

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log***(rev. 9/08)*

Transcript #1: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman in the Oval Office between 9:26 am and 9:38 am on May 6, 1971

Conversation No. 493-3#1

President: Talking last night to, to [Henry A.] Kissinger. He's, you know, run-runnin' all around with his Bennett [A.] Cerfs and all the Jews out there, 'n' others, 'n' he says that, he says, "I don't know what the situation is in Washington [unintelligible]." He says, "People are just totally outraged by what's going on there 'n' are totally," he says, he says, he says, "I -- if you had a poll of Presidential support now, be much higher because of firmness." They like the firmness. That's his reaction. [Charles W.] Colson made his calls around. He ran, apparently, he told ya the same thing. Uh, I dunno, at least I understand it. At least he's running into the idea that people are pissed off at the demonstrators and, and the idea that we're, you know, shussing their civil rights and so forth just isn't washing. Now, uh, there may be views for the other side. Do you hear any?

Haldeman: Just, just from the, I think, the, the very few, very vocal sources that you could predict. I mean, the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union], that's their stock in trade. That's their --.

President: [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: [Unintelligible] they have to. That's what they're there for.

President: Congressmen or Senators?

Haldeman: And a few, yeah, but damn few. And there were a lot of 'em praising. Uh, so --.

President: How 'bout, uh, Colson says that [Edward M.] Teddy's [Kennedy] thing was not

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as, didn't go as far. He said that it was a staff man up to this point, that Teddy hasn't himself announced he's going to do it. Says --.

Haldeman: Teddy's playing a very strange game. He's --.

President: Is he?

Haldeman: Yeah. He's out, he's disappeared some place. He was here. But he said he wasn't and now he's gone.

President: Umh.

Haldeman: He was out in Ohio. He had a speaking engagement in Cincinnati in that, that, there was an inadvertent leak in calling his office that, uh, where the girl said, "Well, he may speak on that point at Kent State tonight." And then a staff man on his office said, "No, the Senator is not speaking at Kent State."

President: Why?

Haldeman: Well, he had booked himself into Cincinnati obviously so that he could do Kent State if he wanted to and then was watching to see whether he wanted to do it, for some reason decided he didn't want to, and didn't do it. Son-of-a-bitch is just clever as hell, though. I mean, he [unintelligible].

President: Why is that [unintelligible], Bob [unintelligible]?

Haldeman: The girl in his office thought he was gonna do Kent State.

President: Right, right, Kennedys always do. Play it sorta, well, either way. He's on one

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side one day, an' one side the other, so that he's playin' all sides. He's a tough guy an' a ballbuster [unintelligible].

Haldeman: Stops [unintelligible] pull [unintelligible] he work out best.

President: Maybe we ought to do a little more of it.

Haldeman: But he didn't, uh, he didn't go to Kent State.

President: He may have just have, he may be just polling, have had to. He's turning into -- you know what I mean. Kennedys don't act without checkin' the wind. Could be that that's part of it.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: Very interesting, I never thought of you as -- make a note. When Henry gets back, I want you, get him to see Howard Stein on one occasion and Jack [J.] Dreyfus [Jr.] on another -- a little briefing. Both so obsessed with the peace issue, I mean, the Soviet-Chinese, -- don't do it 'til it's gone a little bit further, but I mean, what I'm getting at is that Stein calls Henry and of course Jack Dreyfus would be delighted to come in anyway.

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: My view is that, looking at this two ways: one, the purpose is, is to --

Haldeman: Um.

President: -- is discuss, is to try to cool Stein off on his support of our opponents. The other

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purpose is, is to set Dreyfus up for maybe support on the, uh, one of, uh, House people, see? 'Cause Dreyfus has a personal feeling that's pretty good. And a, why don't you put [Robert H.] Finch, when he gets back, on the Norton Simon thing?

Haldeman: Right.

President: Norton Simon needs attention. An' a lot of other things that were, that were rushin' around, gettin' two million bucks, 'n' all that sort of thing. And then we hang over his head the possibility that somethin's gonna happen here. [Unintelligible] the best man.

Haldeman: Yes, but there again it wouldn't be a bad idea to get, uh, get Norton in to see Henry.

President: Norton's a Jew.

Haldeman: Yes, you're damn right.

President: He is?

Haldeman: He sure is.

President: All right, bring him in to see Henry. Henry says, "That's all right, look what we're doin' here. We can't tell ye, but you're gonna look awful bad."

Haldeman: Norton's the type that would really be dazzled by Henry, just like Stein and Dreyfus would be.

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President: Would he?

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: All right. Now you, you arrange that and force them in Henry's schedule and it could be so much more important, Bob, that --

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: -- a lot of people that he does see are important, you know. This, these things, these three could be enormously important to us. You see, I have a feeling, I mean, it's, uh, i-i-it's not just, just, uh, you know, know-nothing reaction, I mean, people like Manolo [Sanchez] and others. You know, the average people say this, but you know God damn well it's true. He says, "Who's paying for these kids to spend all this time down there?" Now somebody is costin' a hell of a lot of money. You know that, right? These demonstrations cost money. You know that damn Honor America Day -- hell, took some of our richest people, they --

Haldeman: That's right.

President: -- had to cough up fifteen hundred, a thousand bucks a piece. You know, it cost a million dollars.

Haldeman: There's a lot of money in this, this thing took a lot of money, too. In some ways this was better organized than Honor America Day, as far as the money spending was [unintelligible].

President: Um-hum.

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President: [Unintelligible] gone on for a long time. So my view is, there's a lot of, we might be able to begin to pull some of the, and, and, it's Jewish money for the most part, except for that crazy [Stewart R.] Mott [unintelligible]. It's worth taking another poll on this, don't you think so?

Haldeman: Yeah, it is.

President: The handling of the demonstrators makes it newsworthy and timely, at the moment, rather than just, well, what do you think of his hand-, what do you think of the, the, the, the pullout thing and the war. It's a new subject --

Haldeman: Um-hum.

President: -- then you throw the other into it too, see. That gives you four questions, get it down to four questions [unintelligible] release, four or five --.

Haldeman: Speaking of ORC [Opinion Research Corporation], we can ask all the questions we want --

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: -- in different ways, then only release those we want to release.

President: In a telephone poll you don't ask too many [unintelligible].

Haldeman: No, that's right. You can only ask a limited number, but --

President: Yeah.

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Haldeman: -- but, uh, [unintelligible] look I deal on five hundred instead of a thousand [unintelligible].

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: The problem: I'm not sure they can do a thousand in one night on this kind of knockdown notice.

President: Yeah. Why, won't they do it in two nights, right?

Haldeman: They may.

President: Well.

Haldeman: They can take it and, see, 'cause Thursday night and Friday night, we can have a Saturday, we can get it in --

President: Plenty of time.

Haldeman: -- the Congressmen's hands Monday morning.

President: Plenty of time. Sure. Rushing the papers, but we're not so sure about the papers this time anyway.

Haldeman: We're really not.

President: Get it to the Congressmen, say this is for release Tuesday.

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Haldeman: It doesn't get, uh, well, it depends on the bounce. Once in a while it gets a play in the papers, and sometimes it doesn't. I don't think you'd get a flip, anyway. [Unintelligible] the other one made the magazines and TV and everything else, so you never know.

President: [Clears throat] These people up here are sorta gun-shy in the House and the Senate, or have been.

Haldeman: Well, we got a good thing on this thing now. See, last night at, at College Park they had a demonstration.

President: Yeah [unintelligible].

Haldeman: Three thousand students came out to block the road, and [Marvin] Mandel called up the National Guard and moved National Guard right on to the campus. Bang! Just like that. Now there's a example of what you were talking about -- we've set the example here --

President: That's right.

Haldeman: -- of how to deal with this stuff. And what was the result of that? The, no disruption of classes. They put a, Mandel put a curfew on, from nine p.m. last night to six a.m. this morning, told all the kids, "Get back in your closets or you get hauled." Put the National, five hundred National Guard troops on the campus. This is a little Jewish Democratic Governor who's, who's moving in, doing this -
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President: Yeah.

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Haldeman: -- doing it with, with great, he was on the radio explaining it, and he, he had no waverings about what he was doing at all [unintelligible]. They turned that thing off fast. Hey arrested a bunch of 'em and, uh, [unintelligible] you put a little starch into some other people's bonds on some of this too, 'n', 'n' that, it you --

President: Um-hum.

Haldeman: -- get some credit for that, it'll do some good.

President: [Unintelligible], uh, what I want to do, really, is to stop the damn things.

Haldeman: John [D.] Ehrlichman's got a very good --

President: Yes.

Haldeman: -- line on that.

President: Get some people who have been booked down there to stop them so that we just don't have this [unintelligible] --

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: -- goin' on --.

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: Beyond certified people, you get them confused and say, "Christ, everybody's

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against the war.” Ya know, uh --.

Haldeman: Well, on this, they're talking about violation of constitutional rights and, uh, he's taking the thesis now, which he's developing for standardized answer, is that no citizen has a constitutional right of freedom from arrest. The constitutional rights don't extend to, to arrests; the constitutional right extends to, to punishment. But, uh, the-there's arrests made all the time of people who are later found not guilty. That's what the whole legal system's about.

President: Sure, you get a fellow --.

Haldeman: But when there's a reason-, a reasonable, uh, --.

President: You have a constitutional rights not to be held an unreasonable length of time, you're not to be tried --

Haldeman: Immediate --

President: -- you must get a fair trial.

Haldeman: -- immediate and fair trial and, and, uh, these people have not, have not been held and a lot of 'em have been left, let out without convictions, but. uh --.

President: Good point.

Haldeman: They've got a very good case built on this whole thing now of, of how Chief [Jerry V.] Wilson had to move in on this basis, uh --.

President: Do they have a, do they have any kind of statistics with regard to damage done, or

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anything, or aren't they good enough to use?

Haldeman: They have some. They didn't do a hell of a lot of damage.

President: Okay.

Haldeman: Uh, that was --

President: Well, use --

Haldeman: -- really, that --

President: -- use, well then, use the horrible examples: they slashed tires --

Haldeman: That's --

President: -- they --.

Haldeman: -- that's, it's the specifics --.

President: [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: [Unintelligible]. We do need more. There's also been a good thing building up, which is, is, helps in this regard, which is a, uh, uh, a taxpayer's revolt in the District [of Columbia], because they have to pay for all this, and they're talkin' about the cost of it and the cost was high, in extra overtime for police 'n', 'n' clean-up crews, 'n' emergency measures 'n' all that and, uh, so the District taxpayers are bitchin' about why should they have to pay for the cost of these people coming in and --

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[An unknown person enters and speaks to the President on another matter]

Haldeman: -- they, uh, that's pretty good. I mean, that makes the point of what this kind of stuff costs.

President: How much did they say?

Haldeman: They, I, they haven't given a decent, a dollar figure, they just --.

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Transcript #2: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman in the Oval Office between 9:38 am and 9:41 am on May 6, 1971

Conversation No. 493-3#2

President: How much did you say it cost [unintelligible]?

Haldeman: Don't have the dollar figure, but they, they, they're working up the dollar figures, and there've been estimates, you know, so many million dollars to --.

President: I thought we'd get a revolt, that'd be great --.

Haldeman: Well, they're starting th-there, there's a fuss starting to build on that an' I don't blame 'em on the District residents, because they pay the property taxes here, that have to support the police force. An' they're, one thing they may do is come to the Congress and ask for, for a, money for this, which is a perfectly justifiable expense.

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Transcript #3: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:00 am on May 6, 1971

Conversation No. 493-3#3

President: I think the tax revolt, you've got a good point there. Somebody just might start, you know, [unintelligible].

Haldeman: Well, they'll start letters to the editors and stuff like that.

President: Right.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: Great.

Haldeman: And, uh, [unintelligible] that down a little bit. A lot of reaction, which shows the importance of just the little things, a lot of reaction to that nude guy at the Capitol. That, that people are really upset about.

President: What 'd he, what does he want, did he [unintelligible] up, tell me what went on at the Capitol?

Haldeman: Oh, yeah. The guy stood up on the, on the top parapet at, on the House side of the Capitol steps, took off all his clothes, and he stood there like this. Just, you know, standing there with his balls hanging out. Way up, full view, another guy next to him with a Viet Cong flag, 'n' they've made a big point of both of 'em. *Washington Post* has a picture of him on the front page this morning with a little black square covering up his vital parts. And they say that the photograph was

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retouched.

President: But if they couldn't get anybody through the lines --.

Haldeman: It was on TV [television] also.

President: -- [unintelligible].

Haldeman: They had him on, they had the guy on --.

President: I understand the police wouldn't let people through the line to tear down the flag.

Haldeman: No.

President: Swell.

Haldeman: It's too bad. No, somehow we've gotta bust through 'em [unintelligible]. Hell, they wouldn't [laughs] they, they wouldn't let Congressmen through the line.

President: They wouldn't?

Haldeman: [Ronald V.] Dellums, they hit Dellums in the stomach with a club, he says.

President: Balls! He's lying.

Haldeman: He says they treated him like a nigger. He said, "If I'd been a white Congressman, they wouldn't have done that."

President: He's lying, he's lying, you know damn well they didn't.

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Haldeman: An', uh, [Walter F.] Mondale, I guess they stopped.

President: Yeah, Mondale's lying, too. It's like --.

Haldeman: He hit, he hit a policeman. Mondale, he hit the guy, said, "Get outta my way, I'm a United States' Senator."

President: Senator [unintelligible] try to create his martyrdom, and so forth. Well, let them be on that side, but they're treading pretty gingerly, right? [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: Yeah, they were talkin' about some, one Senator who was standing there, and one of the peaceniks, shaking his head, said, "It's very discouraging having [unintelligible] worked [unintelligible] you know to bring this war to an end an' everything to see this type of circus that does so much harm to the whole thing."

President: Yes [sighs].

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: I still think we got, reserve some [unintelligible] we are all tryin' to get it out. God damn it, that's the wrong --.

Haldeman: Did you see the, did you see the [Jerald F. ("Jerry")] terHorst column on the, on the veterans' thing.

President: He did it well.

Haldeman: He did a beautiful job.

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Transcript #4: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman in the Oval Office between 9:41 am and 10:00 am on May 6, 1971

Conversation No. 493-3#4

President: Well, I'll tell ya one thing. We handled these people, handled this goddamn well, and I'm glad they arrested 'em, and I'm glad, I'm glad also for the good effect abroad, the fact that we were goddamn tough and, uh, certainly no tougher than a few other [unintelligible].