinger
- Haldeman view
- Kissinger view
 - Possible Chinese reaction

[The President talked with McClory between 3:57 pm and 3:58 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-3B]

[See Conversation No. 20-5]

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[661-003-w002]

[Duration: 42s]

[See Conversation No. 020-005-w001]

[End of telephone conversation]

Press representation on PRC trip

- Buchanan's reaction
 - Joseph C. Kraft
 - Richard ("Dick") Wilson
 - Alexander
- Buckley
 - US Information Agency [USIA] representative
 - Reporter
 - Buchanan view

Telephone call to Abraham A. Ribicoff

- Release for news
- Ehrlichman

- Earlier question to Ziegler
- Content of call
 - Welfare reform
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - Russell B. Long, Wallace F. Bennett
 - Strategy
 - The President's support for legislation
 - News summary
 - Reason for call
 - Advisory
 - Ehrlichman's forthcoming talk with Richardson
 - Strategy with Ribicoff, Long, Bennett
 - Ziegler's possible telephone call to Ehrlichman

Ziegler left at 4:00 pm.

Conversation No. 661-4

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 4:01 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 20-6]

Conversation No. 661-5

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 4:01 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- The President's schedule
 - John D. Ehrlichman's request for a meeting
 - Renovation of the Mall

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:01 pm.

Conversation No. 661-6

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: 4:01 pm - 4:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Leslye A. Arsht.

[See Conversation No. 20-7]

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[661-006-w002]

[Duration: 7s]

[See Conversation No. 020-007-w002]

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[661-006-w003]

[Duration: 11s]

[See Conversation No. 020-007-w003]

Conversation No. 661-7

Date: January 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:03 pm and 4:04 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 20-8]

Conversation No. 661-8

Date: January 31, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:03 pm and 4:04 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Request for meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
-Forthcoming announcement

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:04 pm.

Conversation No. 661-9

Date: January 31, 1972

Time: 4:04 pm - 5:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Stewart B. McKinney.

[Conversation No. 661-9A]

[See Conversation No. 20-9]

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 4:05 pm.

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 4:06 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Press relations

- Representation on People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - Joseph C. Kraft, William F. Buckley, Jr.
 - Telephone calls from Henry A. Kissinger
 - Ziegler
 - Conservatives, liberals
 - Timing
- Announcement of the President's telephone call to Abraham A. Ribicoff
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - Ehrlichman
 - Russell B. Long
 - The President's support for welfare reform
 - The President talks with Long and Wallace F. Bennett
 - Need for common ground
 - Ehrlichman
 - Richardson

Ziegler left at 4:10 pm.

Welfare reform

- The President's previous telephone call to Ribicoff
- Content

- Reference to working paper
- Ribicoff amendments
- Elderly
- Ehrlichman's forthcoming telephone call to Ribicoff
- Status of welfare reform bill
 - Ribicoff view
 - House Resolution [HR] 1
 - Senate
 - Testing
 - Medicare, Medicaid
- Drawbacks of bill
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
 - Richardson
 - Size of welfare rolls
 - Medicare
 - Medicaid

Mall renovation

- Picture of model
- Lincoln Memorial
- Reflecting Pool
- Proposed facilities
 - Dining, shopping
 - Pool
 - Parking
 - Trains
 - Boats, canals, lakes
 - Amphitheatre
 - Children's park
 - Lake
- Cost
- Finishing date
 - Bicentennial
- Benefits
- Museums
- Needs of visitors
 - Restrooms
 - Food
- Night activities
- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Rogers C.B. Morton
 - Visit to see model
 - Possible ideas
- Model
 - Confidentiality
 - Interior Department
 - Architect
- Morton's view
 - Congress
 - Capital Planning Commission
 - Highway plan
- Spending

- Needs
 - Tourism
 - Concessions
 - Types
 - Food services
 - Family orientation
 - J. Willard Marriott
- Transportation
- Lake size and depth
 - Other uses
 - Exhibits
 - Japanese art
- Nathaniel A. Owings
 - Plans

Environment

- The President's conversation with Laurance S. Rockefeller
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower as salesperson
 - New York
 - Houston
 - Florida
- Proposed conference
 - Location
 - Camp David
 - San Clemente
 - Russell E. Train
- William D. Ruckelshaus role
- Rockefeller's associates
- Gala to focus attention
 - Options
 - Camp David constructions
 - Laurel
 - Open house
 - Problems
 - Press
 - San Clemente
 - Key Biscayne
 - San Clemente
 - Benefits
- San Francisco park at Point Reyes
 - Possible visit by the President
 - Quality
- Possible meeting
 - Daniel L. Schorr job
 - Attendance
 - Timing
 - Moscow trip
 - Location
 - San Clemente
 - Patio
 - Air Force One trip to Point Reyes
 - Television use

- Documentary
 - Compared to comments by President
- Train role
- Ruckelshaus role
- Rockefeller role
- Mrs. Nixon, Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower role
- The President's schedule
 - California
- Camp David
 - Benefits
 - Camp Hoover
 - Press
- Centennial of national park system
 - Morton's view of the President's schedule
- Morton
 - Forthcoming talk with Ehrlichman
- Rockefeller's role
- Environmentalists in attendance
 - Republicans
 - Edmund S. Muskie's supporters
- Environmental accomplishments
 - Parks for the people
- Public relations
 - Unknown person
 - William L. Safire

Mall renovation

- Likeness to Tivoli Gardens
- Environmentalists' view
 - Grass removal
 - Underground parking
 - Effect on watertable
 - Peripheral parking
 - Trams
- Mrs. Nixon
 - Viewing of mall model
 - Decision on original model
- Viewing of mall model
 - The President
- Owings
- Need for necessities
 - Restroom, facilities
 - Old world
 - Disneyland [and Disneyworld]
 - Facilities
 - Miami Beach
 - Jews
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo view

Modern entertainment

- Children
- Old entertainment

- Amos n' Andy*
- Fred Allen
- State of television
 - The President's viewing habits
 - News shows
 - Reading
 - Television specials
 - Camp David
 - Television compared to reading

Ehrlichman's reading

- Zimmerman Telegram
 - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
 - Barbara Tuchman
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Wilson

Wilson's foreign policy

- Mexico
 - Francisco ("Pancho") Villa
- Winston Churchill description in the *Search for World Order*
 - Versailles
 - Wilson's political experience
 - Compared to British politicians
- Irony
- Record
- World War I
 - British casualties, March 21, 1918
 - Effort at mediation
- Lack of realism
 - Henry Cabot Lodge
 - Theodore Roosevelt
- League of Nations
- Congressional fights
 - Partisanship
 - Republicans
- Wilson speeches
 - First inaugural address
- Wilson writings
 - Fourteen points
- Speeches

The President's speeches

- Quality
- Press
- Inaugural address
- The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
 - Preparation
- November 3, 1969 speech
- State of the Union address, 1970, 1972
 - Eloquence
- Written compared to spoken word

- Abraham Lincoln
 - Gettysburg address
 - Second inaugural address
- Speechwriters
 - Douglas L. Hallett
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
- Radio speeches
 - Price
- Time to prepare
- The President's efforts at writing
 - Cambodia
 - Vietnam
 - Time consumed
- Effect
 - Inaugural address
- Value compared to time consumed in preparation
- Effect
 - Toasts
- Extemporaneous talks
 - The President's talk to Cabinet
- Abraham Lincoln
 - Congress
- Repetition of speeches
 - Lincoln's *A House Divided* speech
 - Cross of Gold* speech by William Jennings Bryan
 - Congressman or Senate
 - Compared to presidential candidate
 - Stump speech

Narcotics appointment

- Myles J. Ambrose
 - Prospects for success
 - Local police problems
 - Corruption
 - Resentment of federal officials
 - Overall benefit

Law enforcement

- Changing of Earl Warren court
 - Effect
 - Restoration of balance
- Changes
 - Process
- Average person's desires
- Federal role
 - Effect on urban areas

Busing

- Constitutional amendment
 - Ehrlichman trip to Camp David
 - Complications

- Timing
- Previous Supreme Court decisions
- Hearings
 - Timing
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Elliot L. Richardson
- Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. view
 - Urban League
 - Communications with Ehrlichman
 - Welfare reform testimony
- View of allies

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[661-009-w005]

[Duration: 5m 55s]

Busing

- Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. view
 - Political outlook
 - Democrats' view
 - George S. McGovern
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Stand with the President

Domestic politics

- Democratic Party caucuses
 - Iowa
 - Arizona
 - Edmund S Muskie showing
 - Delegates
 - Action compared to substance
 - Loss of support
 - Young people and minorities
 - John V. Lindsay showing
 - Chicanos
 - Edmund S. Muskie prospects
 - George S. McGovern prospects
 - Delegates won
 - Caucus
 - New York Democratic Party organization
 - Eugene J. McCarthy prospects
 - Fourth-party candidate
 - John V. Lindsay
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Political strategy
 - Running mate
 - Moderate southerner

- Southern states
 - George C. Wallace
- George C. Wallace's plans
 - Stay a Democrat
 - Fourth-party run
- Edmund S. Muskie strategy
 - Running mate
 - Liberal
 - John V. Lindsay
 - George S. McGovern
- Challenges facing Democrats
 - John V. Lindsay on ticket
 - Problems
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller view

John B. Connally

- Health
- Telephone call to Ehrlichman
 - Classification meeting
- Governors' meeting
 - Property tax
 - Briefing

Aid to private schools

- Amendment
- Tax credits
- Neil H. McElroy Commission
 - Use by administration
 - Politics
- Briefings
- Administration line
 - Possible solutions
- Effect on taxes
 - Burden shift
 - Value added tax [VAT]
- Opponents
- Public relations
 - Use by administration
 - Briefings, panels, national publicity
 - Congressional votes
- Muskie's advisory commission
 - Use

Congressional relations

- State of the Union address
- Administration program
 - Defense
 - Need for identify
 - L. Richard Guylay

- Congressional action record
- Wilson's accomplishments
 - Federal Reserve system
- House Republican meeting
- George P. Shultz
- Upcoming Senate meeting
- Contact between the White House and Congressional staff
 - Perception
 - House Administrative Assistants meeting
- Briefings
 - Subcabinet and wives
 - Congressional wives
 - Lincoln Day recess
 - Handouts
 - Details
 - Goals of administration
 - Economy
 - John F. Kennedy handouts in 1960
 - Issues
 - Effect
 - Six goals of administration
 - Topics
 - Environment, health
 - Details
 - Telephone call to Ribicoff
 - Telephone call to George H. Mahon

Ehrlichman left at 5:05 pm.

Conversation No. 661-10

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:13 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

Conversation No. 661-11

Date: January 31, 1972
 Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:49 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Welfare

- Recent meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
- Abraham A. Ribicoff
- Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan

Environmental efforts

- Russell E. Train
- Laurance S. Rockefeller
- Conference
 - Location
 - San Clemente
 - Park at Point Reyes
 - Timing
 - Point Reyes
 - Weather in San Francisco

The President’s schedule

- Gridiron Dinner
 - Election year
 - Reasons for attendance
 - Edgar Allan Poe
 - Donald Mcl. Kendall
 - Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
 - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
 - Benefits
 - Piano duet
 - Remarks
 - Post-People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip decision
 - Easter parade
- Meeting with William F. (“Billy”) Graham
 - Breakfast
 - Haldeman role
 - Topics
 - Politics
- The President’s forthcoming telephone call to Apollo 15 crew
 - Astronaut’s schedule
 - Washington, DC
 - Tour of communist countries
 - Yugoslavia, Poland
 - David R. Scott
 - James B. Irwin
 - Alfred M. Worden
 - Previous telephone call
 - Good will tour of communist countries
 - Visit to White House
 - Promise of dinner
 - PRC trip
 - Weekend at Camp David

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 5:13 pm.

Vietnam negotiations

- Public perception
 - Harry Schwartz of *New York Times*
 - Harrison E. Salisbury
 - New Republic* article
 - View of Nixon strategy
- North Vietnamese reaction
 - Publishing of nine points
 - Variations
 - US reaction
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Comparison of versions
- Andre Malraux's meeting with the president
 - Gen. Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle
 - The President's impression
 - Publishing of *Anti-memoirs* (1967)
- Malraux's possible future meeting with the President
 - Timing
 - Forthcoming trip to the PRC
 - Chou En-lai
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Georges J.R. Pompidou
 - Setting up
 - Charles Lucet
 - Public relations
 - China scholars
 - Value of meeting the president
 - Public relations
 - Benefits
 - Malraux qualifications
 - Dinner
 - Guest list
 - Kissinger
 - William P. Rogers
 - Marshall Green
 - Lucet
 - Malraux
 - Scholarship
 - Family background
 - Jewish contacts
 - Alsace
 - Timing

PRC trip

- State Department experts
 - Papers
 - Leaks
- Rogers's involvement
- The President's meeting with State Department officials
 - Papers

- Green
- Papers
 - Gratitude
 - Appearance compared to substance
- Timing
- Value
- Progress of papers
- Rogers's role in planning
 - Exposure to text of PRC meetings
 - Edited copies
 - Memoranda
 - Soviet trip preparations
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - North Vietnamese meetings text
 - Proposals
- Leaks
 - Source
- Rogers's view
- Progress on papers
 - Background work
 - Cancelled meeting
- The President's role
 - Substance of meetings
 - Study of written word
 - Questions
- State Department role
- The President's role
 - Meeting with paper authors
 - Use of papers
 - Timing
 - Reading list

Schwartz letter to Kissinger

- Jack N. Anderson
- View of *New York Times* of administration
 - Vietnam
- Editorial policy
- Response by Kissinger
- Schwartz's visit to Kissinger, January 31, 1972
- Editorial views
 - Salisbury
 - Publication of diverse views

Vietnamese negotiations

- Reaction by the President's domestic opponents
- Revelations by North Vietnamese
 - October 11, 1971 plan
 - The President's peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
 - Details
 - Troop withdrawals for Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - Press conference
 - Use by Kissinger

- Note from the US
 - Request for meeting
- Nine point plan
 - Ziegler rebuttal
 - Kissinger rebuttal
 - Comparison of versions
 - June 26, 1971
- Kissinger's rebuttal
 - October 11 proposal
 - Withdrawal for POWs
 - Ceasefire
- Michael J. Mansfield view
 - Liberals
 - Separation of military and political
 - Rebuttal
- New York Times* article
 - Terence F. Smith
 - Comparison of the President's proposals to Lyndon B. Johnson proposal at Manila
 - Max Frankel
 - Johnson's proposal
 - US withdrawal
 - Timing
 - Compared to the President's proposal
 - Withdrawal
 - Timing
 - Manila formula
 - Kissinger's recommendation to the President
 - Timing
 - Ford's Theatre
 - Simultaneous mutual withdrawal
 - Henry Cabot Lodge
 - William P. Bundy's view
 - Australia
 - Rebuttal
 - Frankel
 - Smith
 - Error
- Stewart J.O. Alsop article
 - Support for the President
 - Establishment
 - Democrats
- Katharine L. Graham's telephone call to Kissinger
 - Editorial policy
 - Alsop's previous telephone call to Graham
- Frankel
 - Possible invitation to PRC
 - Forthcoming telephone call from Kissinger
- Details of proposals
 - Johnson
 - Manila formula
 - Conditions

- North Vietnamese withdrawal
- Vietcong
- Ceasefire
- US withdrawal
 - Lack of deadline
- New York Times* article
 - Content
 - Support for the President
 - Editorial, January 30, 1972

Malraux dinner

- Timing

Malraux

- Qualifications
 - Compared to China scholars
- The President's previous meeting in Paris
- French
- Writings
 - Les Voix Du Silence* (1951)
- Health
- Writings about the Long March

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

- Possible meeting with the President
 - Public relations
 - Relationship with liberals
 - View of Soviet Union
 - Dobrynin
 - Effect on the Chinese
 - Schedule
 - New York
- Timing

National Security Council [NSC] meeting

- Attendance
 - John B. Connally
- Timing
- Testimony

Yevtushenko meeting, February 3, 1972

- White House Conference on Drug Abuse
 - Athletes
 - Reception

Alsop

- Support for the President
 - The President's November 3, 1969 speech
 - Effect on Establishment
 - Remarks at dinner at W[illiam] Averell Harriman's residence
 - Forthcoming article
 - Possible effect

Vietnam negotiations

- Democratic reactions
 - Public relations
- October 1970 proposals
 - North Vietnamese reaction
 - Special circumstances
 - Democrats' tactics
 - Congress
- Kissinger's possible talk with Michael J. Mansfield
 - Later PRC trip
 - North Vietnam's reaction to peace proposals
 - Details of US proposals
 - William J. Porter
- Kissinger's talk with Alsop
 - North Vietnam's reaction to November 20, 1971 meeting proposal
 - Possible reason
 - Congress's shutoff of foreign aid
 - June, August 1971 offers
- North Vietnamese press conference
 - Tone
 - Substance
 - Secrecy
 - Difference between public and private stances
 - Media coverage
- Kissinger press conference
- Ziegler

The President's schedule

- Malraux

Kissinger left at 5:48 pm.

PRC trip

- Meeting between the President and State Department experts
 - Value
 - Timing
 - Study of papers

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 5:49 pm.

Conversation No. 661-12

Date: January 31, 1972

Time: 5:49 pm - 6:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Review of gifts

- Congressional medals

The President's schedule

- John W. Dean III request for signature
 - Supreme Court
 - Fred F. Fielding
- Farewell ceremony for Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes, January 31, 1972
 - Hughes's family
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Mrs. Hughes [?]

Busts

- John Foster Dulles
 - David Waters
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Winston Churchill
 - Waters

Weather

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:50 pm.

Prayer breakfast

- Length of the President's remarks

Butterfield left at 5:52 pm.

[The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time between 5:52 pm and 5:55 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-12A]

Prayer breakfast

- Length of the President's remarks

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Prayer breakfast
 - Warren E. Burger speech
 - Length
 - Toast
 - Toasts
 - Scripture reading
 - Mamie G.D. Eisenhower
 - Augusta, Georgia
 - European guests

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:52 pm.

Item for the President

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:55 pm.

The President's schedule

- Demands on the President's time
- Charitable groups

Death of Dudley Swim

- Age
- Aging statesmen
 - Thomas E. Dewey
 - Dean G. Acheson
- Ann [Surname unknown]

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:55 pm.

Remarks for prayer breakfast

- Length
 - The President's talk with Haldeman

Butterfield left at 5:55 pm.

Prayer breakfast, 1971

- Program
 - Length of speeches and readings
 - Charles M. Teague
 - Marvin L. Esch
 - Walter E. Washington
- Length
 - Lyndon B. Johnson

Speeches

- Anachronistic nature

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/05/2022.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[661-012-w001]

[Duration: 12s]

Rose Mary Woods's schedule

- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Woods left at 6:00 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with Daniel J. Evans, February 1, 1972

Resignation letter of unknown person

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 6:00 pm.

Rose Mary Woods
-Telephone call with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

Butterfield and Bull left at an unknown time before 6:06 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[Conversation No. 611-14A]

Vietnam negotiations
-Administration counter to North Vietnamese releases
-Handling of rebuttal
-Media coverage
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-New summary
-Patrick J. Buchanan
-Handling of press
-Max Frankel
-Xuan Thuy
-Public perception of rebuttal
-Telephone call to Michael J. Mansfield
-Telephone call to Frankel

Rose Mary Woods entered at an unknown time after 6:00 pm.

The President's schedule
-Prayer breakfast

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
-Telephone call

The President and Rose Mary Woods left at 6:06 pm.

Conversation No. 661-15

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:06 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield and unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

Alexander P. Butterfield's schedule

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 08/05/2022.]

[Unintelligible]
[661-015-w001]
[Duration: 58s]

[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

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