

**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**

*(rev. 10/06)*

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

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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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

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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 19<sup>th</sup> 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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Conv. No. 648-4 (cont.)

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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## 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



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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

Tape Subject Log  
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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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3  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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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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 statementSafire  
-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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 48s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 23

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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

## Tape Subject Log

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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



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
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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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 24

[Privacy]

[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.

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- 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

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

## Tape Subject Log

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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**

**Tape Subject Log**

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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.)

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10  
[National Security]  
[Duration: 20s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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- 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**

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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

## Tape Subject Log

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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**

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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**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. 10/06)*

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]