

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 652-1

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:00 am and 1:17 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service agents?] met.

[Unintelligible]

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 1:17 pm.

Conversation No. 652-2

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:17 pm and 1:22 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Briefcase

\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-2 (cont.)

#### Briefcase

- -Executive Office Building [EOB]
- -Relocation

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:22 pm.

Conversation No. 652-3

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: 1:22 pm - unknown before 1:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's State of the Union Address, January 20, 1972

- -Woods's view
- -Woods's presence

### Instruction

State of the Union Address

- -Woods's view
- -Length
  - -Compared with addresses by Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
  - -The President's previous addresses
- -Woods's view

### Equal Rights Amendment [ERA]

- -Note to John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Administration position
    - -Publicity
- -Edward M. Kennedy's position
  - -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's report
- -Administration position
  - -Barbara H. Franklin
    - -Letter
  - -Publicity

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-3 (cont.)

- -Ehrlichman
- -Women in Congress

State of the Union Address

- -Woods's observations
  - -Edward Kennedy, Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey and Harold E.

Hughes

-Senate

-Members

Margaret Chase Smith

An unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?] entered at an unknown time after 1:22 pm.

-Administrative Assistant -Name [William C. Lewis]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:29 pm.

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:22 pm and 1:29 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-3A]

[See Conversation No. 19-32]

[End of telephone conversation]

Lewis

- -Name
- -Health
- -Marjorie P. Acker
- -Name

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:22 pm and 1:29 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-3B]

[See Conversation No. 19-33]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-3 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]
*****************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 2m 5s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
***************************************
The White House operator talked with the President at 1:29 pm.]
[Conversation No. 652-3C]
[See Conversation No. 19-34]
[End of telephone conversation]
***************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 2s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
******************************
State of the Union Address  -The President's efforts  -Compared with previous addresses -Delivery

-Woods's view

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-3 (cont.)

```
-Length
```

- -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s view
- -Cuts
- -Delivery
  - -Price's view
- -Edward Kennedy's reaction
  - -Clark MacGregor's comment
  - -Previous speech
  - -John Kennedy quotation
    - -Woods's observance of Edward Kennedy
- -John Kennedy quotation
  - -The President's handling
    - -US commitments
  - -Critique
    - -Bolivia
    - -US foreign policy

### John Kennedy

- -Accomplishments
  - -Death
  - -Compared to Johnson

#### Johnson

- -Accomplishments
- -Poverty program
  - -John Kennedy
  - -Blacks
  - -Johnson's support
- -Racism
  - -Compared with the President
- -Liberalism
  - -Compared with John Kennedy
  - -The Great Society

### State of the Union Address

- -Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally's presence
  - -Clothes
- -Cabinet wives
  - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- -John B. Connally
  - -The President's glance during tax section delivery

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-3 (cont.)

- -Nellie Connally
- -Cabinet wives
- -Atmosphere
  - -Supreme Court
- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower -Applause

Woods left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm.

Conversation No. 652-4

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:29 pm and 1:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Charles W. Colson and Clark MacGregor

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm.

Conversation No. 652-5

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 1:33 pm - 2:15 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Clark MacGregor.

Charles W. Colson -Schedule

The President's schedule -Taping

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

#### -Unknown technician

## Bull left at an unknown time before 1:37 pm.

State of the Union Address, January 20, 1972

- -MacGregor's view
- -MacGregor's viewing on TV
  - -Commentary by Paul Duke and Herbert E. Kaplow
    - -The President's expectations of Congress
      - -Welfare reform
      - -Revenue-sharing
      - -Government reorganization
      - -Environment
  - -Commentary by Hugh S. Sidey, Charles L. Bartlett and unknown black woman
    - -Shirley Chisholm
    - -Politics
      - -Democrats
      - -1960s issues
        - -Demonstrations
          - -Campuses, cities
  - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] commentary
  - -Media commentary
    - -MacGregor's secretary
      - -Notes
    - -Address compared with 1971 Address
      - -Language
        - -Tone

### Charles W. Colson entered at 1:37 pm.

- -Dan Rather's commentary
  - -Democrat leadership
  - -The President's political tone

### H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 1:37 pm.

- -William H. Lawrence's commentary
  - -Strength of speech
  - -1972 election
    - -The President's platform

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

```
-Economy
-Lewis Gulick's comments on Associated Press [AP] wire
-Bipartisanship
-Historical comparison
-Democrats
```

## Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:37 pm.

The President's schedule
-Taping

# Bull left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm.

```
State of the Union Address
     -John F. Kennedy comparison
     -Vietnam
     -Schools
           -Local control
                -Reception by audience
                      -Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie
                            -Applause
     -CBS
           -Daniel L. Schorr's analysis
                -West Coast dock strike
                      -Reception by audience
                      -Congress
                      -Humphrey's and Muskie's reception
     -Edward M. Kennedy's reception
     -CBS commentary
           -The President's ad-lib
     -Future media coverage
           -The President's schedule
                -Tom McCall
                -Daniel J. Evans
           -The President's statement from Florida, January 21, 1972
           -Calls to Ronald W. Reagan and others
                -Reactions to speech
                      -Publicity
     -William E. Brock, III's views
```

-Challenge to Congress

-Hugh Scott's views

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

```
-Michael J. Mansfield's views
```

- -Tax measures
- -Political strategy
- -Kaplow's commentary
  - -Neil H. McElroy Commission on school finance
  - -Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
    - -The President's concern and initiative
    - -Muskie's reaction to the President's reference
      - -Humphrey
    - -Muskie's role on committee
      - -Attendance at meetings
- -National interest
- -Tone
- -Conclusion
  - -Contrast with Edward Kennedy's National Press Club speech, January 17,

1972

- -State of nation
  - -Compared to Edward Kennedy's and Muskie's statements
- -Confidence in government
- -Congressional reaction
  - -Wright Patman
    - -Forthcoming Gross National Product [GNP] figures
  - -Gerald R. Ford
    - -1972 election
  - -Margaret C. Smith
  - -George D. Aiken

#### -Smith

- -Appearance
- -Age
- -Reelection
- -Compared with Aiken
- -Republican Congressional leaders
  - -Mood

### Scott

- -Commentaries from Pennsylvania newspapers
  - -Delivery to MacGregor
- -1972 election
  - -Pennsylvania
- -Political work

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

### Congressional breakfast, January 19, 1972

- -William E. Timmons and MacGregor
- -Scott
- -Ford
- -Robert P. Griffin
- -Leslie C. Arends
- -The President's submitted State of the Union Address
  - -Recommendations
    - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s incorporation into address
- -Republican Congressional leaders
  - -Mood

## Congress

- -Recess
- -State of the Union Address
  - -Election year

### State of the Union Address

- -Approach avoided
- -The President's treatment of Congress
- -Roger H. Mudd's comment
  - -Political impact
- -Political impact
- -Statesmanship
- -Length
  - -Compared to previous addresses
    - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - -Price's view
- -Specific passage
  - -Response to the nation's critics
  - -Impact
- -State of nation
- -Credit for the Administration
  - -Vietnam
    - -Casualties
    - -Troop withdrawals
- -Congressional recess
  - -Griffin's view of submitted address
    - -Lincoln Day speeches
- -Use by Congressmen
- -National defense issue

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

```
-Response
                 -Republicans
                 -Gale W. McGee
                 -John C. Stennis
                 -John N. Ashbrook
                 -Barry M. Goldwater
     -J. William Fulbright's reaction
           -John V. Brennan's observation
                 -Muskie
                 -Humphrey
           -John Sherman Cooper's views of Fulbright
                 -Partisanship
                 -Cooper's reaction at meetings of Senate Foreign Relations Committee
     -Welfare reform
           -Work
                 -Lincoln Day speeches
                 -Reagan
     -Family assistance issue
           -Reaction received by Colson
           -Patrick J. Buchanan
     -Welfare reform
           -Trial program
           -Conservative response
Congress
     -The Administration's possible political strategy
           -Democrats
                 -Partisanship
                       -Allegations by MacGregor's office
                            -Duration
                 -Attendance at sessions
                 -Passage of the President's legislation
                       -Official daily reminder by Republicans
                            -Number of presidential initiatives
```

-Public view

-Polls

-Passage of the President's legislation

-State of the Union reference

-Proposals

-Budget

-Scheduling

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

-Bipartisanship

-Timetable for conciliation

-June 1972

-Democratic National Convention

-The President's trip to Soviet Union

-Official daily reminders by Republicans

-Samuel L. Devine

-Robert J. Dole

-Humor

-Scheduling

-Democrat reaction

-Sensitivity

-Dock strike

-Possible hearings

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Republican leaders

-MacGregor's coordination with Haldeman

-Scheduling

### MacGregor and Colson left at 2:05 pm.

State of the Union Address

-Tone

-Delivery

-Reception

-Kennedys

### An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

Refreshments

## The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm.

White House staff

-Richard A. Moore

-Sidey

-William L. Safire

-Moore

-Ability

-Compared with Safire

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

### State of the Union Address

- -Length
  - -Written compared to spoken message
- -Delivery on prime time television
  - -Compared with delivery before Congress
- -Written compared to spoken message
  - -Public and Congress
- -Ceremony
  - -Number of attendees
  - -Congress, Cabinet and Supreme Court
  - -TV viewing

## Henry A. Kissinger's briefing

- -The President's previous phone call to Kissinger
- -Humor
- -Substance

### State of the Union Address

- -Press and media
  - -Reaction
- -Bi-partisanship

#### Vietnam

- -The President's forthcoming speech on peace plan, January 25, 1972
  - -Possible impact
- -Secret negotiations
  - -Ending war
- -Congressional involvement
  - -Talks with North Vietnam and Vietcong
- -Secret talks
  - -Publicity

### Kissinger

- -Resignation
  - -Effect
    - -William P. Rogers

## The President's schedule

-Forthcoming taping session

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-5 (cont.)

The President and Haldeman left at 2:15 pm.

Conversation No. 652-6

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger
-Schedule
-Meeting with the President
-Forthcoming Cabinet meeting
-Trip to Florida

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Conversation No. 652-7

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger's location

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Conversation No. 652-8

Date: January 20, 1972

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-6 (cont.)

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm Location: Oval Office
The President met with an unknown person.
*****************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 3s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
*****************************
The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.
Conversation No. 652-9

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Items for the President's signature
-Forthcoming Cabinet meeting

Butterfield left at 2:32 pm.

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 2:30 pm - 2:32 pm Location: Oval Office

Conversation No. 652-10

Date: January 20, 1972

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-8 (cont.)

Time: Unknown between 2:32 and 2:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

Harold O. Lovre
-Death
-Wreath
-Military aide

Conversation No. 652-11

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 2:57 pm - 3:05 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Dinner, January 20, 1972
-Cabinet
-Business session

The President's schedule

-Cabinet and Congressional leaders

-Meetings

-Frequency

-Value

-Frequency

-Selection of new Cabinet in second term

-Review

-Individual Cabinet members

# Ronald L. Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Robert E. Merriam

-Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR] study -The President's letter to Merriam

-Release to press

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-11 (cont.)

- -Ziegler's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
- -Ziegler's conversation with Merriam

### Edmund S. Muskie

- -Membership on ACIR
  - -Attendance at meeting
- -Reaction to the President's State of the Union Address
  - -Applause
  - -Statement
    - -Bi-partisanship

### State of the Union Address

- -Democrats' reactions
  - -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
    - -Unemployment issue
  - -Television coverage
    - -Ziegler's watching
    - -Cut to audience at closing remark
  - -Bella S. Abzug's reaction
    - -Statement
      - -The President's tenure in office
  - -Partisanship
  - -Muskie's reaction
    - -Number of proposals
    - -Statement for television
      - -Competition with Hubert H. Humphrey
- -Republican reaction
  - -The President's bipartisanship
  - -Attack on Democrats
    - -Tone
    - -Muskie statement
      - -Vietnam war
    - -Personal attacks
- -Edward M. Kennedy's reaction

### Dock strike announcement, January 21, 1972

- -Handling by Ziegler and Laurence H. Silberman
- -The President's involvement
  - -Statement, January 20,, 1972
- -Rhetoric
  - -Toughness

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-11 (cont.)

- -Labor Department
- -Legislation for arbitration
  - -Congress
  - -The President's State of the Union reference
- -The President's input
  - -Attack on strikers
    - -Irresponsibility
    - -Economy
- -George P. Shultz
- -Patrick J. Buchanan
- -Charles W. Colson's office
- -Rhetoric
  - -Toughness
- -Silberman
  - -Legislation
- -Rhetoric
  - -Toughness

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Cabinet meeting

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Dock strike announcement

- -Rhetoric
  - -Toughness
  - -Buchanan

The President, Haldeman and Ziegler left at 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 652-12

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 4:50 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service] talked with an unknown person.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-12 (cont.)

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

Conversation No. 652-13

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 4:52 pm - 5:59 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Terence Cardinal Cooke, Theodore E. McCarrick, Peter M. Flanigan and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; Stephen B. Bull, the White House photographer, and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

The President's schedule

Cooke's return from trip to Vietnam
-Servicemen
-Haig's question to Cooke
-Morale

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:52 pm.

Refreshment

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:22 pm.

The President's State of the Union Address
-Cooke's watching on television

The President's schedule
-Cabinet meeting
-Cooke's activity during meeting

[General conversation]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

[Photograph session]

### The White House photographer and the press left at an unknown time after 4:52 pm.

```
Cooke's trip to Vietnam
     -Unknown bishop
           -Travel to Greenland, Iceland and Europe
     -US armed forces
           -Drugs
                -Situation
                      -Prevention, education, treatment
                      -Incoming troops
                      -Da Nang
                            -Compared to other areas
           -Morale
                -Troop withdrawal
                -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.'s report to Cooke
                -Commanders
                      -Concern
                -General [Forename] McDonough [sp?]
                      -Da Nang
                      -Defensive action
                            -Explanation to troops
                -Compared to earlier tone
           -Peace time forces
                -Korea
                -Japan
                -Western Europe
                -US bases
                -Pride in duty
                      -Compared with rear area service in World War II
                            -The President's experience
                                 -Noumea
                                 -Guadalcanal
     -South Vietnamese
           -Morale
                -Farming, housing
                -New schools, seminary buildings
                -Da Nang
                      -Hospitals
           -Pacification
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

```
-Effects
```

- -Publicity
- -Military forces
- -Harvest
- -Land reform
- -Building
  - -Schools, stores, roads

### -Vietnamization

- -Term
  - -Connotation
- -Military
  - -Troop withdrawal
    - -Melvin R. Laird
- -Public response
  - -Greek-Turkish aid program
  - -Marshall Plan
  - -Alliance for progress
  - -South and North Vietnamese development
- -Self-help
  - -"Partnership for development"
- -Rice surplus
  - -South Vietnamese population
- -Vietcong
- -US, South Vietnamese casualties
  - -Decline
- -South Vietnamese army
  - -Forthcoming offensive by North Vietnam
    - -Handling
      - -Prospects
  - -Nature of wars
    - -Retreating
    - -Battle at Tannenberg
      - -Book by Winston S. Churchill
      - -Russians
        - -L'vov
      - -German retreat

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

-Effect on Russians

-Prisoners

-Battle of the Bulge

-Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.

-Pincher movement

### Vietnam

- -Statement by Catholic Bishops
  - -End of war
  - -Justness of wars
  - -Useful purpose of Vietnam war
  - -Peace
  - -Aid to South Vietnam
  - -Number of North Vietnamese in Laos, Cambodia and

South Vietnam

- -1954 accords
- -Self defense
- -Justness of wars
  - -Self defense
- -South Vietnamese survival
  - -US support
  - -1954 events
    - -Bishop of Da Nang
    - -Civilian casualties
      - -Starvation
  - -Possible casualties
  - -US withdrawal
    - -Peace
    - -Avoiding South Vietnamese casualties
  - -Catholics
- -Conduct of war
  - -The President's view
- -Statement by Catholic Bishops
  - -Cooke's position
  - -Minority opinion
    - -US unilateral withdrawal
  - -Cooke's editing
  - -Immorality of war
    - -Possible impact on US troops
  - -Consistency with US policy
    - -Treatment by press

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

-Compared with actual statement

- -The President's reading
- -Francis Cardinal Spellman
- -Minority opinion
- -Press treatment
- -Compared with Quakers' response
- -Support of the President's policies
- -Cooke's conversation with unknown men

### Cooke's speech

-Rose Mary Woods's assessment

Richard E. Berlin

- -Health
  - -Roosevelt Hospital
- -Media report, January 19, 1972
- -Religion
- -Invitation to Readers' Digest dinner, January 28, 1972
- -Location

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:52 pm and 5:22 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-13A]

[See Conversation No. 19-35]

The President conferred with Cooke during the telephone conversation.

Berlin's location

[End of conferral]

[End of telephone conversation]

White House operator

#### Berlin

- -Admiration for the President
- -Muriel ("Honey") (Johnson) Berlin

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

### Vietnam

- -Forthcoming developments
- -End of war in 1972
- -US involvement
  - -Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - -US withdrawals
    - -US aid to South Vietnam
- -Cooke's trip
  - -Stop in Bethlehem
    - -"Generation of peace"
    - -Mass for peace
    - -Cooke's previous visits
    - -The President's travels
    - -Mass for peace
      - -"Shepherd's Field"
      - -Remembrance of the President

### People's Republic of China [PRC]

- -The President's forthcoming trip
  - -Henry A. Kissinger's briefing of Cooke
    - -Instructions to Haig
- -Population
- -Catholic missionaries
  - -Captivity
    - -Bishop James E. Walsh

## The President's forthcoming trip to Soviet Union

-Briefing of Cooke

### State of the Union Address

- -The President's foreign trips and relations
  - -Differences
  - -Hopes for peace

### Cooke's talk with Soviet Friends in New York

- -Communists
- -The President's foreign trips

### [The White House operator talked with the President at 5:22 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-13B]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

[See Conversation No. 19-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

### Berlin

- -Forthcoming conversation with Cooke
  - -The President's attempted call

#### India

- -Cooke's visit to Calcutta
  - -Refugees
- -Relief work by voluntary agencies
- -US aid
  - -Humanitarian efforts
  - -United Nations [UN]
  - -Catholic efforts
  - -Pakistan

### Parochial schools

- -Rate of closings
- -Prospects
- -Government assistance
  - -Presidential commission [President's Committee on School Finance]
    - -Forthcoming report
  - -Administration plan
  - -Tax credit
- -Supreme Court decision
  - -Child benefits
  - -Direct subsidy
- -Tax credit
  - -Benefit to public and parochial schools
  - -Legislation
  - -Flanigan's possible conversation with John B. Connally
  - -Property tax substitute
  - -Justice Department view
    - -Bishops' view
    - -Constitutionality
- -Government assistance
  - -Legislation
  - -Flanigan's possible talks with Connally and John D. Ehrlichman

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

```
-Congressional schedule
           -Tax Bill
           -Revenue sharing
           -Health program
           -Ways and Means Committee
     -Tax Bill
     -Neil H. McElroy Committee [President's Committee on School Finance]
            report
     -Connally
           -Talk with Flanigan
           -Meeting with Cooke
           -Need for support
     -The President's policy
     -Connally
           -Relation with Cooke
           -Schedule
                 -Meeting
                      -Publicity
                 -Speech in New York City to conference board
                 -Cooke's home
-Need for public confidence
-Legislation
     -Prospects for educational pluralism
-Government assistance
     -Connally
           -Schedule
                 -Forthcoming Cabinet dinner
                      -Possible conversation with the President
                 -New York City
                      -Meeting with Cooke
                 -International monetary matters
           -Standing in Cabinet
           -School closing rate
           -Educational pluralism
-Public education
     -National Education Association [NEA]
-Values
-Schools in foreign countries
     -The President's visits
           -PRC
```

-Soviet Union

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

- -Romania
- -Hungary
- -Poland
- -Czechoslovakia
- -Public education
  - -State control
- -Government assistance
  - -Inflation
  - -Character compared to intelligence
    - -Arrogance, pride
  - -Legislation
    - -Timing
  - -Flanigan's comment
  - -Justice Department
  - -Supreme Court
    - -William H. Rehnquist
    - -Position

The President's schedule

-Meeting with William C. Westmoreland

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:22 pm.

-Request that Westmoreland join them -Kissinger's schedule

## Bull left at an unknown time before 5:38 pm.

The President's schedule

State of the Union Address

-Reaction

The President's health

-Predecessors

## William Westmoreland entered at 5:38 pm.

Greetings

Introduction

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

### Vietnam

- -Armed forces
  - -Morale
  - -Cooke's talks with troops
  - -Families at home
  - -Societal problems
  - -Education by military

### Westmoreland

-Forthcoming trip to Indonesia

Cooke's forthcoming meeting with Connally

[General conversation]

The President's schedule

- -Trip to PRC
  - -Future meeting with Cooke

## Cooke, McCarrick and Flanigan left and Melvin R. Laird entered at 5:40 pm.

### Harold O. Lovre

- -Funeral
- -Chowder and Marching Club
- -Formerly Representative from South Dakota
- -Home
- -Funeral
  - -Cabinet meeting
  - -Laird
  - -Rogers C. B. Morton
  - -The President's wreath
- -Recent health
  - -Laird's recent meeting
  - -Cancer
  - -Recent party

#### Indonesia

- -Westmoreland's talk with Haig
- -The President's letter
- -Lt. Gen. TNJ Suharto

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

```
-Forthcoming conversation with Westmoreland
-Francis J. Galbraith
-Economic assistance
     -State department policy
           -Marshall Green
           -Former ambassadors
-Military security program
     -Suharto
           -US support
     -Geography
     -Population
     -Agriculture
           -Rice
     -Nixon Doctrine
-Aid program
     -Size
     -Congress
-Westmoreland trip
-US policy in Southeast Asia
     -Vietnam
     -US interest and presence
-The President's trip to PRC
-US policy
-Population and resources
     -Compared with Southeast Asia, Thailand
     -Vietnam
     -Soviets
-US aid
     -Congress
           -Aid to other nations
                 -Cambodia
     -Consortium
-Connally's previous trip
     -US aid
           -India
-Military aid
     -Military
           -Communism
```

-Training

-Importance

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

```
US military influence
     -International sales
           -Laird's possible conversation with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
           -Latin America
                 -French sales
                 -Training
                 -Peru
                 -Chile
                       -Salvador Allende Gossens
                            -US policy
           -JCS
           -J. William Fulbright
           -Michael J. Mansfield
           -Frank F. Church
           -Arms
     -Civilian compared to military regimes
     -Yugoslavia
           -Reorganization of Communist Party
                 -Latin America
     -Military attaches
           -Function
           -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
                 -Brazil
                 -Relationship with the President
     -Venezuela
           -Commander of army
                 -Visit with Westmoreland
           -Latin America
           -Trade
                 -France
                 -Oil
                       -US purchases
                 -France
     -Bolivia
           -President [Hugo Banzer-Suarez]
                 -Relations with Westmoreland
                 -Military assistance
                       -Rate of delivery
                 -Relations with US
     -Latin American aid
           -Limitations
```

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

```
-Fulbright and Church
```

- -Non-military uses
  - -Education
- -Soviet Union
  - -MIGs
- -India
  - -Economic compared to military
  - -Soviet Union
    - -Military aid
- -Political problems
- -Military regimes
  - -Congress
    - -Unknown person
- -Military sales
  - -India
    - -US compared to Soviet equipment
  - -Congressional limitations
    - -Effect on Nixon Doctrine
    - -Paper from Laird
      - -Delivery to the President through Haig
      - -National Security Council [NSC]
      - -State Department
      - -William P. Rogers
      - -Senate Foreign Relations Committee

### Forthcoming Cabinet dinner

-Laird's presence

### State of the Union Address

-Westmoreland's presence

#### Indonesia

- -Westmoreland's trip
- -The President's view
- -Population
  - -Wealth
- -Westmoreland's trip
  - -Suharto
  - -[Unintelligible name]
  - -Vietnam
  - -Cambodia

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-13 (cont.)

-Phnom Penh

-Vietnam

-Military prospects

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Cambodia

-Gen. Lon Nol

-Udorn

-C. McMurtrie Godley

-The President's trip to PRC

Haig, et al. left at 5:59 pm.

Conversation No. 652-14

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:59 pm and 6:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Document signing

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm

Conversation No. 652-15

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 6:00 pm - 6:08 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-14 (cont.)

```
-Preparation for Cabinet dinner
```

Items for the President's signature

[Signing documents]

Robert H. Finch
-Health
-Location

-Home

-Cabinet meeting

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-15A]

[See Conversation No. 19-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

Finch

-Health

[Signing documents]

Memorandum

[The President talked with Finch between 6:06 pm and 6:08 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-15B]

[See Conversation No. 19-38]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:08 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-15 (cont.)

Conversation No. 652-16

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:08 pm and 6:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 652-17

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown after 6:08 pm until 6:36 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with an unknown man.

**Briefcases** 

-Airplane

-Materials

-Alexander P. Butterfield

### Henry A. Kissinger entered and the unknown man left at 6:12 pm.

Forthcoming Cabinet dinner

State of the Union Address
-Success

The President's schedule
-Terence Cardinal Cooke

Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Call to Kissinger

The President's schedule

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

```
-Gen. William C. Westmoreland
```

-Vasily V. Kuznetsov

-Kashmir

-Kuznetsov

```
Dobrynin
     -Call to Kissinger
           -India-Pakistan relations
     -Dinner with Kissinger, January 21, 1972
     -Outlook
Vietnam
     -Message from Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
     -North Vietnamese offensive
           -Reserve units
           -US bombing of logistic build-up
           -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Dobrynin
           -Possible effect on the President's People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
           -Possible US bombing
                 -Location
                 -Timing
                      -The President's peace plan speech, January 25, 1972
                            -Possible North Vietnamese response
                      -Buildup
                      -US bombing
                      -Abrams's plan
           -Settlement
           -II Corps
                 -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
           -I Corps
           -US air power
           -DMZ
           -Dobrynin
                 -Forthcoming dinner with Kissinger
India-Pakistan War
     -Dobrynin
           -Conversation with Kissinger, January 20, 1972
                 -Tone
           -Schedule
```

-December 10, 1971 telegram from Soviet ambassador to India, Nikolai M. Pegov

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

-The President's December 9, 1971 meeting with Soviet Agriculture Minister [Vladimir Matskevich]

# Vietnam -North Vietnamese offensive -Dobrynin -Forthcoming dinner with Kissinger -Peace plan speech -Dobrynin -Possible message about negotiations -Build-up -Abrams's report -Build-up -Reserve units -Hanoi -Location -Ho Chi Minh trail -DMZ -Road -Bombing -Building -Possible attack schedule -II Corps -February 1972 -I Corps -March 1972 -Completion -May 1972 -The President's trips to Soviet Union and PRC -Soviets -Middle East negotiations -Trade -1972 election -Abrams's recommendation -Soviet Union -PRC -Timing -Peace plan speech -Peace plan speech

-Notes to PRC and Soviet Union

-Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

```
-Dobrynin
```

-Timing

- -Previous US air strike
- -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Dobrynin
  - -The President's previous and forthcoming actions
- -South Vietnamese army
  - -Change of commanders
  - -I Corps
    - -Tanks
    - -Publicity

-US troops

- -Peace plan speech
  - -Rogers's suggestions
    - -William L. Safire
  - -Kissinger's review
  - -The President's schedule
    - -Florida

-Copy to Butterfield

-Briefcase

- -The President's review
- -Kissinger's suggestions
  - -Complexity of certain passages
    - -Explanation of proposal
      - -Agreement in principle and substance
      - -Remaining US troops
- -Rogers's suggestions
  - -Principle
  - -Rhetoric
- -Kissinger's schedule
  - -Rogers

### State of the Union Address

- -Final passages
  - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s work
  - -Compared to speeches of the Kennedys
    - -Press treatment
- -Tone
- -Foreign policy sections
  - -Bi-partisanship
- -Defense program section
  - -Dobrynin's reaction

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

```
-Conversation with Kissinger
     -Arms limitation
           -Soviets
                 -Dobrynin's reaction
India-Pakistan War
     -US actions
           -Soviet response
                 -Cultural Minister [Ekaterina A. Furtseva]
                       -Relations with Kissinger
                 -Dobrynin
                       -Schedule
                             -Kissinger
                 -Kissinger's talk with White House staff, January 20, 1972
Soviet summit
     -Dobrynin
     -Possible US proposals
           -Kissinger's meeting with Soviet Trade Minister
                 -Maurice H. Stans
                 -Possible effect of Soviet propaganda
                 -Dobrynin
                       -Return to US
Vietnam
      -Kissinger's possible conversation with Dobrynin
           -Soviet trade
      -North Vietnamese offensive
           -US air force
           -US withdrawal
                 -Effect
           -Possible settlement
                 -Timing
Foreign policy
      -Goals
State of the Union address
      -Foreign policy section
```

-US commitments
-US interests

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

```
-Bolivia
```

-Intervention

-"Peaceniks" view

### Vietnam

-North Vietnamese offensive

-US Air Force

-South Vietnamese

-Strength

-North Vietnam

-Laos, Cambodia

-US bombing

-Strategy

-Duration

-Results

-Timing

-Peace plan proposal

-North Vietnamese response

-Peace plan speech

## Vietnam peace plan speech

-Readiness of draft

-Florida

-Kissinger and Safire

-The President's further work

#### The President's schedule

-Vietnam peace plan speech

-Preparation

-Briefing

-Timing

-Legislative leaders

-The President's role vis-à-vis Kissinger's

-State of the Union Address

-Length

-Compared to previous ones

-Cooke's comment to the President

-The President's appearance

-Joan Braden's comment

-Lunch with Kissinger

-Previous meetings with the President

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

- -Peace plan speech
  - -The President's review
  - -Thieu
    - -The President's instructions to Safire

### North Vietnam

- -Recognition by Norway and Denmark
  - -Possible return of US ambassadors
  - -Fact finding mission

[Funeral of King Frederick IX of Denmark ?]

-US representatives

International monetary matters

- -Connally
- -Chilean loan
  - -Connally's previous meeting with the President
  - -Connally's knowledge

\*

### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security] [Duration: 1m 33s ]

**INTELLIGENCE** 

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

\*

- -Cabinet
- -Possible military action

## Vietnam

- -Connally's view
- -Dobrynin

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-17 (cont.)

- -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation, January 21, 1972
- -Recent talk with Kissinger
  -Tone

The President and Kissinger left at 6:36 pm.

Conversation No. 652-18

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

<u>Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.</u>

The President's location

Messenger

The agents left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Conversation No. 652-19

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 652-19A]

The President's location

An unknown agent entered at an unknown time.

[End of telephone conversation]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

[Unintelligible]

Unknown people entered at an unknown time.

[Unintelligible]

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.