Date: February 3, 1972
Time: 9:18 am - 10:52 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Unknown man
- Candidate

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

The President’s forthcoming trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Michael J. Mansfield’s point
- President’s critics
- Japan

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 9:20 am.

Edmund S. Muskie
- Strategy
- Speech
- Press coverage

Bangladesh
- US humanitarian assistance
- President’s upcoming trip to PRC
- Edward M. Kennedy’s criticism
- Percentage

Pearl M. Bailey
- Presentation of watch to President
- News conference
- Relationship with President
- Previous gift
Ted Lewis
   - Criticism
     - Vietnam peace plan
     - Possible conversation with Herbert G. Klein

Muskie
   - Speech

Arthur D. Sulzberger

Stewart J.O. Alsop
   - Content of newspaper story
     - Compared to Joseph W. Alsop
     - Liability
     - Otis Chandler’s opinion

Muskie speech
   - Possible Administration response
     - William P. Rogers’s role
       - Call to President, February 2, 1972
       - Schedule
         - Irish Foreign Minister [Patrick Hillery]
         - Rogers’s conversation with [Earl of Cromer] Georges R.S. Baring
         - Vietnam
         - Possible topic of conversation
       - Conversations
         - John A. Scali
         - Charles W. Colson
           - Follow-up conversation
     - Patrick J. Buchanan
       - Working on the approach
     - Melvin R. Laird
       - Location
         - Forthcoming conversation with Colson
         - Forthcoming statement
           - Rogers
           - Ronald L. Ziegler
     - Statements by Gerald R. Ford, Robert J. Dole and William E. Brock, III, February 1, 1972
     - Muskie
Media hearings
- Coverage of Edith Efron testimony
  - Daniel L. Schorr
  - Frank Stanton
- 1968 campaign
  - Coverage of President
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
    - American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC]
    - Ziegler, Klein
- Coverage of President
  - Efron
  - Access to audiotapes
  - Laos
  - Harley O. Staggers
  - Stewart Alsop
  - Rogers
  - Possible statements

Muskie’s speech
- Possible Administration response
  - Rogers, Laird
  - Congressional hearings
  - Buchanan’s view
  - Media coverage
    - Press conference
    - Aid to Saigon
- Possible administration response
  - Kissinger’s view
  - President’s 1968 statement
    - Rogers
  - President’s 1966 statement concerning Lyndon B. Johnson’s Manila statement
  - 1968 statement
    - Colson
    - Rogers
    - Manila statement
      - US intentions
Vietnam
- Mansfield
  - Withdrawal of amendment
    - News summary
- *New York Times* communication with North Vietnam
  - Timing
    - Possible withdrawal for prisoners of war [POWs]
  - William J. Porter
- Negotiations
  - Probable deadline for POW release
  - Press coverage
  - Muskie’s speech
    - Reported rejection of President’s peace plan
    - Poll

Lewis
- Vietnam
  - Criticism
  - PRC initiative
  - Colleagues’ views
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Conversation February 2, 1972
  - Kenneth B. Keating

President’s forthcoming trip to PRC
- Press coverage
  - Possible tone
- Communiqué
  - Taiwan, Republic of China
    - William F. Buckley, Jr.
      - Proposed opinion
  - US policy
  - Defense treaty
    - Japan
Muskie speech
- Possible administration response
  - Rogers
    - Newsweek
    - Foreign Service
    - Loyalty
    - Test

Ireland
- US policy
  - Possible impact on the British
  - Rogers’s concern
    - Inquiries from Buckley and Richard J. Daley
    - Rogers’s upcoming meeting with Hillery

Keating
- Upcoming meeting with the President
- Conversation with Kissinger
  - Type of communication
- Forthcoming Senate testimony
  - Lakshmi Kant Jha
  - Foreign Relations Committee
    - Cable
  - Efforts of Joseph J. Sisco and Rogers
  - India - Pakistan War
    - Indira Gandhi
    - State Department talking points
- Jack N. Anderson papers
- Forthcoming conversation with President
  - Gandhi’s visit
    - State Department memoranda
- US-Indian relations
  - Possible problems
  - Kissinger’s conversation with Jha
    - Timing
- Bangladesh
  - US policy
Possible willingness to accept recognition
- Conversation with Kissinger
  - Bangladesh
  - Pakistan
  - Arms sales

Bangladesh
  - US aid
    - Humanitarian relief
    - Percentage of United Nations [UN] contributions
  - State Department views
    - Definitive answer after President’s trip to PRC

Keating
  - Forthcoming Senate testimony
    - Gandhi
      - Restoration of US aid
    - The President’s forthcoming world report
    - Restoration of US aid
      - Kissinger’s view

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 42s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - Forthcoming conversation with President
    - Tenure in office
      - Upcoming offensive
Porter
-Style

President’s schedule
- Joseph S. Farland
  -Florida
  -Previous meeting
  -Keating
  -Forthcoming call from Farland
  -Ambassadors

Yevgeny Yevtushenko
- Rogers’s memorandum to the President
  -Content
  -Announcement

Rogers’s schedule
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  -Kissinger’s memorandum
    -Location
    -Florida

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 9:18 am and 9:49 am.]

[Conversation No. 665-1A]

Kissinger’s memorandum

Kissinger left at 9:49 am.

[No conversation]

Kissinger entered at 9:51 am.

Kissinger’s memorandum

Yevtushenko
- State Department
  -Comment about Vietnam
    -Liberals
The President talked with Rogers between 9:52 am and 9:55 am.

[Conversation No. 665-1B]

[See Conversation No. 20-43]

Yevtushenko
- Views of Vietnam
  - Dobrynin
  - Liberals
- Public relations
- Memorandum from Rogers

Ireland
- President’s recent conversation with Rogers
  - US policy
    - Rogers’s conversations
      - Earl of Cromer, Hillery
  - US policy
    - Possible impact on the British
    - Edward R.G. Heath
      - Analogy to US domestic situation

President’s schedule
- Farland
  - Upcoming meeting
- Key Biscayne
  - Briefing books
  - Preparation for forthcoming trip to PRC
    - Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai
      - Biographies
      - Mao’s favorite novels
- Keating
  - Timing
- Bunker
  - Timing

Kissinger left at 9:59 am.
-Farland
- President’s reading material on PRC
  - Buchanan
  - Kissinger
- Key Biscayne
  - Timing
  - Departure time
  - Reception

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Vietnam
- Problems with departments
- Negotiations
  - October 1971
  - Rogers, Laird
  - Cambodia
  - Kissinger compared to Rogers
    - Kissinger’s personality
    - Conflict

President’s schedule
- Yevtushenko
  - Rogers’s possible actions
  - Rogers’s memorandum
    - Timing
-Press photograph
  -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  -Kissinger’s request
  -Drug story

Rogers
- Henry Kissinger
  - Previous conversation with Haldeman
  - Lunch with Benjamin C. Bradlee, February 2, 1972
    - Katharine L. Graham
      - Concern for Rogers
  - Previous relationship with Graham
  - Foreign policy problems
  - John N. Mitchell
  - Schedule
    - Dobrynin’s meeting
  - Israelis
    - Unknown meetings
  - Kissinger
  - Credit
  - Assumed credit

John B. Connally
- Relations within administration
  - David M. Kennedy

Kennedy
- Perceived role
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - The President, Kissinger
  - Tenure
  - Travel allowance
    - Amount
    - Rogers, Connally
      - Request for more money
    - Haldeman’s forthcoming meeting with Connally, Peter M. Flanigan, and Kissinger
      - President’s instructions

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:59 am.
Keating

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

Kennedy
- Role with administration

Kissinger entered at 10:08 am.
- NATO post
- US Ambassadors in Brussels and Geneva
- Relations with Connally
- Kissinger’s possible conversation with Kennedy
- Kissinger’s possible conversation with Connally
  - Haldeman
  - Flanigan
- Connally’s role
  - Leadership

Flanigan
- Role with administration
  - Peter G. Peterson

Connally
- Role with administration
  - Kennedy

Kennedy
- Role with administration
  - NATO job
    - Supervisory role
  - Relations with Connally
    - Cabinet
    - Geneva
      - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] ambassador’s report
  - Flanigan’s forthcoming efforts
    - Connally’s view
  - Relations with Connally
    - Negotiations
    - Kissinger’s previous talk with Connally
- Trade negotiations with Japan
  - Kennedy’s role
  - State Department
- President’s instructions
- Haldeman’s forthcoming efforts

The President’s schedule

Keating and the White House photographer entered at 10:14 am.

Prayer breakfast

Distribution of photographs

Haldeman and the White House photographer left at 10:15 am.

India-Pakistan relations
  - Historic relationship
  - Previous wars
    - Partition
    - 1962
    - 1971
  - Possible future
  - Possible future relationships
    - European Community
    - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
    - Mujibur Rahman
    - Gandhi
- USSR
- PRC
  - Relationship with India
    - 1962 War
    - Pakistan
  - Keating’s forthcoming testimony
    - Timing
    - Anderson’s papers
    - Keating’s cables
      - Keating’s approach and knowledge
        - Farland [?]

Bangladesh
-US policy
  -Peking visit

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15
[National Security]
[Duration: 8s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

-Decision making process
-Announcement
  -Timing
  -PRC trip
-Semantics
-Proposed US action
-President’s instructions to Keating
  -Pragmatism
-PRC
  -India

President’s forthcoming world report to Congress
  -Timing
  -US relations with India
    -Dialogue
  -Use by Keating
    -Indian foreign secretary [Trikoli Nath Kaul]
    -Senate testimony
      -Foreign aid
India-Pakistan
- US policy
  - President’s conversations with Gandhi, November 4-5, 1971
    - State Department memoranda
    - Kissinger
  - Toast
    - Jawaharlal Nehru
  - US aid
  - Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan
    - Unilateral withdrawal
  - Refugee problems
  - Keating’s forthcoming conversations with Indians
  - President’s previous contributions to India
    - Competition with PRC
    - Democracy
    - UN
    - Non-alignment
  - USSR
  - Kissinger’s briefing of Keating
  - PRC
    - President’s and Keating’s experience

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 18
[ National Security ]
[ Duration: 1m 5s ]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 18

Triloki Nath Kaul
- Relationship with Keating
- Conversations with Keating
-Overtures for better relations
-Relationship with Kissinger
  -Kaul’s USSR sentiment

[Forename unknown] Dar

President’s conversation with Kaul
  -Blair House
  -Accommodations
    -Compared to British

Kaul
  -Closeness to the USSR
  -Conversations with Keating
  -Kissinger’s conversations with Jha
    -Gandhi
      -Kissinger’s instructions to Keating

Keating
  -Communications with Kissinger
    -State Department
    -[David] Kenneth Rush and Bunker
      -Walter H. Annenberg
        -State Department

Leaks
  -State Department
  -French
    -Kissinger’s previous trips to Paris

India
  -Relations with the Administration
  -Japan
  -President’s forthcoming trip to PRC
  -Aid
    -US law
  -US policy
    -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
      -Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
      -B. Everett Jordan
        -Republicans’ views
-UN resolutions on conflict with Pakistan
  -Apology
  -Point by UN Secretary General
-aid
  -Basis
-Refugees
  -Percentage of UN assistance
  -Bangladesh
-PRC trip
  -Announcement

Bangladesh
  -US policy
  -Refugees
  -Edward M. Kennedy’s statement
    -Veracity

Keating’s forthcoming senate testimony
  -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  -White House
  -India-Pakistan War
    -US policy
      -State of the Union address
  -Briefing for Keating
    -Dr. David K.E. Bruce
  -State Department’s views
    -Keating’s upcoming testimony
  -Previous meetings with Kennedy and William Stuart Symington
    -Possible political issue
    -Anderson’s papers

Keating
  -Role as ambassador
    -Previous conversations with Kissinger and the State Department
  -Forthcoming Senate testimony
    -India-Pakistan War
      -US policy
US-India relations
   - Keating’s conversations
   - Kaul’s speech
     - Relationship with Gandhi
   - India’s relationship with
     - USSR
     - PRC
     - US
     - US wish for India to succeed
   - Keating’s forthcoming message for Kaul
     - Discussion with the President
     - Memorandum

Nelson A. Rockefeller
   - Kennedy
   - Conversations with Keating
     - Rockefeller’s location
     - Ron Stafford

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _1m 17s_

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

Personnel management
   - Annenberg
     - Tenure
   - Keating
     - Tenure in office
     - Preparation for possible resignation
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17
******************************************************************************

Gifts
- Money clip

Keating
- Security

Unknown woman

Keating and Kissinger left at 10:52 am.

Conversation No. 665-2

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s meeting with Ellsworth F. Bunker

Bull left at 10:53 pm.
Conversation No. 665-3

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: 10:53 am - 11:33 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ellsworth F. Bunker and Henry A. Kissinger.

President’s previous meeting with Kenneth B. Keating

President’s letter to Nepal
    -Death of King [Mehendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva]
    -Relationship with the US
    -Bunker’s wife [Carol C. (Laise) Bunker]

King Mehendra’s health
    -Illness
    -News summary
    -Skill at hunting

Crown Prince Birendra
    -Age

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 14s]

NEPAL

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
Mrs. Bunker’s schedule
   -Saigon
      -King Mahendra’s death

Keating’s schedule
   -Preparation for testimony
      -Papers

US-India relations
   -Keating’s previous conversation with Triloki Nath Kaul
   -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

US foreign policy
   -John B. Connally’s views

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:53 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:25 am.

US-India relations
   -The President’s and Keating’s experience
   -US policy on India
      -President’s previous conversation with Keating
   -USSR and People’s Republic of China [PRC]
   -US aid
      -Amount
         -United Nations [UN]
      -PRC
         -1962
      -USSR
         -Calcutta
   -US policy
      -Proposed relationship with India
         -Advantages
            -Possible concessions
Bangladesh
- Indian Army
- Bengalis
- USSR, PRC
  - West Bengal
- US interests
  - Possible outcome

Vietnam
- Edmund S. Muskie’s speech, February 2, 1972
  - Assessment
    - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
- President’s policy
- Morale
  - News reports
  - News summary
    - New line
- Military situation
  - Carrier
    - B-52’s and A-1’s
  - President’s forthcoming meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Show of US strength
  - President’s forthcoming trip to PRC
- Communists’ morale
- Bombing
  - Potential for devastation
    - Morale
- Efficacy of interdiction
- Surface-to-Air Missile [SAM] sites
- Protective reaction
- SAM sites
  - Kissinger’s upcoming conversation with Robert F. Ellsworth
    - Shrikes [?]
    - Accuracy of attack
- PRC trip
  - Request to limit the attack
  - Briefings
    - PRC trip
- Protective reaction
  - Definition
-President’s instructions to Bunker
-Bunker’s forthcoming conversation with Abrams
  -Briefings
  -SAM sites
    -Number and location
      -Laos
      -B-52
      -Giap Pass
    -PRC trip
      -Timing
      -President’s request
        -Protective reaction
  -South Vietnam
    -B-3 (?) front
  -Laos
  -Cambodia
  -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
    -PRC trip
      -President’s forthcoming meeting with Moorer
        -Timing
  -I Corps
    -Timing of possible attack
      -Bunker
      -Increase of planes and carriers
  -Briefing, February 2, 1972
  -Bombing
    -Navy pilots
      -Compared to US Air Force [USAF] pilots
        -Accuracy of bombing
          -B-3 (?)
    -Laos
      -Long Tieng
      -Vang Pao’s forces
        -Morale
  -South Vietnamese army
  -South Vietnamese army
    -B-52s attacks
      -Need for follow-up
        -Number of casualties on the ground
  -Abrams
-Melvin R. Laird
-Bunker’s conversation with Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam
  -Timing
  -DMZ
-Gen. [Forename unknown] Nam
  -US 9th Division
  -Delta
  -South Vietnamese 7th Division
  -Conversation with Joseph W. Alsop
  -Timing
-Cambodia
  -Outcome of maneuver
  -Abrams
-Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu’s actions
  -Psychological aspect of upcoming offensive
  -Unknown person
-B-52s
  -Numbers
  -Guam
-Moorer, Laird
  -Kissinger’s upcoming conversation with Laird
-Aircraft carrier
  -Delivery date
  -Number of planes
-South Vietnamese army
  -Offensive
  -Aid
-Vietnamization
-Communists’ casualties
  -Numbers
  -Lam Son operation
-Lam Son
  -Press reporting
-Cambodia
  -34th Corps
  -Sir Robert Thompson’s views
-Bunker’s tenure in office
  -Request from the President
-G. McMurtrie Godley, William H. Sullivan
  -Washington Post’s views
  -New York Times
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)
Conv. No. 665-3 (cont.)

- American “establishment”
  - Reaction to Vietnam
- Bunker’s tenure in office
  - Mrs. Bunker
  - Offensive
    - Upcoming Vietnam negotiations
- 1972 election

Kissinger’s schedule
- Keating
  - [Earl of Cromer] George R.S. Baring
    - Foreign minister

Kissinger left at 11:25 am.

Vietnam
- Abrams
  - Approximate force levels
- Negotiations
  - Possible effect
    - Residual force
      - Potential numbers
- Gen. [Forename unknown] Leander’s letter to Abrams
  - Request for divisions
  - South Korean divisions
    - Withdrawal in 1973
- Size of South Vietnamese army
- Popular forces
- Korean divisions
  - Tran Kim’s Quang’s trip to Seoul
    - Thieu
  - Withdrawal
    - Chief of Staff visit to Saigon
      - Abrams
        - Timing
          - Type of military support
- Residual force
  - President’s forthcoming troop announcement

Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 11:27 pm.
-President’s instructions to Haig
-Abrams
  -Residual force
  -Forthcoming announcement, April 1972
-Korean divisions
  -Concerns
  -Helicopters, logistical support
-Economic aid
  -Congressional action
-Mrs. Bunker
-Bunker’s tenure
-Views of American people

Bunker and Haig left at 11:33 am.

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President’s schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:33 am.

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to William P. Rogers.

Rogers’s memorandum, February 1, 1972
Rogers’s forthcoming conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  -President’s forthcoming trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -Leonid I. Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin
  -Agenda
    -Timing of discussions
    -Middle East
    -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    -Vietnam

European Security Conference
  -Andrei A. Gromyko
  -President’s conversations
  -Timing
  -Substance
    -Evaluation with allies and USSR

SALT
  -Verification panel

US trade with USSR
  -US negotiating position
  -Linkage
  -Credits
  -Views of Maurice H. Stans and Peter G. Peterson
  -Negotiations

Middle East
  -Israel
  -Negotiations
  -USSR
    -Upcoming summit
      -Timing

Distribution of President’s memorandum
  -Henry A. Kissinger
  -Dobrynin
Date: February 3, 1972  
Time: 11:53 am - 1:30 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Memorandum for William P. Rogers

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]  
[Duration: 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

President’s schedule  
- Florida  
- Forthcoming trip to People’s Republic of China [PRC]  
  - Preparation  
    - Patrick J. Buchanan  
    - Talking points  
    - Henry A. Kissinger  
  - Books read by the President

Memorandum to William P. Rogers  
- Kissinger  
  - Copy of memorandum
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Privacy]
[Duration: 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Nellie L. Yates
-Forthcoming conversation with Woods

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 23s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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Woods left at 11:58 am.

Kissinger’s schedule
-Florida
- President’s State of World Message

President’s schedule
- Athletes
  - Introductions
  - Bowie K. Kuhn, Walter Kennedy, Alvin R. (“Pete”) Rozelle
  - Interest
    - Possible attendance
    - Wives
- Buffet
- Views concerning drugs
Conv. No. 665-6 (cont.)

-National economy
  -Stock market
    -Trade volume
    -American Stock Exchange
      -American buyers
      -Institutional buying
  -Unemployment
    -Percentage
  -New jobs
  -Credit
  -Herbert Stein, Paul W. McCracken, and Shultz
    -Concern
  -Money supply
  -Shultz
    -President’s letter to Arthur F. Burns
  -Unemployment
    -Possible press coverage
      -Acceptable percentages

John B. Connally
  -Relationship with David M. Kennedy
    -Kissinger
    -Forthcoming meeting with Haldeman and Peter M. Flanigan

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:58 am.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.  5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _11s_ ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Kennedy
- Forthcoming meeting with Flanigan
- Ambassador’s authority
- Role with administration
  - State Department
- Connally
  - Chain of command
- Kissinger’s possible conversation
  - Connally
- Kennedy’s style
  - Peter G. Peterson
- Role with administration
  - Flanigan, Peterson, Rogers
  - Role of Ambassador specified
  - Compared to Connally
    - Group of Ten
- Cabinet status

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:58 am.

President’s schedule
- Florida
  - Forthcoming call to Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
- Athletes reception
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Rogers

-Life article concerning President’s foreign policy
-Rogers taking credit
-Woods’s reaction
-Interviews concerning foreign policy
-Credit
-Reports
-Kissinger
-China initiative, Vietnam, Cambodia
-Kissinger’s attitude

The President left and returned at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Kissinger’s relations with Rogers

-Possible solutions
-Resignation threat
-Present situation
-Articles
-State Department

Kissinger

Rogers

-Role with Administration
-Relations with the President, Kissinger
-Spokesman
-Kissinger’s conversation with Marshall Green
-State Department
-Memorandum to the President
-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
-Kissinger
-The President’s memorandum to Rogers
-Compared to Kissinger
-Attitude
-Statements concerning President
-Attitude
-John N. Mitchell
-Benjamin C. Bradlee and Katharine L. Graham
- Bradlee’s conversation with Kissinger, February 2, 1972
  - Rogers’s job performance
  - State Department
  - Kissinger’s views
  - Bradlee’s views
- Graham’s conversation with Peterson
  - Length
  - Haldeman’s possible conversations with Peterson
- Bradlee’s views on Rogers
  - Comparisons
    - Concern
    - Rogers’s emotions
- President’s schedule
  - Key Biscayne
  - Kissinger
- Call to President, February 2, 1972
  - Irish Foreign Minister’s [Patrick Hillery’s] arrival
  - Statement
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Ireland
  - Edward R.G. Heath
  - William R. Buckley, Jr.
  - US position

Ireland
  - Terrance Cardinal Cooke

Rogers
  - Role with Administration
    - [Earl of Cromer] Georges R.S. Baring
    - Ireland
    - Hillery
  - Rogers’s quest for publicity
    - President’s upcoming trip to PRC
    - Kissinger
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
  - Attitude
    - Recognition

Woods entered at 12:34 pm.
Memorandum to Rogers
-Kissinger

[The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 12:34 pm and 12:36 pm.]

[Conversation No. 665-6A]

Memorandum to Rogers
-Distribution
- Woods
- Sanchez
- Kissinger’s schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Memorandum to Rogers
-Sanchez

Woods left at 12:36 pm.

Rogers
- Intellectuals
  - Possible actions
  - Bradlee and Graham
    - Attitude toward the President
    - Kissinger
  - Possible actions
- Experience as Attorney General
- State Department
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - Kissinger
  - Marshall Green
    - Working group meeting
      - President’s upcoming PRC trip
        - Rogers’s action
- President’s forthcoming State of the World message
- State Department’s role
  - Rogers’s contribution
    - Kissinger
    - PRC
Conv. No. 665-6 (cont.)

State Department
- Robert S. Ingersoll
  - Interview with Japanese press
  - Congress
- Views concerning Ambassadorship to Japan
  - Foreign Service
- Kissinger
  - Outlook
    - Presidency

Rogers
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Kissinger entered at 12:43 pm.

President’s forthcoming memorandum
- PRC
  - Kissinger’s opinion
    - Wording
  - Rogers

Dobrynin
- Conversation with Kissinger, February 3, 1972
  - Length of conversation
  - State Department

Rogers
- President’s forthcoming memorandum
  - European security, trade

Kenneth B. Keating
- Conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Keating’s possible location
    - New York
  - Campaign activities

Rogers
- President’s forthcoming memorandum
  - US-Soviet trade with USSR
    - Views of Maurice H. Stans and Peter G. Peterson
      - Importance to USSR
Conv. No. 665-6 (cont.)

-Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Middle East

Middle East
-USSR
-Egypt

Rogers
-President’s forthcoming memorandum
-Praise

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:46 pm.

-Distribution
-Contents of memorandum

Woods left at 12:47 pm.

US relations with USSR
-Staff roles
-High interest
-Peterson
-East-West trade
-President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
-President’s forthcoming trip to PRC
-Peking compared with Moscow
-Washington Star article
-Timing
-Possible story leanings
-James B. (“Scoty”) Reston
-Michael J. Mansfield
-Possible leaniness
-President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Middle East
-Vietnam
-Trade
-SALT
-Submarines
-Middle East
-Possible US concessions
-Israel
-US guarantees
-Planes

[The White House operator talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 12:47 pm and 12:49 pm.]

[Conversation No. 665-6B]

[See Conversation No. 20-44]

[Julie Nixon Eisenhower talked with the President between 12:49 pm and 12:51 pm.]

[Conversation No. 665-6C]

[See Conversation No. 20-45; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

President’s schedule
- Yevgeny Yevtushenko
  - Agenda
    - Mood of US
    - Vietnam

Yevtushenko
- Conversation with Kissinger at Jacob K. Javits’s dinner
  - The President’s PRC initiative
- Political views
  - Liberals
  - Support for Vietnam

PRC trip
- Briefing books
  - Buchanan
  - Press conference

President’s schedule
- Television
  - Trip to PRC
  - President’s opinion
- Trip to PRC
  - Toasts
    - Chou En-Lai
-Context
- Illness
  - Vernon C. Coffey, Jr.
- Travel
  - Status of individuals
- Banquet
  - Kissinger’s possible measures
  - Chou En-Lai
- Media coverage
  - Justification
- President’s conversation with Mansfield, February 3, 1972
  - Japan
  - India
  - Foreign relations implications
    - News summaries
    - Buchanan
    - Taiwan
- Critics
  - Potential motives
- Eisaku Sato’s conversation with President
  - Request from Sato
- Foreign relations implications
  - Vietnam
  - Japan
    - US commitment
  - India
  - USSR
  - PRC
- Popular reaction
  - President’s barber
- Vietnam
  - Military situation
    - Pleiku
    - Comparisons to 1968
- PRC trip
  - Media coverage
    - The President’s peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
- Press conference
  - Format
    - PRC trip
  - Agenda
Conv. No. 665-6 (cont.)

-Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

-Edmund S. Muskie
-Budget
-Dock strike
-Connally

-Kissinger
-President’s forthcoming meetings in PRC
-Talking points
-Proposed opening statement
-Chou En-lai

-Florida
-Timing
-Andre Malraux
-Kissinger’s schedule

-Florida
-Connally

Forthcoming trip to PRC
-Possible press coverage
-Barbara Walters
-Briefings for the press
-Kissinger
-Briefing in Hawaii
-Rogers’s role
-Communique
-Rogers
-Marshall Green

-First plenary session
-Chou En-lai

-Rogers
-PRC foreign minister
-Influence
-Chou En-lai

-Role
-Agreements on culture and science
-Kissinger’s instructions
-Kissinger’s briefing in Hawaii

-Press briefings
-Hawaii
-PRC trip
-Substantive briefings
-President’s relationship with the press
Conv. No. 665-6 (cont.)

-Kissinger left at 1:12 pm.
-Press briefings
  -Kissinger compared to Rogers
  -Avoidance of problem
  -President’s role
-President’s role compared to Kissinger’s
  -Possible perception by the press
  -Communique

Rogers
-Role with administration
  -Potential team player
  -Credit
  -Bradlee’s conversation with Kissinger
    -Washington Post
    -Intellectuals
    -Rogers’s tenure

Haldeman left at 1:30 pm.

Date:  February 3, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:25 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:25 pm.
Conversation No. 665-8

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: 2:25 pm - 4:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Vietnam
-Edmund S. Muskie’s speech
-William P. Rogers’s statement
-Michael J. Mansfield
-Ronald Ziegler’s conversation with Rogers
-Reaction
-State Department
-Roles of John A. Scali and Charles W. Colson
-Democrats’ possible reaction
-Possible response
-Mansfield
-Patrick J. Buchanan’s opinion
- Robert J. Dole, Barry M. Goldwater
-Ronald W. Reagan
-John Sherman Cooper, Charles H. Percy
-Edward W. Brooke
-Robert A. Taft, Jr.
-William B. Saxbe
-Toughness
-Nelson A. Rockefeller
-Walter R. Meares
-William E. Brock, III
-Democrats’
- John C. Stennis
-Rogers
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson

Public relations
- Administration counterattacks

Rogers
- Forthcoming television appearance, February 6, 1972
  - Xuan Thuy
  - Time allotment
  - *Face the Nation*
- Statement, February 3, 1972
  - Muskie
    - Responsibility
  - Vietnam negotiations
  - Public reaction to Muskie statement
  - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Involvement
    - Unknown executive at *Sans Souci*

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Viet Cong proposal
    - Media focus
    - Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Possibility of leaving office
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
      - Possible exchange
  - US position
    - Possible withdrawal date
  - Viet Cong proposal
    - Strategy
      - Potential for criticism
      - Propaganda
    - Thieu
    - Cease-fire
  - US-Vietnam strategy
    - Possible cease-fire
    - William J. Porter’s response
    - Ziegler’s comments to press
  - US position
    - Election Commission
      - Thieu
    - Rogers’s comments on Muskie’s speech
Elliot R. Richardson
- Statement concerning welfare reform, February 3, 1972
  - Compromise
  - House Resolution [HR] 1
  - Pilot programs
  - Abraham A. Ribicoff

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Press questions
  - Possible differences of opinion between Agnew and the President
- Legal services
- Ziegler’s comments
  - Legislation

White House Conference on Drug Abuse
- Press coverage

Television

Leonard H. Goldenson and Elton Rule
- Conversation with Ziegler, February 3, 1972
- Previous meeting with Colson and Peter M. Flanigan
- Conversation with Ziegler
  - Television news
- Daniel L. Schorr
  - Claim
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

Ziegler left at 2:45 pm.

President’s schedule
- Florida
- Previous meeting with athletes
  - Press coverage
  - Bowie K. Kuhn, Alvin R. (“Pete”) Rozelle
  - President’s comments
    - Effect
    - Emulation of the President
  - Athletes in commercials
- Blacks
  - Competition
- Introduction of the President
  - Possible changes suggested by the President
  - Military aide
  - Signal corpsman
  - Trained announcer
    - British system
    - Example
    - Professionalism
  - Army Chorus
  - Selection of songs

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 35s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

White House social events
  - Music
    - Prayer breakfast
      - America
    - DeWitt Wallace dinner
      - Incident
        - God Bless America
    - Army Chorus
      - Road to Mandalay

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 3s]
Music
- Walter E. (“Walt”) Disney
- Churches

Prayer breakfast
- Two black girls with guitar
  - Ethel Waters
  - Performance

Yevgeny Yevtushenko
- Kissinger
- Background
- Babi Yar
  - Theme

Jews

Peter G. Peterson
- Role with administration
  - John B. Connally

President’s previous meeting with athletes
- Importance
Kissinger entered at 3:01 pm.

Muskie
- Rogers’s comments February 3, 1972 concerning speech on Vietnam
  - Quotes
    - Mansfield

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Viet Cong proposal
    - President’s conversation with Ziegler
    - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
    - Withdrawal
      - POWs
    - Thieu
      - Possible resignation
    - US position
- US position
- Viet Cong proposal
  - Ceasefire negotiations
- US position
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Kissinger’s conversation with Mansfield, February 3, 1972

- Viet Cong proposal
  - Possible US response
    - Press
    - US proposal
      - October 1971

Cuba
- Ad hoc approach

Haldeman left at 3:07 pm.

Yevtushenko and Demitri Zarechnak entered at 3:07 pm.

Photograph opportunities

Cuba
Seating
- Andrei A. Gromyko
- Other Heads of State
- Seating

Yevtushenko
- Visit to US
- Poetry readings
  - Language
  - Background

Local pride
- Yevtushenko’s hometown
  - Location
    - The President’s travels
    - Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk
  - Comparisons to the US

President’s college experience
- Leo Tolstoy

Russian literary tradition
- Dr. Zhivago
  - Description

President’s 1959 visit to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Nikita S. Khruschev
- President’s speech
  - Sincerity
  - Understanding of conditions in USSR
  - Tone
  - Effect

Yevtushenko’s poetry

Values of USSR people
  - Yevtushenko’s view

Unite of mankind
The President’s forthcoming trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -Effect

Yevtushenko’s visit to Chile in 1968
  -Reception
    -Accusations from left and right

Yevtushenko’s visit to Library of Congress in 1966
  -Robert S. McNamara
  -Photograph caption

The President’s forthcoming trip to the PRC
  -Effect
    -USSR
    -Vietnam

USSR invasion of Prague
  -Historical relevance

USSR relations with US
  -Propoganda
    -Khrushchev
    -Josef V. Stalin

Anti-American propaganda
  -Worldwide Leftist movement
    -Yevtushenko’s previous visit to South America
      -Yevtushenko’s opinion
    -Socialists
    -USSR relations with US
      -Apparent closeness
    -The President’s forthcoming trip to the PRC
      -Meeting with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai
        -Effect

President’s meeting with Yevtushenko
President’s forthcoming visit to USSR
   - Kissinger
   - Duration
   - USSR intelligentsia
   - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
     - Classical ballet
   - Itinerary

Theatre
   - Moscow
   - Receptions

Kissinger’s visit to USSR

President’s visits to Paris, London, Bonn
   - Timing

President’s forthcoming visit to USSR
   - Itinerary
   - Meetings with leaders
     - Cultural exchange
       - Bureaucracies

Russia
   - Abolition of serfdom
     - Freedom
   - October Revolution
   - Tsar
   - Interim government
   - Maxim Gorky’s letter to Vladimir Ilich Lenin [Ulyanov]
   - Censorship
     - Civil War

Slavery in US
   - Effect

USSR
   - History
     - Ideals compared to reality
   - Political conditions
Leonid I. Brezhnev
- Desire to visit US
- Possible timing

President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
- France [?] 

Kissinger’s schedule
- Connally

Kissinger left at 3:55 pm.

President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
- Itinerary
  - Kissinger’s forthcoming conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Recommendations
    - President’s reputation

President’s 1967 visit to USSR
- Cultural exchange
  - Moscow
  - Samarkand
  - Alma-Ata

US-USSR relations
- Common interests

President’s forthcoming visit to PRC
- Possible USSR reaction
- President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
- Possible PRC reaction
- The President’s pragmatism
- Importance
  - US differences with PRC, USSR
  - Intelligentsia

President’s forthcoming trip to USSR
- Brezhnev
  - Khrushchev
- Aleksei N. Kosygin
- Agenda for talks
-Arms limitation, trade
-Spirit of visit
-World War II

US-USSR relations
-Korea

World peace
-“Watershed”
-President’s forthcoming trips
  -Possible impact on viewing PRC and USSR leaders
  -Brezhnev’s possible trip

Yevtushenko’s poetry
-Suggestions from Yevtushenko

Nancy Hanks
-Role with Administration

President’s 1967 visit to USSR
-Samarkand
  -Conversation with one-legged man

Presentation of gifts by President
-Cufflinks

World peace
-US, USSR, PRC

Yevtushenko’s book

Yevtushenko and Zarechnak left at 4:10 pm.
Conversation No. 665-9

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 4:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Yevgeny Yevtushenko
- Compared to German Professor

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:23 pm.

Conversation No. 665-10

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 4:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:23 pm.

Conversation No. 665-11

Date: February 3, 1972
Time: 4:23 pm - 4:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler, Charles W. Colson and Rose Mary Woods.
President’s previous meeting with Yevgeny Yevtushenko
- Ziegler’s forthcoming comments to press
- The President’s reading
- President’s forthcoming visits to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] and People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Yevtushenko’s visit to US
- Poetry
  - Discussion of arts
  - Transcending politics

Note to William P. Rogers

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Privacy]
[Duration: 10s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
******************************************************************************

President’s upcoming meeting with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Timing

Woods and Ziegler left at 4:26 pm.

National economy
- Unemployment
  - Administration’s statistics
  - Unknown person
  - Married men
    - Percentage
    - Compared to early 1960’s
- Colson’s conversation with James D. Hodgson
- Prospects
  - Comparisons to last year

Rogers
- Comments concerning Edmund S. Muskie’s speech on Vietnam

Muskie
-Speech on Vietnam
  - Possible administration response
    - President’s 1968 Republican Platform Committee statement
  - Negotiations
    - Peace
      - Muskie’s involvement
  - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson’s possible response
  - Jackson’s forthcoming Meet the Press, February 6, 1972
    - Briefing by White House staff member

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
****************************************************************************

Muskie
-Speech on Vietnam
  - Possible administration response
  - President’s memorandum, February 2, 1972
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
      - John A. Scali
  - Rogers
    - Compared to John Foster Dulles
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _9s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

-Barry M. Goldwater
-Rogers

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:26 pm.

President’s schedule
   -Moorer
   -Henry A. Kissinger
   -Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
   -President’s instructions

Kissinger’s schedule
   -Possible delay
   -Robert S. Ingersoll

President’s schedule
   -Moorer
   -Alexander P. Butterfield
   -Ingersoll
   -Haig

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:42 pm.

National economy
   -Unemployment
     -Herbert Stein
   -Status
     -Income
     -Inflation
-Unemployment

Rogers
- Conversation with Colson
- Relations with press
- Conversation with Colson
- Forthcoming *Face the Nation*, February 6, 1972
- Jackson
- Goldwater speech
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Possible Administration response

Muskie
- Speech on Vietnam
  - Arizona and Iowa
  - Press comment on Muskie speech
  - Unknown reporter’s conversation with Colson, January 31, 1972
- Press conference
- Possible attacks by Democrats
- Forthcoming attacks by Jackson
  - The environment, busing, and the space shuttles
- Goldwater
- Speech on Vietnam
  - Possible administration response

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Peace offer
    - Reaction by Viet Cong
  - *Wall Street Journal* editorial
    - Distribution
- Administration propaganda
  - Upcoming special issues of *Monday*
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s trip to Africa
    - The President’s peace initiatives
 BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
 [Personal Returnable]
 [Duration: 1m 3s ]

 END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

 National economy
 -Stock Market
  -Volume
   -American Stock Exchange
   -Brokers’ profits
    -Comparisons to 1968

 Michael J. Mansfield
 Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:26 pm.

 The President’s schedule
  -Kissinger

 Bull left at an unknown time before 4:42 pm.

 The press
  -Edith Efron
   -Colson’s conversation with Leonard H. Goldenson, February 3, 1972
   -Network coverage of Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. Committee
    -Walter J. Cronkite, Jr.’s testimony
     -Accuracy in Media’s challenge to Federal Communications Commission
 [FCC]
  -David Brinkley’s previous commentary about military state
Conv. No. 665-11 (cont.)

President’s schedule
  -Florida
    -Preparation for forthcoming trip to PRC
      -Readings

Colson left at 4:42 pm.

Conversation No. 665-12

Date:  February 3, 1972
Time:  Unknown between 4:42 pm and 5:08 pm
Location:  Oval Office

The President met with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and Henry A. Kissinger.

  President’s previous meeting with Yevgeny Yevtushenko
    -President’s 1959 speech in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    -President’s forthcoming trip to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      -Effect on USSR
        -Interpreter
          -Notes for Kissinger

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  -Contact with President
    -Importance
      -Yeoman Charles E. Radford incident
        -Jack N. Anderson
      -Secretary of Defense
        -Responsibility
      -Kissinger, Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
        -President’s instructions

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 5:08 pm.