Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 1:28 pm - 3:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Welfare reform legislation
- Meeting with Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
  - John G. Veneman
  - Elliot L. Richardson
- Administration line
- Budget deficit
- Abraham A. Ribicoff’s amendments
- Call from the President to Ribicoff
  - Desire for reform
    - Public statements by the President
    - State of the Union address
- Ribicoff’s tactics
  - Pilot projects trade off
- Ribicoff’s possible meeting with the President
  - Timing
    - Hearings
    - The President’s forthcoming trip to the People’s Republic of China

[PRC]
- Scheduling
  - Russell B. Long, Wallace F. Bennett
  - Richardson, Ehrlichman
- Richardson view
  - Pilot projects
- Public posture
- Possible Ribicoff meeting
  - Long, Bennett inclusion
  - Timing
    - PRC trip
- Family assistance
  - Strength as political issue
  - Polls
    - State of the Union [?] address
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Liberals
  - Ribicoff
  - Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey calls to Ribicoff
    - Advocacy of the President’s bill
    - Pressure

F. Donald Nixon
  - Jack N. Anderson
  - Ehrlichman’s schedule
  - Lines of White House communication
    - Instructions to operators
    - Herbert W. Kalmbach role
    - Possible telephone
    - White House schedule
  - Interview with Anderson
    - J. Willard Marriott, Sr. role
      - Talk with Ehrlichman
    - Analogy to James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
      - Invitation to Gen. Charles A.J.M. De Gaulle

-Problems
  - Howard R. Hughes’s association
    - John H. Meier’s role
    - Clifford Irving’s biography
    - News coverage
    - Access to information
    - Robert A. Maheu’s role
      - John J. (“Jack”) Caulfield
    - Noah Dietrich
    - Frank Waters’s role

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:28 pm.

Unknown item or service

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:38 pm.
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 661-1 (cont.)

Hughes
- Legal action
  - Maheu’s action
    - Service of subpoena for a deposition
      - [Nevada] Supreme Court ruling

Ziegler entered at 1:38 pm.

Press relations
- Choosing reporters for PRC trip
  - Ziegler’s telephone call to James J. Kilpatrick
  - Holmes Alexander
  - William F. Buckley, Jr. request
    - Herbert G. Klein
    - US Information Agency [USIA]
    - View of Chinese
    - Comparison with Kilpatrick
      - Television presence
    - Position on Taiwan, Republic of China
    - Influence
      - Alexander
      - William S. White
    - Columnists on trip
      - Washington Post, Washington Star representation
        - Smith Hempstone
          - Joseph C. Kraft
    - White
      - Compared to Hempstone
      - Kilpatrick
      - Nicholas P. Thimmesch
      - Alexander
    - Compared to White
      - Influence
        - Number of papers
      - Taiwan
      - Forum
  - White’s qualifications

Ziegler left at 1:43 pm.

Donald Nixon
-Meier’s role
-Air West deal
 -Anderson
  -[Forename unknown] Hillings
  -Marriott’s role
  -Agreement with Anderson
-Meier’s connection
  -Trip to Dominican Republic
-Hughes loan
  -Public interest
  -Media coverage
-Administration handling
-Innocence
  -Proof
-Marriott’s influence with Anderson
  -Ehrlichman request
-Anderson
-Marriott
-Anderson use of material
-Problem
  -Meier
  -Air West
  -Kalmbach’s role

Official secrets meeting
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -Television appearance
    -Media relations

Anderson column
  -Donald Nixon request
    -Marriott
      -Call from Ehrlichman
  -Threat of suit
    -Hughes loan
    -Ehrlichman’s advice
Donald Nixon
- Hughes publicity
- Public perception
- Dietrich’s book
- Loan story
  - News coverage
    - Newsweek
  - Timing
    - Irving’s book’s account
- Mike Wallace interview of Irving
  - Hughes loan coverage
  - Clark M. Clifford role
  - Clifford’s reaction
- Irving’s contact with Hughes
- Jimmy Golden’s role
- Jimmy Crosby
- Donald Nixon’s role
  - Hughes’s loan
  - The President’s view of politics and family
- Book account by Dietrich
  - Waters’s view
  - Vic [?] Johnson’s role
  - Waters’s telephone call to the President
  - The President’s reaction
- Service station as security
- Media coverage of Hughes story
- Security for loan
  - Dietrich
- Service station
  - Present value
    - Waters’s view
    - Compared to time of loan
      - Appraisal
        - Market value
        - Covenant provisions
          - Loan proceeds
            - Effect on mortgage and property value
  - Use of loan proceeds
    - Restaurants
  - Handling
    - Kalmbach role
- White House telephones
  - Possible taps
  - Logs
- Telephone call
  - Timing
  - Benefits
  - Marriott
    - Anderson and Drew Pearson
- Marriott view
- Business relationship with Marriott Corporation
  - Airline food service
  - Political aspect

John B. Connally’s schedule
  - Pittsburgh
  - National Security Council [NSC] meeting

The President’s property
  - Kalmbach
  - Frank De Marco, Jr.

******************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration:  6m 15s  ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
******************************************************************************

- Access to the President’s papers
  - Intellectuals
  - Ehrlichman’s forthcoming trip to Lyndon B. Johnson Library
  - Release of Johnson papers
    - Claim
    - Talk with archivists
    - The President’s use of papers
- Assistance
- Pressure on Johnson
- Oral histories
  - Douglas Cator
  - Swimming
- Abuse of staff
- Cator
- Reason for release
  - Walter W. Rostow’s advice
  - Criticism
  - Sales
- Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.’s view
- Lesson from Johnson
  - Distrust of intellectuals
    - Rostow
    - Henry A. Kissinger
- Decisions on release
- Johnson role
- Oral history
- Mellowing of public view of Johnson
  - Harry S. Truman
  - Herbert Hoover

Johnson
- Treatment by Democrats
- Visits from candidates
  - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
- Ehrlichman visit
  - Timing
  - Conversation with Johnson
- Volubility
- Ehrlichman visit
- Schedule
  - Watching the President’s PRC trip on television
  - Mexico
- Brother, Samuel Houston Johnson
  - Handling
Donald Nixon
- Handling
- Greece
  - Dinner with leadership
  - Thomas A. Pappas

Preview of Tivoli Gardens project
- Ehrlichman visit
- Rogers C.B. Morton

Ehrlichman’s schedule
- Vernon E. Jordan of Urban League, Maurice H. Stans

Ehrlichman left and Ziegler at 2:15 pm.

Press relations
- Choosing reporters for PRC trip
  - Kilpatrick attendance
  - White attendance
    - Health
    - Support for the President
  - Alexander
  - Buckley
    - Kissinger’s view
    - Chinese impression
    - Buckley support for Chiang Kai-Shek
- Possible criticism of Administration
- Letter
- Alexander
  - Availability
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - White
  - Kilpatrick
  - Buckley
- Buckley influence
  - Number of papers
- Joseph W. Alsop
  - Availability
- Alexander
  - Influence
    - Buchanan’s view
-Other columnists
  - Victor Lasky
  - Maury [Surname unknown]
  - Thimmisch
- Alexander
  - *Dallas News*
- Justification for choices
  - Attempt at balance
- Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
- Joseph C. Kraft
- Stewart J.O. Alsop
- Kraft and Wilson requests
  - Balance
  - *Dallas News*
- Courtney R. Sheldon
- Roscoe Drummond
  - Background
  - Christian Science
- Money considerations
  - White
- White
  - Health
- Vermont C. Royster
- Drummond
  - Geoffrey Drummond
- Wilson
  - Position on roster
  - Other openings
    - Voice of America [VOA]
    - *Dallas News*
    - Alexander
  - Clark R. Mollenhoff
- White
  - Health

Ziegler left at 2:22 pm.

*********************************************************

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 4m 43s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

The President’s possible speech to black group
  -[The President’s appearance at Robert J. Brown testimonial dinner, January 30, 1972]
  -Buchanan view
  -Benefits
  -Possible theme
  -Haldeman’s possible talk with Buchanan
  -Prospects of support
    -South
      -Harry S. Dent
    -Compared to North
      -New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Ohio
    -Richmond
    -Atlanta
  -White compared to black event
    -Timing
      -News coverage

The President’s schedule
  -NSC meeting
    -Kissinger’s view
      -Kissinger’s schedule

The President left at an unknown time after 2:22 pm.

The President entered at an unknown time before 2:34 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Revenue sharing meeting
    -Benefits
  -Ronald W. Reagan and Daniel J. Evans meeting
    -Dock strike
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:22 pm and 2:34 pm and requested a telephone call to Ribicoff.

[Conversation No. 661-1A]

[See Conversation No. 20-2]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
- Press conference
- Reading for the PRC trip
- Reception for White House Conference on Drug Abuse, February 3, 1972

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 2:22 pm.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:34 pm.

- Florida trip
  - Timing
  - Rationale
  - Return to Washington, DC

[The President talked with Ribicoff between 2:34 pm and 2:42 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-1B]

[See Conversation No. 20-3]

[End of telephone conversation]

Ribicoff’s possible meeting with Ehrlichman
- Welfare reform bill
  - Prospects
    - Working poor provision
  - Ribicoff’s view

White House Conference on Drug Abuse
  - Athletes
  - Opening by the President
  - Briefing
  - Reception
  - Ehrlichman role
    - Federal program
  - William P. Rogers role
    - Diplomatic strategy, supply
  - Myles J. Ambrose role
    - Domestic law enforcement
  - Dr. Jerome Jaffe role
    - Treatment
  - Opening
    - Publicity
      - Television
  - Reception
    - Experience of gratitude

Scheduling
  - Ribicoff
  - Florida trip
    - Weather
    - Timing
      - Congressional recess
  - PRC preparation
    - Camp David
  - Benefits of relaxation
    - Kissinger view
    - Reading
  - PRC preparation
  - Prayer breakfast

PRC trip
  - Gifts
    - Recommendations
-Kissinger view
-Porcelain swans [“Birds of Peace”]
  -Background
  -Helen F. Boehm
-For Chou En-lai
-For Mao Tse-tung
  -Mounted clock
  -Swans
  -Public gift
-For Chou
  -Mounted clock
-People to people gift
  -Trio of live musk oxen
  -Delivery
-Photographs of national parks
  -Recipients
-Parker pens presentation
  -Apollo spacecraft metal
  -Mayors of Shanghai and Hangchow
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s gifts
  -Bean birds
  -Gorham silver flower arrangements
  -Viewmasters
-Titanium parker pens
  -Presidential seal
  -Recipients
-Redwood saplings
  -Hangchow Park
  -National Park Service
  -Musk oxen
-VOA representation
  -Frank J. Shakespeare
  -James A. Michener
  -Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
  -Ziegler
  -Benefits
    -Bureaucracy
  -USIA coverage
    -Size
    -Restriction
  -Columnists
Welfare reform
-Ehrlichman
- The President’s talk with Ribicoff
- HEW

**************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12
**************************************************************************

-Ziegler’s schedule
  - Houston
  - Busing
  - Budget

Hughes books
  - Dietrich
  - Irving book
  - Publication status
  - Sales
  - Interest in Hughes
-Dietrich book  
  -Timing of publishing  
  -Possible confusion with Irving  
-Irving’s book  
  -Publication status  
-Public interest  
  -Compared to movie magazines  
    -Lana Turner  
-Interest in Hughes  
  -Ehrlichman’s view  
  -Compared to Charles Manson murder trial

Power of incumbency  
  The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972  
-Brown testimonial dinner  
  -Reception  
    -Compared to business groups  
-Public contact  
  -Motorcades  
-Press coverage  
  -Ability to draw crowds

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:42 pm.

James R. Schlesinger meeting  
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:12 pm.

Brown testimonial dinner  
  -Stans  
  -Brig. Gen. Daniel (“Chappie”) James, Jr.  
  -Benefit to Brown

Time and Newsweek stories on Kissinger  
  -Quality  
  -State Department information  
  -Bureaucracy  
  -Quality  
  -Topics  
    -Secret negotiations
The President’s television appearances
- Vietnam peace proposal speech
  - Kissinger
  - Preparation
    - State of the Union speech
    - William L. Safire
- January 1972
- Washington Post story
- State of the Union speech, January 20, 1972
- Dan Rather interview, January 2, 1972
- Cabinet changes announcement
- Mrs. Nixon’s return from Africa
- Quality
- PRC trip
  - Repetition
- Public viewing patterns
  - Political conventions
  - John F. Kennedy assassination
  - Moon landing
- PRC trip
  - Great Wall
  - Forbidden Palace
  - Chou En-Lai meeting
  - Mao Tse-tung
  - Unanticipated opportunities

Telephone call to William F. (“Billy”) Graham
- Graham schedule
  - Prayer breakfasts
Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:42 pm.

The President’s schedule

Haldeman and Bull left at 3:12 pm

Conversation No. 661-2

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 3:13 pm - 3:51 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with James R. Schlesinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Greetings

Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
-Number of commissioners
-Staff make-up
  -James T. Ramey
    -Lyndon B. Johnson protégé
    -Congressional

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 3:13 pm.

The President’s schedule

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 3:51 pm.

AEC staff
-William O. Doub
-Wilfrid E. Johnson
-Clarence E. Larson
-Political loyalty
-Vacancy
-Commissioners
  -Length of term
-Frederic V. Malek
-Replace replacements
-Possible appointment of woman
-Nuclear scientist
-Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
-Marina von N. Whitman
-John von Neumann
-Jane Hall
-Los Alamos
-Political preferences

Amchitka
-Criticism
-Reason
-Effect
-World attention to US military power
-Moscow, Peking
-Press
-Scientist
-Press
-Turnaround
-Mike Gravel’s statement
-National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
-Native Americans
-Indiscretion

AEC
-Schlesinger’s job
-Compared to previous job at Office of Management and Budget [OMB]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 20m 26s ]

ATOMIC WEAPONS
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*************************************************************

Nuclear applications
- History
  - Seaborg
  - John A. McCone
- Plowshare
- Projects

Plowshare
- Upcoming program
- Natural gas release
- Problems
  - Public perception of safety
  - Environmental concerns
  - Tritium
- Australia
  - Harbor construction
- The President’s view
  - Environment
- Soviet advances
  - Reservoir construction
- Geography
- Excavation
  - Problems
    - Undersecretary’s committee
      - Possible violation of nonproliferation treaty
- Natural gas release
- Revenue
  - Algeria
- Local politics
  - Colorado
    - John A. Love
  - Wyoming
  - Stanley K. Hathaway
- Denver
- Revenue increases
  - Clifford P. Hansen
- Plans
  - Gordon L. Allott meeting
  - Political problems
  - 1972 election

-Fears of population
  - Amchitka
  - The President’s visit to Alaska
    - [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito
  - Supersonic Transport [SST] cancellation

- Reasons
  - Leadership

Foreign energy sales
  - Balance of payments
    - Schlesinger talks Peter G. Peterson and John B. Connally
    - Status of balance of payments
      - Brazil contacts
    - Joint Committee
    - Chet Holifield
    - Connally’s view
    - Problem
      - Industrial compared to government structure
    - Budget process
    - Availability of products to US business
    - Sacrifice of foreign exchange
  - Connally
    - Borrowing
  - Follow up with Connally
    - Peterson
    - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Maintaining US military presence
  - Foreign exchange

Nuclear applications
  - New programs
  - Breeder-reactors
  - Goals
    - Fusion
    - US supremacy
    - National security
  - Problems
-Fear
  -Environment
  -Soviet reaction
  -Timing
    -Elections
    -Colorado
    -International talks
  -Political acumen
-Undersea Long-range Missile System [ULMS]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[National Security]
[Duration: 1m 20s]

DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Haig

Schlesinger’s family
  -Alaska

Schlesinger and Haig left at 3:51 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:51 pm and 4:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

Conversation No. 661-3
The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signing of documents

White House meeting with governors
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew role
  - Cocktails in Blue Room
  - Reception
  - Agenda
    - William G. Milliken role
    - Number of guests
    - Ronald W. Reagan role
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller role
    - Linwood Holton role
  - Seating
    - Rex W. Scouten
    - Table configuration
  - Cabinet attendance
  - Other guests
    - Harry S. Dent
    - Robert J. Dole
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
    - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Press attendance

Deaths of policemen [Gregory Foster and Rocco Laurie]
  - Details
  - Funeral arrangements
    - Representative of the President
      - Possibilities
        - General Robert E. Cushman, Jr.
        - John V. (“Jack”) Brennan
        - Peter M. Flanigan
        - Charles W. Colson
        - Cushman
      - Wreaths
    - Location of shootings
      - New York
        - Harlem
        - Bedford-Stuyvesant
      - Age of policemen
Ronald L. Ziegler entered and Butterfield left at 3:55 pm.

Press relations
- Representation on PRC trip
  - Patrick J. Buchanan

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:55 pm and 3:57 pm and requested a telephone call to Robert McClory.]

[Conversation No. 661-3A]

[See Conversation No. 20-4]

[End of telephone conversation]

Press representation on People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
- Ziegler’s talks with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger
  - William F. Buckley, Jr.
- Holmes Alexander
- Buckley
  - Buchanan’s view
    - Benefits
      - Feeling toward administration
      - Influence
        - Kissinger
- Haldeman view
- Kissinger view
  - Possible Chinese reaction

[The President talked with Mcclory between 3:57 pm and 3:58 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-3B]

[See Conversation No. 20-5; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

[End of telephone conversation]
Press representation on PRC trip
- Buchanan’s reaction
  - Joseph C. Kraft
  - Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
  - Alexander
- Buckley
  - US Information Agency [USIA] representative
  - Reporter
  - Buchanan view

Telephone call to Abraham A. Ribicoff
- Release for news
  - Ehrlichman
  - Earlier question to Ziegler
  - Content of call
    - Welfare reform
      - Elliot L. Richardson
      - Russell B. Long, Wallace F. Bennett
    - Strategy
    - The President’s support for legislation
    - News summary
    - Reason for call
      - Advisory
    - Ehrlichman’s forthcoming talk with Richardson
    - Strategy with Ribicoff, Long, Bennett
    - Ziegler’s possible telephone call to Ehrlichman

Ziegler left at 4:00 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 4:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.
Conv. No. 661-3 (cont.)

[See Conversation No. 20-6]

Conversation No. 661-5

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 4:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- John D. Ehrlichman’s request for a meeting
- Renovation of the Mall

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:01 pm.

Conversation No. 661-6

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 4:01 pm - 4:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Leslye A. Arsht.

[See Conversation No. 20-7; two items have been withdrawn from the conversation]

Conversation No. 661-7

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:03 pm and 4:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.
Conversation No. 661-8

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:03 pm and 4:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Request for meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
-Forthcoming announcement

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:04 pm.

Conversation No. 661-9

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 4:04 pm - 5:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Stewart B. McKinney.

[Conversation No. 661-9A]

[See Conversation No. 20-9]

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 4:05 pm.

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 4:06 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Press relations
-Representation on People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
-Joseph C. Kraft, William F. Buckley, Jr.
- Telephone calls from Henry A. Kissinger
  - Ziegler
  - Conservatives, liberals
  - Timing
- Announcement of the President’s telephone call to Abraham A. Ribicoff
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Ehrlichman
  - Russell B. Long
  - The President’s support for welfare reform
  - The President talks with Long and Wallace F. Bennett
  - Need for common ground
    - Ehrlichman
    - Richardson

Ziegler left at 4:10 pm.

Welfare reform
  - The President’s previous telephone call to Ribicoff
  - Content
    - Reference to working paper
    - Ribicoff amendments
    - Elderly
  - Ehrlichman’s forthcoming telephone call to Ribicoff
  - Status of welfare reform bill
    - Ribicoff view
      - House Resolution [HR] 1
      - Senate
      - Testing
        - Medicare, Medicaid
  - Drawbacks of bill
    - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
    - Richardson
    - Size of welfare rolls
    - Medicare
    - Medicaid

Mall renovation
  - Picture of model
  - Lincoln Memorial
  - Reflecting Pool
  - Proposed facilities
-Dining, shopping
-Pool
-Parking
-Trains
-Boats, canals, lakes
-Ampitheatre
-Children’s park
-Lake
-Cost
-Finishing date
-Bicentennial
-Benefits
-Museums
-Needs of visitors
-Restrooms
-Food
-Night activities
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Rogers C.B. Morton
-Visit to see model
-Possible ideas
-Model
-Confidentiality
-Interior Department
-Architect
-Morton’s view
-Congress
-Capital Planning Commission
-Highway plan
-Spending
-Needs
-Tourism
-Concessions
-Types
-Food services
-Family orientation
-J. Willard Marriott
-Transportation
-Lake size and depth
-Other uses
-Exhibits
-Japanese art
-Nathaniel A. Owings
-Plans

Environment
- The President’s conversation with Laurance S. Rockefeller
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower as salesperson
    - New York
    - Houston
    - Florida
- Proposed conference
  - Location
    - Camp David
    - San Clemente
  - Russell E. Train
- William D. Ruckelshaus role
- Rockefeller’s associates
- Gala to focus attention
  - Options
    - Camp David constructions
      - Laurel
      - Open house
        - Problems
          - Press
  - San Clemente
  - Key Biscayne
  - San Clemente
  - Benefits
- San Francisco park at Point Reyes
  - Possible visit by the President
  - Quality
- Possible meeting
  - Daniel L. Schorr job
  - Attendance
  - Timing
    - Moscow trip
  - Location
    - San Clemente
    - Patio
- Air Force One trip to Point Reyes
- Television use
-Documentary
  -Compared to comments by President
-Train role
-Ruckelshaus role
-Rockefeller role
-Mrs. Nixon, Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower role
-The President’s schedule
  -California
-Camp David
  -Benefits
  -Camp Hoover
  -Press
-Centennial of national park system
  -Morton’s view of the President’s schedule
-Morton
  -Forthcoming talk with Ehrlichman
-Rockefeller’s role
-Environmentalists in attendance
  -Republicans
  -Edmund S. Muskie’s supporters
-Environmental accomplishments
  -Parks for the people
-Public relations
  -Unknown person
  -William L. Safire

Mall renovation
  -Likeness to Tivoli Gardens
  -Environmentalists’ view
    -Grass removal
    -Underground parking
      -Effect on watertable
      -Peripheral parking
      -Trams
-Mrs. Nixon
  -Viewing of mall model
  -Decision on original model
-Viewing of mall model
  -The President
-Owings
-Need for necessities
- Restroom, facilities
- Old world
- Disneyland [and Disneyworld]
  - Facilities
  - Miami Beach
    - Jews
    - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo view

Modern entertainment
- Children
- Old entertainment
  - Amos n’ Andy
  - Fred Allen
- State of television
  - The President’s viewing habits
    - News shows
      - Reading
    - Television specials
  - Camp David
  - Television compared to reading

Ehrlichman’s reading
- Zimmerman Telegram
  - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
  - Barbara Tuchman
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- Wilson

Wilson’s foreign policy
- Mexico
  - Francisco (“Pancho”) Villa
- Winston Churchill description in the Search for World Order
  - Versailles
  - Wilson’s political experience
    - Compared to British politicians
- Irony
- Record
- World War I
  - British casualties, March 21, 1918
    - Effort at mediation
- Lack of realism
-Henry Cabot Lodge
  -Theodore Roosevelt
-League of Nations
-Congressional fights
  -Partisanship
    -Republicans
-Wilson speeches
  -First inaugural address
-Wilson writings
  -Fourteen points
-Speeches

The President’s speeches
  -Quality
  -Press
  -Inaugural address
  -The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
    -Preparation
  -November 3, 1969 speech
  -State of the Union address, 1970, 1972
    -Eloquence
  -Written compared to spoken word
    -Abraham Lincoln
      -Gettysburg address
      -Second inaugural address
-Speechwriters
  -Douglas L. Hallett
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -Patrick J. Buchanan
-Radio speeches
  -Price
-Time to prepare
-The President’s efforts at writing
  -Cambodia
  -Vietnam
  -Time consumed
-Effect
  -Inaugural address
-Value compared to time consumed in preparation
-Effect
  -Toasts
- Extemporaneous talks
  - The President’s talk to Cabinet
- Abraham Lincoln
  - Congress
- Repetition of speeches
  - Lincoln’s *A House Divided* speech
  - *Cross of Gold* speech by William Jennings Bryan
  - Congressman or Senate
    - Compared to presidential candidate
    - Stump speech

Narcotics appointment
  - Myles J. Ambrose
    - Prospects for success
    - Local police problems
      - Corruption
      - Resentment of federal officials
    - Overall benefit

Law enforcement
  - Changing of Earl Warren court
    - Effect
      - Restoration of balance
  - Changes
    - Process
  - Average person’s desires
  - Federal role
    - Effect on urban areas

Busing
  - Constitutional amendment
    - Ehrlichman trip to Camp David
  - Complications
    - Timing
    - Previous Supreme Court decisions
  - Hearings
    - Timing
    - John N. Mitchell
    - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. view
    - Urban League
Communications with Ehrlichman
- Welfare reform testimony
- View of allies

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _5m 54s_]  

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

John B. Connally
- Health
- Telephone call to Ehrlichman
  - Classification meeting
- Governors’ meeting
  - Property tax
  - Briefing

Aid to private schools
- Amendment
- Tax credits
- Neil H. McElroy Commission
  - Use by administration
    - Politics
- Briefings
- Administration line
  - Possible solutions
- Effect on taxes
  - Burden shift
    - Value added tax [VAT]
- Opponents
- Public relations
  - Use by administration
    - Briefings, panels, national publicity
- Congressional votes
- Muskie’s advisory commission
- Use

Congressional relations
- State of the Union address
- Administration program
  - Defense
  - Need for identify
    - L. Richard Guylay
- Congressional action record
- Wilson’s accomplishments
  - Federal Reserve system
- House Republican meeting
- George P. Shultz
- Upcoming Senate meeting
- Contact between the White House and Congressional staff
  - Perception
  - House Administrative Assistants meeting
- Briefings
  - Subcabinet and wives
  - Congressional wives
    - Lincoln Day recess
- Handouts
  - Details
    - Goals of administration
      - Economy
    - John F. Kennedy handouts in 1960
      - Issues
      - Effect
    - Six goals of administration
      - Topics
        - Environment, health
      - Details
    - Telephone call to Ribicoff
    - Telephone call to George H. Mahon

Ehrlichman left at 5:05 pm.
Conversation No. 661-9 (cont.)

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

Conversation No. 661-10

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 5:49 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Welfare
- Recent meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
- Abraham A. Ribicoff
- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

Environmental efforts
- Russell E. Train
- Laurance S. Rockefeller
- Conference
  - Location
    - San Clemente
    - Park at Point Reyes
  - Timing
    - Point Reyes
    - Weather in San Francisco

The President’s schedule
- Gridiron Dinner
  - Election year
  - Reasons for attendance
    - Edgar Allan Poe
    - Donald McI. Kendall
    - Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis
    - Charles G. "(Bebe") Rebozo
  - Benefits
    - Piano duet
  - Remarks
  - Post-People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip decision
  - Easter parade

- Meeting with William F. ("Billy") Graham
  - Breakfast
  - Haldeman role
  - Topics
    - Politics
  - The President’s forthcoming telephone call to Apollo 15 crew
    - Astronaut’s schedule
      - Washington, DC
      - Tour of communist countries
        - Yugoslavia, Poland
  - David R. Scott
  - James B. Irwin
  - Alfred M. Worden
  - Previous telephone call
  - Good will tour of communist countries
  - Visit to White House
  - Promise of dinner
  - PRC trip
    - Weekend at Camp David

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 5:13 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  - Public perception
    - Harry Schwartz of New York Times
    - Harrison E. Salisbury
    - New Republic article
      - View of Nixon strategy
  - North Vietnamese reaction
- Publishing of nine points
  - Variations
  - US reaction
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Comparison of versions
- Andre Malraux’s meeting with the president
  - Gen. Charles A.J.M. de Gaulle
  - The President’s impression
  - Publishing of Anti-memoirs (1967)
- Malraux’s possible future meeting with the President
  - Timing
    - Forthcoming trip to the PRC
- Chou En-lai
- Mao Tse-tung
- Georges J.R. Pompidou
- Setting up
  - Charles Lucet
- Public relations
- China scholars
  - Value of meeting the president
  - Public relations
- Benefits
- Malraux qualifications
- Dinner
  - Guest list
    - Kissinger
    - William P. Rogers
    - Marshall Green
    - Lucet
- Malraux
  - Scholarship
  - Family background
    - Jewish contacts
      - Alsace
  - Timing

PRC trip
- State Department experts
  - Papers
  - Leaks
  - Rogers’s involvement
- The President’s meeting with State Department officials
  - Papers
  - Green
  - Papers
    - Gratitude
    - Appearance compared to substance
  - Timing
  - Value
  - Progress of papers
- Rogers’s role in planning
  - Exposure to text of PRC meetings
    - Edited copies
- Memoranda
  - Soviet trip preparations
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - North Vietnamese meetings text
  - Proposals
- Leaks
  - Source
- Rogers’s view
- Progress on papers
  - Background work
  - Cancelled meeting
- The President’s role
  - Substance of meetings
  - Study of written word
  - Questions
- State Department role
- The President’s role
  - Meeting with paper authors
  - Use of papers
    - Timing
  - Reading list

Schwartz letter to Kissinger
  - Jack N. Anderson
  - View of New York Times of administration
  - Vietnam
  - Editorial policy
  - Response by Kissinger
  - Schwartz’s visit to Kissinger, January 31, 1972
-Editorial views
  -Salisbury
  -Publication of diverse views

Vietnamese negotiations
  -Reaction by the President’s domestic opponents
  -Revelations by North Vietnamese
    -October 11, 1971 plan
      -The President’s peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
      -Details
        -Troop withdrawals for Prisoners of war [POWs]
      -Press conference
      -Use by Kissinger
  -Note from the US
    -Request for meeting
  -Nine point plan
    -Ziegler rebuttal
    -Kissinger rebuttal
      -Comparison of versions
        -June 26, 1971
  -Kissinger’s rebuttal
    -October 11 proposal
      -Withdrawal for POWs
        -Ceasefire
  -Michael J. Mansfield view
    -Liberals
    -Separation of military and political
    -Rebuttal
  -New York Times article
    -Terence F. Smith
      -Comparison of the President’s proposals to Lyndon B. Johnson proposal at Manila
  -Max Frankel
    -Johnson’s proposal
      -US withdrawal
      -Timing
      -Compared to the President’s proposal
        -Withdrawal
          -Timing
  -Manila formula
    -Kissinger’s recommendation to the President
-Timing
  -Ford’s Theatre
  -Simultaneous mutual withdrawal
    -Henry Cabot Lodge
    -William P. Bundy’s view
    -Australia

-Rebuttal
  -Frankel
  -Smith

-Error
  -Stewart J.O. Alsop article
    -Support for the President
      -Establishment
      -Democrats
  -Katharine L. Graham’s telephone call to Kissinger
    -Editorial policy
    -Alsop’s previous telephone call to Graham
  -Frankel
    -Possible invitation to PRC
    -Forthcoming telephone call from Kissinger

-Details of proposals
  -Johnson
  -Manila formula
    -Conditions
      -North Vietnamese withdrawal
      -Vietcong
      -Ceasefire
      -US withdrawal
      -Lack of deadline

-New York Times article
  -Content
    -Support for the President
  -Editorial, January 30, 1972

Malraux dinner
  -Timing

Malraux
  -Qualifications
    -Compared to China scholars
    -The President’s previous meeting in Paris
-French
-Writings
  -Les Voix Du Silence (1951)
-Health
-Writings about the Long March

Yevgeny Yevtushenko
-Possible meeting with the President
  -Public relations
  -Relationship with liberals
  -View of Soviet Union
    -Dobrynin
  -Effect on the Chinese
  -Schedule
    -New York
  -Timing

National Security Council [NSC] meeting
-Attendance
  -John B. Connally
-Timing
  -Testimony

Yevtushenko meeting, February 3, 1972
-White House Conference on Drug Abuse
  -Athletes
    -Reception

Alsop
-Support for the President
  -The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
    -Effect on Establishment
  -Remarks at dinner at W[illiam] Averell Harriman’s residence
  -Forthcoming article
    -Possible effect

Vietnam negotiations
-Democratic reactions
-Public relations
-October 1970 proposals
  -North Vietnamese reaction
- Special circumstances
- Democrats’ tactics
  - Congress
- Kissinger’s possible talk with Michael J. Mansfield
  - Later PRC trip
  - North Vietnam’s reaction to peace proposals
  - Details of US proposals
    - William J. Porter
- Kissinger’s talk with Alsop
  - North Vietnam’s reaction to November 20, 1971 meeting proposal
    - Possible reason
    - Congress’s shutoff of foreign aid
      - June, August 1971 offers
  - North Vietnamese press conference
    - Tone
    - Substance
      - Secrecy
      - Difference between public and private stances
    - Media coverage
  - Kissinger press conference
  - Ziegler

The President’s schedule
  - Malraux

Kissinger left at 5:48 p.m.

PRC trip
  - Meeting between the President and State Department experts
    - Value
    - Timing
      - Study of papers

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 5:49 p.m.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: 5:49 pm - 6:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Review of gifts
- Congressional medals

The President’s schedule
- John W. Dean III request for signature
  - Supreme Court
  - Fred F. Fielding
  - Hughes’s family
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Mrs. Hughes [?]

Busts
- John Foster Dulles
- David Waters
- Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Winston Churchill
  - Waters

Weather

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:50 pm.

Prayer breakfast
- Length of the President’s remarks

Butterfield left at 5:52 pm.

[The President talked with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman at an unknown time between 5:52 pm and 5:55 pm.]

[Conversation No. 661-12A]

Prayer breakfast
- Length of the President’s remarks
[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
- Prayer breakfast
  - Warren E. Burger speech
  - Length
  - Toast
- Toasts
- Scripture reading
  - Mamie G.D. Eisenhower
  - Augusta, Georgia
- European guests

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:52 pm.

Item for the President

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:55 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Demands on the President’s time
- Charitable groups

Death of Dudley Swim
- Age
- Aging statesmen
  - Thomas E. Dewey
  - Dean G. Acheson
- Ann [Surname unknown]

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:55 pm.

Remarks for prayer breakfast
- Length
  - The President’s talk with Haldeman

Butterfield left at 5:55 pm.

Prayer breakfast, 1971
- Program
  - Length of speeches and readings
Woods left at 6:00 pm.

Conversation No. 661-13

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President’s schedule
  -Forthcoming meeting with Daniel J. Evans, February 1, 1972

Resignation letter of unknown person

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 6:00 pm.
Rose Mary Woods
   - Telephone call with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

Butterfield and Bull left at an unknown time before 6:06 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[Conversation No. 611-14A]

Vietnam negotiations
   - Administration counter to North Vietnamese releases
     - Handling of rebuttal
       - Media coverage
       - Ronald L. Ziegler
         - New summary
         - Patrick J. Buchanan
     - Handling of press
       - Max Frankel
       - Xuan Thuy
       - Public perception of rebuttal
         - Telephone call to Michael J. Mansfield
         - Telephone call to Frankel

Rose Mary Woods entered at an unknown time after 6:00 pm.

The President’s schedule
   - Prayer breakfast

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule
Telephone call

The President and Rose Mary Woods left at 6:06 pm.

Date: January 31, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:06 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office


Butterfield’s schedule

[Unintelligible]

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