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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
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
-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]
[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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3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END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3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
-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
Conv. No. 652-3 (cont.)

-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
-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
-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
-Receipt by audience
-Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie
-Applause

-CBS
-Daniel L. Schorr’s analysis
-West Coast dock strike
-Receipt 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
-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
-R Republican Congressional leaders
-Mood

Scott
-Commentaries from Pennsylvania newspapers
  -Delivery to MacGregor
-1972 election
  -Pennsylvania
-Political work
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
-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
        -Scheduling
-Public view
  -Polls
  -Passage of the President’s legislation
    -State of the Union reference
      -Proposals
      -Budget
- 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
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
The President and Haldeman left at 2:15 pm.

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.

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.

Date: January 20, 1972
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.

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

   Items for the President’s signature
   -Forthcoming Cabinet meeting

Butterfield left at 2:32 pm.
The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

Harold O. Lovre
   - Death
   - Wreath
   - Military aide

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
-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
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.

Date: January 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 4:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President’s location
-Cabinet Room

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]
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
-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
-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
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
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]
[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
- 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
- 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
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
- 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
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
- 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
-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.

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

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
-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]
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

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
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Gen. William C. Westmoreland

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
-Vasily V. Kuznetsov
-December 10, 1971 telegram from Soviet ambassador to India, Nikolai M. Pegov
-Kashmir
-Kuznetsov
- 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
-Dobrynin
-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
-Examination 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
-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
-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
-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
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

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

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


[Conversation No. 652-19A]

The President’s location

An unknown agent entered at an unknown time.

[End of telephone conversation]
[Unintelligible]

Unknown people entered at an unknown time.

[Unintelligible]

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