

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 648-1

Date: January 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Allen S. Drury.

Drury's letter regarding press in *Washington Star*
-The President's appreciation
-Timing
-Possible effect
-Drury's relations with press corps

Conversation No. 648-2

Date: January 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Don Shula.

Miami Dolphins
-Loss in Super Bowl, January 16, 1972
-Expression of sympathy
-Shula's coaching
-Super Bowl game
-Dallas Cowboys
-Previous season

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 648-3

Date: January 17, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:48 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Material for briefcase in Executive Office Building [EOB] office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:48 am.

Conversation No. 648-4

Date: January 17, 1972
Time: 9:48 am - 1:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Weather

Daily briefing and position paper

- Distribution
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Staff dealings with media
 - The President
 - Haldeman
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Charles W. Colson
- Compared with news summary
 - Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Attacks by left and right
 - Kissinger
 - Distribution
 - Buchanan
 - Hubert H. Humphrey

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Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Richmond, Virginia busing decision
 - Buchanan's analysis
 - John D. Ehrlichman's and staff's work on formulating the President's position
 - Ziegler
- Ehrlichman's work
- Kissinger
- George P. Shultz
- Buchanan
- Ziegler
- The President's involvement
- Buchanan's work
 - Political content
 - John N. Mitchell and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Frequency
 - Burden on staff
 - Day of issuing
 - Choice of stories
 - Buchanan
 - Memoranda
- Distribution
 - Colson
 - Haldeman
 - Ziegler
 - Ehrlichman
 - MacGregor
 - Kissinger
- Buchanan
 - Conservatism
 - Ehrlichman and his staff
 - Importance in campaign

Drafts of State of the Union address

- Circulation
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- Possible tone
- Speculation about content
- Circulation
 - Ehrlichman
 - Kissinger
 - Ziegler

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

-Leonard Garment

Official trips

- Garment
 - Trip with Frank J. Shakespeare
 - Cultural exhibits
- Buchanan
 - Soviet Union
- John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
- Garment
- Long Beach, California
- Buchanan
- Perks
- Meetings and dinners
 - The President's trips

Howard Hughes's loan to the President's family

- Clark M. Clifford's involvement
 - Law firm
- F. Donald Nixon
- Repayment
 - 1962 statement by the President
 - Rose Mary Woods
 - Transfer of property
- Hughes
 - Clifford Irving book
 - Paradise Island
- Ziegler's briefings
- Public interest
- Public comments by the President
 - 1962 statement
- Herbert G. Klein
 - Familiarity with issue
 - Ziegler
- Publicity
 - Ziegler
- Repayment through transfer of property
 - Hannah (Milhous) Nixon
- Donald Nixon
 - Possible action
- Ziegler's possible role

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Washington Post* story
 - Drew Pearson article in 1959
- Irving book on Hughes
 - Noah Dietrich's view
 - Hughes's supplying of information
 - Hughes's lawyers
- Dietrich
 - Book
 - Effect on Hughes
 - Publication
- Irving book
 - Life* and McGraw-Hill Publishing Company
 - Ownership of rights
 - Hughes's authorship
 - Haldeman's possible call to Thomas R. Shepard, Jr.
 - Publicity

Eleanor and Franklin [by Joseph P. Lash]

- Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Popularity
 - Lucy Mercer
 - The President's conversation with William Bullitt
 - Children
- [Anna] Eleanor Roosevelt
 - Children
- Excerpts
 - Haldeman's reading
- Eleanor Roosevelt
 - Appearance
 - Marriage
- Sunrise at Campobello*
 - Veracity of story
 - Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's relationship
 - Children
- Mercer
 - Franklin Roosevelt's vice presidential campaign in 1920
 - Franklin Roosevelt's position as Under Secretary of Navy
 - Longevity
 - Presence at Franklin Roosevelt's death in Warm Springs, Georgia
 - Publicity
 - Mercer's marriage

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Portrait of Franklin Roosevelt
- Elizabeth Shoumatoff

Abraham Lincoln

- Mary (Todd) Lincoln
- Mental state
- Modern medicine
- Apparitions

John F. Kennedy

Eleanor and Franklin

- Tone
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's opinion
- Eleanor Roosevelt
- Private life
- Relationship with Lash
- Bullitt's view
- The President's view
- Lash's military service

John and Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis

- Relationships
- Lack of publicity
- Reason
- Compared to Whigs of 19th century
- Divorce

Hughes

Mitchell

Peter M. Flanigan

- News summary
- Mitchell
- Conversation with James L. Buckley
- Mitchell's knowledge
- Buckley's request for appointment for [Forename unknown] Corwin [sp?]
- Buckley's support of the President's opponent [John N. Ashbrook]
- Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak story

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

Mitchell

- Necessary role
 - Flanigan
 - Buchanan
 - Buckley
- Flanigan's view of political support
- Knowledge of Flanigan-Buckley exchange
 - Buckley's letter
 - Flanigan letter
 - Copies to Mitchell and Haldeman

News summaries

- Report of political issues
 - The President's reading of foreign and domestic policy
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Humphrey
- Quality
 - Haldeman's possible comments to unknown person
- Press corps
- Networks
 - Coverage of news
- Wire service material
 - Rogers's concerns
 - Importance
 - Washington Post*
 - Washington Star*
 - Omaha World Herald*
- Los Angeles Times*
- Chicago Tribune*

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

- Invitations to media
 - Television
 - New York Times*
 - James B. ("Scotty") Reston
- Networks

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 25m 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Commerce Department

- Announcement of change
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Flanigan
 - Stans's resignation
 - Stans's letter
 - Draft of the President's reply
 - Peterson's views on reorganization
 - Ehrlichman's and Shultz's view
- Peterson
 - Concern about public view of position
 - Opportunity
 - Jobs
 - Accessibility
 - Compared to Stans
 - Announcement
 - Stans
- Reorganization

Peterson

- Replacement by Flanigan
 - Kissinger's view
 - John B. Connally's view
 - Concerns on monetary policy
- Kissinger
- Flanigan
 - Treasury Department
 - Haldeman's possible talk with Flanigan and Connally
- Kissinger
- The President's view
 - Connally

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- State Department
- The President's schedule
 - Connally
 - Haldeman
- Connally
 - Kissinger
 - Flanigan
- Economic policy
 - Paul A. Volcker Committee
- Announcement
 - Timing
 - Three way move
- Flanigan
 - Council on international Economic Policy [CIEP]
 - Effectiveness
 - Credit
 - Staff

Commerce Department

- Stans's departure
 - Leaks
 - Announcement
 - Forthcoming Cabinet dinner
- Connally's view

Economic policy

- Connally's control
 - International monetary policy
 - Flanigan's role

Ziegler entered at 10:56 am.

- Conversation with Haldeman and the President

Connally

- Possible meeting with the President, January 17, 1972

Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing

- Stans announcement
- State of the Union message
- Budget

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

-Possible questions

- Jack N. Anderson Papers
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s view
 - The President's concerns
 - Investigation
 - Leak
 - The President's concerns
 - Possible statement
 - Press involvement
 - Investigation
 - Anderson
 - Investigation
 - Presidential discussions
 - Confidentiality
 - Kissinger's role
 - The President's confidence in Kissinger
 - The Administration's public and private positions
 - Presidential discussions with advisers
 - Leaks
 - Options
 - Possible effects of publication
 - Advice to the President
 - India-Pakistan War
 - US position
 - The President's confidence in Kissinger
 - Klein's comments
 - Gerald L. Warren's comments
 - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Hughes biography by Irving
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's call to Ehrlichman
 - Charges regarding Nixon family loan
 - Clifford
 - Possible handling
 - Veracity
 - 1962 statement
 - Satisfaction of loan
 - Transfer of property
 - Ziegler's handling
 - 1962 campaign
 - Possible Klein statement
 - 1962 statement

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Acquaintance with facts
- Mrs. Nixon's position
 - Constance M. ("Connie") Stuart
- Hannah (Milhous) Nixon's repayment
 - Transfer of property
- Irving
 - Credibility
 - Meetings with Hughes
 - Interview with Mike Wallace, January 16, 1972
- Ziegler's possible statement
 - Ziegler's age
- Salvador Allende Gossens
 - Chilean election of January 16, 1972
- Ghana
 - Recognition
 - Department of State
- Allende
 - Recent election
- The President's possible stopover in Poland after Soviet Union trip
 - Italian newspaper report
 - Verification

The President's forthcoming trip to PRC

- Invitations to press
 - Ratio of news media to television reporters
 - Audience
 - "News" compared to "show business" aspect
 - Ziegler's meeting with television officials in New York City
 - John A. Scali's and Timothy G. Elbourne's presence
- PRC purchase of RCA ground station for Shanghai
- Invitations to press
 - Pressure on White House
 - Meetings with Ziegler

Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing

- State of the Union message
 - Timing
 - Content
 - Domestic and foreign policy
 - Report
- The President's possible press conference

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Letter to Ziegler from head of Associated Press [AP]
- The President's interview with Dan Rather, January 2, 1972
 - Duration
 - Reaction

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
 [Personal Returnable]
 [Duration: 6m 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- The President's possible press conference
- Democrats
 - Fairness Doctrine response
 - Mansfield
 - Carl B. Albert
 - Phone-in questions
 - State of the Union message
 - Press room

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:56 am and 11:24 am.]

[Conversation No. 648-4A]

- Kissinger
- Location

[End of telephone conversation]

- The President's possible press conference
- Equal time for Democrats
 - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
 - John N. Ashbrook

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

-TV coverage

Ziegler left at 11:24 am.

[Haldeman talked with the White House operator at 11:24 am.]

[Conversation No. 648-4B]

[See Conversation No. 18-87]

[The call was placed on hold]

The President's schedule
-Camp David

[Haldeman talked with Connally at an unknown time between 11:24 am and 11:30 am.]

[Continuation of Conversation No. 648-4B]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Connally
-Peterson
-William L. Safire
-Work on Vietnam statement

Safire
-Work on Vietnam statement
-Compared with Price
-Previous conversation with Kissinger

Kissinger

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:24 am.

Request for Kissinger to join them

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:30 am.

Safire

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Draft of Vietnam statement
 - State Department
 - Timing

The President's schedule

- Florida
 - Draft of Vietnam statement
- Kurt Waldheim
 - United Nations [UN]
- Budget signing
 - Ziegler
 - Press
 - Staff
 - Photograph session
 - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Waldheim
 - Photographs session
 - Atkins
- Photographs of the President
 - Frequency

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 48s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23

William P. Rogers and Kissinger

- Relationship
- Mitchell

Kissinger entered at 11:30 am.

Statement on Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Safire
 - Conversation with Kissinger, January 17, 1972
 - Kissinger's briefing
- Duration
- Release of text
 - Kissinger's forthcoming briefing
 - Effect
 - US proposal
- Scheduling
- Target dates within speech
 - Effect on US proposal
- W. Averell Harriman's possible reaction
- Release of text
 - Timing
- Troop withdrawal
- Proposals
 - Phase I
 - Prisoners of war [POWs] for troop withdrawal
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Phase II
 - Cease-fire
 - Elections
- Unknown man's opinion
 - Rose Mary Woods
- Possible delay
 - Effects
 - National Press Club dinner speech
 - North Vietnam response
 - Timing
- Draft
 - Timing
 - Safire
 - Compared with Price
- Safire's view
 - Public relations
- Impact
 - Publicity for Kissinger's trips
 - POWs
 - Peace proposal, October 11, 1970

Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Negotiations
 - Troop withdrawal proposal
 - Muskie's statement, January 16,, 1972
 - Muskie's negotiating schedule
 - Administration proposal
 - Schedule
 - POWs and ceasefire
 - Troop withdrawal deadlines
 - North Vietnam response
 - Timing
 - North Vietnamese response
- US Air Force
 - Laos and Cambodia
 - Trails
 - Quality
 - Infliction of casualties in Northern Laos

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am.

Request for books in President's bedroom

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:15 pm.

Vietnam

- Long Tien
- South Vietnam
 - Morale
 - Effect of US withdrawal
 - Washington Post* article
 - Timing
 - Air Force
 - 1972 election
 - US troops
 - Highlands
 - Strategy
 - Possible consequences
 - Strategic Reserve Division
 - Movement
 - Laos
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
 - Operation

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Compared with US troop actions
- Prospects
- Press reports
- Inaccuracies
- Loss of Laos and Cambodia
- Troop withdrawal record
- Kissinger's meeting with Senior Review Group, January 17, 1972
- Papers on Vietnam
- Time of meeting
- The President's meeting with Connally

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

- Yeoman Charles E. Radford incident
- Kissinger's conversation with Melvin R. Laird, January 14, 1972

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 24

[Privacy]

[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.

- Channels to the President
- Laird's view

The President read from a work by H. G. Wells.

Trench warfare in World War I

- Scientists
- Military personnel
- Tanks
- Allies
- Military minds
- Military mind
- Alexander the Great

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Napoleon Bonaparte
- Julius Caesar
- Muhammed
- Mongols
- Oliver Cromwell
- George Washington
- Control of World War I
- Destruction of traditional methods

[End of reading]

Author of previously recited work

- Winston S. Churchill
- Wells
- Thesis
- Emphasis on education

Education of women

Soviets

- Message from Andrei A. Gromyko, January 17, 1972
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's return to US
- Schedule
- Negotiations
- Negotiations
- Communication with Kissinger
- Yuli M. Vorontsov

The President read from a work by Wells.

World War I era

- [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson's role
- American public's view
- World outlook

[End of reading]

Vietnam

- Military mind
- Air Force
- Navy pilots

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Press reports
- Interviews on TV
 - Pilots' views on bombing in December 1971
- Laos operation
 - Pilots' views
- US actions
 - Lack of time

Anderson Papers

- Effect on US credibility
 - Evans's poll of European diplomats
 - Evans's conversation with Kissinger
 - Max Frankel's statement
 - Diplomats' views
 - Evans's view
- Effect on the President's forthcoming trip to PRC
 - Right and left
 - Liberals
 - Soviet Union
 - View of the President
 - Possible public reaction to trip
- The President's conversation with Ziegler, January 17, 1972
- Average person's reaction
 - Trips to PRC and Soviet Union
- Clayton Fritchey's column
- Effect of columnists
 - Readership
 - Opinion makers

PRC trip

- TV coverage of trip
 - Fritchey's view
- India
 - US relations
- Media visitors to PRC
 - Possible effect of trip
- The President's opening of relations
 - Anderson
 - The President's and Kissinger's role
 - Press
 - Reports

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Interest

US-Soviet relations

- India
- PRC
- Vorontsov
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - Dobrynin's schedule
- Middle East
- Soviet Minister of Culture's toast
 - Press reaction
- Press
 - Soviet Summit
 - India
 - Anderson papers

India

- US relations
 - Press treatment
- Anwar El-Sadat's speech
 - Intention to start war in December 1971
 - India-Pakistan War
 - Soviet advice
 - Intelligence
- War with Pakistan
 - US policy
 - Middle East
 - PRC
 - West Pakistan

JCS

- Anderson Papers
 - Radford
 - Transfer to Seattle
 - Ehrlichman's conversation with daughter, Jody Ehrlichman, January 16, 1972
 - Jody Ehrlichman's conversation with friend at school
 - Friend's father's information
 - Mormon
 - Job at Indian embassy with Radford
 - Mormons

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Original plan
 - Memphis
- Choices
 - R[embrandt] C. ("Hugh") Robinson
- Possible revelations
- White House cover-up for JCS
- Case against Radford
 - Confession
 - Witnesses
 - Anderson
- Guilt
 - Witnesses
 - Purloining papers
 - Disclosure to Anderson
- Security violations
 - Disclosure of documents
- Case against Daniel Ellsberg
 - Ellsberg's confession
- Ellsberg
 - Conscience matter
- Administration action
 - Administration record
 - Observation
 - Security regulations
 - Closure of liaison office
 - Reorganization
- Intelligence
- Motivation
- Espionage
 - Anderson
- Background
- Compared with Pentagon Papers
- Role of press
- Washington Special Action Group [WSAG]

WSAG

- Role
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Jordan crisis
- India-Pakistan War
 - Planes in Pakistan

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security]

[Duration: 20s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

- India
- Kenneth B. Keating
- Kissinger's position

Anderson Papers

- Effects
 - The President
 - Kissinger
 - 1972 election
 - Possible leaks
 - Anderson
 - Editorials
- Leaks
 - Informing bureaucracy

Leaks

- Foreign policy
- White House source
- Supreme Court appointments

Safire

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Robert S. Ingersoll

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Shultz's request
- Acceptance of Japan ambassadorship
- State Department
- Meeting with Kissinger
- Shultz's presence

Kissinger left at 12:15 pm.

- Meetings with ambassadors
 - West Germany
 - Value

William P. Clements

- Connally

Rogers

- Mitchell
- Call to Haldeman, January 16, 1972
 - Rogers's memorandum from Kissinger
 - Kissinger's memoranda
 - Soviet Union and PRC
 - Forthcoming meetings and talking points
 - State Department
 - The President's directives
 - NSC
 - Function
 - Policy
 - Operations
 - Informing Kissinger
 - NSC
 - Middle East
 - Rogers's role
 - Operations
 - Kissinger's role
 - Yitzhak Rabin
 - Grievances
 - PRC
 - Kissinger's meetings with the President
 - Rogers's meetings with the President
 - Rogers's knowledge of issues
 - Kissinger's role

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Israel
 - Kissinger's meeting with Rabin
- The President's directives
 - Middle East
- Soviet Union and PRC trips
 - Information from Haig
- The President's instructions to Kissinger
- Haldeman's view
- Middle East
 - Rogers's role
 - Kissinger's role
 - Rabin
 - Kissinger's call to Haldeman, January 15, 1972
 - Kissinger's meeting with Rabin, January 15, 1972
 - Rabin's meeting at State, January 14, 1972
 - Rogers's notification of Kissinger
 - Joseph A. Sisco memorandum to Rabin
 - Israeli Cabinet meeting
- Kissinger's tenure
- Relations with Kissinger
 - Haldeman's and Mitchell's meeting with Rogers
 - Exchange of information
 - Mitchell
 - Kissinger's role as NSC advisor
 - Compared with role of State Department Secretary
 - Press
- Kissinger's role as NSC advisor
 - European Security Conference
 - Rogers's role
 - NSC
 - Soviet Summit
 - Rogers's role
- Rogers's conduct
- Instructions from the President
- The President's 1970 talk with Rogers
 - European security
 - Gromyko
- NSC
 - Policy function in government
 - Previous role compared to revised role
- WSAG

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Function
- Mitchell
- Rogers's advising of the President
 - Kissinger
- The President's memorandum regarding speech changes
 - Woods
 - Safire's delivery to Kissinger
 - Delivery to Rogers
 - Length of speech
 - Distribution
 - Woods
 - Haldeman
 - Kissinger
 - Safire
- Price
- Garment
- Negotiating role
 - Haldeman
 - Kissinger
 - The President's knowledge
 - 1972 election
 - Jews
 - Mitchell's possible action
 - State Department
 - Israel
 - Arabs
 - PRC and Soviet Union trips
 - Mitchell's and Haldeman's possible actions
 - Kissinger's memoranda
 - Tone and contact
 - The President's instructions
 - Motive
 - Rogers

Kissinger

- View of Radford case
- Jody Ehrlichman's comments

Kissinger, Shultz and Ingersoll entered at 12:31 pm.

Greetings

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

Ingersoll's appointment as Ambassador to Japan

- Job
- Importance
- Soviet Union
- New residence
 - Herbert C. Hoover
 - "Hoover's Folly"
- Date of construction
- Viceroy of India's residence
- Ingersoll's gratitude
- Importance
- Canada
- Belgium
- Netherlands
- Communications

Japan

- Economic issue
- Connally

Ingersoll

- Foreign Service role
 - Bureaucracy
- [David] Kenneth Rush
- Father
- Confirmation in Senate
- Forthcoming meeting with the President
 - Japan
- Appointment
 - Timing
 - Forthcoming call to Rogers
 - Publicity
 - Senate

Tokyo

- Compared with Paris

Kissinger, Shultz and Ingersoll left at 12:36 pm.

Rogers

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Kissinger memorandum
 - Rogers's reaction
 - Advisability
 - Haldeman's and Mitchell's actions
 - Kissinger's conversation with Haldeman
 - Clearance of communications through Kissinger
 - Phrasing
 - Necessary for directive
 - Kissinger's motive
 - Kissinger's background
 - Rogers's reaction
- Israel
 - Mitchell
 - The President's control of issue
 - Kissinger's relations with Rabin
 - Kissinger's bias
 - Haig
 - Rabin
- Memoranda to the President through Haldeman

Memoranda to the President

- Laird
- Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes
- Kissinger
- Rogers's private delivery through Haldeman
- Woods
 - Channel of delivery
 - White House staff

Rogers

- Kissinger
 - Israel
- European Security Conference
 - Kissinger
- PRC trip

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

State of the World message

- Distribution by Kissinger
 - Rogers
 - Defense Department
- Defense portion
- Foreign policy section

The President's State of the Union message

- Foreign policy section
 - Kissinger
- Domestic policy section
 - Ehrlichman

Rogers

- Kissinger

State of the Union message

- Status

Vietnam speech

- Safire

State of the Union message

- Price

NSC system

- Kissinger
 - Memoranda
 - Rogers
- Establishment
 - Conflicts with State Department

Rogers conflict with Kissinger

- Subordination to foreign policy and reelection concerns
 - Haldeman's and Mitchell's view
- Middle East
 - Informing the President
 - Kissinger's role
- European Security Conference
 - Rogers's views
 - Kissinger

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- The President's meetings
- Reliance on State Department and NSC

British cabinets

- Past problems

Cabinet

- Franklin D. Roosevelt's problems
 - Jessie H. Jones
 - Vice Presidents
- Jealousies
 - Staffs
- Compared with Rogers conflict with Kissinger
 - Involvement of the President

Rogers conflict with Kissinger

- The President's confidence
- Impact on Kissinger's views
- Kissinger's role
- Informing the President on issues
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger
 - Laird's memoranda
- Rogers

Middle East

- Israel
 - Possible action
 - Kissinger's views
 - US support
 - Kissinger's views
 - Cease-fire
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger
- Negotiations
 - Planes
 - Soviet Summit
 - Rabin
 - Clearance of Rogers's communications through Kissinger
 - Kissinger's bias
 - Kissinger's meetings with Rabin

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

-Informing the President

European Security Conference

-Kissinger

-State Department

The President's forthcoming trips to the Soviet Union and PRC

-State Department

Soviet Union

-Kissinger's possible trip

-Kissinger's meeting with Mitchell

-Dobrynin

-Kissinger's advance work on the President's PRC trip

-Rogers

-Necessity

-Romania, Paris

-Dobrynin

Kissinger

-Possible resignation

-Mood

-Introspection

-Conversation with Haig

-1972 election

-Rogers

Foreign policy

-Jewish influence in forthcoming campaign

-Haldeman's forthcoming talk with Rogers

-State Department

-Mitchell

-Votes

-Money

-The President's opponents

-Humphrey in 1968

Ziegler

-View of position as press secretary

-December

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

Rogers

- Rabin
 - State Department
- Meetings with Dobrynin
 - Kissinger's meetings with Dobrynin
 - Informing the President
 - Informing Rogers
- Possible talk with the President
- Possible instructions

Kissinger

- Possible instructions
- Directives
 - Mitchell
 - Haig
 - Delivery to the President

Peterson

- New position as Secretary of Commerce
 - Ehrlichman
 - Relations with Connally
- Flanigan
 - International monetary policy
- Connally's control of domestic and foreign monetary issues
 - White House support
 - Flanigan

Cabinet

- Flanigan's view
 - Conduct of Ehrlichman and Kissinger
 - Access to the President
 - Connally's view
 - Ehrlichman and Kissinger
- Role
- Reorganization
 - Reduction in number
 - Connally
 - Shultz
 - Mitchell
 - Ehrlichman
 - Reliance on under secretaries

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Cabinet officers as executive vice presidents
 - Offices in Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Model on British cabinet system
- Elimination of intermediate staff
 - Kissinger and Ehrlichman
- Ehrlichman
 - Work with Cabinet
 - Staff
- John A. Volpe
- Rogers C. B. Morton
- Maurice H. Stans
- Kissinger
 - Relations with Laird and Rogers
 - Compared to Sherman Adams
 - Behavior

Behavior

- Changes from the past

Rogers

- Contact with the President
- Management of State Department
- Talk with Haldeman
 - White House relations with State Department
 - White House staff, NSC, Kissinger criticism
 - State Department criticism
 - Press coverage
 - Rogers's view
 - Press
- Press relations
- Political judgment
- Public image
 - Recognition
 - Blame on Kissinger and NSC
- Analogy to John Foster Dulles
 - NSC
- Work
 - Briefings
 - Kissinger
 - Vietnam
 - The President's initiative on November 3, 1969 statement

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Image
 - Spokesman ability
 - Telegenic quality
 - Intelligence
 - Kissinger's view
- Approach to problems
 - Thought process

The President's schedule [?]

Rogers

- Conflict with Kissinger
 - Future conversation with Haldeman and Mitchell

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming announcement
 - Flanigan and Stans
 - Connally
- Peterson
 - Flanigan
 - Peterson
 - Connally

Cabinet council

- Peterson
 - Connally
 - “New competition”

Peterson

- Future work with staff

Cabinet

- George W. Romney and Volpe
 - Reorganization
 - Forthcoming PRC trip
 - Second term

Kissinger

- Power
 - Relations with the President
 - Abuse

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

- Relations with the Cabinet
- WSAG

Radford

- Transfer
- Leak
 - Ehrlichman's view
 - Jody Ehrlichman
 - Public knowledge
 - Perception of White House role
 - Ziegler's comments
 - Evidence
 - Investigation
- Suspect
- Anderson
 - Prosecution
 - Supreme Court
 - 1972 election

Kissinger

- Possible press conference
- Defense by the Administration
 - Klein
 - Ziegler

The President's schedule

The President and Haldeman left at 1:23 pm.

Conversation No. 648-5

Date: January 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:23 pm and 3:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 1:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 648-5A]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

The President's location

-Executive Office Building [EOB]

[End of telephone conversation]