Date: January 20, 1972 Time: Unknown between 12:00 am and 1:17 pm Location: Oval Office	
Unknown men [Secret Service agents?] met.	Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
*******************	********
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has bee released 08/09/2022.] [Unintelligible] [652-001-w001] [Duration: 15s]	n rereviewed and
*******************	********
Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 1:17 pm.	
	Conversation No. 652-2
Date: January 20, 1972 Time: Unknown between 1:17 pm and 1:22 pm Location: Oval Office	
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.	
Briefcase	
******************	********
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under Segment cleared for release.] [Personal Returnable] [652-002-w002] [Duration: 2s]	deed of gift 08/09/2022.
The President's request -Coffee	
******************	********

### Briefcase

- -Executive Office Building [EOB]
- -Relocation

# Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:22 pm.

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 652-3

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: 1:22 pm - unknown before 1:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's State of the Union Address, January 20, 1972

- -Woods's view
- -Woods's presence

### Instruction

State of the Union Address

- -Woods's view
- -Length
  - -Compared with addresses by Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
  - -The President's previous addresses
- -Woods's view

### Equal Rights Amendment [ERA]

- -Note to John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Administration position
    - -Publicity
- -Edward M. Kennedy's position
  - -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's report
- -Administration position
  - -Barbara H. Franklin
    - -Letter
  - -Publicity
  - -Ehrlichman
  - -Women in Congress

### State of the Union Address

- -Woods's observations
  - -Edward Kennedy, Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey and Harold E. Hughes
  - -Senate
  - -Members

### Margaret Chase Smith

An unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?] entered at an unknown time after 1:22 pm.

-Administrative Assistant -Name [William C. Lewis]

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:29 pm.

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:22 pm and 1:29 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-3A]

[See Conversation No. 19-32]

[End of telephone conversation]

Lewis

- -Name
- -Health
- -Marjorie P. Acker
- -Name

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:22 pm and 1:29 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-3B]

[See Conversation No. 19-33]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[652-003-w002]

[Duration: 2m 5s]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower

- -Clothes
  - -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
  - -Appeal to youth
  - -Campaign
- -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
- -Clothes

```
Tricia Nixon Cox
          -Clothes
               -The President's opinion
               -Rose Mary Woods' opinion
                    -Compared to Julie Nixon Eisenhower
                                                          Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
     Julie Nixon Eisenhower
          -Forthcoming conversation with Rose Mary Woods
     The President's schedule
          -Florida
               -Activities
               -Rose Mary Woods
               -Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
******************************
[The White House operator talked with the President at 1:29 pm.]
[Conversation No. 652-3C]
[See Conversation No. 19-34]
[End of telephone conversation]
******************************
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[652-003-w003]
[Duration: 2s]
     The President's health
***************************
      State of the Union Address
          -The President's efforts
               -Compared with previous addresses
          -Delivery
               -Woods's view
          -Length
               -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s view
               -Cuts
          -Delivery
               -Price's view
          -Edward Kennedy's reaction
```

```
-Clark MacGregor's comment
           -Previous speech
           -John Kennedy quotation
                -Woods's observance of Edward Kennedy
     -John Kennedy quotation
           -The President's handling
                                                             Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
                -US commitments
           -Critique
                -Bolivia
                -US foreign policy
John Kennedy
     -Accomplishments
           -Death
           -Compared to Johnson
Johnson
     -Accomplishments
     -Poverty program
           -John Kennedy
           -Blacks
           -Johnson's support
     -Racism
           -Compared with the President
     -Liberalism
           -Compared with John Kennedy
           -The Great Society
State of the Union Address
     -Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally's presence
           -Clothes
     -Cabinet wives
           -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
     -John B. Connally
           -The President's glance during tax section delivery
     -Nellie Connally
     -Cabinet wives
     -Atmosphere
           -Supreme Court
     -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
```

Woods left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm.

-Applause

Conversation No. 652-4

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:29 pm and 1:33 pm

Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

-Charles W. Colson and Clark MacGregor

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

# Bull left at an unknown time before 1:33 pm.

Conversation No. 652-5

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 1:33 pm - 2:15 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Clark MacGregor.

Charles W. Colson

-Schedule

The President's schedule

-Taping

-Unknown technician

### Bull left at an unknown time before 1:37 pm.

State of the Union Address, January 20, 1972

-MacGregor's view

-MacGregor's viewing on TV

-Commentary by Paul Duke and Herbert E. Kaplow

-The President's expectations of Congress

-Welfare reform

-Revenue-sharing

-Government reorganization

-Environment

-Commentary by Hugh S. Sidey, Charles L. Bartlett and unknown black

woman

-Shirley Chisholm

-Politics

-Democrats

-1960s issues

-Demonstrations

-Campuses, cities

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] commentary

-Media commentary

-MacGregor's secretary

-Notes

-Address compared with 1971 Address

### Charles W. Colson entered at 1:37 pm.

-Dan Rather's commentary

-Democrat leadership

-The President's political tone

# H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 1:37 pm.

-William H. Lawrence's commentary

-Strength of speech

-1972 election

-The President's platform

-Economy

-Lewis Gulick's comments on Associated Press [AP] wire

-Bipartisanship

-Historical comparison

-Democrats

## Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:37 pm.

The President's schedule
-Taping

### Bull left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm.

State of the Union Address

-John F. Kennedy comparison

-Vietnam

-Schools

-Local control

-Reception by audience

-Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

-Applause

-CBS

-Daniel L. Schorr's analysis

-West Coast dock strike

-Reception by audience

-Congress

-Humphrey's and Muskie's reception

-Edward M. Kennedy's reception

-CBS commentary

-The President's ad-lib

-Future media coverage

-The President's schedule

-Tom McCall

-Daniel J. Evans

-The President's statement from Florida, January 21, 1972

-Calls to Ronald W. Reagan and others

```
-Reactions to speech
                      -Publicity
     -William E. Brock, III's views
           -Challenge to Congress
     -Hugh Scott's views
     -Michael J. Mansfield's views
                                                             Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
           -Tax measures
     -Political strategy
     -Kaplow's commentary
           -Neil H. McElroy Commission on school finance
           -Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
                -The President's concern and initiative
                -Muskie's reaction to the President's reference
                      -Humphrey
                -Muskie's role on committee
                      -Attendance at meetings
     -National interest
     -Tone
     -Conclusion
           -Contrast with Edward Kennedy's National Press Club speech, January 17,
                  1972
           -State of nation
                -Compared to Edward Kennedy's and Muskie's statements
     -Confidence in government
     -Congressional reaction
           -Wright Patman
                -Forthcoming Gross National Product [GNP] figures
           -Gerald R. Ford
                -1972 election
           -Margaret C. Smith
           -George D. Aiken
     -Smith
           -Appearance
           -Age
           -Reelection
           -Compared with Aiken
      -Republican Congressional leaders
           -Mood
Scott
     -Commentaries from Pennsylvania newspapers
           -Delivery to MacGregor
     -1972 election
           -Pennsylvania
     -Political work
Congressional breakfast, January 19, 1972
     -William E. Timmons and MacGregor
     -Scott
     -Ford
     -Robert P. Griffin
```

- -Leslie C. Arends
- -The President's submitted State of the Union Address
  - -Recommendations
    - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s incorporation into address
- -Republican Congressional leaders
  - -Mood

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

## Congress

- -Recess
- -State of the Union Address
  - -Election year

### State of the Union Address

- -Approach avoided
- -The President's treatment of Congress
- -Roger H. Mudd's comment
  - -Political impact
- -Political impact
- -Statesmanship
- -Length
  - -Compared to previous addresses
    - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - -Price's view
- -Specific passage
  - -Response to the nation's critics
  - -Impact
- -State of nation
- -Credit for the Administration
  - -Vietnam
    - -Casualties
    - -Troop withdrawals
- -Congressional recess
  - -Griffin's view of submitted address
    - -Lincoln Day speeches
- -Use by Congressmen
- -National defense issue
  - -Response
    - -Republicans
    - -Gale W. McGee
    - -John C. Stennis
    - -John N. Ashbrook
    - -Barry M. Goldwater
- -J. William Fulbright's reaction
  - -John V. Brennan's observation
    - -Muskie
    - -Humphrey
  - -John Sherman Cooper's views of Fulbright
    - -Partisanship
    - -Cooper's reaction at meetings of Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- -Welfare reform
  - -Work

```
-Lincoln Day speeches
                 -Reagan
      -Family assistance issue
           -Reaction received by Colson
           -Patrick J. Buchanan
      -Welfare reform
           -Trial program
           -Conservative response
Congress
     -The Administration's possible political strategy
           -Democrats
                 -Partisanship
                       -Allegations by MacGregor's office
                             -Duration
                 -Attendance at sessions
                 -Passage of the President's legislation
                       -Official daily reminder by Republicans
                             -Number of presidential initiatives
                             -Scheduling
           -Public view
                 -Polls
           -Passage of the President's legislation
                 -State of the Union reference
                       -Proposals
                             -Budget
                             -Bipartisanship
                 -Timetable for conciliation
                       -June 1972
                       -Democratic National Convention
                       -The President's trip to Soviet Union
                 -Official daily reminders by Republicans
                       -Samuel L. Devine
                       -Robert J. Dole
                             -Humor
                       -Scheduling
                       -Democrat reaction
                             -Sensitivity
                 -Dock strike
                       -Possible hearings
The President's schedule
      -Meeting with Republican leaders
           -MacGregor's coordination with Haldeman
           -Scheduling
```

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

# MacGregor and Colson left at 2:05 pm.

State of the Union Address

- -Tone
- -Delivery

```
-Reception -Kennedys
```

## An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

Refreshments

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

## The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm.

White House staff

- -Richard A. Moore
- -Sidey
  - -William L. Safire
- -Moore
  - -Ability
  - -Compared with Safire

### State of the Union Address

- -Length
  - -Written compared to spoken message
- -Delivery on prime time television
  - -Compared with delivery before Congress
- -Written compared to spoken message
  - -Public and Congress
- -Ceremony
  - -Number of attendees
  - -Congress, Cabinet and Supreme Court
  - -TV viewing

## Henry A. Kissinger's briefing

- -The President's previous phone call to Kissinger
- -Humor
- -Substance

# State of the Union Address

- -Press and media
  - -Reaction
- -Bi-partisanship

### Vietnam

- -The President's forthcoming speech on peace plan, January 25, 1972
  - -Possible impact
- -Secret negotiations
  - -Ending war
- -Congressional involvement
  - -Talks with North Vietnam and Vietcong
- -Secret talks
  - -Publicity

## Kissinger

-Resignation

# -Effect -William P. Rogers

# The President's schedule -Forthcoming taping session

The President and Haldeman left at 2:15 pm.

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 652-20

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Greetings

The unknown person left at an unknown time between 2:15pm and 2:20pm.

Conversation No. 652-6

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Henry A. Kissinger -Schedule

-Meeting with the President

-Forthcoming Cabinet meeting

-Trip to Florida

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Conversation No. 652-7

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

### Henry A. Kissinger's location

## Bull left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.) Conversation No. 652-8

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 2:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/09/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable] [652-008-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

The President's request -Coffee

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Conversation No. 652-9

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 2:30 pm - 2:32 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Items for the President's signature
-Forthcoming Cabinet meeting

Butterfield left at 2:32 pm.

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:32 and 2:57 pm

Location: Oval Office

# The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

Harold O. Lovre
-Death
-Wreath
-Military aide

Conversation No. 652-11

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 2:57 pm - 3:05 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Dinner, January 20, 1972
-Cabinet
-Business session

The President's schedule

-Cabinet and Congressional leaders

-Meetings

-Frequency

-Value

-Frequency

-Selection of new Cabinet in second term

-Review

-Individual Cabinet members

### Ronald L. Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

### Robert E. Merriam

-Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR] study

-The President's letter to Merriam

-Release to press

-Ziegler's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman

-Ziegler's conversation with Merriam

### Edmund S. Muskie

-Membership on ACIR

-Attendance at meeting

-Reaction to the President's State of the Union Address

-Applause

```
-Statement
```

-Bi-partisanship

### State of the Union Address

-Democrats' reactions

-Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson

-Unemployment issue

-Television coverage

-Ziegler's watching

-Cut to audience at closing remark

-Bella S. Abzug's reaction

-Statement

-The President's tenure in office

-Partisanship

-Muskie's reaction

-Number of proposals

-Statement for television

-Competition with Hubert H. Humphrey

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

-Republican reaction

-The President's bipartisanship

-Attack on Democrats

-Tone

-Muskie statement

-Vietnam war

-Personal attacks

-Edward M. Kennedy's reaction

# Dock strike announcement, January 21, 1972

-Handling by Ziegler and Laurence H. Silberman

-The President's involvement

-Statement, January 20,, 1972

-Rhetoric

-Toughness

-Labor Department

-Legislation for arbitration

-Congress

-The President's State of the Union reference

-The President's input

-Attack on strikers

-Irresponsibility

-Economy

-George P. Shultz

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-Charles W. Colson's office

-Rhetoric

-Toughness

-Silberman

-Legislation

-Rhetoric

-Toughness

# An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:57 pm.

Cabinet meeting

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Dock strike announcement

- -Rhetoric
  - -Toughness
  - -Buchanan

The President, Haldeman and Ziegler left at 3:05 pm.

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 652-12

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 4:50 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service] talked with an unknown person.

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

Conversation No. 652-13

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 4:52 pm - 5:59 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Terence Cardinal Cooke, Theodore E. McCarrick, Peter M. Flanigan and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; Stephen B. Bull, the White House photographer, and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

The President's schedule

Cooke's return from trip to Vietnam
-Servicemen
-Haig's question to Cooke
-Morale

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:52 pm.

## The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:22 pm.

```
The President's State of the Union Address
            -Cooke's watching on television
                                                                     Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
       The President's schedule
            -Cabinet meeting
                  -Cooke's activity during meeting
       [General conversation]
       [Photograph session]
The White House photographer and the press left at an unknown time after 4:52 pm.
       Cooke's trip to Vietnam
            -Unknown bishop
                  -Travel to Greenland, Iceland and Europe
            -US armed forces
                  -Drugs
                        -Situation
                             -Prevention, education, treatment
                             -Incoming troops
                             -Da Nang
                                   -Compared to other areas
                  -Morale
                        -Troop withdrawal
                        -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.'s report to Cooke
                        -Commanders
                             -Concern
                        -General [Forename] McDonough [sp?]
                             -Da Nang
                             -Defensive action
                                   -Explanation to troops
                        -Compared to earlier tone
                  -Peace time forces
                        -Korea
                        -Japan
                        -Western Europe
                        -US bases
                        -Pride in duty
                             -Compared with rear area service in World War II
                                   -The President's experience
                                         -Noumea
                                         -Guadalcanal
            -South Vietnamese
                  -Morale
                        -Farming, housing
```

-New schools, seminary buildings

```
-Da Nang
                      -Hospitals
           -Pacification
                 -Effects
                      -Publicity
                      -Military forces
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
                      -Harvest
                      -Land reform
                      -Building
                            -Schools, stores, roads
           -Vietnamization
                 -Term
                       -Connotation
                 -Military
                      -Troop withdrawal
                            -Melvin R. Laird
                 -Public response
                      -Greek-Turkish aid program
                      -Marshall Plan
                      -Alliance for progress
                      -South and North Vietnamese development
                 -Self-help
                      -"Partnership for development"
           -Rice surplus
                 -South Vietnamese population
     -Vietcong
     -US, South Vietnamese casualties
           -Decline
     -South Vietnamese army
           -Forthcoming offensive by North Vietnam
                 -Handling
                      -Prospects
           -Nature of wars
                 -Retreating
                 -Battle at Tannenberg
                      -Book by Winston S. Churchill
                      -Russians
                            -L'vov
                      -German retreat
                            -Effect on Russians
                                  -Prisoners
                 -Battle of the Bulge
                      -Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.
                            -Pincher movement
Vietnam
     -Statement by Catholic Bishops
           -End of war
           -Justness of wars
           -Useful purpose of Vietnam war
```

-Peace

```
-Aid to South Vietnam
           -Number of North Vietnamese in Laos, Cambodia and
            South Vietnam
                 -1954 accords
                 -Self defense
     -Justness of wars
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
           -Self defense
     -South Vietnamese survival
           -US support
           -1954 events
                 -Bishop of Da Nang
                 -Civilian casualties
                       -Starvation
           -Possible casualties
           -US withdrawal
                 -Peace
                 -Avoiding South Vietnamese casualties
           -Catholics
     -Conduct of war
           -The President's view
     -Statement by Catholic Bishops
           -Cooke's position
           -Minority opinion
                 -US unilateral withdrawal
           -Cooke's editing
           -Immorality of war
                 -Possible impact on US troops
           -Consistency with US policy
                 -Treatment by press
                       -Compared with actual statement
                            -The President's reading
           -Francis Cardinal Spellman
           -Minority opinion
           -Press treatment
           -Compared with Quakers' response
           -Support of the President's policies
           -Cooke's conversation with unknown men
Cooke's speech
     -Rose Mary Woods's assessment
Richard E. Berlin
     -Health
           -Roosevelt Hospital
     -Media report, January 19, 1972
     -Religion
     -Invitation to Readers' Digest dinner, January 28, 1972
```

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:52 pm and 5:22 pm.]

-Location

```
[Conversation No. 652-13A]
[See Conversation No. 19-35]
The President conferred with Cooke during the telephone conversation.
                                                                      Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
       Berlin's location
[End of conferral]
[End of telephone conversation]
       White House operator
       Berlin
             -Admiration for the President
             -Muriel ("Honey") (Johnson) Berlin
       Vietnam
             -Forthcoming developments
             -End of war in 1972
             -US involvement
                  -Prisoners of war [POWs]
                        -US withdrawals
                        -US aid to South Vietnam
             -Cooke's trip
                   -Stop in Bethlehem
                        -"Generation of peace"
                        -Mass for peace
                        -Cooke's previous visits
                        -The President's travels
                        -Mass for peace
                              -"Shepherd's Field"
                              -Remembrance of the President
       People's Republic of China [PRC]
             -The President's forthcoming trip
                   -Henry A. Kissinger's briefing of Cooke
                        -Instructions to Haig
             -Population
             -Catholic missionaries
                   -Captivity
```

The President's forthcoming trip to Soviet Union
-Briefing of Cooke

-Bishop James E. Walsh

State of the Union Address
-The President's foreign trips and relations
-Differences

### -Hopes for peace

### Cooke's talk with Soviet Friends in New York

- -Communists
- -The President's foreign trips

## [The White House operator talked with the President at 5:22 pm.]

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

[Conversation No. 652-13B]

[See Conversation No. 19-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

### Berlin

- -Forthcoming conversation with Cooke
  - -The President's attempted call

#### India

- -Cooke's visit to Calcutta
  - -Refugees
- -Relief work by voluntary agencies
- -US aid
  - -Humanitarian efforts
  - -United Nations [UN]
  - -Catholic efforts
  - -Pakistan

### Parochial schools

- -Rate of closings
- -Prospects
- -Government assistance
  - -Presidential commission [President's Committee on School Finance]
    - -Forthcoming report
  - -Administration plan
  - -Tax credit
- -Supreme Court decision
  - -Child benefits
  - -Direct subsidy
- -Tax credit
  - -Benefit to public and parochial schools
  - -Legislation
  - -Flanigan's possible conversation with John B. Connally
  - -Property tax substitute
  - -Justice Department view
    - -Bishops' view
    - -Constitutionality
- -Government assistance
  - -Legislation
  - -Flanigan's possible talks with Connally and John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Congressional schedule

```
-Tax Bill
           -Revenue sharing
           -Health program
           -Ways and Means Committee
     -Tax Bill
     -Neil H. McElroy Committee [President's Committee on School Finance]
Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
             report
     -Connally
           -Talk with Flanigan
           -Meeting with Cooke
           -Need for support
     -The President's policy
     -Connally
           -Relation with Cooke
           -Schedule
                 -Meeting
                       -Publicity
                 -Speech in New York City to conference board
                 -Cooke's home
-Need for public confidence
-Legislation
     -Prospects for educational pluralism
-Government assistance
     -Connally
           -Schedule
                 -Forthcoming Cabinet dinner
                       -Possible conversation with the President
                 -New York City
                       -Meeting with Cooke
                 -International monetary matters
           -Standing in Cabinet
           -School closing rate
           -Educational pluralism
-Public education
     -National Education Association [NEA]
-Values
-Schools in foreign countries
     -The President's visits
           -PRC
           -Soviet Union
           -Romania
           -Hungary
           -Poland
           -Czechoslovakia
-Public education
     -State control
-Government assistance
     -Inflation
     -Character compared to intelligence
           -Arrogance, pride
     -Legislation
```

-Timing

- -Flanigan's comment
- -Justice Department
- -Supreme Court
  - -William H. Rehnquist
  - -Position

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

The President's schedule -Meeting with William C. Westmoreland

# Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:22 pm.

-Request that Westmoreland join them -Kissinger's schedule

# Bull left at an unknown time before 5:38 pm.

The President's schedule

State of the Union Address -Reaction

The President's health -Predecessors

### William Westmoreland entered at 5:38 pm.

Greetings

Introduction

Vietnam

-Armed forces

- -Morale
- -Cooke's talks with troops
- -Families at home
- -Societal problems
- -Education by military

Westmoreland

-Forthcoming trip to Indonesia

Cooke's forthcoming meeting with Connally

[General conversation]

The President's schedule

-Trip to PRC

-Future meeting with Cooke

Cooke, McCarrick and Flanigan left and Melvin R. Laird entered at 5:40 pm.

```
Harold O. Lovre
     -Funeral
     -Chowder and Marching Club
     -Formerly Representative from South Dakota
     -Home
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
     -Funeral
           -Cabinet meeting
           -Laird
           -Rogers C. B. Morton
           -The President's wreath
     -Recent health
           -Laird's recent meeting
           -Cancer
           -Recent party
Indonesia
     -Westmoreland's talk with Haig
     -The President's letter
     -Lt. Gen. TNJ Suharto
           -Forthcoming conversation with Westmoreland
     -Francis J. Galbraith
     -Economic assistance
           -State department policy
                 -Marshall Green
                 -Former ambassadors
     -Military security program
           -Suharto
                 -US support
           -Geography
           -Population
           -Agriculture
                 -Rice
           -Nixon Doctrine
     -Aid program
           -Size
           -Congress
     -Westmoreland trip
     -US policy in Southeast Asia
           -Vietnam
           -US interest and presence
     -The President's trip to PRC
     -US policy
     -Population and resources
           -Compared with Southeast Asia, Thailand
           -Vietnam
           -Soviets
     -US aid
           -Congress
                 -Aid to other nations
                      -Cambodia
```

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-Consortium
     -Connally's previous trip
           -US aid
                 -India
     -Military aid
           -Military
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
                 -Communism
                 -Training
           -Importance
US military influence
     -International sales
           -Laird's possible conversation with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
           -Latin America
                 -French sales
                 -Training
                 -Peru
                 -Chile
                       -Salvador Allende Gossens
                            -US policy
           -JCS
           -J. William Fulbright
           -Michael J. Mansfield
           -Frank F. Church
           -Arms
     -Civilian compared to military regimes
     -Yugoslavia
           -Reorganization of Communist Party
                 -Latin America
     -Military attaches
           -Function
           -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
                 -Brazil
                 -Relationship with the President
     -Venezuela
           -Commander of army
                 -Visit with Westmoreland
           -Latin America
           -Trade
                 -France
                 -Oil
                       -US purchases
                 -France
     -Bolivia
           -President [Hugo Banzer-Suarez]
                 -Relations with Westmoreland
                 -Military assistance
                       -Rate of delivery
                 -Relations with US
     -Latin American aid
           -Limitations
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-Fulbright and Church
           -Non-military uses
                 -Education
           -Soviet Union
                 -MIGs
     -India
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
           -Economic compared to military
           -Soviet Union
                 -Military aid
     -Political problems
     -Military regimes
           -Congress
                 -Unknown person
     -Military sales
           -India
                 -US compared to Soviet equipment
           -Congressional limitations
                 -Effect on Nixon Doctrine
                 -Paper from Laird
                      -Delivery to the President through Haig
                      -National Security Council [NSC]
                      -State Department
                      -William P. Rogers
                      -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Forthcoming Cabinet dinner
     -Laird's presence
State of the Union Address
     -Westmoreland's presence
Indonesia
     -Westmoreland's trip
     -The President's view
     -Population
           -Wealth
     -Westmoreland's trip
           -Suharto
           -[Unintelligible name]
           -Vietnam
           -Cambodia
                 -Phnom Penh
           -Vietnam
                 -Military prospects
                 -Nguyen Van Thieu
           -Cambodia
                 -Gen. Lon Nol
                 -Udorn
                      -C. McMurtrie Godley
                 -The President's trip to PRC
```

Conversation No. 652-14 Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:59 pm and 6:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Document signing

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm

Conversation No. 652-15

Date: January 20, 1972 Time: 6:00 pm - 6:08 pm Location: Oval Office

### The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

```
H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule
-Preparation for Cabinet dinner
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Items for the President's signature

[Signing documents]

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Robert H. Finch
-Health
-Location
-Home
-Cabinet meeting
```

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:00 pm and 6:06 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-15A]

[See Conversation No. 19-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

Finch

-Health

[Signing documents]

Memorandum

Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)

[The President talked with Finch between 6:06 pm and 6:08 pm.]

[Conversation No. 652-15B]

[See Conversation No. 19-38]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:08 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 652-16

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:08 pm and 6:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 652-17

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown after 6:08 pm until 6:36 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Briefcases

-Airplane

-Materials

-Alexander P. Butterfield

Henry A. Kissinger entered and the unknown man left at 6:12 pm.

Forthcoming Cabinet dinner

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State of the Union Address
     -Success
The President's schedule
     -Terence Cardinal Cooke
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
     -Call to Kissinger
The President's schedule
     -Gen. William C. Westmoreland
Dobrynin
     -Call to Kissinger
           -India-Pakistan relations
     -Dinner with Kissinger, January 21, 1972
     -Outlook
Vietnam
     -Message from Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
     -North Vietnamese offensive
           -Reserve units
           -US bombing of logistic build-up
           -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Dobrynin
           -Possible effect on the President's People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
           -Possible US bombing
                 -Location
                 -Timing
                       -The President's peace plan speech, January 25, 1972
                            -Possible North Vietnamese response
                      -Buildup
                      -US bombing
                      -Abrams's plan
           -Settlement
           -II Corps
                 -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
           -I Corps
           -US air power
           -DMZ
           -Dobrynin
                 -Forthcoming dinner with Kissinger
India-Pakistan War
     -Dobrynin
           -Conversation with Kissinger, January 20, 1972
                 -Tone
           -Schedule
     -Vasily V. Kuznetsov
     -December 10, 1971 telegram from Soviet ambassador to India, Nikolai M. Pegov
           -Kashmir
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-Kuznetsov
     -The President's December 9, 1971 meeting with Soviet Agriculture Minister
        [Vladimir Matskevich]
Vietnam
     -North Vietnamese offensive
                                                             Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
           -Dobrynin
                -Forthcoming dinner with Kissinger
           -Peace plan speech
           -Dobrynin
                -Possible message about negotiations
           -Build-up
                -Abrams's report
                      -Build-up
                            -Reserve units
                -Hanoi
                -Location
                      -Ho Chi Minh trail
                      -DMZ
                            -Road
                                 -Bombing
                                 -Building
           -Possible attack schedule
                -II Corps
                      -February 1972
                -I Corps
                      -March 1972
                -Completion
                      -May 1972
           -The President's trips to Soviet Union and PRC
                -Soviets
                      -Middle East negotiations
                      -Trade
                      -1972 election
           -Abrams's recommendation
                -Soviet Union
                -PRC
                -Timing
                      -Peace plan speech
                -Peace plan speech
                      -Notes to PRC and Soviet Union
                            -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
                            -Dobrynin
                            -Timing
           -Previous US air strike
           -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Dobrynin
                -The President's previous and forthcoming actions
           -South Vietnamese army
                -Change of commanders
                -I Corps
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-Tanks

```
-Publicity
                             -US troops
     -Peace plan speech
           -Rogers's suggestions
                 -William L. Safire
           -Kissinger's review
                                                               Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
           -The President's schedule
                 -Florida
                       -Copy to Butterfield
                             -Briefcase
           -The President's review
           -Kissinger's suggestions
                 -Complexity of certain passages
                       -Explanation of proposal
                             -Agreement in principle and substance
                             -Remaining US troops
           -Rogers's suggestions
                 -Principle
                 -Rhetoric
           -Kissinger's schedule
                 -Rogers
State of the Union Address
     -Final passages
           -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s work
           -Compared to speeches of the Kennedys
                 -Press treatment
     -Tone
     -Foreign policy sections
           -Bi-partisanship
     -Defense program section
           -Dobrynin's reaction
                 -Conversation with Kissinger
     -Arms limitation
           -Soviets
                 -Dobrynin's reaction
India-Pakistan War
     -US actions
           -Soviet response
                 -Cultural Minister [Ekaterina A. Furtseva]
                       -Relations with Kissinger
                 -Dobrynin
                       -Schedule
                             -Kissinger
                 -Kissinger's talk with White House staff, January 20, 1972
Soviet summit
     -Dobrynin
     -Possible US proposals
           -Kissinger's meeting with Soviet Trade Minister
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-Dobrynin
                      -Return to US
Vietnam
                                                              Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
     -Kissinger's possible conversation with Dobrynin
           -Soviet trade
     -North Vietnamese offensive
           -US air force
           -US withdrawal
                 -Effect
           -Possible settlement
                 -Timing
Foreign policy
     -Goals
State of the Union address
     -Foreign policy section
           -US commitments
           -US interests
                 -Bolivia
                 -Intervention
                      -"Peaceniks" view
Vietnam
     -North Vietnamese offensive
           -US Air Force
           -South Vietnamese
           -Strength
                 -North Vietnam
                      -Laos, Cambodia
           -US bombing
                 -Strategy
                      -Duration
                 -Results
                 -Timing
                      -Peace plan proposal
                            -North Vietnamese response
           -Peace plan speech
Vietnam peace plan speech
     -Readiness of draft
           -Florida
                 -Kissinger and Safire
           -The President's further work
The President's schedule
     -Vietnam peace plan speech
           -Preparation
```

-Maurice H. Stans

-Possible effect of Soviet propaganda

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-Briefing
                     -Timing
                          -Legislative leaders
                     -The President's role vis-à-vis Kissinger's
           -State of the Union Address
                -Length
                                                             Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
                     -Compared to previous ones
                -Cooke's comment to the President
                     -The President's appearance
                -Joan Braden's comment
                     -Lunch with Kissinger
                     -Previous meetings with the President
           -Peace plan speech
                -The President's review
                -Thieu
                     -The President's instructions to Safire
      North Vietnam
           -Recognition by Norway and Denmark
                -Possible return of US ambassadors
                -Fact finding mission
      [Funeral of King Frederick IX of Denmark?]
           -US representatives
      International monetary matters
           -Connally
           -Chilean loan
                -Connally's previous meeting with the President
                -Connally's knowledge
*****************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number
LPRN-T-MDR-2014-033. Segment partially declassified with 54s cleared for release and 46s
remains exempt as 652-017-w003 per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 07/25/2019.
Archivist: MAS]
[National Security]
[652-017-w003]
[Duration: 46s]
      INTELLIGENCE
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
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[National Security] [652-017-w003]

[Duration: <u>54s</u>] International monetary matters -Chilean loan -Negotiating team -Brazil Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.) -Joao Goulart -Emilio Garrastazu Medici -Cabinet -Possible coup attempt \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* Vietnam -Connally's view -Dobrynin -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation, January 21, 1972 -Recent talk with Kissinger -Tone The President and Kissinger left at 6:36 pm. Conversation No. 652-18 Date: January 20, 1972 Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 11:59 pm Location: Oval Office Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met. The President's location Messenger The agents left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Conversation No. 652-19

Date: January 20, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:36 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.
[Conversation No. 652-19A]
The President's location
An unknown agent entered at an unknown time. Conv. No. 652-19 (cont.)
[End of telephone conversation]
**********************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 08/09/2022.] [Unintelligible] [652-019-w001] [Duration: <u>1m 13s</u> ]
Unknown man -Program [?]
Unknown people entered at an unknown time.
************************
Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.