

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 9:18 am - 10:52 am  
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.  
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Unknown man  
-Candidate

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

The President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Michael J. Mansfield's point  
-President's critics  
-Japan

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 9:20 am.

Edmund S. Muskie  
-Strategy  
-Speech  
-Press coverage

Bangladesh  
-US humanitarian assistance  
-President's upcoming trip to PRC  
-Edward M. Kennedy's criticism  
-Percentage

Pearl M. Bailey  
-Presentation of watch to President  
-News conference  
-Relationship with President  
-Previous gift

Ted Lewis  
-Criticism  
-Vietnam peace plan  
-Possible conversation with Herbert G. Klein

Muskie  
-Speech

Arthur D. Sulzberger

Stewart J.O. Alsop  
-Content of newspaper story  
-Compared to Joseph W. Alsop

- Liability
- Otis Chandler's opinion

#### Muskie speech

- Possible Administration response
  - William P. Rogers's role
    - Call to President, February 2, 1972 Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)
    - Schedule
      - Irish Foreign Minister [Patrick Hillery]
    - Rogers's conversation with [Earl of Cromer] Georges R.S. Baring
    - Vietnam
      - Possible topic of conversation
  - Conversations
    - John A. Scali
    - Charles W. Colson
      - Follow-up conversation
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Working on the approach
  - Melvin R. Laird
    - Location
    - Forthcoming conversation with Colson
    - Forthcoming statement
      - Rogers
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Statements by Gerald R. Ford, Robert J. Dole and William E. Brock, III, February 1, 1972
  - Muskie

#### Media hearings

- Coverage of Edith Efron testimony
  - Daniel L. Schorr
  - Frank Stanton
- 1968 campaign
  - Coverage of President
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
    - American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC]
    - Ziegler, Klein
  - Coverage of President
    - Efron
      - Access to audiotapes
    - Laos
    - Harley O. Staggers
  - Stewart Alsop
  - Rogers
    - Possible statements

#### Muskie's speech

- Possible Administration response
  - Rogers, Laird
  - Congressional hearings

- Buchanan's view
- Media coverage
  - Press conference
  - Aid to Saigon
- Possible administration response
  - Kissinger's view
  - President's 1968 statement
    - Rogers
  - President's 1966 statement concerning Lyndon B. Johnson's Manila statement
  - 1968 statement
    - Colson
      - Rogers
  - Manila statement
    - US intentions

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

#### Vietnam

- Mansfield
  - Withdrawal of amendment
    - News summary
- New York Times* communication with North Vietnam
  - Timing
    - Possible withdrawal for prisoners of war [POWs]
  - William J. Porter
- Negotiations
  - Probable deadline for POW release
  - Press coverage
  - Muskie's speech
    - Reported rejection of President's peace plan
  - Poll

#### Lewis

- Vietnam
  - Criticism
  - PRC initiative
  - Colleagues' views
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Conversation February 2, 1972
  - Kenneth B. Keating

#### President's forthcoming trip to PRC

- Press coverage
  - Possible tone
- Communiqué
  - Taiwan, Republic of China
    - William F. Buckley, Jr.
      - Proposed opinion
  - US policy
    - Defense treaty
      - Japan

#### Muskie speech

-Possible administration response

-Rogers

-*Newsweek*

-Foreign Service

-Loyalty

-Test

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

#### Ireland

-US policy

-Possible impact on the British

-Rogers's concern

-Inquiries from Buckley and Richard J. Daley

-Rogers's upcoming meeting with Hillery

#### Keating

-Upcoming meeting with the President

-Conversation with Kissinger

-Type of communication

-Forthcoming Senate testimony

-Lakshmi Kant Jha

-Foreign Relations Committee

-Cable

-Efforts of Joseph J. Sisco and Rogers

-India - Pakistan War

-Indira Gandhi

-State Department talking points

-Jack N. Anderson papers

-Forthcoming conversation with President

-Gandhi's visit

-State Department memoranda

-US-Indian relations

-Possible problems

-Kissinger's conversation with Jha

-Timing

-Bangladesh

-US policy

-Possible willingness to accept recognition

-Conversation with Kissinger

-Bangladesh

-Pakistan

-Arms sales

#### Bangladesh

-US aid

-Humanitarian relief

-Percentage of United Nations [UN] contributions

-State Department views

-Definitive answer after President's trip to PRC

#### Keating

-Forthcoming Senate testimony

- Gandhi
  - Restoration of US aid
- The President's forthcoming world report
- Restoration of US aid
  - Kissinger's view

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-001-w006]

[Duration: 42s]

1972 campaign

- Nelson A. Rockefeller's plans
  - Jacob K. Javits
  - Kenneth B. Keating
  - Actions
- Previous campaigns

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Ellsworth F. Bunker

- Forthcoming conversation with President
  - Tenure in office
  - Upcoming offensive

Porter

- Style

President's schedule

- Joseph S. Farland
  - Florida
  - Previous meeting
  - Keating
  - Forthcoming call from Farland
  - Ambassadors

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

- Rogers's memorandum to the President
  - Content
  - Announcement

Rogers's schedule

- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Kissinger's memorandum
    - Location
    - Florida

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 9:18 am and 9:49 am.]

[Conversation No. 665-1A]

Kissinger's memorandum

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Kissinger left at 9:49 am.

[No conversation]

Kissinger entered at 9:51 am.

Kissinger's memorandum

Yevtushenko

- State Department
- Comment about Vietnam
- Liberals

[The President talked with Rogers between 9:52 am and 9:55 am.]

[Conversation No. 665-1B]

[See Conversation No. 20-43]

Yevtushenko

- Views of Vietnam
  - Dobrynin
  - Liberals
- Public relations
- Memorandum from Rogers

Ireland

- President's recent conversation with Rogers
  - US policy
    - Rogers's conversations
    - Earl of Cromer, Hillery
- US policy
  - Possible impact on the British
  - Edward R.G. Heath
  - Analogy to US domestic situation

The President's schedule

- Farland
  - Upcoming meeting
- Key Biscayne
  - Briefing books
  - Preparation for forthcoming trip to PRC
    - Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai
    - Biographies

-Mao's favorite novels

- Keating
  - Timing
- Bunker
  - Timing

Kissinger left at 9:59 am.

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

- Farland
- President's reading material on PRC
  - Buchanan
  - Kissinger
- Key Biscayne
  - Timing
  - Departure time
  - Reception

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]*  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [665-001-w010]  
 [Duration: 5s]

The President's schedule

- Key Biscayne
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

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Vietnam

- Problems with departments
- Negotiations
  - October 1971
  - Rogers, Laird
    - Cambodia
  - Kissinger compared to Rogers
    - Kissinger's personality
    - Conflict

President's schedule

- Yevtushenko
  - Rogers's possible actions
  - Rogers's memorandum
    - Timing
  - Press photograph
    - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
    - Kissinger's request

-Drug story

Rogers

- Henry Kissinger
  - Previous conversation with Haldeman
  - Lunch with Benjamin C. Bradlee, February 2, 1972
- Katharine L. Graham
  - Concern for Rogers
- Previous relationship with Graham
- Foreign policy problems
- John N. Mitchell
- Schedule
  - Dobrynin's meeting
- Israelis
  - Unknown meetings
- Kissinger
- Credit
- Assumed credit

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

John B. Connally

- Relations within administration
  - David M. Kennedy

Kennedy

- Perceived role
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - The President, Kissinger
- Tenure
- Travel allowance
  - Amount
  - Rogers, Connally
  - Request for more money
- Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with Connally, Peter M. Flanigan, and Kissinger
  - President's instructions

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:59 am.

Keating

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

Kennedy

- Role with administration

Kissinger entered at 10:08 am.

- NATO post
- US Ambassadors in Brussels and Geneva
- Relations with Connally
- Kissinger's possible conversation with Kennedy



- Kissinger's possible conversation with Connally
  - Haldeman
  - Flanigan
- Connally's role
  - Leadership

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Flanigan

- Role with administration
  - Peter G. Peterson

Connally

- Role with administration
  - Kennedy

Kennedy

- Role with administration
  - NATO job
    - Supervisory role
  - Relations with Connally
    - Cabinet
    - Geneva
      - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] ambassador's report
  - Flanigan's forthcoming efforts
    - Connally's view
  - Relations with Connally
    - Negotiations
      - Kissinger's previous talk with Connally
      - Trade negotiations with Japan
        - Kennedy's role
          - State Department
  - President's instructions
  - Haldeman's forthcoming efforts

The President's schedule

Keating and the White House photographer entered at 10:14 am.

Prayer breakfast

Distribution of photographs

Haldeman and the White House photographer left at 10:15 am.

India-Pakistan relations

- Historic relationship
  - Previous wars
    - Partition
      - 1962
      - 1971
  - Possible future

- Possible future relationships
  - European Community
  - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - Mujibur Rahman
  - Gandhi
- USSR
- PRC
  - Relationship with India
    - 1962 War
    - Pakistan
- Keating's forthcoming testimony
  - Timing
  - Anderson's papers
  - Keating's cables
    - Keating's approach and knowledge
    - Farland [?]

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Bangladesh

- US policy
- Peking visit

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: MM]*

[National Security]  
[665-001-w015]  
[Duration: 8s]

Bangladesh

- US policy
- Indians
- Compared to Japanese

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Bangladesh

- US policy
  - Decision making process
  - Announcement
    - Timing
      - PRC trip
  - Semantics
  - Proposed US action
  - President's instructions to Keating
    - Pragmatism
- PRC
- India

President's forthcoming world report to Congress

- Timing
- US relations with India
  - Dialogue
- Use by Keating
  - Indian foreign secretary [Trikoli Nath Kaul]
  - Senate testimony
  - Foreign aid

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

India-Pakistan

- US policy
  - President's conversations with Gandhi, November 4-5, 1971
    - State Department memoranda
    - Kissinger
  - Toast
    - Jawaharlal Nehru
  - US aid
    - Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan
    - Unilateral withdrawal
  - Refugee problems
  - Keating's forthcoming conversations with Indians
  - President's previous contributions to India
    - Competition with PRC
    - Democracy
    - UN
      - Non-alignment
  - USSR
  - Kissinger's briefing of Keating
  - PRC
  - President's and Keating's experience

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: MM]*

[National Security]

[665-001-w018]

[Duration: 1m 5s]

India-Pakistan

- US policy
  - Kenneth B. Keating's conversations with Indians
    - Press spokesman for Swaran Singh [?]
    - Dinesh Singh
    - [First name unknown] Dar
    - Indira Gandhi
    - Parmeshwar Narayan Haksar

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## Triloki Nath Kaul

- Foreign secretary
- Relationship with Keating
- Conversations with Keating
  - Overtures for better relations
- Relationship with Kissinger
  - Kaul's USSR sentiment

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

## [Forename unknown] Dar

### President's conversation with Kaul

- Blair House
  - Accommodations
  - Compared to British

## Kaul

- Closeness to the USSR
  - Conversations with Keating
- Kissinger's conversations with Jha
  - Gandhi
  - Kissinger's instructions to Keating

## Keating

- Communications with Kissinger
  - State Department
  - [David] Kenneth Rush and Bunker
  - Walter H. Annenberg
  - State Department

## Leaks

- State Department
- French
  - Kissinger's previous trips to Paris

## India

- Relations with the Administration
- Japan
- President's forthcoming trip to PRC
- Aid
  - US law
- US policy
  - Senate Foreign Relations Committee
    - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
    - B. Everett Jordan
    - Republicans' views
    - UN resolutions on conflict with Pakistan
      - Apology
      - Point by UN Secretary General
  - Aid
    - Basis

- Refugees
  - Percentage of UN assistance
  - Bangladesh
- PRC trip
- Announcement

Bangladesh

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

- US policy
  - Refugees
    - Edward M. Kennedy's statement
    - Veracity

Keating's forthcoming senate testimony

- Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- White House
- India-Pakistan War
  - US policy
    - State of the Union address
- Briefing for Keating
  - Dr. David K.E. Bruce
- State Department's views
  - Keating's upcoming testimony
- Previous meetings with Kennedy and W[illiam] Stuart Symington
  - Possible political issue
- Anderson's papers

Keating

- Role as ambassador
  - Previous conversations with Kissinger and the State Department
- Forthcoming Senate testimony
  - India-Pakistan War
    - US policy

US-India relations

- Keating's conversations
- Kaul's speech
  - Relationship with Gandhi
- India's relationship with
  - USSR
  - PRC
  - US
    - US wish for India to succeed
- Keating's forthcoming message for Kaul
  - Discussion with the President
- Memorandum

Nelson A. Rockefeller

- Kennedy
- Conversations with Keating
  - Rockefeller's location
  - Ronald B. Stafford

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

[665-001-w016]

[Duration: 1m 17s]

Nelson A. Rockefeller

-Conversations with Kenneth B. Keating

-Ronald B. Stafford

-1972 campaign

-Kenneth B. Keating's possible role

-Campaign in New York

-Potential resignation or leave of absence from Ambassador role

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Personnel management

-Annenberg

-Tenure

-Kenneth B. Keating

-Tenure in office

-Preparation for possible resignation

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-001-w017]

[Duration: 2m 4s]

1972 campaign

Kenneth B. Keating

-Possible resignation

-Timing

-Nelson A. Rockefeller

-Forthcoming conversations with John N. Mitchell

1964 campaign

-Kenneth B. Keating's role

-Barry M. Goldwater

-Number of votes

-Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy

-Majority win

Kenneth B. Keating  
-Ronald B. Stafford  
-1965 campaign  
-Previous conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller  
-Retake the Senate  
-New York Court of Appeals  
-Ronald B. Stafford  
-Plattsburgh, NY

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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Gifts  
-Money clip

Keating  
-Security

Unknown woman

Keating and Kissinger left at 10:52 am.

Conversation No. 665-2

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 10:53 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with Ellsworth F. Bunker

Bull left at 10:53 pm.

Conversation No. 665-3

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 10:53 am - 11:33 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ellsworth F. Bunker and Henry A. Kissinger.

President's previous meeting with Kenneth B. Keating

President's letter to Nepal

- Death of King [Mehendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva]
- Relationship with the US
- Bunker's wife [Carol C. (Laise) Bunker]

King Mahendra's health

- Illness
- News summary
- Skill at hunting

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Crown Prince Birendra

- Age

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: MM]*

[National Security]

[665-003-w001]

[Duration: 14s]

Nepal

- Crown Prince Birendra
  - Educational background
    - Compared to King Mahendra Bir Bikram
    - Cambridge University, Harvard University, Japan

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Mrs. Bunker's schedule

- Saigon
  - King Mahendra's death

Keating's schedule

- Preparation for testimony
- Papers

US-India relations

- Keating's previous conversation with Triloki Nath Kaul
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

US foreign policy

- John B. Connally's views

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:53 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:25 am.



## US-India relations

- The President's and Keating's experience
- US policy on India
  - President's previous conversation with Keating
- USSR and People's Republic of China [PRC]
- US aid
  - Amount
    - United Nations [UN]
  - PRC
    - 1962
  - USSR
    - Calcutta
- US policy
  - Proposed relationship with India
    - Advantages
    - Possible concessions

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

## Bangladesh

- Indian Army
  - Bengalis
- USSR, PRC
  - West Bengal
- US interests
  - Possible outcome

## Vietnam

- Edmund S. Muskie's speech, February 2, 1972
  - Assessment
    - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
- President's policy
- Morale
  - News reports
  - News summary
    - New line
- Military situation
  - Carrier
  - B-52's and A-1's
  - President's forthcoming meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Show of US strength
  - President's forthcoming trip to PRC
  - Communists' morale
  - Bombing
    - Potential for devastation
      - Morale
  - Efficacy of interdiction
  - Surface-to-Air Missile [SAM] sites
  - Protective reaction
  - SAM sites
    - Kissinger's upcoming conversation with Robert F. Ellsworth
    - Shrikes [?]

- Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Accuracy of attack
- PRC trip
  - Request to limit the attack
  - Briefings
    - PRC trip
- Protective reaction
  - Definition
  - President's instructions to Bunker
- Bunker's forthcoming conversation with Abrams
  - Briefings
    - PRC trip
- SAM sites
  - Number and location
    - Laos
    - B-52
    - Giap Pass
- PRC trip
  - Timing
  - President's request
    - Protective reaction
- South Vietnam
  - B-3 [?] front
- Laos
- Cambodia
- Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
  - PRC trip
  - President's forthcoming meeting with Moorer
    - Timing
- I Corps
  - Timing of possible attack
  - Bunker
    - Increase of planes and carriers
- Briefing, February 2, 1972
- Bombing
  - Navy pilots
    - Compared to US Air Force [USAF] pilots
      - Accuracy of bombing
        - B-3 [?]
  - Laos
    - Long Tieng
    - Vang Pao's forces
      - Morale
    - South Vietnamese army
- South Vietnamese army
  - B-52s attacks
    - Need for follow-up
      - Number of casualties on the ground
- Abrams
- Melvin R. Laird
- Bunker's conversation with Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

- Timing
- DMZ
- Gen. [Forename unknown] Nam
  - US 9<sup>th</sup> Division
    - Delta
    - South Vietnamese 7<sup>th</sup> Division
  - Conversation with Joseph W. Alsop
    - Timing
- Cambodia
  - Outcome of maneuver
  - Abrams
- Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu's actions
  - Psychological aspect of upcoming offensive
  - Unknown person
- B-52s
  - Numbers
    - Guam
  - Moorer, Laird
    - Kissinger's upcoming conversation with Laird
  - Aircraft carrier
    - Delivery date
    - Number of planes
- South Vietnamese army
  - Offensive
  - Aid
- Vietnamization
- Communists' casualties
  - Numbers
  - Lam Son operation
- Lam Son
  - Press reporting
- Cambodia
  - 34<sup>th</sup> Corps
  - Sir Robert Thompson's views
- Bunker's tenure in office
  - Request from the President
  - G. McMurtrie Godley, William H. Sullivan
    - Washington Post's* views
    - New York Times*
- American "establishment"
  - Reaction to Vietnam
- Bunker's tenure in office
  - Mrs. Bunker
  - Offensive
  - Upcoming Vietnam negotiations
- 1972 election

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

#### Kissinger's schedule

- Keating
- [Earl of Cromer] George R.S. Baring
  - Foreign minister

Kissinger left at 11:25 am.

Vietnam

- Abrams
  - Approximate force levels
- Negotiations
  - Possible effect
    - Residual force
    - Potential numbers
- Gen. [Forename unknown] Leander's letter to Abrams
  - Request for divisions
  - South Korean divisions
    - Withdrawal in 1973
  - Size of South Vietnamese army
  - Popular forces
- Korean divisions
  - Tran Kim's Quang's trip to Seoul
    - Thieu
  - Withdrawal
    - Chief of Staff visit to Saigon
      - Abrams
      - Timing
      - Type of military support
- Residual force
  - President's forthcoming troop announcement

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 11:27 pm.

- President's instructions to Haig
- Abrams
  - Residual force
    - Forthcoming announcement, April 1972
- Korean divisions
  - Concerns
    - Helicopters, logistical support
- Economic aid
  - Congressional action
- Mrs. Bunker
- Bunker's tenure
- Views of American people

Bunker and Haig left at 11:33 am.

Conversation No. 665-4

Date: February 3, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:53 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:33 am.

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Conversation No. 665-5

Date: February 3, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:53 am

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to William P. Rogers.

Rogers's memorandum, February 1, 1972

Rogers's forthcoming conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

- President's forthcoming trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Leonid I. Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin
- Agenda
  - Timing of discussions
  - Middle East
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
  - Vietnam

European Security Conference

- Andrei A. Gromyko
- President's conversations
  - Joseph M. Luns, Edward R.G. Heath, Willy Brandt, Georges J.R. Pompidou
- Timing
- Substance
  - Evaluation with allies and USSR

SALT

- Verification panel

US trade with USSR

- US negotiating position
- Linkage
- Credits
- Views of Maurice H. Stans and Peter G. Peterson
- Negotiations

Middle East

- Israel
- Negotiations

- USSR
- Upcoming summit
- Timing

Distribution of President's memorandum

- Henry A. Kissinger
- Dobrynin

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Conversation No. 665-6

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 11:53 am - 1:30 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Memorandum for William P. Rogers

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*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
[665-006-w001]  
[Duration: 11s]

Rose Mary Woods' health  
-Rose Mary Woods' conversation with Anthony T. ("Tony") Rossi

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The President's schedule  
-Florida  
-Forthcoming trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Preparation  
-Patrick J. Buchanan  
-Talking points  
-Henry A. Kissinger  
-Books read by the President

Memorandum to William P. Rogers  
-Kissinger  
-Copy of memorandum

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[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[665-006-w003]

[Duration: 7s]

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Rose Mary Woods' health

\*\*\*\*\*

Nellie L. Yates

-Forthcoming conversation with Woods

-Clothes

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-006-w004]

[Duration: 1m 24s]

President's clothes for Peoples Republic of China [PRC] trip

-Anthony T. ("Tony") Rossi

-Chinese coats

-The President's preference

-American style

-Hat

-Details

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Woods left at 11:58 am.

Kissinger's schedule

-Florida

-President's State of World Message

President's schedule

-Athletes

-Introductions

-Bowie K. Kuhn, Walter Kennedy, Alvin R. ("Pete") Rozelle

-Interest

-Possible attendance

-Wives

-Buffet

-Views concerning drugs

- Seriousness of issue
- Florida
  - George P. Shultz
  - Location
    - Proposal to give Shultz time off
  - Popular impression
    - Study time for the President
  - Key Biscayne
  - Walker's Cay
  - Haldeman
    - Attendance
  - Manolo Sanchez
  - Camp David compared to Key Biscayne
    - Weather

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

National economy

- Stock market
  - Trade volume
  - American Stock Exchange
    - American buyers
    - Institutional buying
- Unemployment
  - Percentage
- New jobs
  - Credit
- Herbert Stein, Paul W. McCracken, and Shultz
  - Concern
- Money supply
  - Shultz
    - President's letter to Arthur F. Burns
- Unemployment
  - Possible press coverage
    - Acceptable percentages

John B. Connally

- Relationship with David M. Kennedy
  - Kissinger
    - Forthcoming meeting with Haldeman and Peter M. Flanigan

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:58 am.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-006-w005]

[Duration: 11s]

The President's forthcoming trip to Florida



-Dogs

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Refreshments

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Kennedy

- Forthcoming meeting with Flanigan
- Ambassador's authority
- Role with administration
  - State Department
- Connally
  - Chain of command
- Kissinger's possible conversation
  - Connally
- Kennedy's style
  - Peter G. Peterson
- Role with administration
  - Flanigan, Peterson, Rogers
  - Role of Ambassador specified
  - Compared to Connally
    - Group of Ten
- Cabinet status

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:58 am.

President's schedule

- Florida
  - Forthcoming call to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
  - Athletes reception

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Rogers

- Life* article concerning President's foreign policy
  - Rogers taking credit
    - Woods's reaction
- Interviews concerning foreign policy
- Credit
  - Reports
    - Kissinger
  - China initiative, Vietnam, Cambodia
- Kissinger's attitude

The President left and returned at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Kissinger's relations with Rogers

- Possible solutions

- Resignation threat
- Present situation
- Articles
- State Department

Kissinger

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Rogers

- Role with Administration
  - Relations with the President, Kissinger
  - Spokesman
- Kissinger's conversation with Marshall Green
- State Department
- Memorandum to the President
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Kissinger
  - The President's memorandum to Rogers
- Compared to Kissinger
  - Attitude
- Statements concerning President
- Attitude
  - John N. Mitchell
  - Benjamin C. Bradlee and Katharine L. Graham
- Bradlee's conversation with Kissinger, February 2, 1972
  - Rogers's job performance
  - State Department
  - Kissinger's views
  - Bradlee's views
- Graham's conversation with Peterson
  - Length
  - Haldeman's possible conversations with Peterson
- Bradlee's views on Rogers
  - Comparisons
  - Concern
  - Rogers's emotions
- President's schedule
  - Key Biscayne
  - Kissinger
- Call to President, February 2, 1972
  - Irish Foreign Minister's [Patrick Hillery's] arrival
  - Statement
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Ireland
    - Edward R.G. Heath
    - William R. Buckley, Jr.
    - US position

Ireland

- Terrance Cardinal Cooke

Rogers

- Role with Administration
  - [Earl of Cromer] Georges R.S. Baring
  - Ireland
    - Hillary
- Rogers's quest for publicity
  - President's upcoming trip to PRC
    - Kissinger
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
- Attitude
  - Recognition

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Woods entered at 12:34 pm.

Memorandum to Rogers  
-Kissinger

[The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 12:34 pm and 12:36 pm.]

[Conversation No. 665-6A]

Memorandum to Rogers  
-Distribution
 

- Woods
- Sanchez

 -Kissinger's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Memorandum to Rogers  
-Sanchez

Woods left at 12:36 pm.

Rogers
 

- Intellectuals
  - Possible actions
  - Bradlee and Graham
    - Attitude toward the President
    - Kissinger
  - Possible actions
- Experience as Attorney General
- State Department
  - National Security Council [NSC]
    - Kissinger
  - Marshall Green
    - Working group meeting
      - President's upcoming PRC trip
        - Rogers's action
- President's forthcoming State of the World message
  - State Department's role
    - Rogers's contribution

- Kissinger
- PRC

State Department

- Robert S. Ingersoll
  - Interview with Japanese press
  - Congress
- Views concerning Ambassadorship to Japan
  - Foreign Service
- Kissinger
  - Outlook
  - Presidency

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Rogers

- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Kissinger entered at 12:43 pm.

President's forthcoming memorandum

- PRC
- Kissinger's opinion
  - Wording
- Rogers

Dobrynin

- Conversation with Kissinger, February 3, 1972
  - Length of conversation
  - State Department

Rogers

- President's forthcoming memorandum
  - European security, trade

Kenneth B. Keating

- Conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Keating's possible location
    - New York
  - Campaign activities

Rogers

- President's forthcoming memorandum
  - US-Soviet trade with USSR
    - Views of Maurice H. Stans and Peter G. Peterson
    - Importance to USSR
  - Middle East

Middle East

- USSR
- Egypt

Rogers

- President's forthcoming memorandum
- Praise

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:46 pm.

- Distribution
- Contents of memorandum

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Woods left at 12:47 pm.

US relations with USSR

- Staff roles
- High interest
  - Peterson
    - East-West trade
- President's forthcoming trip to USSR
- President's forthcoming trip to PRC
  - Peking compared with Moscow
  - Washington Star* article
    - Timing
      - Possible story leanings
- James B. ("Scotty") Reston
- Michael J. Mansfield
  - Possible leaniness
- President's forthcoming trip to USSR
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Middle East
  - Vietnam
  - Trade
  - SALT
    - Submarines
  - Middle East
    - Possible US concessions
    - Israel
      - US guarantees
      - Planes

[The White House operator talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 12:47 pm and 12:49 pm.]

[Conversation No. 665-6B]

[Julie Nixon Eisenhower talked with the President between 12:49 pm and 12:51 pm.]

[See Conversation No. 20-45]

[Conversation No. 665-6C]

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. 9s segment cleared for release. 28s remain closed as 665-006-w010.]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-006-w010]

[Duration: 9s]

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable]

[665-006-w010]

[Duration: 28s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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The President's schedule

-Yeygeny Yevtushenko

-Agenda

-Mood of US

-Vietnam

Yevtushenko

-Conversation with Kissinger at Jacob K. Javits's dinner

-The President's PRC initiative

-Political views

-Liberals

-Support for Vietnam

PRC trip

-Briefing books

-Buchanan

-Press conference

President's schedule

-Television

-Trip to PRC

-President's opinion

-Trip to PRC

-Toasts

- Chou En-Lai
  - Context
- Illness
  - Vernon C. Coffey, Jr.
- Travel
  - Status of individuals
- Banquet
  - Kissinger's possible measures
  - Chou En-Lai
- Media coverage
  - Justification
- President's conversation with Mansfield, February 3, 1972
  - Japan
  - India
  - Foreign relations implications
    - News summaries
    - Buchanan
    - Taiwan
  - Critics
    - Potential motives
- Eisaku Sato's conversation with President
  - Request from Sato
- Foreign relations implications
  - Vietnam
  - Japan
    - US commitment
  - India
  - USSR
  - PRC
- Popular reaction
  - President's barber
- Vietnam
  - Military situation
    - Pleiku
    - Comparisons to 1968
- PRC trip
  - Media coverage
  - The President's peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- Press conference
  - Format
    - PRC trip
  - Agenda
    - Edmund S. Muskie
    - Budget
    - Dock strike
    - Connally
- Kissinger
  - President's forthcoming meetings in PRC
    - Talking points
    - Proposed opening statement
    - Chou En-lai

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

- Florida
  - Timing
    - Andre Malraux
    - Kissinger's schedule
- Florida
  - Connally

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Forthcoming trip to PRC

- Possible press coverage
  - Barbara Walters
  - Briefings for the press
    - Kissinger
      - Briefing in Hawaii
    - Rogers's role
    - Communiqué
    - Rogers
      - Marshall Green
- First plenary session
  - Chou En-lai
- Rogers
  - PRC foreign minister
    - Influence
    - Chou En-lai
  - Role
- Agreements on culture and science
  - Kissinger's instructions
- Kissinger's briefing in Hawaii
- Press briefings
  - Hawaii
  - PRC trip
    - Substantive briefings
    - President's relationship with the press
      - Instructions
    - Importance of PRC trip
      - PRC impressions
  - Possible farewell party
    - Potential sensitivities

Kissinger left at 1:12 pm.

- Press briefings
  - Kissinger compared to Rogers
    - Avoidance of problem
  - President's role
- President's role compared to Kissinger's
  - Possible perception by the press
  - Communique

Rogers

- Role with administration
  - Potential team player



- Credit
- Bradlee's conversation with Kissinger
  - Washington Post*
  - Intellectuals
  - Rogers's tenure

Haldeman left at 1:30 pm.

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Conversation No. 665-7

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:25 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:25 pm.

Conversation No. 665-13

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:25 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown person talked with unknown person at unknown time between 1:30 pm and 2:25 pm

The President's location

Conversation No. 665-8

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 2:25 pm - 4:10 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler.

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Vietnam  
-Edmund S. Muskie's speech

- William P. Rogers's statement
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Ronald Ziegler's conversation with Rogers
  - Reaction
    - State Department
  - Roles of John A. Scali and Charles W. Colson
- Democrats' possible reaction
- Possible response
  - Mansfield
  - Patrick J. Buchanan's opinion
    - Robert J. Dole, Barry M. Goldwater
    - Ronald W. Reagan
  - John Sherman Cooper, Charles H. Percy
  - Edward W. Brooke
  - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
  - William B. Saxbe
    - Toughness
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Walter R. Meares
  - William E. Brock, III
  - Democrats'
    - John C. Stennis
    - Rogers
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

#### Public relations

- Administration counterattacks

#### Rogers

- Forthcoming television appearance, February 6, 1972
  - Xuan Thuy
  - Time allotment
  - Face the Nation*
- Statement, February 3, 1972
  - Muskie
    - Responsibility
  - Vietnam negotiations
  - Public reaction to Muskie statement
  - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Involvement
      - Unknown executive at *Sans Souci*

#### Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Viet Cong proposal
    - Media focus
    - Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Possibility of leaving office
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - Possible exchange
- US position

- Possible withdrawal date
- Viet Cong proposal
  - Strategy
    - Potential for criticism
    - Propaganda
  - Thieu
  - Cease-fire
  - US-Vietnam strategy
    - Possible cease-fire
  - William J. Porter's response
  - Ziegler's comments to press
- US position
  - Election Commission
    - Thieu
- Rogers's comments on Muskie's speech

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

#### Elliot R. Richardson

- Statement concerning welfare reform, February 3, 1972
  - Compromise
  - House Resolution [HR] 1
  - Pilot programs
  - Abraham A. Ribicoff

#### Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

- Press questions
  - Possible differences of opinion between Agnew and the President
  - Legal services
  - Ziegler's comments
  - Legislation

#### White House Conference on Drug Abuse

- Press coverage

#### Television

#### Leonard H. Goldenson and Elton Rule

- Conversation with Ziegler, February 3, 1972
- Previous meeting with Colson and Peter M. Flanigan
- Conversation with Ziegler
  - Television news
- Daniel L. Schorr
  - Claim
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

Ziegler left at 2:45 pm.

#### President's schedule

- Florida
  - Previous meeting with athletes
    - Press coverage
    - Bowie K. Kuhn, Alvin R. ("Pete") Rozelle

- President's comments
  - Effect
    - Emulation of the President
  - Athletes in commercials
- Blacks
  - Competition
- Introduction of the President
  - Possible changes suggested by the President
  - Military aide
  - Signal corpsman
  - Trained announcer
    - British system
      - Example
      - Professionalism
- Army Chorus
  - Selection of songs

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.*]  
 [Personal Returnable]  
 [665-008-w002]  
 [Duration: 1m 35s]

- 1972 campaign
  - Song
    - “Up with America”
    - Patriotism
    - 1960 “Voices for Nixon”
    - Billy Graham choirs

\*\*\*\*\*

- White House social events
  - Music
    - Prayer breakfast
      - America*
    - DeWitt Wallace dinner
      - Incident
        - God Bless America*
    - Army Chorus
      - Road to Mandalay*

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022.  
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-008-w003]

[Duration: 1m 3s]

1972 campaign

-Song

-John Philip Sousa

-Meredith Willson

-Walter E. ("Walt") Disney

-Walt Disney World opening day event

-Meredith Willson

-Band

-Size

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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Music

-Walter E. ("Walt") Disney

-Churches

Prayer breakfast

-Two black girls with guitar

-Ethel Waters

-Performance

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

-Kissinger

-Background

-Babi Yar

-Theme

Jews

Peter G. Peterson

-Role with administration

-John B. Connally

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. 56s segment cleared for release. 1m 1s remain closed as 665-008-w005.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[665-008-w005]

[Duration: 1m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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[Personal Returnable]  
[665-008-w005]  
[Duration: 56s]

The President's forthcoming trip to Florida Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)  
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower  
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower and David [Dwight] Eisenhower II  
-Dinner on February 4, 1972  
-Departure  
-February 5, 1972  
-Plane

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The President's previous meeting with athletes  
-Importance  
-Briefing

Kissinger entered at 3:01 pm.

Muskie  
-Rogers's comments February 3, 1972 concerning speech on Vietnam  
-Quotes  
-Mansfield

Vietnam  
-Negotiations  
-Viet Cong proposal  
-President's conversation with Ziegler  
-W[illiam] Averell Harriman  
-Withdrawal  
-POWs  
-Thieu  
-Possible resignation  
-US position  
-US position  
-Viet Cong proposal  
-Ceasefire negotiations  
-US position  
-Kissinger's view  
-Kissinger's conversation with Mansfield, February 3, 1972  
-Viet Cong proposal  
-Possible US response  
-Press  
-US proposal  
-October 1971

Cuba

-*Ad hoc* approach

Haldeman left at 3:07 pm.

Yevtushenko and Demitri Zarechnak entered at 3:07 pm.

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Photograph opportunities

Cuba

Seating

- Andrei A. Gromyko
- Other Heads of State
- Seating

Yevtushenko

- Visit to US
- Poetry readings
  - Language
- Background

Local pride

- Yevtushenko's hometown
  - Location
    - The President's travels
    - Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk
- Comparisons to the US

President's college experience

- Leo Tolstoy

Russian literary tradition

- Dr. Zhivago*
- Description

President's 1959 visit to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

- Nikita S. Khrushchev
- President's speech
  - Sincerity
  - Understanding of conditions in USSR
  - Tone
  - Effect

Yevtushenko's poetry

Values of USSR people

- Yevtushenko's view

Unite of mankind

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

-Effect

Yevtushenko's visit to Chile in 1968

-Reception

-Accusations from left and right

Yevtushenko's visit to Library of Congress in 1966

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

-Robert S. McNamara

-Photograph caption

The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

-Effect

-USSR

-Vietnam

USSR invasion of Prague

-Historical relevance

USSR relations with US

-Propaganda

-Khrushchev

-Josef V. Stalin

Anti-American propaganda

-Worldwide Leftist movement

-Yevtushenko's previous visit to South America

-Yevtushenko's opinion

-Socialists

-USSR relations with US

-Apparent closeness

-The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

-Meeting with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai

-Effect

President's meeting with Yevtushenko

President's forthcoming visit to USSR

-Kissinger

-Duration

-USSR intelligentsia

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Classical ballet

-Itinerary

Theatre

-Moscow

-Receptions

Kissinger's visit to USSR

President's visits to Paris, London, Bonn



-Timing

President's forthcoming visit to USSR

-Itinerary

-Meetings with leaders

-Cultural exchange

-Bureaucracies

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Russia

-Abolition of serfdom

-Freedom

-October Revolution

-Tsar

-Interim government

-Maxim Gorky's letter to Vladimir Ilich Lenin [Ulyanov]

-Censorship

-Civil War

Slavery in US

-Effect

USSR

-History

-Ideals compared to reality

-Political conditions

Leonid I. Brezhnev

-Desire to visit US

-Possible timing

President's forthcoming trip to USSR

-France [?]

Kissinger's schedule

-Connally

Kissinger left at 3:55 pm.

President's forthcoming trip to USSR

-Itinerary

-Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Recommendations

-President's reputation

President's 1967 visit to USSR

-Cultural exchange

-Moscow

-Samarkand

-Alma-Ata

US-USSR relations

-Common interests

President's forthcoming visit to PRC

- Possible USSR reaction
- President's forthcoming trip to USSR
- Possible PRC reaction
- The President's pragmatism
- Importance
  - US differences with PRC, USSR
- Intelligentsia

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

President's forthcoming trip to USSR

- Brezhnev
  - Khrushchev
- Aleksei N. Kosygin
- Agenda for talks
  - Arms limitation, trade
- Spirit of visit
  - World War II

US-USSR relations

- Korea

World peace

- “Watershed”
- President's forthcoming trips
  - Possible impact on viewing PRC and USSR leaders
- Brezhnev's possible trip

Yevtushenko's poetry

- Suggestions from Yevtushenko

Nancy Hanks

- Role with Administration

President's 1967 visit to USSR

- Samarkand
  - Conversation with one-legged man

Presentation of gifts by President

- Cufflinks

World peace

- US, USSR, PRC

Yevtushenko's book

Yevtushenko and Zarechnak left at 4:10 pm.

Conversation No. 665-9

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 4:23 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Yevgeny Yevtushenko  
-Compared to German Professor

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:23 pm.

Conversation No. 665-10

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 4:23 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:23 pm.

Conversation No. 665-11

Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 4:23 pm - 4:42 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler, Charles W. Colson and Rose Mary Woods.

President's previous meeting with Yevgeny Yevtushenko  
-Ziegler's forthcoming comments to press  
-The President's reading  
-President's forthcoming visits to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]  
and People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Yevtushenko's visit to US  
-Poetry  
-Discussion of arts  
-Transcending politics

Note to William P. Rogers

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[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]  
[665-011-w002]  
[Duration: 11s]

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Rose Mary Woods' health  
-Back pain  
-Muscle relaxer

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President's upcoming meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer  
-Timing

Woods and Ziegler left at 4:26 pm.

National economy  
-Unemployment  
-Administration's statistics  
-Unknown person  
-Married men  
-Percentage  
-Compared to early 1960's  
-Colson's conversation with James D. Hodgson  
-Prospects  
-Comparisons to last year

Rogers  
-Comments concerning Edmund S. Muskie's speech on Vietnam

Muskie  
-Speech on Vietnam  
-Possible administration response  
-President's 1968 Republican Platform Committee statement  
-Negotiations  
-Peace  
-Muskie's involvement  
-Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's possible response  
-Jackson's forthcoming *Meet the Press*, February 6, 1972  
-Briefing by White House staff member

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-011-w004]

[Duration: 48s]

1972 campaign

-New Hampshire poll

-Wilbur D. Mills

-Democrats identifying as conservatives

-Campaign efforts in New Hampshire

-Estes Carey Kefauver

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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Muskie

-Speech on Vietnam

-Possible administration response

-President's memorandum, February 2, 1972

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-John A. Scali

-Rogers

-Compared to John Foster Dulles

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[665-011-w006]

[Duration: 8s]

Edmund S. Muskie

-Speech on Vietnam

-Barry M. Goldwater

-Comments concerning Dean Rusk and Robert S. McNamara in 1964

-Campaign

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Edmund S. Muskie

-Speech on Vietnam

-Barry M. Goldwater

-Rogers

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:26 pm.

President's schedule

-Moorer

-Henry A. Kissinger

- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- President's instructions

Kissinger's schedule

- Possible delay
- Robert S. Ingersoll

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

President's schedule

- Moorer
- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Ingersoll
- Haig

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:42 pm.

National economy

- Unemployment
  - Herbert Stein
- Status
  - Income
  - Inflation
  - Unemployment

Rogers

- Conversation with Colson
  - Relations with press
- Conversation with Colson
- Forthcoming *Face the Nation*, February 6, 1972
  - Jackson
- Goldwater speech
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Possible Administration response

Muskie

- Speech on Vietnam
  - Arizona and Iowa
  - Press comment on Muskie speech
  - Unknown reporter's conversation with Colson, January 31, 1972
- Press conference
- Possible attacks by Democrats
- Forthcoming attacks by Jackson
  - The environment, busing, and the space shuttle
- Goldwater
- Speech on Vietnam
  - Possible administration response

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Peace offer
    - Reaction by Viet Cong
- Wall Street Journal* editorial

- Distribution
- Administration propaganda
  - Upcoming special issues of *Monday*
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's trip to Africa
  - The President's peace initiatives

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/11/2022. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[665-011-w008]

[Duration: 1m 3s]

1972 campaign

- Albert E. Sindlinger's poll
  - Questions
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  - Spiro T. Agnew
  - Techniques
  - Compared to other polls

\*\*\*\*\*

National economy

- Stock Market
  - Volume
    - American Stock Exchange
    - Brokers' profits
    - Comparisons to 1968

Michael J. Mansfield

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:26 pm.

The President's schedule

- Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:42 pm.

The press

- Edith Efron
- Colson's conversation with Leonard H. Goldenson, February 3, 1972
- Network coverage of Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. Committee
  - Walter J. Cronkite, Jr.'s testimony
  - Accuracy in Media's challenge to Federal Communications Commission

[FCC]

- David Brinkley's previous commentary about military state

President's schedule

-Florida

-Preparation for forthcoming trip to PRC

-Readings

Colson left at 4:42 pm.

Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

Conversation No. 665-12

Date: February 3, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:42 pm and 5:08 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and Henry A. Kissinger.

President's previous meeting with Yevgeny Yevtushenko

-President's 1959 speech in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

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

-Effect on USSR

-Interpreter

-Notes for Kissinger

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

-Contact with President

-Importance

-Yeoman Charles E. Radford incident

-Jack N. Anderson

-Secretary of Defense

-Responsibility

-Kissinger, Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-President's instructions

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 5:08 pm.