Conversation No. 664-1

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:51 am and 9:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 20-16]

Conversation No. 664-2

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 9:10 am - 9:13 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Charles S. Gubser.

[See Conversation No. 20-17]

Conversation No. 664-3

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:14 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 20-18]
Conversation No. 664-4

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:13 am and 9:14 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

[Funeral for Gregory P. Foster and Rocco Laurie]
-Telephone list
-Operators

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:14 am.

Conversation No. 664-5

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 9:14 am - 9:15 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Thomas N. Downing.

[See Conversation No. 20-19]

Conversation No. 664-6

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 9:15 am - 10:05 am
Location: Oval Office

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

People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip
-Press relations
-William F. Buckley, Jr.
-Possible invitation
-Effectiveness
-PRC press
-Risks and advantages
-James Birch Society
-Conservatives
-Holmes Alexander
-Chinese
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Communism
-Dress
-Kissinger’s inexperience
-Kissinger’s approach to negotiations
-Chou En-lai

-PRC
-Advance team
-Regimentation of PRC children
-Mao Tse-tung
-View of other visitors
-Yugoslavia
-Romania
-Dress
-Uniforms
-Mao Tse-tung
-Buckley
-Taiwan, Republic of China
-Communiqué
-Kissinger’s impressions

[Funeral of Gregory P. Foster and Rocco Laurie]
-Presidential representative

The President’s schedule
-Press relations
-Robert B. Semple, Jr. article
-Richard A. Moore
-Reporting of the President’s activities on February 1, 1972
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Quality
-William F. (“Billy”) Graham
-Boy Scouts
- Astronauts
- Football players
- Ziegler
- John B. Connally
- Symbolism
- Liberals
- Possible perception
- Graham
- Ronald W. Reagan
- Boy Scouts
- Astronauts
- University of Nebraska football team
- Republican governors
- Time spent on meetings
- Value
- Typicalness of day
- Prayer breakfast, February 1, 1972
  - Content of television and written reports
    - Audience reaction
    - Public impression
    - Amount of time
    - Effectiveness
- Connally
  - Previous discussions with the President
    - Television
    - Newspaper
    - Content
- Coverage of White House functions
  - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson exhibit
    - Smithsonian
    - Robert Pierpont coverage
    - Ziegler
- Mystique
  - Manufacture
  - Edith Efron theme
- Governors’ dinner
  - Comments
  - Nelson Rockefeller
  - William G. Milliken
  - Linwood Holton
    - Integration
- Milliken
- Rockefeller
  - The President’s Vietnam peace proposal
- Contact with the President
- Drawbacks

- General feeling
- Benefits
  - Reelection

- Businessmen’s dinner
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Connally’s previous discussion
- Speaker comments
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower stag dinner
  - Donald Mcl. Kendall
  - Maurice H. Stans
  - Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis

- Value
  - President’s opinion

- Businessmen
  - Political views
  - 1968 support
    - President’s section
    - Business Council
      - Lack of support for the President

- Unknown person

- Attendance
  - Stacking of guests
  - Mike Cole

- President’s role

- Speakers
  - Drawbacks
    - Possible avoidance of speeches

- Question and answer format
  - Control of situation
    - Types of questions
      - PRC trip, wage and price controls, deficits

- Connally
  - Drawbacks

- Benefits of question and answer format
  - Control
  - Questions for President
- Perception of businessmen
- Use of time
  - Receiving line
  - Proposed role of the President
- Availability of President
  - Haldeman’s view

Weather
- Possible photographs
- Peking

PRC trip
- Technical preparations
  - Communications

Press relations
- *New York Times* article
  - Policemen shot
- Credibility of administration
  - News summary
    - *Wall Street Journal*
      - The President’s Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- View of staff
  - President’s opinion
    - Credibility
    - Peace initiative
    - Support for Administration
    - Comparisons to the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration
    - Press concerns

Ziegler entered at 9:44 am.
President’s schedule
- Pearl M. Bailey visit
  - Press room visit
  - Benefits
  - Heart of the Year Award

Welfare reform
- Reagan role
  - Historical position

Legal services
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew role
  - Camden, New Jersey
  - Fred Speaker’s role
    - Former Attorney General of Pennsylvania
      - Set back for Agnew
      - Leaving legal service
- John D. Ehrlichman
  - Affront to Agnew
    - Speaker
    - Reaction
      - Ehrlichman’s previous conversation with Ziegler
        - Speaker and legal services
          - Agnew’s view
  - Possible speech with Agnew
- Speaker
  - Agnew’s request

Ireland
- Violence
  - Question from press, January 31, 1972
    - Ziegler answer
    - Effect
    - State Department comment
    - Timing

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 9:50 am.

Ziegler left at 9:50 am.

William P. Rogers
  - Meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Memorandum from Rogers
      - Content
        - President’s upcoming trip to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
        - Kissinger’s memorandum of conversation
        - Kissinger’s concern
        - Possible talking points
          - Middle East problems
          - Dobrynin’s positions
    - Joseph J. Sisco
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev letter
      - Copy
      - Spirit of agreement
    - Timing
      - Alexander P. Haig, Jr.
      - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Memorandum from President to Rogers
      - President’s concerns
      - European Security Conference
      - President’s position
        - Middle East
          - Yitzhak Rabin meetings
            - Meeting with Gunnar Jarring
              - United Nations [UN]
            - Meeting with Moshe Dayan
          - Dobrynin request
            - Egyptians
              - Sisco
-Rogers
  -Haldeman’s previous conversation with Rogers
  -Tie to President’s reelection
  -Moscow visit
  -Israel
  -Need for no contradictions
  -President’s instructions
    -Dobrynin
    -Joseph M. Luns
    -Trade
    -European security
    -Possible hardline
    -Middle East
  -Moscow summit
    -Results
    -Peking and Moscow
  -Assessment
  -Talking points
  -Wording of Rogers memorandum
  -Moscow summit
  -State Department
    -Briefing of the President
      -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      -Papers

The President’s schedule
  -Andre Malraux
    -Kissinger’s previous conversation with an unknown person

Rogers
  -Message

Personnel management
  -Peter G. Peterson
    -Connally
    -Testimony on trade
    -Milton Viorst article
      -Connally
      -Azores
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:50 pm.

The President’s schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:05 pm.

Personnel management
- Peterson
  - Memoranda
  - Connally
    - Party
      - Kissinger
      - Publicity of news story
- Peter M. Flanigan
  - President’s instructions
  - Stans
- East-West trade
- Public relations
- Commerce Department

Public relations
- Vietnam
  - Wall Street Journal article and editorials
    - News summary
    - Background of criticism
    - Support for the President’s policy
      - Patrick J. Buchanan
      - Unknown person
      - Line
    - Vietnam strategy
- College student calls
  - Haldeman’s children
  - University of Minnesota
  - University of Los Angeles [UCLA]
  - President’s speech, January 25, 1972
    - Reaction of students and professors
- Kissinger
  - Andrei A. Gromyko role
    - Previous visit to the White House
  - Hanoi actions
Conv. No. 664-6 (cont.)

President’s schedule
-Unknown person
-John W. McCormack
-Location

Haldeman and Kissinger left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 664-16

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 12:16 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President’s location
-Cabinet Room

The agents left at an unknown time before 12:16 pm.

Conversation No. 664-7

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:16 pm and 12:18 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.
President’s schedule
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Pearl M. Bailey visit
  - Heart of the Year Award
  - John W. McCormack

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:18 pm.

Conversation No. 664-8

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 12:18 pm - 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Congressional relations
  - Welfare reform bill
    - Status
      - Pilot programs
      - Conservatives and liberals
    - Elliot L. Richardson press conference
      - Attendance
    - Press reaction
      - Effect of Richardson announcement
    - Abraham A. Ribicoff role
      - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan’s role
    - Ronald W. Reagan role
      - Possible disagreements
    - Ribicoff role
      - Pilot program
        - Liberal role
        - Final bill form
        - Use of Louisiana
        - Use of Delaware
          - Governor of Delaware [Russell W. Peterson]
- Delaware make up
  - Proximity to Washington, DC
- Use of pilot programs
  - Amount of money allocated

President’s schedule
- Ehrlichman’s schedule
- Ribicoff

Stephen B. Bull entered at 12:23 pm.

President’s schedule
- Details of Pearl M. Bailey visit

Legal services

Bull left and Bailey, Dr. and Mrs. J. Willis Hurst, Ross Reid, Dr. James M. Hundley, Dr. Campbell Moses, M. Frederick Arkus, Herbert Cornell, Ehrlichman, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and James H. Cavanaugh entered at 12:23 pm; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
- Photographs

Presentation of award from American Heart Association [AHA]
- Purpose of award
- Feeling for Bailey
  - Past accomplishments
- Bailey’s position as volunteer ambassador at large
- Burden of Presidency
- Bailey
  - Talents
  - Concern with heart problems

Fundraising
- Research

Signing of proclamation

Presentation of gifts
Conv. No. 664-8 (cont.)

[General conversation]
- Philadelphia
- Gifts
- Upcoming trip by Bailey
- Fund raising

The President’s schedule
-[Richard W. Mallary]

Bailey, et al. left at 12:34 pm.

Conversation No. 664-9

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 12:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President’s conversation with John B. Connally
- The President’s schedule
- Meeting
  - Suggested remarks
  - Timing

Conversation No. 664-10

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 12:35 pm - 12:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Mr. and Mrs. Richard W. Mallary and Richard K. Cook; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.
Greetings
-Photographs
-Cook

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Congress
-Committee assignments
-President’s advice
-Robert T. Stafford and George D. Aiken
-Advancement
  -Committees
    -Appropriations, Ways and Means
    -Post Office, Civil Service
    -District of Columbia
    -Agriculture
- Agriculture Committee
  -Aiken
    -Farm bill
      -80th Congress
- Mallary preference
  -Gerald R. Ford
- Government Operations Committee
  -Experience with agricultural issues
  -Government reorganization

Presentation of gifts

Living accommodations
  -Children
Mr. and Mrs. Mallary left at 12:41 pm.

Date: February 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

President’s schedule
- Signings  
  - John W. McCormack  
- Location

Bull and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.

Date: February 2, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s schedule
- Meeting  
  - Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.
Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Request for Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[The President talked with Haig at an unknown time between 12:41 pm and 12:43 pm.]

Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule
- Location

John W. McCormack
- Visit to President
- Briefing by Haig
  - Haig’s schedule

The President met with McCormack at 12:43 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
- Pearl M. Bailey meeting
- Request for refreshments
- McCormack schedule
- Feelings for McCormack

McCormack role
- Bipartisan meetings
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - President’s upcoming trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Carl B. Albert
    - Previous conversation with the President
  - Bryce N. Harlow
    - Relationship with the President
- General briefings
- Representative of US
  - Availability
- Anastasio Somoza Debayle
- Death of Danish King Frederik IX
  - Johnson
- Johnson-Theodore (“Teddy”) Roosevelt
  - [Duke of Windsor] Edward VIII
  - Representative
- Somoza
  - McCormack meeting
  - Location and timing
  - Jim Fitzgerald role
  - Attendance at West Point
  - Somoza’s relationship with Fitzgerald

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:43 pm.

Gratitude

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 24s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  - Vietnam
    - North Vietnamese attack
      - South Vietnam
    - Peace proposals
      - Further concessions
        - Communist government in South Vietnam
      - Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu resignation
        - Upcoming elections
International supervision
- Withdrawal of US forces
- Ceasefire and prisoners of war [POWs]
- McCormack view
- Advice to Johnson
  - Free elections
    - International supervision
      - United Nations [UN]
- Ceasefire
- Support
  - North and South Vietnam

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 47s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

The President’s forthcoming trips to the PRC and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Congressional concerns
  - Views of McCormack and President
    - Similarity
    - House un-American Activities Committee [HUAC]
      - McCormack’s support as majority leader

State of Nation
  - McCormack’s opinion
    - Pearl Harbor
      - Recovery
        - Amount of time
        - Current defense
          - Need for readiness
- Defense budget
- John C. Stennis and F. Edward Hebert
- McCormack’s recent talk with Hebert
- Lucious Mendel Rivers
- Need for strength
  - Gerald R. Ford
    - Support for the President’s January 25, 1972 peace proposals
    - Hebert
    - Modern warfare
      - Preparations
        - McCormack’s comments at dedication
          - Cook
          - Pearl Harbor
        - Drawbacks
      - Preparation
        - Necessity
      - Need for top spot
        - Potential encouragement to US enemies
        - Importance emphasized

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:43 pm.

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm.

PRC trip
- Timing
- Europeans
- Japanese
- Schedule
  - The President’s upcoming meetings
- Information on PRC
  - President’s reading
- McCormack
  - PRC ideology
- PRC women
  - Radicalism in politics

Women
- Comparisons to men in politics
-Emotion compared to reason
-PRC
-Clothing
-McCormack
-Women’s liberation

Farewells
-Return visit
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
-Catholics
-Knights of Malta
-History
-The Crusades
-Military
-Hospitallers of St. John
-M. Harriet (Joyce) McCormack
-Pope Pius XII
-Feeling for communism

McCormack left at 1:00 pm.

Date: February 2, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:00 pm and 1:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President’s schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:03 pm.
Date: February 2, 1972
Time: 1:03 pm - 1:36 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

John W. McCormack
-Career
-House of Representatives

John B. Connally
-Productivity Commission
 -Business in 1990 speech by President, February 7, 1972
 -Connally suggestion
 -Connally speeches
 -William L. Safire role
 -President’s instructions

Welfare reform
-Compromise
 -John D. Ehrlichman
 -Abraham A. Ribicoff role
 -Ronald W. Reagan supporters
 -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan supporters
 -Benefits to President
 -Reagan
 -Guaranteed income

Social issues
-Ribicoff’s view
 -Democrat strategy
   -Medicaid and Medicare
   -Lack of testing
 -Contributions of President
   -Historical perspective
   -People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
   -Social reform

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 1:06 pm.

Press conference
-Interest in Edmund S. Muskie’s Vietnam peace plan

Muskie speech, February 2, 1972
-Attendance
  -Number of press
-Citizens committee
  -John O. Pastore
  -Robert W. Scott
  -Leonard Woodcock
  -Esther Peterson
  -Myrlie (Beasley) Evers
  -Medgar Evers
-Ecology speech
  -Unknown Presbyterian Church for women
  -Vietnam problems
    -Clark M. Clifford role
    -The environment
-Media coverage
  -Criticism by Muskie
-Proposal for peace
  -Withdrawal of troops
    -Saigon government
-Patrick J. Buchanan rebuttal
  -Proposed ceasefire
    -Henry A. Kissinger
-Clifford role
  -Possible communication with Muskie
-The President’s recent talk with Kissinger
  -Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -Withdrawal
-Need for rebuttal
  -Possible reaction to Muskie’s remarks
-Press questions
  -Thrust
    -White House staff
      -Gerald L. Warren
      -Diane Sawyer
    -Relation of Muskie to President
      -Possible story by the networks
-Rebuttal by administration
  -Kissinger role
Ziegler left at 1:13 pm.

-Buchanan
-Public reaction to the President’s peace proposals
  -Haldeman’s children’s reaction
  -Wall Street Journal article
  -”Bad rap” for President
    -Muskie

Justice Department suit against Associated Milk Producers, Inc [AMPI]
  -John N. Mitchell
  -Newspaper article
    -Statement by Attorney General
  -Contributions
    -The President’s previous conversation with unknown Chicago contact
    -Republican National Committee [RNC] 
  -Mitchell
  -Ralph Nader role
    -Lawsuit [Nader v. Butz]
-Fund investigation
-Anti-trust action

Death of the King of Nepal [King Mahendra Bir Bikram]
-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Presidential instructions
-Note of condolence to Crown Prince Birendra
-Kissinger
-Relationship with the President
-Trip to Washington

Justice Department suit against AMPI
-Ehrlichman role
-Presidential instructions to Haldeman
-Connally reaction
-Effect on administration position
-Mitchell

John A. Volpe
-Television show
-Mitchell
-Price

Trade
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Haldeman’s upcoming conversation
-Peter G. Peterson

Rogers
-Instructions
-Kissinger public image
-Purpose
-Publicity
-Focus on President
-Election
-Problems in management
-Haldeman
-Agreement with the President

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:13 pm.
Funeral of policemen [Gregory P. Foster and Rocco Laurie]
   - Attendance at funeral
     - John V. (“Jack”) Brennan
   - Background of policemen
     - Vietnam service record
   - Race of policemen
   - Attendance
   - Flowers
   - Call to relatives
   - Attendance
     - Price’s office
     - Notes of condolence
      - Brennan

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:36 pm.

Social issues
   - Ribicoff’s concern
     - Democrat approach
      - Use of massive programs
   - Russell B. Long
   - Ehrlichman concerns
     - Public relations
   - Pragmatism
     - Elliot Richardson
     - Congressional action
   - Public relations
     - Adoption of program
     - Previous statements by President
     - Adequacy of program
   - Support on campuses
     - History of support
     - Shifts in attitude
      - State of the Union address

Commissions
   - Connally
     - Productivity Commission
   - Participation
   - Frustration
   - Drawbacks
- Possible burden keeping commissions happy
- Meetings with President
  - President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
    - Kissinger
    - Timing
  - President’s trip to the PRC

President’s schedule
- History
  - Kissinger role
- Difficulty
  - Presentations
  - Award
    - Medals of Honor
  - Congressional contact
- Drawbacks
  - Complaints
    - Disappointed appointment seekers
  - Effect
- Other administrations
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
    - Cabinet
    - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Press conferences
- Camp David trip
  - Timing
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Reception

Haldeman left at 1:36 pm.