Conversation No. 658-1

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Temperature in office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:50 am.

Conversation No. 658-2

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:45 am and 8:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule
  -Medal of Freedom citations
    -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    -John K. Andrews, Jr.
  
  Funeral of Carl T. Hayden
    -Richard G. Kleindienst
    -Representation of the President

Butterfield left at 8:50 am.
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 9:10 am - 10:05 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Vietnam negotiations
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Recent press conference
  - Schedule
- Opposition
  - Clark M. Clifford
  - Unknown person’s comment
- Ceasefire
  - Terms
  - Reaction by the North Vietnamese
- George S. McGovern
  - Nguyen Van Thieu overthrow
  - Kissinger’s recent briefing

Middle East
- Rogers view
  - Airplane delivery
    - Haldeman’s talk with Rogers
  - Political signals
  - Joseph J. Sisco
  - Schedule of delivery
  - Israeli view
- Kissinger’s view
  - Memorandum
  - Problems
    - Sisco
      - Bargaining chip
    - Bargaining chip
  - The President’s conversation with Golda Meir
- Israeli’s conferences with Arab nations
  - Timing
  - US participation
  - Anwar El-Sadat participation
    - Student uprisings
-US strategy
  -Use of conferences
    -Soviet Union
-Kissinger’s view
  -Haldeman’s briefing
  -Rogers
  -Overreaction
  -Plane deal

Media conference by Rogers
  -Kissinger
  -Television
    -John A. Scali’s skill
    -Kissinger
      -Scali
      -Clark MacGregor
    -View of questions

Dinner, January 26, 1972
  -The President’s telephone call to Kissinger during dinner
    -The President’s talk with Kissinger
    -Effect
      -Impression
      -Tape
      -News coverage
    -The President’s possible presence
      -John D. Ehrlichman’s view
  -Gridiron-type dinners
    -Women’s view
  -Frank F. Church’s comments
  -Kissinger’s comments
    -Paul W. Keyes
    -Delivery
      -Accent
  -Church comments
    -Kissinger references
      -Forthcoming People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
  -Kissinger’s comments
    -Protocol

Forthcoming dinners
Conv. No. 658-3 (cont.)

-Gridiron
  -Attendance
    -Herbert G. Klein
    -Edgar Allan Poe
    -Barry M. Goldwater
-White House photographers
-White House correspondents
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
-Gridiron
  -Poe
    -Loyalty
    -Previous dinners
      -Democrats’ behavior
      -Press relations
    -The President’s attendance
      -Drop-in appearance
        -Poe
        -Show

Rogers’s briefing

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

-Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Kissinger’s recent press conference
  -Advisability
  -Television appearance
    -Pros and cons
    -Necessity
    -Rogers
  -Impression of Kissinger
    -Public perception
      -Bryce N. Harlow’s view
    -Television
  -Press coverage
    -John B. Connally
  -Kissinger delivery
    -Pros and cons of television appearances
      -Direct answers
Compared to the President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

- Rogers
  - Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

- Kissinger
  - Vietnam
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Oval Office
- Position of sun

Agnew
- Ehrlichman’s view
- Criticism of administration policy
  - Congressional leaders meeting
  - Input to policy making
- Role with administration
- Congressional relations
  - Harlow
  - Agnew’s view
  - Presiding over the Senate
    - The President’s experience
    - Vice President’s job

- Outlook
- Associates
  - Patrick J. Buchanan
  - John Birch Society members

- Republican Governors Dinner
  - Attendance
    - White House staff
    - Ehrlichman
    - George P. Shultz
    - Cabinet
    - Caspar W. (‘Cap’) Weinberger
    - White House staff compared to Cabinet

- Rogers
Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

Unknown request

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

Personnel management
- Partisanship
  - Unknown person
    - Transfer
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld

Senate action on equal opportunity bill
- The President’s memorandum to Ehrlichman
  - House of Representatives
  - Possible veto
- Radicals
- Rev. Theodore S. Hesburgh Commission
  - Business harassment
  - Black reaction
    - Votes
    - Leonard Garment
    - William L. Safire
    - Ehrlichman
- MacGregor
- Possible veto
  - Compared to 18 year old vote amendment
  - Liberals
  - Frank L. Rizzo

The President’s schedule
- Graham A. Martin meeting
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Future meetings with members of Foreign Service officers, prime ministers
- Reasons for Martin meeting
  - Vietnam
  - Presidential elections

Kissinger entered at 9:30 am.
Dinner, January 26, 1972
- Telephone call from the President
- Church comments
  - PRC trip
  - Herbert J. (“Jackie”) Gleason
  - Keyes
  - Partisanship
  - Crowd reaction
  - Kissinger’s theme
    - Call for national unity
  - Art Buchwald
    - Today show
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news

Distribution of Questions and Answers [Q&A] sheet
- Completion
- Distribution
  - Rogers
  - Timing
  - MacGregor
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s telephone call to Theodore L. Elliott
  - Briefing
  - State Department responsibility
    - Haldeman’s talk with Rogers

Kissinger’s recent press conference
- Television
- Media coverage
- Rogers briefings
  - Compared to Kissinger’s

Vietnam
- Ceasefire demand
  - Clifford’s proposal
  - North Vietnamese position
    - Point Seven
    - Kissinger’s briefings
      - Timing of ceasefire
      - Settlement
  - Accuracy of criticism
  - Administration rebuttal
- Ziegler
- Rogers’s responsibility
  - Telephone call from Kissinger
- News summary
- Part in overall plan
  - North Vietnamese position
- Edward M. Kennedy attack
  - Prisoners of War [POW] return for withdrawal
    - Rogers’s possible rebuttal
    - Ceasefire
  - North Vietnamese position
    - US proposal of May 31, 1971
- Rogers’s possible rebuttal
- Ziegler
- US offers
  - Negotiating tactics
- New York Times editorial
- Washington Post article
- Inaccuracy
  - Current proposal
    - Compared to October 7, 1970
      - Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Ceasefire
      - Timing
      - Electoral commission
      - Deadline
      - Mutual withdrawal
    - Compared to unilateral withdrawal
- Possible letter to Washington Post
- Authorship
  - State compared to Kissinger
    - Rogers
    - Marshall Green
    - Kissinger’s preparation
- Content
- Administration initiative
- Washington Post
  - Alternative to the Washington Post
  - Washington Star editorial
    - Smith Hempstone, Jr.
- New York Times
-Editorials
-Benjamin C. Bradlee
-Representation on PRC trip
  -Consequences of invitation

Reporters on PRC trip
  -Ziegler effort
  -The President’s friends
    -Nicholas P. Thimmesch
    -Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
  -Exclusion of Washington Post
    -Washington Star
    -Hugh S. Sidey
    -United Press International [UPI], Associated Press [AP]
  -Instruction for Ziegler
  -Instruction for Ziegler
  -Unknown reporter
  -Marquis Childs
  -Washington Post’s policy
  -Notification of reporters
    -The President’s approval of list
  -Criticism
    -Fairness
  -Television
  -Exclusion of Washington Post
  -PRC view

Vietnam
  -Terms of settlement
  -Rogers
    -North Vietnamese reaction
      -Request for surrender

PRC
  -Interest at dinner, January 26, 1972
    -Washington Post
    -Entertainment
    -Theme
  -Soviet Union trip compared to PRC trip
    -Substance
Q&A prepared by Rogers
   - Staff meeting
   - News summaries
   - Vietnam ceasefire
   - Clifford
   - Negotiating point
   - Kennedy’s criticism
   - North Vietnamese position
     - POWs for withdrawal
   - Ziegler
   - History of proposal
     - Military and political issues
       - Linkage
       - New York Times
   - Kissinger’s telephone call to Rogers
   - Forthcoming briefing

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

List of reporters on PRC trip
   - Delivery
   - Ziegler
   - Haldeman

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:52 am.

Vietnam
   - Opinion of the President’s program by news community
     - January 26, 1972 dinner reception
     - The President’s efforts
     - Tone
     - The President’s efforts
       - The President’s talk with Charles W. Colson, January 26, 1972
       - Colson’s view
     - David Brinkley
     - James Doyle of the Washington Star
   - Unknown captain’s comments
     - Sacrifice for POWs
     - South Vietnam
       - Communism
   - Kennedy
-Possible administration counter-attack
  -Attack on Democrats
    -Surrender
    -Michael J. Mansfield
    -Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
    -Robert J. Dole
    -Communism in South Vietnam
  -Need for initiative
  -Advantages
    -Audience size
    -Media support
    -Hubert H. Humphrey criticism
    -Edmund S. Muskie criticism
  -Ceasefire terms
    -Negotiating point of North Vietnam
    -Clifford criticism
  -Overall plan
    -POWs
  -Administration strategy
    -North Vietnam, Vietcong, Democrats
  -Nancy (Hanschman) Dickerson
    -Talk with Kissinger at dinner
    -Press

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 9:52 am.

-Response to *Washington Post* editorial
  -Ziegler
  -Marshall Green
    -Dictation of letter
    -Authorship
    -State Department

Kissinger left at 9:55 am.

Press list for PRC trip
  -*Washington Post*
    -Stanley Karnow
  -Review

Butterfield left at 9:55 am.
Vietnam
- Kissinger
  - State Department reply to Washington Post editorial
- Haldeman meetings with Colson, Ziegler, Scali
  - Analysis of and responses to coverage
    - PRC trip
- Foreign policy line
  - Camp David
- Politics and peace
  - Administration critics
    - Partisanship
    - POWs
- Written statement
  - Buchanan
  - Noel C. Koch
    - Colson
    - Buchanan
    - Lee W. Huebner

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:55 am.

The President’s schedule
- Signing ceremony
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
    - Press
    - Announcement
  - Maurice H. Stans

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.

- Haldeman’s attention to scheduling
  - Bull
  - Ziegler

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:52 am.

- Signing ceremony
  - Details of photograph session
    - Time limit
    - Removal of photographers
-January 26, 1972 event

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 9:52 am.

- Peter G. Peterson replacement
  - Knowledge by Cabinet
  - Notification
  - Announcement
  - Peter M. Flanigan

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 10:05 am.

Vietnam
  - Counter to Democratic criticism
  - PRC trip
  - Surrender, communism, defeat
  - Sustaining attack
  - *Washington Post*
  - Administration supporters
    - Mailings
    - Kissinger
  - Public confusion

Press list for PRC trip

The President and Haldeman left at 10:05 am.
The unknown agents left at an unknown time before 10:14 am.

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 10:14 am - 10:27 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Dinner, January 26, 1972
-Henry A. Kissinger’s performance
-Frank F. Church’s performance
-Reception of Church’s remarks
-Contrasted with reception of Kissinger’s
-Audience

The President’s schedule
-Herbert G. Klein
-White House correspondents
-Broadcasters’ dinner
-Gridiron
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Edgar Allan Poe

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:14 am.

-Richard M. Scammon

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:27 am.

Dinner, January 26, 1972
-Kissinger
-Reception
-Church’s comments
-Forthcoming People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
-Convention
Court decision
- Stock case
  - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo’s conversation with the President
  - Dismissal
  - Details of decision
    - Unknown person
    - International Business Machines [IBM]
  - Press coverage
    - Consistency

Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s trip to Texas
- Reception
  - The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972

Dinner, January 26, 1972
- Feedback on the President’s Vietnam speech
  - Ruth Haggey (?) and husband
  - The President’s sincerity
- Mr. and Mrs. Vance Hartke
- Kissinger’s remarks
  - Church
  - Harvard University
- The President’s call to Kissinger
  - Perception
    - Tape
      - Vera Glazer (?)
    - Glazer (?)

Camp David trip

Dewitt Wallace dinner
- Woods
- Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis
- White House staff
- Lewis, Wallace
  - Financing of the President’s articles, 1962-1968
  - Trips
  - Albert L. Cole

Camp David
- Woods’s schedule
Conv. No. 658-4 (cont.)

-Renwick Gallery opening
-Preparation for PRC
-Reading, dictation

Dinner, January 26, 1972
-Kissinger
-Talk with Woods
-Outlook

Woods left at 10:27 am.

Conversation No. 658-5

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 10:27 am - 11:12 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Richard M. Scammon and Charles W. Colson; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

[Photograph session]

Seating
-Prime Minister of Ghana [Kofi A. Busia]
-Education
-London
-\textit{Coup d’etat}


-Effect
-1970 election
-Responsibility
-Soundness of theories
-Marijuana legalization
-John V. Lindsay’s position
-Polls
Politics
- Prohibition Party
- Use of election process
  - Robert M. La Follette
    - Effect on politics
      - Political orientation
      - Grover Cleveland
      - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
    - Progressivism
  - Herbert Hoover
    - Depression
    - Contribution
- History of politics in early twentieth century
  - La Follette
    - Compared to Alfred E. Smith
    - Historical speculation
      - Theodore Roosevelt
    - Wilson

Book on historical counterfactualism
- Charlotte Corday’s murder of Jean Paul Marat
- J. William Fulbright
- Edward M. Kennedy
- Civil War

Social issues
- Busing
  - Richmond decision
  - Forest Hills
- View of whole country
  - Feasibility
- Voting blocks
  - Philadelphia
    - Frank L. Rizzo
      - Republican coalition
      - Jewish votes
      - Black votes
  - Cleveland
    - Ralph J. Perk
      - Black votes
- Black voting psyche
  - Education
    - James M. Carney
  - Rizzo
  - Difficulties
    - Party identification

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 13m 28s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Perception of the Administration
  - Rizzo
    - Law and order
  - Samuel W. Yorty
  - Tom Bradley
  - Liberal views
  - Forest Hills
  - Jews
  - Perception of public
    - Supreme Court
  - Presidential action
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Effect
      - Compared to Rizzo
  - Johnson
  - Busing
  - Housing
  - Public wishes
    - Crime
    - Morality
    - Marijuana
- New York-Washington axis
- Los Angeles, Chicago
- Commentators
  - Problems
    - Liberal viewpoints
    - Lack of "guts"
- Strength of America
- George Meany
- Busing
  - Milton Viorst
    - Judith Viorst
  - George S. McGovern stance
- Court decisions
  - Detroit, Richmond
- Problems
  - Fear of violence
  - Public education
  - Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - George C. Wallace
- Economic issues
  - Social security
  - Unemployment insurance
  - Government spending
- Individual and group fears
  - Ghetto problems
    - Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans
    - California
- Montgomery County, Maryland
- Black residents of Washington, DC
  - *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner*
    - Sidney Poitier
  - Bourgeoisie
  - Race relations
    - Social mobility
- Polls
  - Busing, crime, housing
    - Economic issues
- Leadership
  - Message to Democrats
  - Encouragement of strongest elements
- Fitness to rule
- The President’s reading
  - Biography, history
- H.G. Wells
- Nineteenth century Britain
- Wells
  - Importance of education
- History of ruling classes
- Politicians
- Intellectuals
  - Use of intellectuals
  - College environment
  - Elites
    - Fitness to rule
    - Republicans
      - New York, Los Angeles
- Resentments
- Vietnam
- Meany
- Peter J. Brennan
- Frank E. Fitzsimmons
- Intellectual in power
  - Democrats, Republicans
  - Washington Post
  - New York Times
  - Time, Life
  - Networks
  - Consequences
    - Analogy to France
    - Isolationism
    - “Guts”, coverage
    - Henry A. Kissinger
      - Background
- “Hard hats” compared to intellectuals
- “Know nothings”
- Blacks
- Farmers
- William F. Buckley, Jr.
- Problem with college graduates
  - Scammon’s military experience
  - Willingness to fight in war
- Stamina
- McGovern
- Programs
- Democratic Party
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
- Abdication of power
- Shame
- Power
- Presidential qualities
- US leadership
  - The President’s reading
    - Editorials
      - News summaries
  - Ultra-liberals, right-wing
  - Prospects of US in world
  - US sense of destiny
  - Desire to excel
    - Effects
- Compared to other nations
  - British
  - French
  - Dutch
  - Danes
  - Swedes
  - Economy
    - Japan
    - Britain
    - France
    - Japan
  - Chinese, Soviets
    - Governmental system
  - Strength of people
  - West Germany
    - Britain
    - Problems
      - Division
- Japan
  - Courage
  - Drive
  - Socialists
- Turn inward
- Consequence
- Decline
- “Intellectual incest”
- Strength of US
  - Majority
  - Public perception of issues
  - Rejection of permissiveness
  - Size of strong elements in population
    - John Wayne
  - Qualities of majority
    - Religion
    - Compared to intellectuals
  - Administration strategy
    - Doing what is fashionable
      - National Press Club
    - Compared to doing what is right
  - Presidential qualities
    - Responsibility
    - Appeal to majority

Presentation of gifts
- Cufflinks

Scammon and Colson left at 11:12 am.

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Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:13 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Secretary [Maurice H. Stans]

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:13 am.
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 11:13 am - 11:24 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Maurice H. Stans.

Stans’s resignation
  - Announcement
  - The President’s gratitude
  - Announcement
    - Stans’s forthcoming role
  - Secrecy
  - The President’s gratitude
  - Stans’s past support
    - 1960 election
    - 1962 election
    - 1968 election

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Political returnable]
[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Business
  - Support for the Administration

Economy
  - As issue
- Democrats
- Retail sales
- Arthur F. Burns
- General thrust
- Economic indicators
  - Retail sales
  - Stans’s reports
- Stock market
- Rise in economy
- Unemployment

Stans’s future attendance at meetings
- Legislative leaders
- Robert J. Dole
- Cabinet
- Bryce N. Harlow
- Notification of H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Attendees at White House functions
- Dinners
- Rose Mary Woods notification
- Haldeman
- Stans’s talk with Woods

Business problems
- Federal Trade Commission [FTC] decision
- Breakup of breakfast cereal companies
- FTC administrator [Miles W. Kirkpatrick]
- The President’s support for business
  - Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M. Kennedy
- Perception of business community
  - Stans
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Control of commissioners
    - William D. Ruckelshaus
    - Kirkpatrick
    - Virginia H. Knauer

Stans’s notes to the President
- Telephone call to be made
  - Former head of 3M, Camden Knight
- View of wage and price controls
- Political pressure from right wing
- Foster [?] McGraw [sp ?]
- Birthday greetings

Mike McGill
- Books
  - Possible position with administration
    - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
  - Qualifications
  - Stans’s possible talk with Flanigan
  - Possible ambassadorship

Forthcoming announcement
- Duration
- Speaking rules
  - Stans, Peterson, Flanigan
  - Council on International Economic Policy [CIEP]

Peter G. Peterson, Flanigan, and the photographer entered at 11:20 am.

Forthcoming announcement

Arrangement for photograph session

[Photograph session]
  - [General conversation]
    - Germany

Announcement of appointments
- Protocol
  - Flanigan’s forthcoming position
- The President’s remarks
- Stans’s remarks
- Peterson’s remarks
  - Duration
  - Content

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:23 am.

Camera
-Position

The President, et al. left at 11:24 am.

Conversation No. 658-35

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 am and 11:30 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President’s location
-Press Room

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person.

[Conversation No. 658-35A]

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 658-8

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 11:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-131]
Conversation No. 658-9

Date:  January 27, 1972
Time:  11:30 am - 11:45 am
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Weather

[Signing documents]

The President’s schedule

[The President talked with John B. Connally between 11:32 am and 11:41 am.]

[Conversation No. 658-9A]

[See Conversation No. 19-132; two items have been withdrawn from the conversation]

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:32 am.

Herbert Stein

[Signing documents]
  - Ezra Solomon

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

J. Willard Marriott
  - Request of Butterfield to be liaison
  - Honor America Day
  - Unknown person

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:41 am.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Charles W. Colson

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.
-Camp David
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Forthcoming meetings

Butterfield left at 11:45 am.

Conversation No. 658-10

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 11:47 am - 1:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Maurice H. Stans
- Loyalty
- Responsibilities
- Preferences in assignments
- Performance
- Previous assignments

George Meany
- Possible telephone call from the President
- Report from Murray M. Chotiner’s source
  - Labor relations with Administration
  - George P. Shultz
  - Charles W. Colson
  - John B. Connally
    - Alleged anti-labor feelings
  - Relations with the President
    - Treatment of the President at union convention in Miami, November 19, 1971
    - Reasons
    - Schedule
    - Meany’s mood
    - Gift from the President
    - Telephone call by the President
- Meany’s health
  - Reluctance by Meany to initiate call
    - Reason

Colson entered at 11:49 am.

- Shultz
  - John F. O’Connell
    - Talk with Meany
      - Meany’s health
  - Productivity Commission meeting
    - Treasury Department
  - O’Connell
    - Meany’s view of administration relations
      - James D. Hodgson, Connally
    - Possible telephone call from the President to Meany
      - 1972 election
    - Budget briefing by Shultz
      - Defense
  - Relations right-wing Republicans
    - Common views
      - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
        - Defense
        - Communism
  - Health
    - Golf
  - Administration strategy
    - Telephone call from the President
      - Shultz briefing

Richard M. Scammon
  - Recent meeting with the President
    - Observations
  - Qualities
    - Polling
    - Social science
  - Compared with Elmo Roper
    - Intelligence
    - Friendship with Colson
  - Political views
    - View of meeting with the President
-Intellectuals
  -Domestic Council
  -Labor relations
    -Alexander E. Barkan, Meany

Meany strategy
  -Attack on administration
    -Severity

Scammon
  -Recent meeting
  -Social issues
    -Perception of Administration action
      -Patrick J. Buchanan
      -Meetings with John D. Ehrlichman
        -Busing
        -Law and order
        -Scatter housing
    -Colson's talk with Scammon
      -Democrats
      -Scatter housing
        -Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
        -Busing
          -Amendment
            -Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
    -Possible George W. Romney resignation

Social issues
  -HUD
    -Romney resignation
    -Possible Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger appointment
      -Qualifications
      -Instructions
    -Scammon’s arguments
      -Quality
      -Busing
        -White supremacy
          -Richmond decision
        -Canada analogy
          -Roman Catholic minority
            -School system
-Parochial schools
  -Tax exemption
  -Connally
-Ehrlichman’s position
  -Difficulties
  -Washington, DC
-Integration
  -Haldeman’s view
  -Colson’s view
    -Background
    -Boston
  -Haldeman’s view
  -Blacks
    -Administration’s treatment
-Scammon’s views
  -Possible paper
  -Book, *The Real Majority*
    -Effect on 1970 election
      -Adlai E. Stevenson III
      -Peter Williams
  -Visit with the President
    -Effect on Scammon
    -Reason

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 5m 51s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
Social issues
- Perception of administration action
- Haldeman possible conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Need for administration action
- Integration
  - Richmond decision
  - Court appointments
  - Possible administration action
    - Suburbs
- Charlotte-Mecklenberg decision
- HUD, HEW
- Judge Robert R. Merhige, Jr.
- Court appointments
- Edward L. Morgan
- Politics
- Attorney General’s [John N. Mitchell] role
- Richard G. Kleindienst
- Ehrlichman
- Law compared to politics question
  - Amendment possibility
    - Decision of people
      - Scammon’s view
- Effect on other issues
  - Schools, housing
- Authors of Declaration of Independence, Constitution

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 40s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

******************************************************************************
Social issues
- Youth group
  - White House visit
  - Media coverage
  - Memoranda
  - 1972 campaign
  - Henry A. Kissinger and Robert H. Finch meeting
    - Result
  - White House tour
- Meetings at White House
  - The President’s availability
  - Kissinger’s availability

Vietnam War issue
- Reaction to the President’s January 25, 1972 speech
  - Albert E. Sindlinger
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Texas
- Telegrmns
  - Favorable
  - Unfavorable
    - Details
  - Majority sentiment
  - Unfavorable
    - Dr. Carl McIntyre
    - Liberals
    - Surrender
- New York Times story
  - John Finney
  - Content
    - Republicans
    - Democrats’ stand
      - Surrender
    - Administration reaction
      - Attack on Democrats
        - McCarthyism
        - Communism in South Vietnam
    - Administration strategy
      - Democrats’ remarks
        - Humphrey, Muskie
      - Statements
Dinner, January 26, 1972
- Colson’s reaction to the President’s telephone call
  - Position of Colson’s table
- Others’ reaction
- Rose Mary Woods
- Tape
- Woods’s action
  - Kissinger
- Washington Post

The President’s relations with Meany
- Possible telephone call to Meany from the President
  - Meany’s health
  - George P. Shultz meeting
- Meany support for the President
  - Michael J. Mansfield amendments
  - The President’s appreciation
  - Meany reaction

Social issues
- Effect on administration
- Child care veto, December 10, 1971
  - Scammon’s view
    - Nationality of social issues
      - Possibility
    - Federal Government involvement
      - Crime
      - Local problem
      - Education
      - Housing
- Dinner [for DeWitt Wallace], January 28, 1972
- The President’s Reader’s Digest article on Vietnam
  - Timing of appearance
  - Speech
- John Wayne’s movies
  - Popularity
- Heckling of Jackson
- Florida universities
- Defense spending
- Perception
  - Accuracy

- Staff
  - 1972 campaign
  - 1968 campaign
    - Media coverage
      - Receptions
        - Jackson
  - Scammon
  - Leonard Garment
- Sales
  - Testimony by Efron
    - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. committee
  - Testimony
    - Daniel L. Schorr
    - Colson’s schedule
      - Ervin
    - Roman L. Hruska
    - Strom Thurmond
  - Viewers
    - Book sellers
  - Book publication
    - Promotion
    - Re-orders
  - Efron’s appearance on *Today* show
  - Broadcasters’ view
    - Irving Kristol’s article in *Fortune*

Public relations
- Circulation of information
- Q&A circulation
  - Kissinger’s briefing
  - Consistency of line
  - William P. Rogers
  - Refinement
    - Haldeman’s and Colson’s effort
-William L. Safire
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Readability
-Simplification
  -Kissinger’s speech draft
  -Negotiating points
-Editing
-Purpose
-Main point
  -The President’s efforts for peace
  -North Vietnam’s recalcitrance

Colson left at 12:26 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Camp David

Colson
  -Public relations

The President’s schedule
  -Announcement of cancer panel
  -Administration strategy
    -Make-up of panel
    -Photograph opportunity
      -Details
      -Brevity
      -Benno C. Schmidt
  -Pearl Bailey visit
    -Award
    -Elmer H. Bobst
    -Timing
      -Oval Office press conference
  -Camp David visit
    -Reading
  -Visit with US attorneys
    -Benefits
    -Drug programs
  -Benefit of public relations from visits
    -Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
    -Athletes
- News coverage
- Domestic programs
- Reception for athletes
  - Attendance
  - Preparation
- Governors dinner
  - Brevity
  - Attendees
  - Purpose
  - Timing
- Jaycee leadership conference
  - The President’s attendance
  - Length of conference
  - Attendance
  - Political considerations
  - Location
  - Reception
- Volunteers dinner
  - Need for brevity
- Long range schedule
  - Kissinger’s office, State Department
  - Set visits
- State visits
  - Nihat Erim of Turkey
  - Canada
    - Connally
    - Postponement
    - Trade
    - US retaliation
      - Possible pickets
- Erim
  - Dinner
  - Duration of visit
- Scheduling strategy
  - Open days
- Luis Echeverria Alvarez visit
  - Timing
    - Moscow summit
- Television anchormen reception
  - George Putnam
  - Briefing
-Receiving line
-Photographs
-Attendees
  -Radio disc jockeys
-Benefit
-Timing
-Gridiron dinner
  -Edgar A. Poe
  -Timing
-California visit
  -Timing
  -Congressional recess
-Correspondents’ dinner [?]
  -Press attendance
    -Writing press
-White House correspondents and photographers, radio and television correspondents
-Overseas visits
  -Rogers
    -San Francisco
    -Latin America
  -Connally
  -Tehran
    -Soviet Union trip

Ambassadorial appointment to Iran
  -Rogers’s recommendation
    -Walter J. Stoessel, jr.
    -Armin H. Meyer
    -Herman Idles [?], War College Advisor
    -William H. Sullivan
  -Kissinger’s recommendation
    -Sullivan
      -Reasons
        -Southeast Asia
      -Stoessel
    -Sullivan
    -Meyer
      -State Department experience
      -Previous experience

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:26 pm.
The President’s schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:03 pm.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 24s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
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The President’s possible address to black group
   -Patrick J. Buchanan’s recommendation
   -Purpose
      -Political possibilities
         -Black feeling for Muskie
         -Busing
            -Black middle class
   -Possible forums
      -Editors, publishers
      -United Negro College Fund [UNCF]
         -Whites
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 46s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Presidential citizens medal
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -History
  -Intent
    -Awardees
      -Amputees, medical people, adoption program for Korean children
  -Voluntarism
  -Awarding
    -Public ceremony
    -Publicity
    -Cabinet officer
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
  -Publicity
    -East Room
  -Contrast to Congressional medals

The President’s schedule
  -Preparation for PRC trip
    -Political staff
      -Instructions to Haldeman
      -Harry Dent, Buchanan
    -Staff access to the President
  -Congressional relations
    -Page Belcher
      -Access to the President
        -Compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower
    -Plane trip
      -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
        -Church trip
-Clark MacGregor
  - Compared to Bryce N. Harlow
-Telephone calls to Congressmen
  - Birthday greetings
  - Votes
  - Letters

Personnel
    - Departure
    - Qualities
    - Performance as military aide
    - Accomplishments as military aide
      - Women
      - Arrivals
      - Interservice competition
        - History
        - Delivery of reports
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - Contact with dead congressmen’s families
    - Transition of power
      - Prospects
      - Replacement

-New command
  - Austin, Texas
  - Responsibilities
  - Prospects
    - Vietnam
      - Reconnaissance

Butterfield entered at 12:46 pm.

- Herbert G. Klein operation
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Colson

Butterfield left at 12:47 pm.
-Counselor to the President
  -Finch
    -Arthur F. Burns
  -Daniel P. Moynihan
  -Finch
    -Future
      -Congress
      -California
      -Campaigning
  -Donald H. Rumsfeld
  -Abolition
  -Expansion of Cabinet
  -David M. Kennedy
    -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  -Richard V. (“Dick”) Allen
  -Job preferences
    -Ambassadorship
      -Portugal
      -Klein
    -Stoessel
      -European Economic Community [EEC]
      -Brussels
  -EEC
    -Kennedy, Allen, Robert Strausz-Hupe
    -Portugal
    -Value to the President’s reelection
      -Haldeman’s view
      -Foreign policy
        -Domestic political impact
        -Colson
    -National security
      -Responsibilities
        -Political attacks
        -Monitoring opposition
    -Post-reelection possibilities
      -Stoessel
      -Portugal
      -Allen’s fears
      -Kissinger
  -Location
    -White House
Conv. No. 658-10 (cont.)

-Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Colson
-Campaign organization
-Stoessel
-1972 election
-EEC
-Connally
-Strausz-Hupe
-Qualifications
-Franklin D. Murphy
-President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

Haldeman left at 1:03 pm.

Conversation No. 658-11

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

[Unintelligible]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Conversation No. 658-12

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-133]

Conversation No. 658-13
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:03 pm and 2:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule

The President’s schedule
  -Reading

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:10 pm.
Conversation No. 658-15

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 2:10 pm - 2:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Michael J. Mansfield.

[See Conversation No. 19-134]

Conversation No. 658-16

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:17 pm and 2:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-135]

Conversation No. 658-17

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 2:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-136]

George Meany’s schedule
- Request for a return call

Conversation No. 658-18
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-137]

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
   -Photograph opportunities
   -Rate
   -Previous Quadriad photograph
     -Herbert Stein
     -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
   -Bull’s responsibility

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:23 pm.
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 2:23 pm - 2:24 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Jerry V. Wilson.

[See Conversation No. 19-138]

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:24 pm and 2:32 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-139]

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 2:32 pm - 2:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Peter J. Pitchess.

[See Conversation No. 19-140]
Conversation No. 658-23

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:34 pm and 2:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

Telephone call to unknown person cannot be completed
-Meeting
-Urgency

Conversation No. 658-24

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:34 pm and 2:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-141]

Conversation No. 658-25

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 2:40 pm - 2:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John N. Mitchell.

[See Conversation No. 19-142; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]
Date: January 27, 1972  
Time: 2:50 pm - 3:00 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield and Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
   - Telephone call to George Meany
   - Return of telephone call

Butterfield left at 2:52 pm.
   - Trip to Camp David
   - Helicopters
   - Photograph opportunities
   - Rate
   - Meeting with Jewish group, January 28, 1972
   - Jewish group

Bull left at 2:56 pm.

[The President talked with George Meany between 2:56 pm and 3:00 pm.]

[Conversation No. 658-26A]

[See Conversation No. 19-143]

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Date: January 27, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 3:00 pm and 3:07 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
Bull left at an unknown time before 3:07 pm.

Conversation No. 658-28

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:00 pm and 3:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 19-144]

Conversation No. 658-29

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 3:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 19-145]

Conversation No. 658-30

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

George P. Shultz’s schedule
Date: January 27, 1972
Time: 3:13 pm - 3:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger’s meeting with newsmen
- Procedure of Vietnam peace talks
- Kissinger’s trips
- The President’s involvement
  - Reports
  - Instructions
  - Media-created impression

The President’s schedule
- Camp David

Unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:13 pm.

Refreshment
Unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:28 pm.

The President’s involvement in Vietnam negotiations
  -Physical effects
  -State of the Union address, peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
  -Dynamics of creation
  -Media interests
  -The President telephone conversation with Meany
  -George Meany briefing by Kissinger
    -Details of negotiations
    -The President’s forthcoming trip to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      -Soviet Union
    -The President’s forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
  -Critics of negotiations
    -Lyndon B. Johnson
    -Michael J. Mansfield
    -Responses
      -Advocacy of surrender
      -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
      -Charles W. Colson’s rebuttal
      -Communism in South Vietnam
      -Colson’s rebuttal
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s rebuttal
  -Public opinion
    -The President’s recent talk with John N. Mitchell
    -Congress
    -News media
    -The President’s peace proposal speech
      -Quality
      -Delivery
      -Impact
      -Kissinger briefing
        -Impact

Kissinger’s briefings
  -Contrasted with the President’s peace proposal speech
  -Meany
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Administration accomplishments
- PRC trip
- Soviet Union trip
- Prestige
  - Compared to previous presidents
- Soviet grain deal
- Consistency
  - Aggressive rebuttal
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Accepting criticism
- Abuse of President by opponents
  - Peace
  - Dan Rather
  - Bureaucracy

Vietnam
- Attack by Senators
  - Edward M. Kennedy
    - John F. Kennedy
    - Ngo Dinh Diem
  - Edward Kennedy’s 1968 peace plan
    - Wooster, Ohio
    - Details
      - Vietnamization
      - Overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu government
- Recent peace proposal speech
  - Reference to overthrow
    - Recent congressional leadership meeting
    - North Vietnamese position
- Attack by opponents
  - Overthrow
-Ceasefire
  -North Vietnamese desires
  -Negotiating points

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 3:28 pm.

Schedule

Butterfield left at 3:30 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  -Significance
    -The President’s recent talk with Kissinger
  -Historical context
    -British prime ministers
    -Theodore Roosevelt
      -Panama Canal
    -World War II
      -[Franklin D. Roosevelt]
      -Morality
        -The President’s experience
          -Pacific
            -Rome
          -New York
            -V-J Day
      -London Times
        -Compared to Washington Post
  -Television

US-relations with the PRC and Soviet Union
  -Significance
  -Soviet fears
    -US détente with the PRC
      -Kissinger view
        -The President’s possible talk with Chou En-Lai
    -Return trip to the PRC
      -Soviet summit
      -Timing

Vietnam
  -The President’s peace proposal speech
Lack of national unity
The President’s part in negotiations
Post-election strategy
Bombing

The President’s schedule
National Security Council [NSC]
Kissinger schedule
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] meeting
Melvin R. Laird orders
January 31, 1972
Announcement

Vietnam
Kissinger’s forthcoming talk with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
Mitchell
Verification panel meeting
Pentagon Papers
Jack N. Anderson papers
Laird
Story on bombing targets
Laird
Haldeman
Accuracy
Military targets
Bombing period
Bureaucracy

Nixon presidency
Critics
Haldeman’s role
White House staff
Period since July 1971
Response
US public
Legitimacy
Intellectuals attack
Hugh S. Sidey
Talk with Kissinger
The President’s background
Nicholas P. Thimmesch
- The President’s background
  - Whittier
- Kissinger’s background
  - Germany
- Kissinger’s talk with Sidey
- Robert F. Kennedy
- Robert Kennedy
- Reasons
  - The President’s independence
- Irrelevance of intellectuals
  - New York Times
  - Washington Post
- Voice of American people
- Democrat prospects
  - Kissinger’s conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - 1972, 1976 elections
- Foreign policy comprehension
  - Domestic policy
  - India-Pakistan War
  - PRC
  - Soviet Union
  - Bangladesh
- Intellectuals
  - Liberals
  - Kissinger’s friends
  - Blindness
- College campuses
  - Harvard University
  - University of California
  - Whittier College
- Dangers to nation
  - The President’s view
    - George C. Wallace
- Danger on left
  - India
  - North Vietnam
  - Communists
- Opponents
  - Accusation of critics
    - Involvement in Asia
      - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech
- Fitness to rule
  - The President’s conversation with Richard M. Scammon
    - Kissinger

The President’s conversation with Scammon
- Administration opponents
- US responsibilities
  - PRC
  - Criticism of US
- Europe
  - West Germany
- Great Britain
  - West Germany
  - Geography
    - Philosophical differences
- War
- Communism
  - As a system
- Soviet people
- Chinese people
- Japanese people
- German people
- US leadership
- Critics of policy
  - Intellectuals
    - Washington, DC, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis
    - Manner
    - Lack of courage
      - Compared to Meany
    - Business, college presidents
- Democrat leadership
  - Possible consequences

The President’s opponents
- Awareness of the President’s view
  - Barry M. Goldwater
- The President’s point of view
  - Training

The President’s schedule
Kissinger’s relations with news media
  - Magazines
  - William L. Safire
  - John A. Scali
  - Story of negotiations

Vietnam
  - Negotiations
    - Prospects
      - The President’s talk with Mansfield
      - North Vietnam
  - Soviet Union trip
  - US military
    - Bombing
      - Air Force
      - Navy
      - Success

Kissinger left at 3:46 pm.

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Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:46 pm and 3:49 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

[Unintelligible]

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:49 pm.

The President left at 3:49 pm.
Conversation No. 658-33

Date: January 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:49 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

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