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
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
- 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
-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
- *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
    - 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
-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
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
[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
-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
-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
-H-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
- 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
-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
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
-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
- 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
- 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
  - Operation
- 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
-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
-Well
-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
- 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
-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
- 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
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
- 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
-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
-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
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
-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
  -Kissinger
  -Rogers's private delivery through Haldeman
  -Woods
    -Channel of delivery
      -White House staff

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

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]
The President’s location
   -Executive Office Building [EOB]

[End of telephone conversation]