



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

[Conversation No. 660-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-007](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-010](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-013](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-016](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-019](#)

[Conversation No. 660-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-005](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-008](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-011](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-014](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-017](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-020](#)

[Conversation No. 660-003](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-006](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-009](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-012](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-015](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-018](#)  
[Conversation No. 660-021](#)

[Conversation No. 660-001](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:24 am and 8:35 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

- The President's schedule
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Dewitt and Lila (Acheson) Wallace's departure
    - Timing
    - Possible arrival at the White House
      - Driver
      - Farewell greeting

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:35 am.

[Conversation No. 660-002](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:24 am and 8:35 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.



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

[See Conversation No. 19-158]

[Conversation No. 660-003](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 8:24 am and 8:35 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule  
-Manolo Sanchez  
-Dewitt and Lila (Acheson) Wallace's departure  
-Possible arrival at White House

Bull left at 8:35 am.

[Conversation No. 660-004](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: 8:35 am - 8:50 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Idanell (Brill) ("Nellie") Connally.

[See Conversation No. 19-159]

[Conversation No. 660-005](#)

Date: January 29, 1972



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

Time: 8:50 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-160]

[Conversation No. 660-006](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: 8:50 am - 9:00 am  
Location: Oval Office

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

- John B. Connally
  - Health
  - Idanell (Brill) ("Nellie") Connally's Health
  - Health
    - Symptoms
  - Work habits
    - Vigor
    - Cyclical nature
      - Burnout
    - Compensation
  - Pressure to resign
    - Nellie Connally
      - Comment about home buying
    - John N. Mitchell
      - Connally's comment to Nicholas P. Thimmesch
        - Washington, D.C.
  - Relations with Cabinet
    - Social arena
      - John Connally's participation
  - Work habits
  - Staff
    - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Connally men



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

- Charls E. Walker
- Paul A. Volcker

Unknown news item

Connally

- Press coverage
- Thimmesch

Henry A. Kissinger's press coverage

- Awareness
- Time* cover story
  - Henry A. Grunwald
  - Hugh S. Sidey
  - Kissinger's reaction
- Newsweek cover
  - Background
  - Time*
    - The President as Man of the Year

International economic policy

Personnel

- Mitchell
- Peter G. Peterson move
- John B. Connally's authority
  - Peter M. Flanigan and Ehrlichman

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:50 am.

Dewitt and Lila (Acheson) Wallace, Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

- Waiting for meeting with the President

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:00 am.

Supreme Court death penalty decision

- Patrick J. Buchanan
- Effect
  - Convicts awaiting execution
  - Number



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

Meeting with the Wallaces

The President's forthcoming call to Haldeman

White House staff

- Instructions
  - Ehrlichman
  - George P. Shultz
  - Flanigan
  - Kissinger

Haldeman left at 9:00 am.

[Conversation No. 660-007](#)

Date: January 29, 1972

Time: 9:00 am - 9:04 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, Dewitt Wallace and Lila (Acheson) Wallace.

The Wallace's comfort

- Appreciation of visit

The President's health

Oval Office

- Desk
  - The President's use as Vice President
- Music box

George Washington

- [Charles Willson Peale]
- Rembrandt Peale

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's crewel work



Unknown place, Pleasantville

Transportation

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, et al. left at 9:04 am.

[Conversation No. 660-008](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: 9:05 am - 12:10 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

- White House staff
  - Relations with John B. Connally
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Peter M. Flanigan

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[660-008-w001]  
[Duration: 48s]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower talked with the President between 9:05 am and 9:08 am.

[Conversation No. 660-8A]

[See Conversation No. 019-162]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*



White House staff

- Relations with Connally
  - Compared to George W. Romney, John A. Volpe
  - Awareness by subordinates
    - Flanigan
  - The President's confidence
  - Access to Connally
    - George P. Shultz
    - Memorandum
  - Connally's staff
    - Handling of work
    - Flanigan
  - Compared to Henry A. Kissinger
  - Need for control
    - Sampling mood of administration members
  - Alexander P. Butterfield's role
    - Camp David
      - Families
    - Instruction to Haldeman
  - Political interest
    - John N. Mitchell
    - Treasury Department
  - Kissinger
    - State Department
- Kissinger
  - Public profile
    - Press reaction
    - Jack N. Anderson
    - Kissinger's awareness of problem
      - Anderson Papers
    - Column in paper
      - Kissinger's greatness
        - Negotiations
    - John A. Scali's view
      - Kissinger as agent
    - Kissinger's view



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

- Quality of stories
- Time* cover story
- Press reaction
  - Fascination with secrecy of Paris trips
  - Compared to coverage of the President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Effect of Howard R. Hughes story

Hughes

- Forthcoming biography
  - Clifford Irving's claim
    - Helga Hughes's deposit
  - McGraw-Hill payment
    - Details of deposits
      - Deception
        - Swiss bank account
      - Irving's pretense
      - Helga Hughes's actions
        - False passport
        - Withdrawals
  - Extent of press coverage
- Lawrence F. O'Brien and Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Possible White House action
- O'Brien
  - Chairman of the Democratic National Committee

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:08 am.

White House staff

- The President's schedule
  - Marina von N. Whitman
    - Farewell greeting
- News summary staff

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

- Quality of administration personnel
  - Unknown person
  - Location on political spectrum



- Conservatives
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - William F. Buckley, Jr.
  - Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
- Daniel P. Moynihan's staff
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- Unknown writer of environment program
  - Harvard University

#### Welfare

- Abraham A. Ribicoff's family assistance plan
  - Test program
  - Administration line
  - Ribicoff's statement
  - Political attraction
- Political attraction
  - Public reaction
  - Necessity to work
- Moynihan
- Food stamps
- Family assistance
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Moynihan
  - Ribicoff
  - Budget allocation
    - Revision
    - Starting costs
  - Test program
- Necessity for overhaul

#### Connally

- Kissinger's role
  - Contact on economic matters
- Ehrlichman's role
  - Need to observe
  - Desire to please the President
  - The President's need for Connally's judgment
    - Value Added Tax [VAT]
  - Narcotics program meeting



- Justice Department
  - Unknown official
- Access problems
  - Ehrlichman
  - Shultz
  - Need for trusted staff
    - William P. Pannill
  - Quality of Connally's staff
    - Ehrlichman's view
    - Problem of homogeneity
      - Texans

#### The Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

- Staff
  - The President's experience as Vice President
    - Budget
    - Robert L. King
    - Robert Black [?]
    - Unknown person
    - Quality of the President's "team"
- Quality
  - Recruitment
- Handling

#### Connally

- Handling of staff
  - Chain of command
- Work habits
  - Health
  - Visits to Camp David
    - Benefits
    - Handling
    - Use in the President's absence
      - Florida
      - PRC trip
    - Use of helicopter
      - Timing
- Possible talk with Haldeman
  - Staff problems



- Connally's possible reaction
- Connally's work habits
- Reliance on by Administration
- Staff
  - Possible White House assistance
- Motivation
  - Public service
  - Support for political candidates
  - Fundraisers
    - Ben Valentine's view
      - 1962 campaign
    - Challenge
      - United Way

Page Belcher

Personnel

- Support for the President
- Motivation
  - Public service
  - Personal reasons
- Perquisites
- Clifford M. Hardin's view
- Social events
  - Compared to those in Los Angeles
    - Counsellor general
    - Ambassadors
    - Samuel W. Yorty
    - Assistant secretaries

Protest at White House dinner for DeWitt Wallace and Lila (Acheson) Wallace, January 28  
-Compared to Eartha Kitt's action

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]



[660-008-w003]  
[Duration: 21s]

Protest at White House dinner for DeWitt Wallace and Lila (Acheson) Wallace, January 28

- Compared to Eartha Kitt's action
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's reaction
  - Rose Mary Woods's reaction
  - Drinking

\*\*\*\*\*

Protest at White House dinner for DeWitt Wallace and Lila (Acheson) Wallace, January 28

- Martha (Beall) Mitchell's reaction
  - Benefits of candor
- Protestor [Carol Feraci]
  - Background
  - Name change
  - Manolo Sanchez's view
  - Removal
    - The President's possible action
    - Ray Conniff's action
- Nature of comments
  - Daniel Ellsberg
  - Daniel J. and Philip F. Berrigan brothers
- Conniff's comment
- Crowd reaction
  - John A. ("Jack") Mulcahy
- Reaction of other singers
  - Washington Post* story
  - Conniff
- Handling of protestor
  - The President's possible action
  - Unknown person
  - Manners
  - Possible reaction by group
    - Singers' reaction
- Effect
- Possible claim by Feraci



- Compared to Kitt's
  - Claudia A. (Taylor) ("Lady Bird") Johnson
  - Manners
- Appropriateness of protest
- The President's congratulations
  - Reader's Digest*
  - Marine Band
    - Reception
    - Vietnam veterans in band
    - Possible press action
- Possible press action
  - Compared to Lawrence Welk
- Feraci
  - Dress
- Protestors in other groups
  - Howard De Silva
    - Political orientation
    - 1776
    - Benjamin Franklin
- The propriety of President's reaction
  - Crowd reaction
    - Feraci
      - Conniff's action
      - Motivation
  - Conniff's reaction
  - Singers' reaction
  - The President's reaction
  - Timing
  - Conniff's comment
    - The President's speeches
      - Feraci
  - Press reaction

#### Connally

- Gregariousness
  - Compared to The President
    - Frequency
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Cabinet



- Work habits
  - Staff
  - Grasp of problems
    - Handling
      - Appointments
        - US Treasurer
        - Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
- Attitude toward White House staff
- Press
- Flanigan
- Ehrlichman
  - VAT

Whitman appointment

- Quality
- Leak
  - University [of Pittsburgh]
- Details
  - Grant to husband [Robert Whitman]

Previous night's protest

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[660-008-w004]

[Duration: 7s]

Previous night's protest

- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's reaction

\*\*\*\*\*

Previous night's protest

- Press coverage



- Reaction
  - Removal of protestor
  - The President's reaction
  - Mulcahy's reaction
- Overall success of evening
  - Toasts
    - William F. ("Billy") Graham
    - William P. Rogers
    - Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
    - The President
    - Dining Room
  - Presentation of Medal of Freedom
    - Reaction of Wallaces
- Public perception
  - Recounting of events
    - Amplification
      - New York
  - Publicity for Conniff
- Feraci's action
  - Sign
    - Transport
    - Message
    - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon observation
  - The President's view
    - Prior planning
      - Compared to Kitt's action

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:08 am.

- Whitman's meeting
  - Herbert Stein
  - Shultz
  - Barbara H. Franklin
  - Arrangements
    - Photograph session
    - The President's possible comments
    - Swearing-in
      - Attendance of women
      - Press coverage



- Ronald L. Ziegler
- The President's possible comments

The President left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.

- Previous night's protest
- Press coverage
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - Mulcahy
  - Comments

The President entered at an unknown time after 9:08 am.

- Whitman announcement
- Press
  - Remarks
  - Confirmation
    - Status
      - Stein
      - Frederic V. Malek
      - Franklin
  - Swearing-in
    - Timing
  - Need for confirmation
    - Compared to Chairman of CEA
    - Franklin
  - Photograph session
  - Press coverage
  - Orchestration of announcement

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

- Previous night's protest
- Sarah McLendon's reaction
  - Crowd reaction

Whitman, Franklin, Shultz and Stein entered at 10:05 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.



Greetings

The President's plans for statement

Seating

Appointment of Whitman

- The President's plans for statement
  - Necessity for confirmation
- Whitman's background
  - Father, John von Neumann
    - Book, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944)
    - Princeton University
    - Background
    - Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*
      - Oskar Morganstern
      - Thesis
        - Politics
          - People's Republic of China [PRC] [?]
- Confirmation
  - Whitman statement
- Importance
  - Whitman's gender
  - Whitman's qualifications
    - Stein's view
  - Nondiscrimination
    - Concern with ability irrespective of race, religion, gender
- Whitman's qualifications
  - Experience
  - Intelligence
  - Stein
  - Ezra Solomon
- Other members of CEA
  - Male to female ratio
- Whitman's family
- Economic challenge
  - Practice of economics vs. teaching
- Whitman's previous role in CEA
- The President's statement of August 15, 1971



- Stein
- Solomon
- Whitman's forthcoming responsibilities
  - International economics
  - Wage and price controls
    - Price Commission
- Whitman's husband, Robert Whitman
- The President's education
- Blame and credit for economic fluctuations
- Women's liberation groups
- Basis of selection
  - Qualifications
    - Compared to gender
      - Availability of women
        - Supreme Court appointment
          - The President's talk with Shultz
    - Stein
    - Lawyers
      - Compared to economists
      - American Bar Association [ABA]
- Public relations
- Meeting other officials
  - John B. Connally
    - Health
  - Paul A. Volcker
  - Price Commission
  - Possible call to Connally
  - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]
  - Possible call to Connally
    - Stein's schedule
      - Paris
    - Whitman's schedule
      - Pittsburgh
- Whitman's children
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's and Tricia Nixon Cox's views of appointment
  - Supreme Court
    - ABA

Farewells



Whitman, *et al.*, except Haldeman, left at 10:25 am.

Whitman appointment

- Whitman's assets
  - Appearance
  - Intelligence
  - Presence before cameras
- Public relations
  - Assets of appointment
    - Impact of gender
      - Identification with common problems
      - Compared to legal field
      - Franklin
  - Swearing-in
    - Attendance of women
      - Romana A. Banuelos
      - Helen D. Bentley
    - Gender issue

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:25 am.

Phone call to Joanne Goldwater Ross

- Unavailability

Request that Charles W. Colson join them

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:30 am.

Whitman appointment

- Public relations
  - John Von Neumann
  - Story about little boy

Aging

- Lila Wallace
- Hope
  - Appearance
- Delores (Reade) Hope



- Aging of Presidents
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson
  - Photographs of Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - Inaugurations
  - The President

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 7/30/2019. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[660-008-w005]

[Duration: 1m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*\*\*\*\*

Aging

- Delores (Reade) Hope
  - Worrying in office
    - Lyndon Johnson
      - Press relations
      - Press Secretary
        - Bugging of briefings
        - Calls during briefing
        - Connally

Colson entered at 10:30 am.

Aging

- Delores Hope's observations of others
  - Bob Hope
    - World travels
    - Charitable work



- Health
- The President's aging
  - Compared to Kennedy, Johnson
- Kennedy's health
  - Cortisone
- Lyndon Johnson's aging
  - Rapidly
  - Life style
  - Senate life style
  - The President's life style

#### George Meany

- Call from Shultz
  - Follow-up to the President's call
  - Call from budget office public relations person
    - Columbia inquiry
      - Mike Wallace, *60 Minutes* special
        - Camera coverage
        - Kissinger briefing
- Relations with White House
  - Foreign policy views
  - White House interns
    - Request of Wallace to Film
      - Reason
        - Desire for rapport
  - Reasons
- Partisanship
- Background
- Irish
  - Courtesy
- Courtesy
  - Irish contrasted with British
- Treatment of allies

#### Whitman appointment

- Benefits
  - Whitman's qualities
    - Appearance
    - Intelligence



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

- Family
- As spokesperson
  - Solomon
  - Today* show
- As saleswoman
- Today* show spot
  - Timing
  - Confirmation
- Women's magazines
- Economic publications
  - Business Week*
- Uniqueness of female economist
  - Stein's comment
- Ability of women
  - Mathematics
  - Business world
- Sylvia F. Porter
- CEA
  - Spokesman role
    - Stein
    - Solomon
  - The President's schedule
- Connally's view
  - Stein's role
- Recollections of John von Neumann

John von Neumann's book

- Presentation
- Health
- Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*
  - Haldeman's reading
  - International relations
  - Kissinger

Poll

Previous night's protestor

- Media coverage of White House parties
- Mrs. Nixon's view



- Radio play
  - Content
- Effect
  - Public perception
  - Administration reaction
- Feraci
  - Citizenship
  - Action
- Mulcahy's remark
  - Rose Mary Woods
- Radio coverage
  - Broadcast of crowd reaction
- The President's response to protest
  - Praise of Marine Corps band
- Timing
- Conniff's apology
  - Reference to the President's speeches
- Timing
  - The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
  - Public reception of peace efforts
- Woods
  - Schedule
  - Reaction
- Martha Mitchell's reaction

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 10:30 am.

- Woods's location
  - Attendance at meeting

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:43 am.

- Previous night's protest
  - The President's reaction
    - Feraci
    - Praise of Marine Corps band
    - Gratitude to other singers



[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:30 am and 10:43 am.]

[Conversation No. 660-8B]

[See Conversation No. 19-163]

[End of telephone conversation]

Public relations

- Martha Mitchell
  - Statement about Feraci
  - Press coverage
- Clark MacGregor
- Congressional wives' inquiries
  - Luncheons given by Barbara MacGregor
  - Attendance

[The President talked with Mitchell between 10:43 am and 10:47 am.]

[Conversation No. 660-8C]

[See Conversation No. 19-164]

[End of telephone conversation]

Previous night's dinner

- Martha Mitchell's reaction to protest
  - Publicity
- Televising of award presentation
- Feraci
  - Publicity possibilities
    - Today* show
    - Wallace
  - Reaction
  - Removal
    - Audience
    - Conniff
  - Klein's actions



- Mood of country
- Reaction
- The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[660-008-w008]

[Duration: 15m 2s]

#### Polls

- Approval rate
- Charles W. Colson
- Thomas W. Benham's analysis
  - Approval
  - Vietnam
- The President contrasted with Democratic contenders
  - Vietnam factor
  - Dissipation of approval
  - Gallup trial heat
    - January 7-9, 1972
      - Edmund S. Muskie's announcement
  - Phone poll
  - State by state poll
    - The President vs. Edmund S. Muskie
      - Results
  - January 3-20, 1972
    - Fluctuations in leads
- Albert E. Sindlinger's theory
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Gallup poll accuracy
  - Timing
  - Compared with the President's poll
    - Edmund S. Muskie



Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

Location of Manolo Sanchez

Stephen B. Bull left at an unknown time before 11:44 am.

Political developments

- Polls
  - Gallup poll
    - Registered voters
    - Results
      - Compared to the President's phone poll
  - Altering factors
- Perception of common man

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

Request

- Dogs [?]

Manolo Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:44 am.

Political developments

- Polls
  - Thomas W. Benham's analysis
    - Attention to candidates
      - Effect on polls
    - Stabilization of figures
    - Performance
    - Gallup-Harris comparison
      - Approval-disapproval
  - Trial heats
    - Results
      - Edmund S. Muskie
      - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
      - Hubert H. Humphrey
      - George C. Wallace
        - Third-party possibilities
        - American Independent Party



- Filing deadline
- George C. Wallace candidacy
  - The President's analysis
    - Effect on large Northern cities
    - Effect in South
    - Benefits of the President's win in South
      - Electoral votes
    - Richard M. Scammon's theory
    - Edmund S. Muskie philosophy
      - Eugene J. McCarthy effect
      - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Hubert H. Humphrey philosophy
    - Contention for George C. Wallace voters
  - Benefits of "Solid South"
  - George C. Wallace third-party candidacy
    - Effect nationally
      - Edmund S. Muskie support
      - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy support
      - Undecided vote
      - Hubert H. Humphrey support
    - Forthcoming state poll
      - Prediction ability
      - California
  - Benefits of "Solid South"
    - Republican strategy

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

Executive Office Building [EOB]  
-Retrieve pipe and tobacco

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:44 am.

Benefits of "Solid South"  
-Necessary electoral votes

- Projections
- Other necessary states
- Christian Science Monitor*
  - Utah



- Wyoming
- Farm strength
  - Farm states
    - Nebraska
    - Kansas
    - Iowa
  - Earl L. Butz
    - Bill House of Kansas
      - Head of Cattlemen Association
    - Political scrappiness
- Farm issues
  - Earl L. Butz benefits
  - Earl L. Butz's letters to Democrats
    - Conversation with Charles W. Colson
      - Partisan activity
      - Clark MacGregor

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Agriculture

- Possible press conference
  - Unknown primary
- Earl L. Butz
  - Compared to Ezra Taft Benson
  - Colson's suggestion
    - Letters to Democratic presidential candidate in Senate
      - Partisanship
  - Concern with image
    - Compared to others in Cabinet
  - Response of audiences
    - Donald E. Johnson
    - American Farm Bureau Federation

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

#### The President's schedule

- Helicopter to Camp David
- Kissinger meeting



- Forthcoming call
- Mrs. Nixon

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:44 am.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[660-008-w009]

[Duration: 11m 14s]

Political developments

- Candidate prospects
  - Effect of "news"
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Fluctuations
  - Approval rating
    - Gallup results
  - The President's strategy
  - Undecided vote
    - Eventual dispersement
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower's standing
    - Background
    - John F. Kennedy
- Solidity of the President's base
  - Lyndon B. Johnson–Harry S Truman base
  - Location of base
    - “Law and Order” Jews
      - Richard M. Scammon’s comment
      - Results
    - Zionist Jews
      - [first name unknown] Strauss [?]
      - Orthodox
      - The President's position on Israel
        - Israelis’ fear
        - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]



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

- Communists
  - Moshe Dayan
    - Pro-Nixon signals
  - New York Jews
  - Philadelphia Jews
    - Richard M. Scammon's opinion
    - Frank L. Rizzo support
    - Conservatism
    - "Brown shirts" in Germany
    - Blacks in Washington, DC
  - Catholic-Jewish comparison
  - Uneducated Jews compared to educated
  - Blacks
    - Approval rating
    - The President vs. Edmund S. Muskie
  - Jews
    - The President vs. Edmund S. Muskie
    - Percentage of sample
  - Blacks
    - Opinion on Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - 1968 comparison
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's standing
    - Hubert H. Humphrey's standing
    - George C. Wallace's standing
- Sindlinger polls
- The President's strategy
  - George C. Wallace candidacy
    - Strategy
      - Southern strength
      - Impact on Electoral College
      - History of voters
      - Labor unions
      - Peter J. Brennan
      - Expected Northern vote
        - Frank L. Rizzo
      - Racist
  - Charles W. Colson's conversation with Albert E. Sindlinger
    - Albert E. Sindlinger's view
    - Polls



- Fluctuations
- The President's prospects
  - Voter tone
    - Effect on polls
- Benefits to incumbent
- Voter feeling
  - Exploitation by candidates

\*\*\*\*\*

Hatred for the President

- Democrats
  - Compared to Lyndon Johnson
  - Administration response
  - Pornographic movies and books
    - Timing of release
      - 1961
    - Washington, DC, New York
- Public perception
- Republican attacks
  - Roosevelt
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Undignified actions
    - Effect on office
- Public perception of the Administration
- Protest at dinner
- John Mitchell
- James O. Eastland's view
  - James O. Eastland's relations with Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Alfalfa dinner
    - Disagreement
    - Honesty

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/30/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]



[Personal Returnable]  
[660-008-w010]  
[Duration: 1m 22s]

Hatred for the President

- Democrats
  - James O. Eastland's relations with Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy possible candidacy
      - Vice Presidency
      - Decision on November 1, 1971
      - Speculation of another woman
- Robert A. G. Monks's view
  - Margaret Chase Smith
  - Robert A. G. Monks's relations with Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's candidacy
      - Speculation of another woman
      - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

\*\*\*\*\*

White House dinner

- Lila Wallace
  - Health
  - Conversation with the President at the White House dinner
    - Lila Tyng
      - Henry Luce
      - Clare Booth Luce
    - Somerset Maugham
      - Divorce
      - Wife's comment

Robert J. Dole

Edward M. Kennedy

- View of love
  - Compared to George A. Smathers

Smathers



- Wife, Carolyn Hyder Smathers
  - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
  - Colson’s congratulations
- Rosemary Smathers

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]  
[660-008-w011]  
[Duration: 19s]

- George A. Smathers
  - Rosemary Smathers
  - Unknown woman

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]  
[660-008-w012]  
[Duration: 6m 6s]

- Politics
  - Trust issue
    - Edmund S. Muskie’s attack
    - Personal attacks
    - Public’s distrust of institutions
      - Products
      - Beat cops
  - Albert E. Sindlinger's view
    - Effect of “news” on electorate
    - Fluctuations in poll



- Benefits of incumbency
  - Voter feeling
    - Lack of personal feelings towards candidates
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's personal following
    - Hubert H. Humphrey's personal following
    - Edmund S. Muskie's personal following
    - Spiro T. Agnew's personal following
    - The President's personal following
      - Patrick J. Buchanan and Charles A. Halleck
      - Background
      - Percentages
      - Alger Hiss case
      - Nikita S. Khrushchev
- Voting patterns
  - Lack of strong feeling
  - Stupidity of voters
- Voter feelings
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld's information from Gallup poll
  - The President's competence

Telephone call to John B. Connally

- Visit to Camp David
- Timing

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:47 am and 11:44 am.

[Conversation No. 660-8D]

[The call was placed on hold]

Camp David visit on January 29, 1972

- Details
  - Dinner
  - Movie

Polls

- Edmund S. Muskie poll



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

- Gallup
- Harris
- Albert E. Sindlinger's view
- Credibility issue

[See Conversation No. 019-165]

\*\*\*\*\*

Haldeman talked with Idanell (Brill) ("Nellie") Connally at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

[Continuation of Conversation No. 660-8D]

[End of telephone conversation]

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:47 am and 11:44 am.

[Conversation No. 660-8E]

[See Conversation No. 19-166]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Camp David trip
  - Scheduling
    - John Connally
    - Health
    - Residence
      - Helicopter
      - Naval Observatory

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]



[660-008-w014]  
[Duration: 39s]

Democrats' feeling for John B. Connally

Polls

-Edmund S. Muskie

\*\*\*\*\*

Nellie Connally talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 10:47 am and 11:44 am.

[Conversation No. 660-8F]

[See Conversation No. 019-167]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[660-008-w017]

[Duration: 8m 6s]

John B. Connally's health

-Stay at home

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's view

Polls

-Edmund S. Muskie poll

-Reason for decline

-Gallup and Harris polls

-January 15, 1972

-History of poll behavior



- Gallup and Harris poll shifts
  - Reasons for disparity
    - Voting blocs
    - Edmund S. Muskie's strength
      - Television
    - Power of the media
    - Voter feeling
      - Timing of voters' final decisions
- Albert E. Sindlinger's view
  - 1948 election
  - Intensity of voter feeling
- John N. Mitchell-James O. Eastland theory
  - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's strategy
    - Desire for a Edmund S. Muskie defeat
      - Benefits to Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Edmund S. Muskie's age
      - Presidential ages
        - 55-65 years old
        - Dwight D. Eisenhower
    - Eugene J. McCarthy vote
      - Benefits to Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
      - Money problem
        - Aid from the President
- The President's money problems
  - Television advertising
  - Republican compared to Democratic funds
  - Television advertising
    - Effects
      - Voter turnout

Henry A. Kissinger

Polls

- Harris poll
  - Results
    - Edmund S. Muskie

\*\*\*\*\*



Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:47 am.

The President's schedule  
-Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:44 am.

Poll  
-Vietnam issue  
-Support for the President  
-Publishers

Kissinger entered and Colson left at 11:44 am.

Briefing book  
-People's Republic of China [PRC]

Vietnam  
-Questions from press  
-Preparation  
-Briefing book  
-Patrick J. Buchanan  
-North Vietnam  
-Response to the President's peace proposals  
-Timing  
-Military action  
-Action  
-Press conference  
-Timing  
-February 10, 1972  
-Television  
-Thrust of criticism  
-Kissinger's talks with press  
-Edward Kennedy's call to Thomas W. Braden  
-Rowland Evans's and Braden's call to Katharine L. Graham  
-Graham's call to Kissinger  
-Talk to editorialists  
-Op-ed article



-Marshall Green

The President's foreign policy

- Vietnam
  - State of the world speech, February 8, 1972
    - The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC
  - Recent foreign policy coups
  - Charles H. Percy
  - Charles W. Whalen, Jr.
  - Percy's support for the President
  - Mary McGrory
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Press conference
  - Timing
    - Briefing work
  - Topics
    - Domestic policy
    - Foreign policy
      - PRC trip
    - Domestic issues
      - Ziegler
    - Domination of foreign issues

Previous night's protest

- Kissinger's view
- Removal of protestor
  - Applause
  - Conniff
- The President's reaction
  - Appreciation
    - Reader's Digest*
    - Applause
    - Marine Band

Dinner attended by Kissinger, January 28, 1972

- Dobrynin's remarks
  - The President's trip to PRC
  - The President's forthcoming trip to Soviet Union



McGrory

- Kissinger

Dobrynin

Israeli

- View of the President
  - Moshe Dayan
    - Golda Meir
- Phantoms deal
  - Delay
- Middle East problems

Dinner attended by Kissinger

- Memorandum from Kissinger to William P. Rogers
  - Routing of memorandum
    - PRC trip
    - Rogers
  - Message from Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Timing
  - Trade negotiations
  - Vietnam
  - Middle East
  - Kissinger's relations with Rogers

Rogers

- Attendance at previous night's dinner
- PRC memorandum of conversations
  - Sanitization
- Press briefings
  - Rogers's access
- Press relations

Previous night's protest

- Kitt
  - Lady Bird Johnson
- The President's reaction



- Possible alternatives
- Content of protest
  - Berrigan brothers
  - Ellsberg

The President's schedule

- Republican Governors Conference
  - Ronald W. Reagan, Tom McCall, Daniel J. Evans meeting
    - Dock strike
  - Reagan, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Richard B. Ogilvie meeting
    - Revenue-sharing
    - Timing
      - Press conference
- Camp David
  - Memoranda
- The President's health
  - PRC trip
  - John Connally
  - Effect of illness
- Republican House and Senate members breakfast meetings
  - Timing
    - Lincoln Day recess
      - Invitations
        - By seniority
        - By assignment
- Budget
- William J. Scherle
- Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
- John N. Ashbrook meeting
- Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. meeting
- Necessity
- Timing
  - PRC trip

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]



[Personal Returnable]  
[660-008-w016]  
[Duration: 3m 33s]

The President's schedule

- People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - Preparation
  - Need for sleep
  - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion

Polls

- Gallup results
  - Timing
- Harris poll
- Administration poll
  - Timing
  - George C. Wallace
  - Results
    - Edmund S. Muskie's standing
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's standing
    - Hubert H. Humphrey's standing
- Past results
- Basis for poll results
  - Exposure
    - Edmund S. Muskie
- The President's approval rating on Vietnam
  - Comparison with past results
    - Cambodia
  - Use in press
- Results on January 25, 1972 speech
  - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
    - The President's November 3, 1971 speech
  - Compared with August 18, 1971 economic speech
  - Compared with People's Republic of China [PRC] announcement

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam



- As issue
- The President's endurance of criticism
- Kissinger's Meeting with Prisoners of war [POW] families, January 28, 1972
  - Applause
    - Compared to previous meetings
  - Women
  - Questions and comments
    - Tone
    - Ceasefire and withdrawal
      - Deadline
    - Unknown man's son
  - Colson's possible actions
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s previous meeting
  - Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes
    - [Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft]

#### Previous night's dinner

- Hughes

#### Flu epidemic

- The President's talk with Nellie Connally
- Dewitt Wallace
- Elmer H. Bobst

#### PRC trip

#### Vietnam negotiations

- North Vietnamese reaction to US proposals
  - Dinner party gossip
    - Le Duc Tho's return
      - Press coverage
      - Implications
  - Resumption of secret meetings
    - Xuan Thuy
- Expectations of type of news coverage
  - Haldeman's view
    - Mechanics
      - Compared to substance
- Criticism of United States



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

- George S. McGovern
- Edward Kennedy
- Muskie's attack
  - Ceasefire
- Cease-fire
  - Kissinger's briefings
  - Clark M. Clifford's criticism
    - Past criticism
      - Troop withdrawal in 1969, 1970
      - Inconsistencies
  - Critics in general

PRC trip

- Preparation
  - Book of Kissinger memos
  - Background for the President
    - Best medium
      - Books
      - Tone
    - Chinese culture
- Mrs. Nixon

Haldeman and Kissinger left at 12:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 660-009](#)

Date: January 29, 1972

Time: 12:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Instructions

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Letters

Butterfield left at 12:10 pm.



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

[Conversation No. 660-010](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:10 pm and 12:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

The President's schedule

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

[Conversation No. 660-011](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:10 and 12:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-168]

[Conversation No. 660-012](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:10 pm and 12:12 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

The President's schedule



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

[Conversation No. 660-013](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: 12:12 pm - 12:15 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

- Possible press conference
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Vietnam
  - Domestic issues
    - Budget deficit
    - George W. Romney
    - Housing
  - Busing
  - Resignation of John B. Connally
  - Jack N. Anderson papers

Henry A. Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 12:12 pm.

- The President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- Preparation
    - Reading
      - Book on Chinese manners
      - James [?] Monroe
      - Background

- Dinner attended by Kissinger, January 28, 1972
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Milton Viorst
  - Peter G. Peterson

- Criticism of the President
- Katharine L. Graham's call to Kissinger



- Editorials in *Washington Post*
- Possible request for call to editorial writer
- Response by Kissinger

The President, et al. left at 12:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 660-014](#)

Date: January 29, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:15 pm and 11:59 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/31/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[660-014-w001]  
[Duration: 11s]

*[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.

[Conversation No. 660-015](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:04 am and 9:23 am  
Location: Oval Office



The President met with an unknown person.

Item for Rose Mary Woods

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:23 am.

[Conversation No. 660-016](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
Time: 9:23 am - 10:34 am  
Location: Oval Office

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

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[660-016-w001]

[Duration: 7m 16s]

- John D. Ehrlichman's telephone call to F. Donald Nixon
  - Interview with Jack N. Anderson
    - Set-up by J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr.
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's view of Mormons
  - J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr.
    - The President's opinion
    - J. Willard Marriott, Sr.
    - Jack N. Anderson's view of administration
  - Clearance of interview
    - Herbert W. Kalmbach
    - F. Donald Nixon
  - Jack N. Anderson interview
    - John D. Ehrlichman's role



- Link to the President
- Origination of interview
- F. Donald Nixon's view
- Mormons compared to Catholics and Jews
  - Jack N. Anderson's relationship with J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr.
  - F. Donald Nixon
    - Clara Jane (Lemke) Nixon [?]
    - Gullibility
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Rose Mary Woods
- Herbert W. Kalmbach's role
- John D. Ehrlichman

\*\*\*\*\*

John B. Connally

- Health
- Schedule
  - Testifying
  - News stories
  - Trip to Florida
    - Idanell (Brill) ("Nellie") Connally
    - Need for time off
  - Camp David
  - Trip to Florida
    - Possible call from Haldeman to Nellie Connally
  - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo's call to Connally
    - Invitation to visit
  - Accommodations in Florida
    - Transportation
      - Airplane
  - Connally's health
    - Influenza
    - Texas
  - Call to Nellie Connally
    - Camp David
- Benefits
- Advisability



-Call to Nellie Connally

Incident at DeWitt and Lila (Acheson) Wallace dinner, January 28, 1972

- The President's reading
- Background of protestor, Carol Feraci
- Media coverage
  - Duration
  - Unknown person's view
  - Television
  - Time magazine
- Public perception
  - Reader's Digest
- The President's call to Ray Conniff
  - Reaction to protest
    - Emily Conniff's reaction
    - Campaign support offer
- Conniff
  - Public perception
  - Removal of Feraci
- Reaction of audience
  - John N. and Martha (Beall) Mitchell

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[660-016-w003]

[Duration: 2m 13s]

Political events

- Arizona caucus
  - Edmund S. Muskie's showing
  - Iowa
- Edmund S. Muskie
  - The President's assessment
  - Prospects
- John V. Lindsay's campaign



- Charles W. Colson's assessment
- Nominating process
  - Aid to Democrats
    - Interest
  - Incumbency
    - Advantages
  - Interest in campaign

\*\*\*\*\*

#### The President's schedule

- Meeting with John N. Mitchell
  - Timing
  - Frequency of meetings
- William F. ("Billy") Graham
  - Prayer breakfast
    - Politics
      - Grady Wilson
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- John B. Connally's schedule

#### John Connally's schedule

- Possible meeting with John Mitchell about politics
- Responsibilities
  - Efforts to reduce
    - Instructions to Haldeman
    - Treasury Department
    - White House staff
      - Peter M. Flanigan
      - John D. Ehrlichman
      - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Haldeman's responsibility
    - Offer of assistance in economics files

#### Margaret Chase Smith

- Possible retirement
  - Possible telephone call



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

Prayer breakfast

- Graham
  - Schedule
- Promotion
- Mamie G.D. Eisenhower
  - Scripture reading
  - Health
- Promotion efforts
- The President's schedule

Testimonial dinner for Robert J. Brown

- Attendance
  - Ticket sales
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Blacks
    - Political effect
- Publicity
  - News coverage
    - Black press
  - Benefits to administration
    - Blacks in Administration
      - Brig. Gen. Daniel ("Chappie") James, Jr.
        - Point made
      - Brown
      - Samuel C. Jackson
      - James
      - Reaction to President's attendance
    - Sammy Davis, Jr.
      - Possible representative of President at Mahalia Jackson funeral
      - Medal for the President
        - Inscription
      - Jewelry
- Attendance
  - Brown's family
  - Sally Brown
  - Warmth
  - Symbolism



\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[660-016-w004]

[Duration: 1m 14s]

Politics

- Vote percentages for the President
  - Black
  - Jewish
- Benefits of black vote
  - Total
- Benefits of Jewish vote
  - Money
  - New York
  - California
  - Illinois
  - History of Jewish vote for the President
  - Rich Jews
    - Taft Schreiber

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

- The President's preference on events
  - Jewish or Black groups
    - Demonstrators
      - Feraci
        - Call to J. Edgar Hoover
        - Prior plans
        - Timing of actions

The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972

- Press coverage
  - Boston Herald* editorial
    - Content



- The President's effort
- Partisan critics
- 1972 election
- Unknown writer from Harvard University

Memorandum about L. Richard Guylay letter

- Analysis of administration position
- Judgment
  - William L. Safire
  - Leonard Garment
  - Public relations
    - Experience
- Language of White House statements
  - Charles W. Colson's role
  - New York Times*
    - Quotes
      - Responses to Edward M. Kennedy
      - Quality
  - Colson's role
  - Franklyn C. ("Lyn") Nofziger
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Hugh Scott's talent

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/31/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[660-016-w005]

[Duration: 16m 20s]

1972 campaign

- Public relations efforts
  - Campaign personnel
- 1968 campaign
  - Television
- Hiring practices
  - Efficiency



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

- L. Richard Guylay
  - The President's opinion
  - Contribution
- Richard A. Moore
- Herbert G. Klein
  - Role
  - Input
- Richard A. Moore
- William L. Safire
- Douglas L. Hallett
- Leonard Garment
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Need for political public relations man
  - John R. ("Tex") McCrary
  - L. Richard Guylay
    - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
  - Internal squabbles
- Current effort
  - Weaknesses of public relations effort
  - Strength of operations side
  - John N. Mitchell
  - Richard A. Moore
    - Judgment
    - Rose Mary Woods
  - Other views
    - John R. ("Tex") McCrary
    - Douglas L. Hallett
    - Benefits
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's role
- Public relations
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Personality
    - The President's assessment
  - Tricia Nixon Cox
    - Skill
    - Charisma
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower's charisma
    - John F. Kennedy
    - John V. Lindsay



- [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II's political skill
  - Prospects
- John B. Connally
  - Vice-Presidency
  - Political prospects
  - Party switch
- Democrats for Nixon
  - Benefits
  - California campaign
  - Party shifts in Congress
  - Congressional work
    - Clark MacGregor
      - Focused on Republicans
    - Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
    - Harry S. Dent
      - Focused on Southern Democrats
    - John N. Mitchell
    - James O. Eastland
- Tactics
  - Iowa
  - Mississippi
  - Louisiana
  - Minnesota
  - Barry M. Goldwater Sr.'s tactics
  - Endeavor to win all states
    - Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana
    - Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York
    - Ripple effect
    - Benefits
    - Discrepancy between rhetoric and action
  - Robert H. Finch
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak
- Polls
  - Approval rating of the President
    - Demographic shifts
      - Men
      - Women
      - Jews



- Relevance
- Richard A. Moore
- Teenagers
- Twenty year olds
- Thirty to fifty year olds
- Over fifty group
- Old vs. young
- Education
  - Eighth grade or less
  - College
- Union
- Youth
- Elderly
- Whites
- Non-whites
- Union groups
- Income groups
- Jews
- Income groups
- College educated
- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Conservatives
- Liberals
- Relationship to trial heats
- Edmund S. Muskie's prospects
  - L. Richard Guylay's view
  - Popular excitement
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's prospects
- John V. Lindsay

\*\*\*\*\*

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:06 am.

The President's signature  
-Butterfield's authority



- Rubber stamp
- Davis as President's representative at Jackson funeral

Butterfield left at 10:07 am.

*Time story*

- Henry A. Kissinger's secret negotiations
  - The President's code name, "Quarterback"
  - Meetings with the President
  - Implication of story
    - Kissinger's role
  - William P. Rogers
  - Kissinger as secret agent
    - Kissinger's social life
    - Secret Service guard
- Press corps
- Cover stories
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Plane trouble
    - British field
  - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
    - Transportation
  - French

Vietnam negotiations

- Compared to October 1970
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Prospects for success
  - The President's opposition in US and world
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- North Vietnam
- US military
- Military prospects
  - South Vietnam
  - US public opinion
    - Melvin R. Laird
  - Laird
    - B-52's
  - South Vietnam



- Military
  - Air Force, Navy
  - Compared to North Vietnam
- Peace proposal
  - Reactions
  - Colson's view

- Testimonial dinner for Brown
- Edward W. Brooke's attendance
  - Value of the President's attendance

Butterfield entered at 10:20 am.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at 10:21 am.

- Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - New York ethnic groups
    - Puerto Ricans
    - Jews
    - Latins
    - Italians
    - Parades
    - Pulaski Day
- Attendance at ethnic events
  - Messages
  - Writing staff

- Public relations
- Writing staff

Ziegler entered at 10:22 am.

- North Vietnamese press conference in Paris
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Release of nine point plan
  - Release of public and private eight point plans
  - Ziegler's handling of questions



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

- Expertise
- Kissinger's handling of questions
  - Call to Robert J. McCloskey
    - State Department
- Answering specific questions
- State Department
- North Vietnamese
- Kissinger's schedule
- Haig
- Kissinger's schedule
  - Foreign policy message

Ziegler left at 10:26 am.

The President's schedule

- Benno C. Schmidt
- President's Cancer Panel
- Photograph session

North Vietnam press conference

- Kissinger's handling of questions
  - Reason
    - Credibility
      - White House staff concern
      - George S. McGovern's efforts

Ziegler entered at 10:28 am.

- Content
- Press briefing
  - Delay
- Indication of statement
  - Wire movement
  - Haig's information
- Counter strategy
- Timing
  - Prime time
  - Time difference between Paris and Washington, DC



Texas press during Ziegler's trip

- Houston
- Vietnam
  - Eight point plan
- Busing questions
- Economy
- PRC questions
- Budget questions
- Question and answer [Q&A] session
  - Duration
- Administration line
- Questions
  - PRC and Soviet Union summits
- Feraci's protest
  - Reaction
    - The President's action
  - Martha Mitchell and Rose Mary Woods
  - Reaction
    - Feraci's background

Ziegler left at 10:32 am.

The President's schedule

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:32 am.

- Forthcoming meeting with Schmidt
  - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
  - Photograph session
  - Length

Haldeman and Bull left at 10:34 am.

[Conversation No. 660-017](#)

Date: January 31, 1972

Page | 61



Time: 10:34 am - 10:59 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Benno C. Schmidt, R. Lee Clark, Robert A. Good, Elliot L. Richardson, James H. Cavanaugh and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.; The White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings and introductions

- Photograph session
- Arrangements

President's Cancer Panel

- Members' geographical origin
  - Clark of Texas
  - Good of Minnesota
- Qualifications
  - Clark
    - Mayo Clinic
  - Good
    - View of scientific and medical communities
      - Competition between scientists and clinicians
    - Respect for Clark and Good
    - Need for cooperation
- Size
  - Make-up
    - Roster for the President
  - Increase
    - Benefits
  - Use of task forces
    - The President's support
      - Richardson
      - National Institutes of Health [NIH]
- The President's support
  - The President's State of the Union address, January 20, 1972
  - Budget
    - Congress
  - Public expectations
- The President's efforts in health
  - Private foundation for education



- Joseph C. Wilson
  - Xerox Company
  - R. Heath Larry
  - US steel
- Hearings
  - Report
- Involvement of people
- Cabinet discussion
  - Wilson
- Organization
  - Bureaucratic problems
  - Non-use of talent
  - Direction of research
    - Possible clearinghouse
    - Government, universities, scientific and medical communities
  - International efforts
  - Space shuttle program
    - International use
    - Scientific research
    - Japan, West Germany
- International contributions to cancer research
  - Great Britain
  - Cooperation
  - John B. Connally's efforts
    - International congress in Houston in 1970
    - March 1972 meeting in Australia
    - Possible presidential message
- The President's forthcoming trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union
- Unknown Nobelaureate
- Soviet-US interchange
  - Richardson's memorandum
  - Richardson's background
  - Announcement at agreement
- Sino-US interchange
  - Diplomatic relations
  - East Asia
  - Possibilities
    - Table tennis team



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

- Visit to US in April 1972
  - Memorandum
- Visit to facilities
- Acupuncture
  - Paul Dudley White
  - Harry [Surname unintelligible]
  - Interest
- Memorandum from panel
  - Cole
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Legislative contributions
- Public statements
  - Sharing benefits of research
  - Participation in campaign
- British
- Germans
- French
- Soviet Union
- PRC
- Mention of other contributions
  - Latin America
  - Africa
  - South Asia
    - India
  - Japan
    - Virology, immunology
    - Medical training
- Government commitment
  - Financial
  - Moral
    - Richardson
  - The President's support for research
    - Effect
    - Justification
      - Accomplishments
      - Education
      - Public perception of cancer
      - Death



- Leukemia
- End of year report
- Organization
  - Application to other diseases
  - Criticisms
  - Possible model

Presentation of gifts  
 -Cufflinks  
 -Presidential seal

Schmidt, et al. left at 10:59 am.

[Conversation No. 660-018](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
 Time: Unknown between 10:59 am and 11:03 am  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/31/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
 [660-018-w001]  
 [Duration: 5s]

Compliment

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:03 am.



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

[Conversation No. 660-019](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:59 am and 11:03 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule  
-Forthcoming meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:03 am.

[Conversation No. 660-020](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:59 am and 11:03 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

Request for a call to Stewart B. McKinney

[Conversation No. 660-021](#)

Date: January 31, 1972  
Time: 11:03 am - 11:54 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Malta

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:03 am.



Cancellation of request for a call to Stewart B. McKinney

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:05 am.

Malta

- Robert F. Ellsworth
  - Possible visit
  - Possible meeting with President prior to People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
- Possible deal with United Kingdom
  - Dominic Mintoff
  - Issues
    - Edward R.G. Heath

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[660-021-w002]

[Duration: 5s]

Malta

- Possible deal with United Kingdom
  - Issues
    - Edward R.G. Heath
    - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*

Malta

- Possible deal with United Kingdom
  - Issues
    - Edward R.G. Heath
      - Moral issue
      - Money
  - British Conduct



- John B. Connally's schedule
  - Pittsburgh
  - Forthcoming meeting
    - Timing
    - Connally's presence
    - Kissinger's schedule

Joseph M. A. H. Luns entered at 11:05 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

- Greetings
  - Photograph session

Past meetings with Luns

- Luns's response to Jay Rockefeller's statement
  - US interest in foreign policy
  - Compared to morality

Anti-American protests

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-009. Segment declassified on 11/06/2017. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]  
[660-021-w003]  
[Duration: 43m 20s]

- US–North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] cooperation
  - The President's view
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]–US visit
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]–US visit
    - Détente
      - US view of North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] alliance
        - Georges J. R. Pompidou
        - Edward R. G. Heath



- Willy Brandt
- Michel Debre
- Agenda
  - Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Consultation with allies
  - European security conference
    - Enthusiasm
    - Purpose
  - Need for reality
  - Useful discussions
- Campaign rhetoric
  - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield amendment
  - European troop reduction
    - Domestic spending
    - The President's actual position
    - Budget cuts
      - Approval prospects
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization's [NATO] role
  - New isolationism
    - Need to fight
  - Budget increase
    - Importance
  - US role
  - Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
  - Role of others
  - Message to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] members
- Alliance unity
  - External political decisions
  - Troop necessity
- Joseph M. A. H. Luns's trip to Canada
  - Conversation with Pierre E. Trudeau
    - US role
    - Europe
    - Canadian contribution to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      - Importance
- Joseph M. A. H. Luns's conversation with Georges J. R. Pompidou
  - Georges J. R. Pompidou's view of North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - French contribution to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]



- French benefits from North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- Georges J. R. Pompidou's reaction
- Troop withdrawal
- German role in North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Ostpolitik
  - Military effort
    - Weakness
    - Expenditures
  - Options outside North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Western Europe
  - Denuclearized zone
  - United Kingdom
  - Criticism of US
- Group of Ten
  - Prospects for economic confrontation with US
  - Henry A. Kissinger's assessment
- Joseph M. A. H. Luns's schedule
  - Departure
    - February 1, 1972
  - Potential meeting with John B. Connally [?]
- Danish problem
  - Joseph M. A. H. Luns's view
  - Expenditures
- Malta problem
  - Dominic Mintoff's desire for meeting with the President
    - Timing
  - Loans
    - Joseph M. A. H. Luns's view
- German problem
  - Consideration of German view
  - Denuclearization
  - Willy Brandt's feeling
  - Relations with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Corrective action
    - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] intentions
  - Allies' view
    - US contribution to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - European security conference
    - The President's view



- France
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] desires
- German options
  - Weaknesses
  - Necessity of being part of alliances
  - Role in North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Bargaining position with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Need for strength
  - Role of North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Willy Brandt's view
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] strengths and weaknesses
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] desires
- State of alliance
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] role
  - David M. Kennedy
    - Upcoming conversation with Joseph M. A. H. Luns
- Message to Dominic Mintoff
  - Economic aid
- US interest in North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- Visits before People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - Henry A. Kissinger's role
  - Need for communication
- Post-People's Republic of China [PRC] trip contacts
- US plan for North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] information
  - Dutch
    - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] council address
    - Drawbacks
  - Henry A. Kissinger's role
  - Private meetings
  - Japan and Thailand
- Left-right struggle
  - History
    - Goal of right
      - People's Republic of China [PRC]
      - Defense of North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
      - Peace
      - Pragmatism
      - Dutch



- Critics in US
  - Pro-People's Republic of China [PRC] group
  - Pro-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] group
    - Department of State [DOS]
    - Make-up
    - Arguments

\*\*\*\*\*

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:54 am.