Conversation No. 656-1

Date: January 25, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:30 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Mark I. Goode (?) and unknown people.

Arrangements for the President’s speech
- Ceiling
- Placement of unknown object

Weather
- Coat
- Wind

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

Conversation No. 656-2

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s location
- Desk
- Breakfast

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.
Conversation No. 656-3

Date: January 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Request for Charles W. Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-4

Date: January 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule  
-Timing  
-John B. Connally

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-5

Date: January 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Rose Mary Woods.

[See Conversation No. 19-90]
Conversation No. 656-6

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:47 am and 7:52 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Schedule
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Colson left (?) at an unknown time before 7:52 am.

Conversation No. 656-7

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 7:52 am - 8:03 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

[The President talked with Rose Mary Woods between 7:52 am and 7:53 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-7A]

[See Conversation No. 19-91; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

[End of telephone conversation]

Newspaper stories concerning reaction to the President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
-News summary
-Washington Post
-New York Times
-Washington Post
-Richard (“Dick”) Lyons
-Accuracy
-Effect
H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 7:57 am.

- The President’s schedule
  - Forthcoming congressional leaders meeting
  - Talks with Haldeman and Colson, January 25, 1972
- Administration’s handling
- Truth
- Lyons
- John Sherman Cooper
- Michael J. Mansfield
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Philip A. Hart [?]
- F. Bradford Morse
- Administration handling
  - Klein
  - Need to challenge stories
  - Positive information
- Nature of stories
  - Tone
  - Sander Vanocur
- Administration handling
  - Friendly journalists
  - Need to attack
  - Publishers
  - Compared to the President’s November 3, 1969 speech
  - Public perception
    - Polls
  - Press releases
    - Ronald L. Ziegler

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 8:03 am.
Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:02 and 10:08 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:08 am.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:02 am and 10:08 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Paul J. Fannin.

[See Conversation No. 19-92]
Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 10:08 am - 12:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger.

Congressional resolution
- Preparation of a letter
  - Kissinger’s talk with Hugh Scott and Gerald R. Ford
    - Scott’s and Ford’s view
  - The President’s talk with Ford
  - Scott
  - Benefits
  - Kissinger’s schedule
  - Ford’s and Scott’s location
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Scott

Kissinger briefing

Proposed terms of cease-fire
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - Political benefits
    - George S. McGovern’s comments concerning the President’s statement about Nguyen Van Thieu and North Vietnam
  - Possible revelation of North Vietnamese position
    - Thieu overthrow
    - Troop withdrawal
    - Documentation
    - As consequence of denial

Kissinger left at 10:11 am.

[The President talked with Paul J. Fannin between 10:11 am and 10:12 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10A]

[See Conversation No. 19-93]
The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- News coverage
  - Inaccuracy of reporting
  - Administration handling
  - Assigning responsibility
- The President’s schedule
  - Recent Congressional leaders meeting
- Kissinger
- Kissinger briefing to staff, January 25, 1972
  - Tone
  - Secret diplomacy
  - First draft of speech
  - Robert H. Finch’s reaction
  - Politics
  - John A. Scali
  - State and Defense Department
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Congressional leaders meeting
  - Staff meeting
  - Thieu resignation
    - Timing of announcement
      - Peace proposal
      - Public relations
      - Kissinger

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:12 am and 10:17 am and requested a call to William P. Rogers.]

[Conversation No. 656-10B]

[See Conversation No. 19-94]

[End of telephone conversation]

Budget meeting
  - Agnew
  - Complaints
  - Political future
  - Demeanor
- Compared to John B. Connally
  - Approach to problems

[The President talked with Rogers between 10:17 am and 10:18 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10C]

[See Conversation No. 19-181]

[End of telephone conversation]

Agnew
  - Demeanor

White House staff
  - Charles W. Colson
    - Scali
  - William L. Safire
    - Scali
  - Kissinger’s call to Scali, Rogers, Connally
  - The President’s schedule
    - Congressional leaders meeting
      - Agnew
        - Demeanor
        - Consultation
        - Staff meeting
  - Kissinger
    - Handling
    - Loyalty of White House staff
    - Meeting with Haldeman
    - Winston Lord
    - Demeanor concerning Vietnam
      - Troop withdrawal
      - Negotiations
        - Status
        - Trips
          - Kissinger’s comments
            - Progress of talks
  - Rogers
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Ellsworth F. Bunker
The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech

- News coverage
  - Marvin L. Kalb
    - Kissinger briefing
  - Scalzi
- First draft
  - Kissinger’s reaction
  - Edits
    - Safire
- Kalb
- Scalzi
- Dan Rather
  - Possible letters
    - Demand for apology
- Vietnam troop withdrawal
  - Timing
    - 1972 election
      - Kalb
        - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
- Public perception
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Troops
  - Ceasefire
    - Korea
- Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
  - F. Bradford Morse
    - Letter
    - Colson
  - Withdrawal from race
    - Conditions
- Effect on credibility of Administration
- McCloskey’s comment
  - Secret negotiations
    - Administration action
-Right wing’s reaction
  -Speech ending
-Effect on attention to budget message
-Thrust of PR
  -“Keep America United” theme
    -Congressional leaders meeting
    -Negotiations
  -Clark MacGregor
-Delivery
  -Lack of Vietnam speeches
  -Complexity of subject
  -Clarity
    -Process
  -Style
    -Atmosphere
    -Eye contact with camera
-Campaign benefit

The President’s schedule
  -Signing of economic report
    -Press interest
    -Need for study
  -Forthcoming meeting with Richard M. Scammon
  -Congressional leaders meeting
  -Press picture
  -Maurice H. Stans’ announcement
    -Peter G. Peterson
  -Camp David
  -Economic report signing
    -Press interest
    -Photographs
  -Quadriad meeting
    -Timing
      -Connally
  -Economic report
  -Stans
  -Dinner
  -Peterson
    -Press interest
      -Swearing-in
  -Earl L. Butz
- Rogers C. B. Morton
- Camp David
- Friday schedule
  - Dr. Rainer Barzel
  - Dewitt Wallace dinner
- Weekend plans
- PR
  - Preparation for People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
    - Briefing books
    - Rogers and Kissinger

**Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:18 am.**

- Kissinger’s schedule
  - Press briefing

**Bull left at an unknown time before 10:42 am.**

- PRC trip
  - PR
    - Camp David
      - Preparations
      - Return to Washington, DC
- McGovern and McCloskey
  - Administration counterattack
    - Congressional leaders
    - Vietnam critics
  - Media support

**Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:18 am.**

- Kissinger
  - Briefing

**Bull left at an unknown time before 10:42 am.**

- Television messages and domestic affairs
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Environment
  - Drugs
  - Benefits
-J. William Middendorf, II
- The President’s meeting with Prime Minister of Netherlands [Barend W. Biesheuvel]
- Review
- Kissinger
- Rogers
- Attendance at meeting of the President and Biesheuvel
  - Haig
  - State Department
  - Rogers

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:18 am and 10:42 am and requested Haig.]

[Conversation No. 656-10D]

[See Conversation No. 19-95]

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with Haig between 10:42 and 10:43 am.]

[Conversation No. 656-10E]

[See Conversation No. 19-96]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
- Middendorf

Kissinger entered at 10:44 am.

Kissinger schedule

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese terms
  - McGovern
- Thieu government
  - Overthrow
  - Secret deal
- Thieu
  - Publication of terms
-Kissinger press conference
  - Review of peace process
    - Timetable
    - Withdrawal
    - Government
    - Ceasefire
    - Eight point plan
-US proposal
  - Terms
    - Unilateral withdrawal
-Surrender
  - Deadline
-Return of POWs
-Overthrow of government
  - South Vietnamese people
  - US reaction
-Agnew
  - Attitude
  - The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech
    - Separation of military and political issues
    - Clarity
-Demeanor
  - Support for the President
    - Kissinger’s comment to Bryce N. Harlow
-Congressional meeting
  - Budget meeting
  - Possible approach to the President or Kissinger
  - Effects
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Troop withdrawal for ceasefire and POWs or political issues
-January 25, 1972 meeting
  - Agnew stance
    - Ceasefire
    - Effects
-North Vietnamese ceasefire terms
  - Troop withdrawal
-Administration offer
  - Troop withdrawal for POWs
  - May 31, 1971 negotiations
-Political proposal
-Indication of weakness
  -Laos and Cambodia
  -South Vietnam
  -Bombing
-US aid to Thieu
  -North Vietnamese thinking
  -Michael J. Mansfield Amendment
  -POWs
-Administration defense
  -Kissinger
  -Rogers
  -Agnew
    -Analogy to the President vis-à-vis Dwight D. Eisenhower
  -Football analogy
-Support for US proposals
  -Agnew
    -Compared to Congress
-Congress
  -Scott and Ford
    -Meeting with Kissinger in Ziegler’s office
-Press conference
  -Ziegler
  -Preparation by Kissinger
-Kalb
  -Possible interview with Kissinger

The President’s forthcoming trip to the PRC

Press conference
  -Ziegler

Kissinger left at 10:57 am.

- Timing
  -Ziegler

Public support for peace proposals
  -Mail
    -Quotes from Winston-Salem; Maryland; New York; Birmingham; Philadelphia; Connecticut; Searsdale; Texas; Amherst; Columbia, South
Carolina; Arlington, Texas; Wichita; La Grange Park, Illinois
-Frank L. Rizzo
-William A. Rago [?]
-Maureen Mullen [?] of Brooklyn
-Religious and minority groups
-Judge William Garbose of Massachusetts
-Mrs. Joseph Patrick Kennedy of Winnipeg
-Generation of peace, Adelphi [?], Illinois

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:57 am.

Biesheuvel meeting
-Schedule
-Protocol
-Baron Rijnhard B. Van Lynden

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:02 am.

PRC trip
-Emil (“Bus”) Mosbacher, Jr.
-Herbert G. Klein
-Domestic matters
-Domestic Council
-The President’s forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union

Haldeman left at 11:02 am.

Biesheuvel, Middendorf, and Haig entered at 11:02 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions
-Seating arrangements
-Photographs

Biesheuvel’s schedule
-Antilles and Surinam

[Photograph session]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:02 am.
Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:20 am.

Travel
- Indonesia
- India
- Indonesia
- The President’s visits

Colonial legacy
- Jakarta, Indonesia
- Education
- The president’s conversation with Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto
- Antilles
- Retention of influence
- African and Caribbean nations
- Nassau, Bahamas
- Soviet Union
- British withdrawal
- Tourism
- Transition pace
- Indonesia
- Relations with the Netherlands
  - Brink of war in early 1960’s
  - West Iran (West New Guinea)
- Suharto
- Inflation
  - Progress
- Possible visit by Biesheuvel
  - Dutch professionals
- Suharto
  - Sukarno
- Indonesian revolution
- State visit by Queen Juliana, 1971
  - Students
- Suharto
- US position in Pacific area
  - Edward R. G. Heath
  - Singapore
  - Georges J.R. Pompidou
- West Germany
  - Relations with Japan
- The Netherlands’ role in world
  - European community
  - Inter-government committee
    - Financial aid to Indonesia
- Japan’s role in world
- Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia
- Indonesia
  - Population
  - Geography
  - Natural resources
  - Java
    - Population
      - Jakarta
- Indonesia
The Netherlands relations with the Pacific area
- Surinam and Antilles
  - Role
    - Kingdom of the Netherlands
  - Foreign policy and defense
- United Nations [UN]
  - Small nations
- Antilles
  - Geography
  - English-speakers
  - Venezuela
    - Aruba
      - Oil
  - Defense
  - Autonomy
    - Preparation for independence
    - African nations
- The President’s previous trip around the world in 1953
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
- The president’s meeting with Winston Churchill in 1958
  - Autonomy
    - Great Britain’s experience

Common market
  - National sovereignty
-Great Britain
-France
-Economics
  -International trade
- Political cooperation
-Use of economic power
  -Effects
    -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

Power centers
- Brazil
- Africa
- Asia
  - Indonesia
- US
- Europe
- Soviet Union
- People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Japan
- Coexistence with PRC, Soviet Union
  - Philosophical differences
- Europe, Japan, US
  - Productivity
    - Compared to Communists
- Monetary system, trade
- Security
- Japan
  - Economic power
- Military
    - World War II
- Reassurances by US, Europe
  - Treaty commitment
  - Nuclear deterrent
  - PRC, Soviet Union

Europe
- NATO
  - West Germany
- Forces
    - Unilateral reduction
      - Soviet Union and Warsaw pact
- Sense of belonging
  - West Germany
    - Soviet Union
    - East Germany
  - Willy Brandt
  - Kurt Kiesinger
  - Great Britain
    - Ostpolitik
- Unity
- Konrad Adenauer
- Alcide de Gasperi
- Robert Schumann
- Biesheuvel’s experience
- The Netherlands’ role
  - World affairs

Common Market
- Statement
- US role
  - Protectionism
- Economic prospects
- Britain
  - Heath
- Pompidou
- Compared to previous one
  - Rotterdam
    - Perception of market
    - Wars
    - Manufacturing

Attendance of ambassador
- Protocol

Rotterdam
- Exports
  - Compared to New York
  - Common Market
    - Trade
    - West Germany

Van Lynden entered at 11:25 am.
Greetings

World affairs
- US protectionist sentiment
  - US intentions
    - Outward look
  - Reaction to possible European protectionism
    - Japan
  - Europe, US, Canada, Japan cooperation
    - Security
    - Competition
- Monetary matters
  - Group of Ten
- Japan
  - The President’s talks with Heath, Brandt, Pompidou [?]
  - Group of Ten
  - Beliefs
    - Compared to western world
    - Economic self-interest
- Political cooperation
  - World War II
  - [Emperor of Japan[ Hirohito
    - Visit
- Contributions
- PRC
- Soviet Union
- Productivity
  - World War II
  - Tanker purchase by Dutch
    - Oil companies
      - Dutch-Shell
- US economic power
- The President’s trip preparation for trips to PRC and Soviet Union
  - Meetings with European leaders
    - Italy
- Italy
  - Government
    - Emilio Colombo
    - French constitutionalism
- Latin countries
The President’s forthcoming trips to the PRC and Soviet Union
-Enmities
  -US position vis-à-vis PRC and Soviet Union
  -Soviet Union relations with PRC
-PRC
  -Japan
  -US, Soviet Union

PRC trip
-US intentions
-Contact
  -Prospects of recognition
    -Taiwan, Republic of China
      -US treaty commitments
  -Benefits
    -Communication
    -Reduction of chance of confrontation
      -Korea
      -Vietnam
      -PRC nuclear power
-PRC power
  -Population
-Japan
-US pacific responsibilities
- Gulf in philosophies between US and PRC
  - Need to bridge gap
  - Nuclear weapons
- Nuclear weapons in PRC

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[National Security]
[Duration: 32s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Prospects
- Soviet reaction to PRC trip
  - Paranoia
  - Bilateralism
- PRC’s relationships
  - Isolationism
  - Soviet Union
    - Hostile border
- US
  - Korea
  - Vietnam
- Japan
- India
- Rivalry with US, Soviet Union

Defense spending
  - Biesheuvel’s conversation with William P. Rogers
  - Effect on Europe
  - The Netherlands
  - Increase in 1972
-NATO
-Michael J. Mansfield amendment
-Alternative uses
- Ghettos

Soviet Union trip
-Substantive nature
-US relations with Soviet Union
-Relations
-Difference
-Trade
-Middle East
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

-Europe
-Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
-Arms limitation
- SALT
- Briefing of NATO countries
- US commitment to NATO
- Scope

-Familiarity
-Problems and benefits
-Pragmatism
-The President’s background

-European discussions
-European security conference
-Rogers
-Timing
-Bilateral discussions
-Benefits
-Views
-Italy

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:25 am.

Rogers’s arrival

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:02 pm.

-Nicolae Ceausescu
-Soviet intentions
-US view
-Need for security
  -Germany
  -NATO
  -Defense budgets
-Soviet aims
  -Germany
  -Loosening of Europe’s ties with US
-MBFR
  -Timing
  -Linkage to European Security Conference
  -US caution
  -Agreement among allies
  -Brosio
  -Danger of linkage to European Security Conference
-Cultural component
-Agenda
  -Andrei A. Gromyko
-Likelihood
-Eastern Europeans
  -The President’s previous travels
  -Poles, Romanians, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians
-Agenda
-Possible benefits
  -Communication, trade, security
-Germany
  -Italy
  -Brandt
    -Ostpolitik
-Rogers
-Gromyko
-MBFR
  -Rogers
  -Gromyko
  -Search for formula
    -Dutch domestic situation
      -Multilateralism
  -NATO
-Need for caution
-Timing
Forthcoming European meeting on monetary matters
- Timing
  - Possible location
    - The Hague
    - World Court
  - Europe’s relationship with Communist nations, Japan
  - Possible locations
    - Rivalries
    - London, Paris, Bonn, Rome
    - Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg
    - The Hague
    - Belgium

The President’s schedule
- Biesheuvel
  - Schedule
  - PRC and Soviet Union trips

State dinner, January 25, 1972
- Van Lynden
- Rogers
- The president’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
  - Location
    - Oval Office
  - Preparation
    - Drafts
    - Idiom
  - Michael J. Mansfield
    - Rogers
  - Rogers
    - Talk with the President
      - Biesheuvel’s interest in television
    - Mass media impact on politics
  - Dutch cabinet sessions
    - Reporting
    - Interviews

Dutch television
- State involvement
- Broadcasting companies
Vietnam
- The President’s peace proposal plan
- Possible reaction in Europe
- Elections
  - Thieu offer of resignation
  - International oversight
  - North Vietnamese reaction
- Possible North Vietnamese military action
- South Vietnam
  - US aid
- North Vietnam
  - Analogy to North Korea
- Peace proposal plan
  - US troop withdrawal
  - Political agreement
  - US aid to South Vietnam
  - Soviet and PRC aid to North Vietnam
- Political agreement

Biesheuvel’s schedule

Briefcase

The President, et al. left at 12:02 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:02 pm and 12:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 12:05 pm.
Conversation No. 656-12

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 12:05 pm - 12:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and J. William Middendorf, II.
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Middendorf plans
- Retirement
- Jerry [Surname unknown]
- Middendorf’s loan of painting [Washington crossing the Delaware] in Roosevelt Room
- William P. Rogers
- Replacement

Announcement of resignation
- Timing
  - Maurice H. Stans and Jerry [Surname unknown]

US-Dutch relations

Presentation of gifts
- Money clip

Middendorf and Haig left at 12:08 pm.

Conversation No. 656-13

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 12:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Ronald W. Reagan.

[Conversation No. 656-13A]
[See Conversation No. 19-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at 12:09 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
- Schedule

Bull left at 12:11 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:09 pm and 12:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s schedule
- Board of trustees meeting

Butterfield left at 12:12 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 12:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Cornelius A. Scott.

[See Conversation No. 19-98]
Conversation No. 656-16

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:12 pm and 12:14 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule
- Items for signature
- The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
  - Butterfield’s view
  - North Vietnamese
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:14 pm.

Conversation No. 656-17

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 12:14 pm - 12:57 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President’s schedule
- Recent meeting with Barend W. Biesheuvel

Woods’s schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 16s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Speeches
- The President’s Vietnam peace proposal, January 25, 1972
  - Woods’ conversation with Joseph Woods
  - Length
  - Preparation
    - Possible story
      - Henry A. Kissinger
    - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
    - Theodore Roosevelt
  - Editing

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 9s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[The President talked with Cornelius A. Scott at an unknown time between 12:14 pm and 12:22 pm.]
[Conversation No. 656-17A]
[See Conversation Nos. 19-99 and 19-100; one item have been withdrawn from 19-100]
[End of telephone conversation]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 11s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

The President’s schedule
- Telephone calls
- Wiley T. and Mrs. Buchanan
- Murray M. and Nancy Chotiner
  - Family
- Possible note to Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- John W. McCormack
  - Wife’s death
  - Possible overnight stay at White House
    - The President’s forthcoming trip to the People’s Republic of China

[PRC]
- Kissinger
  - Letter from John J. McCloy
    - Advisor to Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament
- Judge G. Harrold Carswell
  - Thank you note
- Dan L. Beebe
  - Letter
  - Editorials
  - Correspondence
- Visits by friends
  - Mrs. Olive Marshburn
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s wedding
  - Church services
  - Kennedy Center tickets

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:22 pm.
- White House tour
- Western White House
- Herbert W. Kalmbach

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

White House gifts
- Paperweight
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - John R. (“Tex”) McCrary
- Box
  - Thomas A. Pappas
  - Greek Orthodox Church head

White House dinner for DeWitt Wallace, January 28, 1972
- Guest list
  - Pappas
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
  - Emil (“Bus”) and Patricia R. Mosbacher
  - Alice Roosevelt Longworth
  - Barry M. Goldwater
  - Edward W. Brooke
  - John J. Rhodes

Woods left at 12:25 pm.
Kissinger briefing
- Quality
- Outline
  - Clarity, feeling
- The President’s letter
- Television coverage
- Still photographs
- The President’s communications
- US intentions
- Recap of the President’s position outlined in Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- Negotiation progress
- Duration
- Details of secret negotiations on Vietnam
  - Comment by J. William Middendorf, II [?]
  - Helen A. Thomas
- Travel
  - Airplanes and airports
  - July 1971
  - PRC

Kissinger entered at 12:27 pm.

- New York Times editorial
  - Hanoi
- Duration
- Hugh Scott and Gerald R. Ford meeting with press
  - Exchange of Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Cease-fire
- Cease-fire
  - US position
  - George S. McGovern
- Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu
  - US aid
- Confidentiality of channel
- Effect
  - India-Pakistan War
  - Truthfulness of administration
- Relations to other governments
  - PRC
- Eight point proposal
-Compared to nine point proposal
  Reparations

Woods entered at 12:32 pm.

Gift from head of Greek Orthodox Church
  -Greek junta
  -Catholics
  -Mrs. Nixon
  -Catholics
  -Value
  -Disposition
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    -Pappas
    -“Handling” of gifts

Woods left at 12:34 pm.

Kissinger’s briefing
  -Tone of questions
    -The President’s point at congressional leaders meeting
      -North Vietnam’s war aims
        -Overthrow of South Vietnam government
      -Michael J. Mansfield amendment
      -John F. Kennedy
        -Initial involvement in war
      -McGovern opposition
        -Reason for criticism
  -Nature of proposal
  -Complications
  -Reasons
    -North Vietnamese outline
      -Compared to US proposals
        -POWs, ceasefire, withdrawal
      -Political components
    -Pace of negotiations progress
    -Reason for criticism
  -Critics of administration’s policy
    -The President’s April 7, 1971 speech
    -Kissinger’s briefing
  -Tone
-Politics
- Timing of publicity
  - Scott
  - Peter Lisagor
  - David Kraslow
  - Domestic politics
- The President’s meeting with congressional leaders
  - Mansfield amendment
    - Effect on negotiations
- New developments in negotiations
  - Publicity
- Thieu resignation
- Nature of governments
- Timing of the President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech
  - North Vietnamese offensive
    - Possible effect
      - December 1971
- Congress
- Need for unity
- Release of terms
- Difference in proposals
  - Nine points
    - Compared to seven points
      - Cease-fire provision
- Cease-fire in principle
- Eight points
  - Disputes
    - Withdrawal
      - Deadline
    - Overthrow of Thieu
      - Installation of North Vietnam allied government
        - US support
- Political aspects
  - US view toward particular governments
    - August 16, 1971 proposal
- Thieu resignation
- Electoral commission
  - Formation
- Press reaction

Legislative leaders meeting
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s demeanor
  -Ziegler’s schedule
  -The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech
    -Terms
    -Timeline
    -Clarity

Agnew
  -Objections to administration’s proposals
  -Staff briefing comments
    -Withdrawal and ceasefire
  -Leak of proposals

Kissinger’s briefing
  -Reading of secret notes of Vietnamese meetings
    -Purpose
    -Folders
    -Speeches

Public relations
  -Kissinger’s talks with Ziegler and the President
  -Press
  -Congress
  -Vietnamese
  -Kissinger telephone call
    -Brian MacDonald
      -Fast in LaFayette Park
      -Background
      -Reaction to proposals
        -Possible statement
        -Death of wife, Alice MacDonald
  -Ziegler telephone call
    -[Forename unknown] Marino [sp?] of St. Joseph’s College
      -Reaction to proposals
      -Voting record

-Administration strategy
  -PRC trip
  -Kissinger briefing
    -Effect on McGovern
    -Effort toward unity
    -Press coverage
-New York Times
-Scott and Ford
  -Scott’s comment about surrender
-Attack on liberals
-Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
  -Roger H. Mudd
  -Brooke
  -Statement
    -Mudd
    -The President’s State of the Union address
  -Influence
  -Previous evening’s speech
    -Length
    -Delivery
    -Pace
    -Tone
-John A. Scali
-Patrick J. Buchanan
-Charles W. Colson’s group
-Reaction to criticism
-William P. Rogers
-New proposals
-US stance
-Congressional leadership meeting

Ziegler left at 12:56 pm.

-Kissinger’s briefing
  -Ziegler’s view
-Peaceniks
  -Administration reaction
-Kissinger’s briefing, January 26, 1972
  -Television coverage
  -Radio
  -Extemporaneous speech
    -Effect of television
  -Text of proposals

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:56 pm.

Return telephone call from Ronald W. Reagan
Butterfield and Kissinger left at 12:57 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972  
Time: 12:57 pm - 1:02 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Ronald W. Reagan.  
[See Conversation No. 19-101]

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.  
Instruction about picking-up unknown item

The President and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
Henry A. Kissinger briefing
Conversation No. 656-21

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Schedule
- John B. Connally

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Conversation No. 656-22

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Peter J. Pitchess.

[See Conversation No. 19-102]
Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to M. Gene Snyder.

[See Conversation No. 19-103]

Conversation No. 656-24

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversations No. 19-105]

Conversation No. 656-25

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 2:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator and requested a call to Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 19-106]

Conversation No. 656-26

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 2:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  -John B. Connally

Bull left at 2:00 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: 2:00 pm - 3:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John B. Connally.

Greetings

Agenda for forthcoming meeting
  -International monetary situation
  -Quadriad
  -Budget
    -Deficits
  -Inflation
  -Unemployment
  -Forthcoming report

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:02 pm.]

[Conversation No. 656-27A]

The President’s schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Trade
[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:02 pm.]

[Conversation No. 656-27B]

Request to hold all telephone calls

[End of telephone conversation]

Connally’s schedule

Arthur F. Burns, George P. Shultz, and Herbert Stein entered at 2:02 pm; Stephen B. Bull and Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins were present at the beginning of this meeting.

Greetings

Photographs

[Pause]

-Agenda

The President’s speech of January 25, 1972
-Connally’s telephone call to Henry A. Kissinger
-Charles W. Colson’s request of Shultz to call Clark Kerr
  -Colson’s talk with the President and Kissinger
  -Kerr’s possible public statement
  -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  -Kerr’s previous comments about the President’s unknown speech

Kerr’s activities
  -Vietnam committee
  -Ceasefire
  -Political orientation

Economic problems
  -Stein’s memorandum
  -Budget
  -Federal Reserve Board [FRB]
  -International monetary affairs
  -Economic forecast
- Congressional leadership meeting
- Federal spending
  - Increases
  - Revenue sharing
- Drop in economic indicators
  - Drop in retail sales
    - Reasons
      - Commerce Department
      - Automobiles
      - Durable orders
    - Steel
    - Home building
- M-1
  - Gross National Product [GNP]
- Expansionist fiscal policy
  - Reaction
    - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]
    - France’s concern
- Wage and price controls
  - Performance
  - Dock strike
    - Impact
    - Settlement
- Upward movement of economy
- Retail sales
  - Seasonal adjustments
- Monthly figures
  - Indications
- Projected rise
- Business
- Possible cyclical recovery
  - 1971 indicators
    - Contracts
    - Orders for capital equipment
    - Capital expenditure appropriations
    - Durable goods
    - GNP
    - Retail figures
      - Wall Street Journal survey of retailers
        - Sears-Roebuck, unknown stores
        - Christmas sales
- Commerce Department figures
- Labor market indicators
  - Increased work week
  - Unemployment and employment
    - Prices
    - Housing starts
- Leading economic indicators
  - Forthcoming report
  - Revision
- Stein’s view
  - Compared to Burns’s and Connally
- Public expectations
- Manufacturing layoffs compared to new hiring
  - 1969
- Federal spending
- Unemployment
- Connally’s forthcoming study
  - Cabinet meeting
  - Stein’s office
  - Commerce Department
  - James D. Hodgson
- Identifying the unemployed
  - Household heads
  - Women
  - Multi-jobs
  - Eighteen year olds
- Timing
- Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
- Development
  - Common sources
  - Survey
- Statistics
  - Revision
  - 1967
- Survey question
  - Phrasing

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:02 pm.

Unknown matter
The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:26 pm.

Economy
- Wording of unemployment studies
  - Effects
  - Statistical experts
  - Politics

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 2:26 pm.

Photograph session
- Quadriad meeting
  - Novelty
  - Congressional leadership meeting
  - Business magazines

Ziegler left at 2:27 pm.

Economy
- Budget
- Federal spending
  - Gerald R. Ford
    - Note to the President
      - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
        - Unused money
          - George W. Romney
          - Queens, Forrest Hills
        - Check by administration
  - Housing
    - Inner city public housing
    - Forthcoming testimony by unknown person
      - Camp David
    - Water and sewer spending
    - Press perception of administration
      - Withholding and dumping funds
        - 1972 election
  - Withholding funds
    - Deficits
    - Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
- Spending ceiling
- OMB pressure on departments
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)
Conv. No. 656-27 (cont.)

- Timing
  - Effect on economy
- Spending ceiling
  - 1973
- Congress
  - Intentions
  - Spending ceiling
- Defense spending
  - GNP
  - Employment
  - Past record
    - 1969, 1970
  - Decline
  - Trends
- Rates
- Domestic agencies
  - Fiscal management
    - Compared to Defense Department
  - Information technology
    - Rolling budget system
    - OMB effort
- Record keeping
  - Treasury Department
  - General Services Administration [GSA]
- Concerns for upcoming budget
  - Deficit
    - Handling
      - Inflation
      - Shultz’s and Connally’s comments at briefing
        - Employment
        - Economic expansion
      - Fiscal year [FY] 1973 budget
      - Spending ceiling
      - FY 1974 budget
    - Spending ceiling
    - Probability of cuts
      - Defense
      - Domestic programs
        - Congressional intentions
          - Edmund S. Muskie
          - Edward M. Kennedy
- Largesse
  - FY 1975

- Congressional actions
  - Shultz’s efforts
  - Departments
  - Revenue sharing

- Revenue sharing
  - Benefits
  - State and local spending
  - Ways and Means Committee action
    - Hearings
    - Timing
      - House of Representatives
      - State and local action

- Shift from FY 1972 to FY 1973
  - Effect
  - Construction projects
  - Welfare payments
    - States
  - Revenue sharing

- Rate of expenditure

- Defense contracts
  - Employment

- Congressional action
  - Timing of administration proposals

- FY 1972
  - Cabinet
    - Recent meeting
    - Budget responsibilities
    - Unknown Defense Department official

- Money supply
  - M-1
    - Ability to control
    - Reserve control
    - Individual decisions
      - Checking accounts
      - Interest bearing accounts

- Rates of increase
  - M-1
  - M-2
  - Savings deposits
-Certificates of deposit [CDs]
-Individual decisions
  -Liquid assets
  -Form
-Commercial bank reserves
  -Administration action
  -Reaction
-New York Federal Reserve bank management
  -Burns’s possible action
  -Manager’s activities
  -Administration links
-FRB system
  -Management personnel
    -Salaries
    -Burns’s possible action
    -The President’s possible action
      -Andrew F. Brimmer

Brimmer
  -United Nations [UN]
    -Under Secretary General
      -[Kurt Waldheim]
    -Dr. Ralph Bunche
    -Request of Burns to call William P. Rogers
      -Possible ambassadorship

International economic situation
  -Trade negotiations
    -Status
    -European agreement
      -Substance
        -Preferential treatments
          -Citrus
          -Tobacco
          -Grain (wheat, barley)
            -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
              -Pricing
                -France
                -Italy
                  -Citrus, tobacco
                    -France
-Japan
  -Tariffs
    -Soybeans
      -Sales value
  -Beef
  -Wheat
  -Citrus
    -Oranges
  -US concessions
-Canada
  -Status
  -Politics
    -1973, 1972
  -US strategy
    -Possible unilateral action
    -Possible termination of automobile agreement
    -Tourism
    -Possible repeal of unknown act
-The President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
  -Substance
  -State and Commerce Departments
  -Pierre E. Trudeau
  -Timing
  -Trudeau’s visits with Soviets
  -Benefits
  -Possible reconsideration
    -Kissinger
-France
  -US responsibility
    -Budget deficits
  -European central bankers
-US stance on International Monetary Fund [IMF]
  -Convertibility
  -Paul A. Volcker, Bill Dale [?]
-Moratorium
  -Ghana
    -Methods of payment
      -Dutch guilders
      -Belgian francs
  -US negotiating position
  -Effect on central bankers
-Great Britain
-Ceylon [Sri Lanka]
-West Germany
-International confidence
-US budget
-The President’s message to Congress
-Connally’s action on debt

-Trade
-Surplus
- -Great Britain
- -Japan
- -Revaluation

-US
-Competitive position
- -Administrative, tariff barriers
-Trade deficits
- -Expectations
-Common Market
-Preferential trade ties
-Power
-Convertibility
-Feasibility
- -US trade policy
-Japanese decisions
-Canadian decisions
-[Common Market]
-Canada
- -US strategy
- -The President’s possible meeting with Connally, Kissinger, Rogers
-Backchannels
-State Department
- -Attitude
- -Need for consistency
- -Trudeau
- -Aleksei N. Kosygin
- -Dinner

-Convertibility
-Banking
-Need for new plan
-Exchange markets
-Smithsonian Agreement
-Gold
  -Legislation
  -Trade negotiations
-Fiscal and monetary policy
  -Location of money
  -Quantity of money
    -Customers
-US business confidence
  -Damage since 1965
    -Vietnam
    -Riots
  -Rebuilding
    -Time required
-Gold bill
-Debt ceiling
-Revenue sharing
-Timing
  -Trade negotiations
-Need for confidence by bankers
  -Conally’s possible talks

The President’s schedule
-Quadriad meetings
  -Frequency
    -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  -Timing

Ziegler
  -Photograph session

Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:27 pm.

Photograph session

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:20 pm.

The Netherlands
  -Dutch Prime Minister [Barend W. Biesheuvel]
    -Recent meeting with the President
  -Travel to Indonesia
    -State visit by Queen [Juliana]
Relations with Indonesia
   - The President’s 1953 trip
     - Dutch tourists
   - Colonial legacy
     - School, health systems, language, cultural ties

Africa
   - US relations
   - Colonial powers
     - British, Dutch

Ziegler and members of the press entered at an unknown time after 2:27 pm.

[Photograph session]
   - [General conversation]

Ziegler, et al. left at an unknown time before 3:20 pm.

Brazil
   - Compared to the US
     - Alaska
   - Natural resources
     - Climate
     - Compared to US Midwest
   - Prospects
     - Population
     - Portuguese
   - Government
     - The President’s previous conversation with Biesheuvel
     - Latin needs
     - French constitution
     - Strong leaders
   - Italians
   - Spain
     - Gen. Francisco Franco
   - Latin government
     - Need for moderation, balance
   - French
     - Contributions
       - National spirit
The President’s telephone call to Wilbur D. Mills, January 24, 1972
-Health
  -Mills’s schedule
  -Mother [Abbie L. (Daigh) Mills]
  -Granddaughter

Connally, et al. left at 3:20 pm.

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:20 pm and 3:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman[?].

Schedule
  -Executive Office Building [EOB]
The President and Sanchez left at 3:23 pm.

Conversation No. 656-30

Date: January 26, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:23 pm and 5:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered at an unknown time after 3:23 pm. 

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

An agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 656-30A]
The President’s location
-EOB

[End of telephone conversation]

An agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 3:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 656-30B]