

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Transcript #1: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:07 am on April 22, 1971.

Conversation No. 486-1#1

President: What was your feeling? Did you see these, er, did you see the TV on that? It

was, was it positive coverage of the war demonstrators, uh last night?

Kissinger: Uh, they, they come across repulsively, Mr. President, so that --.

President: On the other hand, it's the war that --.

Kissinger: Yeah, but they, I --.

President: The press, the press isn't gonna play 'em if they think it's going to, uh, hur--hurt.

Kissinger: Yeah, but the press can be totally wrong about --

President: See, the press was wrong about demonstrators before.

Kissinger: -- about their impact on the public. The press is playing them in order --.

President: As heroes.

Kissinger: No, the press is playing them in order to damage us --

President: I know.

Kissinger: -- there's no question about it.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#1 (cont.)

President: I know.

Kissinger: It's hard to play the material because they talk so inarticulately. The press is

treating them respectfully --

President: Yeah.

Kissinger: -- on television but --

President: Yeah.

Kissinger: -- it's, I think, the average citizen's, uh, reaction has to be very negative. They

talk inarticulately, they, uh, uh, they look like slobs, they, they don't look

patriotic, uh, they don't even get across the, they look like a bunch of hippies in

uniform.

President: See what, see what Haldeman thinks, but, I'll tell you, the why, the guy

that I, this is, let's not fight this battle on this kinda thing. Let's get him and

needle him every day. Say, "Now, John, you can get it across," and just, and say,

"Now, John, it's just only fair that, I think you ought to make it a point to Scali."

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Transcript #2: Part of a conversation among President Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, and Henry A. Kissinger in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:07 am on April 22, 1971.

Conversation No. 486-1#2

President: I was gonna ask you the question, uh, that I asked Henry I, I noticed Buchanan

makes a great point out of it as he should. Mort Allin does the back, each of the networks gotta, uh, put in between five and six minutes on the demonstrators as the lead story last night. Question: the press obviously is, the TV is doing it for

the purpose of hurting us and the war effort [unintelligible]. Well, they look bad.

Haldeman: Well, I --

President: [Unintelligible] I don't know.

Haldeman: -- I, I just pull the [unintelligible] say to --

President: [Unintelligible] talking about.

Haldeman: -- to get into exactly that question. And the question I think we're, we got to

figure out we do. We're, we're on a strange wicket here in that the Justice

Department went and asked the court for an order to get those people off the Mall and the court granted the order. No, the court denied the order. It was then, then

up to the Chief Justice of the Supreme. --

President: Yeah, that's right.

Haldeman: -- Court who up-upheld the Justice order. Uh, that was then

appealed to the entire Supreme Court and the entire

Supreme Court upheld the order, and we now have a situation

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#2 (cont.)

where those people are camping on the Mall in defiance of the

Supreme Court --

President: Leave 'em there.

Haldeman: -- and --

President: Leave 'em there.

Haldeman: -- the question of what we do about it.

President: No, leave them there. Haggle around about it. Now, God damn it.

Haldeman: That's, I agree.

President: Haggle around.

Haldeman: We've --

President: Show.

Haldeman: -- got to look like we're haggling around. We've got to [unintelligible].

President: No, we definitely don't want, Mitchell says, I talked to him about it yesterday, and

he said that he's going to just present the thing to them and we're negotiating with

their lawyers. Negotiate on it. Negotiate on it.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible]. The problem there is their lawyers are smarter than we are 'cause

Ramsey Clark went out and said, "We've lost. The order is clear. You must

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#2 (cont.)

leave."

President: That's right. Good. All right.

Haldeman: It was pretty smart on Ramsey Clark's part.

President: Fine.

Haldeman: Then they took a vote and said, "We won't leave anywhere."

President: Right.

Haldeman: "We'll negotiate."

President: J-j-just continue to negotiate with 'em. Don't throw those guys off! We cannot

have that sort of a situation. Forget the law and order thing.

Haldeman: Now here's the problem: we, they were gain' on the assumption they would leave

tomorrow night, er, leave tomorrow after they finished their --.

President: Yeah. Then the other riots begin.

Haldeman: Now it turns out that they plan to stay there on for the next couple weeks while

the other riots begin and that the other rioters will now start doing it. Then we get

into another [unintelligible]. Then --

President: Then go in and move.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#2 (cont.)

Haldeman: -- then we gotta go in and move.

President: When the other rioters arrive, then you go ahead and move them out. But don't

move the veterans out. Just, you're continuing to negotiate on the matter.

Haldeman: Did you hear about the lady from Texas?

President: No.

Haldeman: No, God, she was great. A nice dec-, American lady from Texas who was up

there, and they showed 'em on the Capitol steps, all these miserable-looking shits,

and this --.

Kissinger: Uh, uh, believe me, they --.

Haldeman: It is just awful. And this lady got up and she was so trembling with emotion,

well, controlled emotions --.

President: Was it on TV?

Haldeman: Yes. She said, "Could I say something?" And they said yes. And so she came to

the microphone. She said, "I'm a taxpayer. I pay tremendous amounts of money

to support you people. Now get out of here and go to work and earn a living."

Kissinger: [laughs]

Haldeman: Puts down her microphone and goes away and, boy, that's just attractive as hell on

television 'cause every-, you can just see everybody at home who is the same way

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#2 (cont.)

sayin', "Right on, lady." Boy, it, uh --

Kissinger: Oh, they looked awful.

Haldeman: -- it was very emotional [unintelligible].

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Transcript #3: Part of a conversation among President Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, and Henry A. Kissinger in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:07 am on April 22, 1971.

Conversation No. 486-1#3

President: On the other hand --

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: -- don't, don't get into the business where we show them any mind. I'm not

going to see 'em. I'm not gonna have any of 'em up here.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: I don't want anybody from the White House to go down and commiserate with

them. I want them treated with cool respect, that's all. And, uh, as far as, as far as

enforcing the law, the Attorney General's doing his best to enforce it without

violence, uh, we're trying to get a [unintelligible]. He's gonna talk and he should

meet with Clark again today. "Now you're the attorney for this group. I urge you

again, Mr. Clark" - put the monkey back, back on his back but don't let Mitchell

order the Park Police, you see, Henry, the picture of taking an amputee, there are

three amputees in there, and herding them off of there - that's, that'll kill us. We

ain't gonna do it. Let those bastards stay there throughout - it'll start raining one

of these days. It'll rain good. Is that your view, Henry?

Haldeman: At least --.

Kissinger: At least for a, for a bit. I, I think --

Haldeman: If it gets into next week then [unintelligible].

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#3 (cont.)

Kissinger: -- I think if you waited a week, if you can demonstrate that you've waited a week,

you've asked them every day to leave, but they're becoming a public spectacle,

and if you persist in it very carefully --.

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: And get it away from veterans.

Kissinger: Yeah.

Haldeman: If you get past Saturday, when you get all the rowdy people in, instead of just

veterans, then you're in a much better position to [unintelligible] --

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: -- the whole thing [unintelligible].

President: But I have a feeling about it. I may be wrong, I've just got a feeling that people

are turned off by the war. They may be turned off more by this kind of ratty

people. What do you think, Bob? I don't know. I don't know.

Haldeman: I hope they are.

President: In Washington, D.C., they're not, that's for sure. But the country, your poll so

indicates this [unintelligible].

Haldeman: It sure does. I think they are in Washington, D.C.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Transcript #4: Part of a conversation among President Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, and Henry A. Kissinger in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:07 am on April 22, 1971.

Conversation No. 486-1#4

President: The, the demonstrating thing is just a-, the press is so, so desperately trying to

show only the, the good-looking ones, aren't they?

Kissinger: But they can't succeed.

Haldeman: Not really.

Kissinger: There aren't any good-looking one --

President: The picture, this morning in the Post, they had two guys that were shaved in the

front row, I noticed, but their --.

Kissinger: -- but th-th-that absurd Marine who looks as, who always wears his full-dress

uniform, and I swear he looks as if he were from the Civil War. [laughs] He

looks absolutely absurd.

Haldeman: It's, it's a --.

Kissinger: In fact, I thought it was an advertisement.

Haldeman: I don't know, maybe we're kidding, maybe we're kidding ourselves, but I just can't

--

President: Uh, we don't kid ourselves.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#4 (cont.)

Haldeman: I--I--I just can't see that, that this is gonna be par-, [unintelligible].

President: Whether we, whether we kid ourselves or not, we've, now are on a course and

we've got to see it through, come hell or high water. That's it.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Transcript #5: Part of a conversation among President Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Anne L. Armstrong, and Robert J. Dole in the Oval Office between 10:07 am and 10:40 am on April 22, 1971.

Conversation No. 486-1#5

Haldeman: Did you see that Texas lady on TV last night, on the Capitol steps?

Armstrong: No, I didn't.

President: Oh, it's a great story.

Haldeman: She was just great!

Armstrong: Tell me about it.

Haldeman: Ordinary, middle-aged, an ordinary-looking woman who was up there on the Hill,

and these veterans were up, you know, these ratty-looking people, horsing around

up there, and she said, "Could I say something?" and they, and they gave her the

microphone and they thought she was going to give an antiwar speech or

something. And she got up, she was right on the brink of emotional breakdown --

President: Going to pieces down there.

Haldeman: -- but, but not quite, she didn't cry, and she didn't break down, but she was, you

could see, she was controlling herself and she did. She got high-pitched and loud

and she said, "I'm a taxpayer and I pay a lot of money in taxes to support you

people. Why don't you get out of here and go to work?"

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conv. No. 486-1#5 (cont.)

[Laughter]

Haldeman: Then she turned the microphone back. Boy, that was pretty potent stuff.

Dole: [Unintelligible] get on television.

Haldeman: Everybody is sitting there at home saying exactly the same thing.