Conversation No. 481-001

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:54 am and 8:56 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

[See Conversation No. 1-121]

Conversation No. 481-002

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: 8:56 am - 8:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Dr. William M. Lukash

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Previous PRMFA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019. Segment will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]
[481-002-w001]
[Duration: 53s]

[See Conversation No. 001-122]
Conversation No. 481-003

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: 8:56 am - 9:13 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 8:58 am

The President's meeting with the American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- Television
- Questions to the President
- Vietnam
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Vietnam and Calley
- Compared with the President's press conference

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 9:10 am

- Opening question
  - Suggested response
- President's responses
- Radio reception
  - John N. Mitchell's call to the President
    - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
    - J. Edgar Hoover
- President's responses to questions
  - Hoover
  - Calley
  - Prisoner of War [POW] issue
  - Vietnam
    - Emmett Dedmon
    - Withdrawal
    - Residual forces
      - Melvin R. Laird
    - Withdrawal
      - Timing
      - Election date
      - Communist takeover issue
- Radio audience
  - Numbers
  - Television broadcast
- Questions
  - Calley
  - Vietnam
  - PRC
  - Cuba
  - Hoover
    - Surveillance
- Youth
  - Otis Chandler
  - Al Capp
- Surveillance
  - Police state
  - John F. Kennedy administration
    - Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy
  - Hoover
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Frank Cormaner
  - "Making news"
  - Unknown quip
  - Economic indicators
    - Retail sales
  - Television
  - Rostrum
    - Use
    - Naked microphone
  - J. F. Kennedy
  - President's style
    - J. F. Kennedy's style
      - Use of notes
  - Naked microphone
    - Use
  - Questions
    - Number
    - Length
    - President's answers
      - [Dwight] David, II and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
        - Easter discussion
        - Possible visit to the PRC
        - Personalizing answers
  - PRC
    - Ping-pong
    - Henry A. Kissinger

Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger and John A. Scali
  - President's possible presence
  - Kissinger and Scali
    - Relationship
      - Frequency of meetings
  - PRC
-Scali
  -Access to President
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
  -Briefing
  -Role

Bull entered at 9:10 am

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with George P. Shultz

Peter G. Peterson's memorandum to the President
  -Approval

Bull left at 9:12 am

Vietnam
  -Withdrawal
    -Kissinger's views
    -Scali

The President's schedule
  -Forthcoming welcome to First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California, April 30, 1971

Vietnam
  -Possible statement by President
    -Withdrawal
    -Ping-pong team

Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Kissinger and Scali

President's schedule
  -Meetings
  -President, Haldeman, Kissinger and Scali

Haldeman left at 9:13 am
Date: April 17 1971  
Time: 9:15 am - 9:34 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz

Dr. James R. Schlesinger  
- Departure [from Office of Management and Budget]  
- Department of Interior

Kenneth W. Dam  
- Placement  
- Evaluation  
- William P. Rogers  
- Talent  
- Finish in law school class [University of Chicago]

Elliot L. Richardson  
- Qualifications  
- Harvard Law School

Welsh  
- University of Chicago  
- Abilities  
- Writings  
- ”The Pricing of North Sea Gas in Britain”  
- Anti-trust  
- Common Market problem  
- Languages  
- Abilities  
- Placement  
- Peter G. Peterson  
- International economics  
- Schlesinger  
- Possible role  
- Abilities
- Age
- Shultz's schedule

Peterson entered at 9:20 am

Upcoming meeting
- Agenda
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    US relations with Taiwan

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/24/2019. Archivist: MAS]
[National Security]
[481-004-w001]
[Duration: 58s]

Oil
  - Canadian negotiations
    - Pipeline
      - Lack of progress
        - US position and a more forceful negotiating approach
    - Department of State [DOS]
      - U. Alexis Johnson

******************************************************************************

Oil
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
    - US relations with Taiwan

Textile Negotiations
  - Forthcoming meeting prior to David M. Kennedy’s trip
    - Objectives
    - Strategy
-State Department
  -Shultz
  -Textile industry
  -Negotiations
    -Evaluation
  -US position
  -Trade
    -Strategy
    -Southeast Asia
    -Negotiating problems
    -Kennedy
  -Need for instructions
    -Effect on negotiations
-Peterson's meeting with General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Negotiating strategy
-Trade inducements
-Instructions for Kennedy
-Trade inducements
-Kennedy's schedule
  -Trip to Asia
  -Philippines
-Discussions of inducements
-Attendees
  -John B. Connally
  -U. Alexis Johnson
  -Peter M. Flanigan
  -Maurice H. Stans
  -Haig
  -Melvin R. Laird
  -Haig
  -Defense Department
  -Stans
  -Kennedy
    -Message to State Department
    -Role
    -Trip to Asia
    -Schedule
    -Attitude toward assignment
-Peterson's conversation with Johnson
- Henry A. Kissinger

- Attendees
  - Kissinger
  - Haig
  - Kissinger
    - Defense Department
    - Laird

- Location
  - Oval Office
  - Cabinet Room

- Schedule
  - President's conversation with Kissinger

US economic leadership in post-Vietnam War era
- "Peaceful competition" theme
- PRC
- Competitiveness
- Leadership
  - Consequences
- Purposes
- US position
- American spirit
- Competition
  - Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Steel
    - Exports
      - Share of market
        - Compared with 1940-1950
        - Japan
- Possible consequences of failure
  - Isolationism
  - Protectionism
- Leadership
- Foreign policy
  - National defense
- Economics

State Department
-Organization of foreign economic policy
  -Possible effect on negotiations
    -Possible White house involvement
  -Responsibilities
  -Shultz
  -Need to build strength
  -Negotiations
    -Canada
    -Japan
  -Commercial attaches
    -Stans
  -Spirit
  -Rogers
    -Responsibilities
    -State Department effectiveness in economic field
    -Oil negotiations
    -Possible conversation with Peterson and Shultz

The President, Peterson and Shultz left at 9:34 am

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: 9:34 am - 3:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered

CONVERSATION NO. 481-009

[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal. This segment was rereviewed 06/26/2019 with new guidance. Segment cleared for release.]
[Federal Statute]
[481-009-w001]
[Duration: 1m 6s]
[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:45 am

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 11:24 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule
   -Henry A. Kissinger

[The President talked with the White House operator at 10:46 am]

[Conversation No. 481-5A]

[See Conversation No. 1-123]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bull left at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 10:49 am

[The President talked with J. Edgar Hoover between 10:49 am and 10:52 am]

[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. 25s segment cleared for release. 14s remain closed as 481-005-w007.]
Kissinger entered at 10:52 am

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger talked with Hoover at 10:52 am

[Conversation No. 481-5C]

[See Conversation No. 1-123B]

[End of telephone conversation]

Hoover's resignation
President's statement to American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- General Lewis B. Hershey
- President’s statement to ASNE
- William C. Sullivan
- Qualifications

Meeting with Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
- Clark MacGregor

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 10:52 am and 11:02 am]

[Conversation No. 481-5D]

[See Conversation No. 1-124]

[End of telephone conversation]

Meeting with Mansfield
- Foreign policy

Kissinger's dinner with Katharine L. Graham
- Sir [Arthur] George Weidenfeld
- President's meeting with ASNE
- Radio
- Radio
- Weidenfeld
- Adlai E. Stevenson, III
- Vietnam withdrawal
  - Elections
- Indian Ambassador
- Weidenfeld
- Comment about the President
- Sir Harold G. Nicolson
- Son
- David Ginsberg
- Judgement of President’s interview by ASNE
- Hoover
-Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. case
  -George C. Wallace
  -Graham's remarks

President's meeting with ASNE
  -President's 1968 appearance
  -President's remarks
    -People's Republic of China [PRC]
    -Vietnam
    -Calley
  -Strain on the President
  -Vietnam
    -Withdrawal
    -Residual force
    -Korea
    -Prisoners of War [POWs]
    -US position

Vietnam
  -Ellsworth F. Bunker
  -Negotiations
    -Withdrawal date
  -President's forthcoming meeting with General Nguyen Van Thieu
    -Withdrawal date
      -Announcement
      -Negotiations
      -Joint announcement

Bull entered at an unknown time between 10:45 am and 11:02 am

President’s schedule
  -Mansfield

Bull left at an unknown time between 10:45 am and 11:02 am

  -US position
  -POWs
  -Cease fire
Mansfield entered at 11:02 am

Greetings

Letter
- Lecture series
- Speech
- Kissinger

President's PRC Policy
- Mansfield's schedule
- President's possible trip to PRC
- Possible trip by Mansfield
  - Private offer of presidential trip
- Development of relations
- Chou En-lai
  - George Kung-chao Yeh
- US objectives
- Possible trip by Mansfield
  - Private effort
  - Romanians
    - Mansfield telegram to Chou En-Lai
- Mansfield's letter to the President
  - Congress
- Possible trip by Michael Gravel
- Romanian Ambassador

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/24/2019. Archivist: MAS]
[National Security]
[481-005-w003]
[Duration: 1m 11s]

The President’s People’s Republic of China [PRC] policy
- Norodom Sihanouk
  - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield’s possible cable

Page | 15
Henry A. Kissinger’s reaction
-Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield’s visit to Cambodia
-Long-term goals
-Norodom Sihanouk
-Cambodia relations with People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-The President’s opinion
-Norodom Sihanouk
-Relations with People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Henry A. Kissinger’s analysis

The President’s People’s Republic of China [PRC] policy
-Publicity
-Mansfield's possible cable
-Possible consequences
-Mansfield's letter to the President
-Fall back position
-Requests for visits by senators to PRC
-State Department
-Ping-pong team
-Possible trip by Mansfield
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Mansfield's possible visit to PRC
-US relations
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Middle East
-Mansfield's statement in Senate
-President's policies
-Mansfield's position
-President's meeting with ASNE
-Response to questions
-United Nations [UN]
-Trade and travel restrictions
-Timetable
-Trade
-US strategy
-Normalization of relations
- UN representation issue
  - Taiwan
  - Great Britain
- British representation in Peking
- Romania
  - Nicolae Ceausescu
- Mansfield's possible cable
- Importance of making new request
- Ceausescu
  - Role
  - Chou En-lai
  - Meeting with President
    - Vietnam
    - North Korea
  - Value of channel
- Josip Broz Tito
- Ceausescu
- Mansfield's Possible Cable
- President's meeting with ASNE
  - Calls to Chou En-lai
- Reaction in Senate
  - Lifting of trade and travel restrictions
  - Mansfield's statement
- Travel Restrictions
  - Travel by Americans and Chinese
  - Defense Department
  - Justice Department
  - Espionage
    - Soviets
    - Chinese

World War II
- Nisei
- Relocation camps
  - California
  - Missoula, Montana
  - Earl Warren
- Pearl Harbor
- Blame
World War I
  - Blame
    - Germans
    - Austrians
    - French
    - British
    - Russians
    - Kaiser Wilhelm II

Mansfield's possible trip to PRC
  - President's possible visit to PRC
  - Presidency
  - President's senate experience
  - Other congressmen
  - Advantages
    - Possible report by Mansfield
    - Amateurs
  - Romanians
    - US relations with PRC
    - Mansfield's role
    - Ceausescu
  - Ping-pong table

Kissinger and Mansfield left at 11:24 am

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: 11:24 am - 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President's schedule
  - Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
[The President talked with the White House operator at 11:24 am]

[Conversation No. 481-6A]

[See Conversation No. 1-125]

[End of telephone conversation]

H. R. Haldeman entered at 11:25 pm

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:30 am

Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
    -Congressional interest
    -Chou En-lai

The President's PRC initiative

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment will remain closed.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-006-w001]
[Duration: 1m 44s]

The President talked with Dr. William M. Lukash at 11:25 am

[Conversation No. 481-6B]

[See Conversation No. 001-126]

[End of telephone conversation]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
Henry A. Kissinger
   -Unknown man [Ziegler?]

The President's schedule
   -Leslie Towne ("Bob") Hope
     -Fund-raising dinner
     -Mamie G. D. Eisenhower
       -Phone call to Hope
     -President's possible attendance

The President's meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
   -J. Edgar Hoover's call to the President
     -Response to questions
     -Radio
       -Kissinger
     -Dinner at Katharine L. Graham's

Ziegler entered at 11:30 am

   -Report
   -Cocktail party
     -Attendees
     -William V. Shannon
   -Ziegler's possible call to Shannon
   -Sylvan H. Meyer
   -Cuba and Chile
   -Emmett Dedmon
     -Question on PRC
   -Hoover
     -Robert F. Kennedy
     -Army
     -W. Ramsey Clark
   -Responses
   -Reaction
   -Audience response
- Applause  
  - Unknown woman  
- Radio  
- Statler Hotel  
  - Quality of room  
  - Television  
  - Shoreham Hotel  
  - Size  
- Number of questions  
- Editorial conference  
- Media coverage  
- Meyer's comment  
- Radio coverage  
- Prisoners of war [POWs]  
- Hoover  
  - PRC  
  - President's daughters  
- Forum  
- Television  
  - Coverage  
- News conference  
  - ASNE  
- Hoover  
  - Tenure  
- Vietnam  
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.  
- Hoover  
  - President's response  
  - Compassion  
  - Fairness  
  - Cartoon in the President's office  
  - Harry S. Truman administration  
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew  
- Dedmon  
- Agnew  

The President's schedule
The President’s schedule
-Dentist appointment

Ziegler left at 11:39 am

The President’s schedule
-John L. McClellan
-Schedule
-Attorney General [John Mitchell]
-John A. Volpe
- John D. Ehrlichman
-George W. Romney
-Jennie (Benedetto) Volpe [?]
-Unknown visit by Italian women
-Camp David
-Farm editors
-News conference
-Timing
-Farm editors
-Clifford M. Hardin
-Briefing
-Conference
-Attendance
-Number
-Possible White House tour
-Blue Room
-White House tour
-Wives
- Jaycees leadership
  - Attendance
  - White House tour
  - Rose Garden
  - State Dining Room
  - Press coverage
  - Briefings

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal-Returnable]
[481-006-w004]
[Duration: 7s]

The President’s schedule
  - Dental appointment

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Bull left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

The President’s schedule
  - Senate loyalists
  - House loyalists
    - Daniel H. Kuykendall
  - Press conference
  - 4-H Club
    - Attendance
      - Number
  - Rose Garden
  - White House tour
  - Rose Garden
  - President’s participation
The President's with ASNE
-Panelists
- Certificate of appreciation
- Memento
- Paperweight

The President's schedule
- Building Trades Council executive committee
- Opposition to the President
- Willie J. Usery
  - Views
- John D. Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson, Peter M. Flanagan, and George P. Shultz
  - Views
- James D. Hodgson
  - Views
  - President's leadership
- Boat
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President and Haldeman left at 11:49 am

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:49 am and 1:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with Manolo Sanchez and an unknown man

Forthcoming call to Charles Rochester

Furnishings
- General Services Administration [GSA]
Bull, Sanchez, and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm

Date: April 17, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:00 pm and 3:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

Stock market

Promotion for unknown man
- President's order to Armed Services

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 1:00 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 481-7A]

The President's call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower

[End of telephone conversation]

Promotion for unknown man
- Armed services
- Unknown man's views
- Admiral Thomas H. Moorer
- Assignment
- Re-phrasing of order
- Rose Mary Woods

Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR] speech
- Photos
- Timing
H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 1:05 pm

*McCall’s* story on Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

Butterfield left at 1:05 pm

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-007-w001]
[Duration: 11s]

*McCall’s* story on Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

  - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon’s reaction
  - The President’s opinion
  - Comparison to story by Jessamyn West?

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*McCall’s* story on Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

  - Writing
  - Photos
    - Fred Maroon
  - Cover
    - President and Mrs. Nixon
    - Double-spread photo
      - President and Mrs. Nixon
      - San Clemente
      - Dana Point
    - Photos
      - Mrs. Nixon and Tricia Nixon
      - Mrs. Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      - Lucy A. Winchester and Jack H. Ficklen
  - Letter to publisher

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The President's schedule
-Weather
-Boat
-Lyndon B. Johnson
-Prep for ASNE meeting
  -Effort
  -Frequency
  -Television
-Golf
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Cabinet
-Meetings with Cabinet officers
  -John A. Volpe
  -George W. Romney
-Benefits
-James D. Hodgson
-Clifford M. Hardin
-Elliot L. Richardson
-Melvin R. Laird
-Romney and Volpe
-Rogers C.B. Morton
-Volpe, Romney, and Morton
  -Schedule
  -Length of meetings
  -Volpe
  -Romney
  -Volpe
  -Morton
-John D. Ehrlichman
-Hardin
  -4-H Club
  -Agriculture editors
  -4-H Club
  -White House

Appearance of Presidents
-Public scrutiny
-Tiredness
-Age
- [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
- Franklin D. Roosevelt
- John F. Kennedy
  - Looks
- Eisenhower
  - Age
- Johnson
- President's weight
- President's schedule
  - Need for rest

The President's schedule
  - Golf
    - California
  - Benefits
- Camp David
- Boat
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Location
- Williamsburg
- International Committee of the Red Cross
  - Marcel Naville
    - Prisoner of war [POW] wives
      - William P. Rogers
- Rogers meeting
  - International Red Cross
    - POW wives

The President's meeting with ASNE, April 16, 1971
  - Vietnam
    - US presence
      - Possible use of US military forces
        - POWs
          - Bombing North Vietnam

The President’s schedule
  - Henry A. Kissinger

The President’s meeting with ASNE
- Vietnam
  - Possible consequences of North Vietnamese victory
    - Civilians/refugees
    - Casualties
    - Victory
    - North Vietnamese attacks on South Vietnamese
  - President's visit to Hanoi [in 1953]
    - Refugee camps
  - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
    - Television appearance

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:05 pm

Kissinger's schedule
  - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

McCloskey
  - Television appearance, April 18, 1971
    - "Face the Nation"
  - Trip to Laos
    - G. McMurtrie Godley
    - Press
    - Incident
      - Behavior
    - Ehrlichman
  - Trip to Laos
    - Godley
    - Press
    - Jerome R. Waldie
    - Lodging
      - Embassy
      - Hotel
      - Dinner
      - Waldie's comments
      - President's position
    - Gerald R. Ford
    - Ford's forthcoming call to Godley
-President's position
-Press
-Analogy to Eugene J. McCarthy
  -Johnson
  -Attempt to bring down the President
-Press
-McCloskey’s political affiliation
-Conservatives
-Liberals
-McCloskey’s political affiliation
-Significance
-Press

[A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

McCloskey
-Administration counterattacks
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Ronald W. Reagan
-Liberal republicans
-Reagan

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-007-w003]
[Duration: 1m 37s]

Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
-Attempt to deny the President the 1972 Republican nomination
  -Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
  -Charles E. Goodell
-Allard K. Lowenstein

1972 campaign
- Deny the President the 1972 Republican nomination
  -Meetings
    -Primary states
    -Rhode Island
    -Florida
    -Providence, Rhode Island
    -Allard K. Lowenstein
-Charles E. Goodell, Allard K. Lowenstein, and Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
-Counterattacks by Administration
  -Charles W. Colson

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The President's defense of J. Edgar Hoover and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Cabinet officers

McCloskey
-Attacks against President
-Trip to Laos
  -Purpose
    -Visit to refugee camps
      -US bombings
      -Administration's position
      -North Vietnamese attacks
      -US bombings
-Need for counterattacks
  -Charles Colson
  -Congress
  -Ford
  -William B. Saxbe

Saxbe
-Clark MacGregor
-Kenneth E. BeLieu
-MacGregor
President's schedule
   - Meetings with Senate loyalists
     - MacGregor

MacGregor
   - Meeting with high school students

Media treatment of President
   - Fairness
   - Coverage
   - Sarah McClendon
   - Texas
   - Unknown woman correspondent

Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
   - ASNE
   - Democrats
   - President's PRC initiative
     - Democrats
   - Administration's position
   - Bipartisanship
     - Hugh Scott
     - "Bobby" [Surname unknown]
   - Importance
   - PRC possible reaction
   - Administration's activities
     - Chou En-lai
       - Mansfield’s telegram
     - Romanians
     - Scott
   - Interest in PRC
   - Possible visit to PRC by the President

Kissinger's activities
   - Meetings with editors, etc.
   - John A. Scali
     - Relationship with Kissinger
Kissinger and Scali
- Roles defined
- Haldeman's conversation with Scali
  - Presentation of President's position
- Contrasts
  - Kissinger’s interest in process

Scali
- Interest in foreign policy
  - Substance and strategy
  - Views

McCloskey
- Laotian refugee casualties
- Preparation for President's press conferences
  - Bombing of civilians
    - Kissinger
    - Administration's position

Kissinger
- Possible meeting with President and Haldeman regarding issues
- Problem
- Scali
  - Qualifications
  - Interests
  - Presentation of President's position
  - Ideas
  - Process

Ping-pong team visit to [PRC]
- Publicity
- Return
- Scali's views
  - Lawyers
  - Foreign policy planners

Foreign policy
- President's visit to Bucharest
  - Nixon doctrine
- Briefing in Guam
- Press corps
- Kissinger’s activities
- Effect on people
- President’s image as policy maker
- Administration’s efforts
  - Kissinger

The President’s forthcoming speech to Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR], April 19, 1971
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.’s draft
- Length
  - Interest
  - Content

The President’s forthcoming speech to US Chamber of Commerce, April 26, 1971
- Schedule

Staff
- William P. Rogers
  - Kissinger
  - Kissinger
  - Value
- Scali
- Daniel P. (“Patrick”) Moynihan
- Kissinger
  - Strengths
  - Weakness
  - Selling the President
- Scali

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 1:05 p.m

The President’s speech to DAR
- Length

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

Preparation of speeches
- Guidance
- Staff's role
- President's speech, April 7, 1971
  - Drafts
    - William L. Safire
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
- President's time
- Text

PRC
- Visit by Scott and Mansfield
- Scott
  - Knowledge of country
- Kissinger’s previous conversation with Mansfield
- Haldeman's possible call to Scott
  - Mansfield
  - Mike Gravel
  - White House role
    - Privacy
  - Chou En-lai
    - Possible wire from Scott
  - Kissinger
  - Romania
- Democrats

McCloskey
- President's forthcoming conversation with MacGregor
- President's loyalists in Congress
- MacGregor
- President's involvement
- Scott
- Vietnam
- Press
- Possible administration counterattacks
- Attacks by Californians

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Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
- Craig Hosmer
- Campaign committee
  - Possible run
  - Deny support for Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr

Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
- Image
  - Veteran
  - Shirley Temple Black
  - Laos
- Personality
  - Supporters
  - Administrative Assistant
    - Unknown people
- Norton Simon
  - Contribution
  - Efforts to impeach President
  - Administration’s efforts

Charles E. Goodell and Donald W. Riegle, Jr

[Thomas] Hale Boggs and Carl B. Albert

Mansfield

Scott

Congress
  - Leadership

Page | 36
President's schedule

Kissinger and Scali
- Problem
- Scali
  - Assignment
- Relationship
- Kissinger
  - Activities
    - Katharine L. Graham
    - Unknown journalist
- Importance of meeting
- Press
- Kissinger's concern with own place in history
  - Exclusive knowledge
  - Role
  - Awareness
- Scali
  - Selling the President
  - Role
- Haig
  - Value
- Instructions to Haldeman
- Relationship
- Pattern

The President's speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
- PRC
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
- Developments

Richard A. Moore
- Campaign
- California earthquake
- Calley
- Schedule

Haldeman's schedule
The President's style
  - Credibility
  - Speeches
    - Use of teleprompter
  - Staff's views
  - Letter from unknown people in Florida
  - John B. Connally
    - Views
    - Contrasted with the President
      - Public relations
  - Difficulty of presidency
  - Vietnam
    - MacGregor
      - Congress
    - Withdrawal rate
      - President’s concern
      - Connally’s view
  - Calley case

Calley case
  - Review by the President
  - Ziegler

President's statements
  - Calley
  - Hoover
  - Agnew

Press conferences
  - Advantages for President

President's style
  - Connally
  - Unknown Florida man's view

Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:05 pm

Arrival of Ehrlichman party
  - Bertha Denny
Bull left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

The President's style
- Staff
- Press conferences
- Connally
- Possible changes

Ehrlichman, Jeanne Ehrlichman, and Mrs. Denny entered at 2:15 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

Introductions

Unknown reception

The President's meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- Radio
- President's remarks

Photo session

The President's meeting with ASNE

Ehrlichman's schedule
- Denny
Description of office
- Flags

The President's meeting with ASNE
- President's remarks

Agnew

The President's meeting with ASNE
- Radio
- Television
- Radio
-Seattle

Presentation of gifts
  -Pin

Tricia Nixon
  -Television show on White House

Rose Garden
  -Blossoms
  -Tulip garden

General conversation
  -Haldeman
  -Editors
  -Movies
  -Hoover
  -Unknown woman
  -Unknown girl
  -Photograph of the President and Mrs. Nixon
  -Unknown film
  -Anti-trust violation

Farewells

Rose Garden
  -Tulips

Ehrlichman, Mrs. Ehrlichman, and Mrs. Denny left at 2:23 pm

Denny
  -Aunts
  -Middle America
  -Press

Middle America
  -Administration's constituency
  -Sammy Davis, Jr.
Support for President among youth
- Meeting with ASNE
- Issues
- Numbers
  - Democrats
  - Undecided
  - Peace
  - Draft
  - People-to-people
  - Idealism

The President's PRC initiative
- Liberals
- Reaction

The President's meeting with ASNE
- Revenue sharing
- Questions not asked
  - Revenue sharing
  - Government reorganization
  - Environment
  - Withholding funds
- Questions
  - Economy
  - Youth
  - Domestic issues
    - Federal Bureau of Investigations [FBI]
- National security
  - FBI
- Economy
- Youth
- Otis Chandler's remark
- President's treatment of editors and questions
- Editors compared with reporters
- Radio coverage
  - Dr. William Chase
    - Television
    - President's supporters
1952 campaign
- Ratings
- Radio
- Speeches made by candidates
  - Audience

Radio audience
- Numbers
- Rating
  - Compared with Howard K. Smith television interview, March 22, 1971
    - Audience
    - Mrs. Denny

The President's meeting with ASNE
- Radio coverage

Radio talks by the President
- President's leadership
  - "Fireside talks"
  - Length of talk
  - Number of words
    - Limit
    - Subject
    - Advantages
      - Details
    - Need for planning
    - Format

Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:23 pm

Kissinger's schedule
  - Meeting with the President

Weather

The President's schedule
  - Meeting with Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:36 pm

Page | 42
[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:23 pm and 2:36 pm]

[Conversation No. 481-7B]

[See Conversation No. 1-127]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
-Weather
  -Washington
  -Camp David
  -Sequoia
-Spring
-Trips to Florida and California
-California
  -Activity
-Press conference
-Televised press conference
  -Advantages

White House Conference on Aging
-John B. Martin
-Executive director
-Richardson
-Chairman
  -Arthur S. Flemming

Kissinger entered at 2:36 pm

Mansfield's trip to PRC
  -Kissinger and Haldeman
  -Democrats

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 2:36 pm and 2:51 pm]
[Conversation No. 481-7C]

[See Conversation No. 1-128]
[End of telephone conversation]

Mansfield's trip to PRC
- Interest
- Opposition to Vietnam
- Scott and Marian Scott
  - Interest in art
  - Visits to Taiwan
  - Hong Kong
- Democrats
- Scott's possible Itinerary
  - Chou En-lai
  - Kissinger's role
  - Ceausescu channel
  - Romania
  - Ambassador Corneliu Bogdan
- Message to PRC

PRC
- Invitations to Congressmen
- US relations
- Possible invitations to Mansfield and Scott
- Scott
  - Knowledge of Chinese art
- Bogdan
- Invitations to candidates
  - Possible consequences
- Edmund S. Muskie, Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy, and Hubert H. Humphrey
- Israel
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republic [USSR]
  - President’s previous visit
- Visits
- President’s initiatives
- John F. Osborne
  - Article
  - Readership
-Views
-President's note to Kissinger, February 1, 1969
-Quoted
-Context
-Speech
-Pace of President's initiatives
-Admission to United Nations [UN]
-US position
-USSR
-US relations
-Ziegler statement
-New York Times
-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin and Yuli M. Vorontsov
-Assessment of the President
-President's meeting with ASNE

Communist assessment of the President

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/30/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]
[481-007-w007]
[Duration: 34s]

Communist assessment of the President
-Intelligence reports
-Member of Hanoi Politburo
 -Talking to Japanese group
 -View of the President as formidable opponent
 -Theory of protracted war

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Communist assessment of the President
-PRC and USSR

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The President's speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
- Kissinger's conversation with Osborne

The President's meeting with ASNE
- Kissinger's conversation with Chandler
  - California beach
  - Los Angeles
- Format
- Questions
- Chandler

PRC
- Possible visit by Scott
- Bogdan
- Visits by Congressmen
  - Mansfield
  - Democrat candidates
  - Mansfield and Scott
    - Possible invitation by PRC
- David M. Kennedy
  - USSR
- Special envoy
  - Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
  - Robert D. Murphy
  - Timing
- Ping-pong team
  - Return to US.
  - Schedule
  - San Francisco
    - Parade down Market Street
  - Maoist Member
- Romanian Davis Cup team
  - Reception by the President
- Ping-pong team
  - Reception in US
  - Possible report
- Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
- Ping-pong team
The President's notes and conversations mentioned:

- Newsmen
- Possible reception by the President
- Photo
- State Department
  - Debriefing
  - Rogers
- Visit to White House
  - Ceremonial nature
  - Photos
- Maoist member
  - Possible statement on Vietnam, civil rights
- Osborne
- US relations with Communists
- President’s report to Congress on Foreign Affairs
- President’s note to Kissinger, February 1, 1969
- Mansfield
- Vietnam
- North Korea
  - Negotiations
- Vietnam
  - Withdrawal date
  - Deadline
- Congressmen

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower between 2:51 pm and 2:53 pm.

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/26/2019. 1m 55s segment cleared for release with two segments of 4s and 19s remaining closed as 481-007-w010 and 481-007-w021 respectively.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-007-w010]
[Duration: 1m 55s]

[Conversation No. 481-7D]

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]
The President’s schedule
-Recreational activities
Mansfield
- Relations with the President
- Meetings with the President

PRC
- Democrats
  - UN representation
- Development of relations
  - Tactical nature
  - Pattern
  - Exchanges
  - Trade
  - Other Issues

The President's meeting with ASNE
- State Department
- US relations with Cuba and Chile
- USSR
  - Military aid

USSR
- Military Capability
- President's forthcoming press conference
- Possible US initiatives
  - Strategic Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Missiles
  - Number
  - Possible deployment
  - Antiballistic Missiles [ABMs]
- Negotiations
  - Capital cities
- ABMs
  - Radar
  - Timing
  - Deployment
  - Possible freeze on offensive missiles
- Negotiations

Page | 49
-Danger
-Melvin R. Laird
-David Packard
-Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
-President's possible television statement

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-007-w012]
[Duration: 1m 45s]

1972 campaign
-Henry A. Kissinger's April 17, 1971 meeting with William F. Buckley
  -Views on the President's supporters
    -The President’s possible vulnerability
      -Moderates
  -Speech
    -John N. Mitchell
  -William F. Buckley's views
    -Strategy for the President
      -Pull Democrats to the right
      -Move to the right
      -Issues
      -National defense
      -Democratic Party’s loss of center

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USSR
-Missiles
-Negotiations
  -USSR position
  -Dobrynin

Page | 50
- Safeguard
  - Gerard C. Smith

- US defense
  - Washington

- USSR defense
  - Missiles
  - Military buildup

- US position
  - Dobrynin
  - Smith
  - Safeguard

- US Defense
  - Taxes

- Missiles
  - James L. Buckley
  - ABMs

- Negotiations
  - Possible agreement

- US position
  - Safeguard
  - Weapons

- Agreement
  - American people

1972 elections
  - Buckley
  - Peace issue
  - Democrats
  - Buckley
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement
  - President’s position
    - Push for defense buildup

Defense
  - Defense budget
    - Congress
    - Democrat cuts
    - Administration’s policy
      - Opposition to cuts
- National security
  - Forthcoming press conference
  - 1972 elections
  - Political problem
    - Republican support
    - National defense
- SALT
  - Affordability
  - Political significance
    - Democratic leaders
      - Cyrus R. Vance
      - Clark M. Clifford
      - New Democrats

American establishment
  - PRC
  - USSR

Democrats
  - Ping-pong team
  - Humphrey
    - Senate
  - President's foreign policy
    - Credit
  - President's speech on Southeast Asia, October 7, 1970
    - Regret
    - Political repercussion
  - PRC
  - Laos
  - PRC
    - Timing

[A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]
Laos
- McCloskey
- Task force
- Civilian bombing
  - Communists
- Location of bombing
  - Population
- Refugees
- ASNE interview
  - Question
- Ford
- McCloskey
- Refugees
  - Location
- North Vietnamese military actions
  - Meo [tribesman]
- McCloskey
  - Refugee camps
  - Refugees
  - Interviews
- Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - Harold Willens
    - Businessmen’s Mobilization for Peace
    - Los Angeles

Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy hearings
- Possible statement by the President
- Rogers
  - Possible testimony
- Statistics
- Laotian bombing
  - Casualties
  - Possible consequences of US withdrawal from Vietnam
    - Casualties

PRC
- Vietnam

Laos
- South Vietnamese Military Activity
  - Objectives
    - Ashau Valley
    - Huế
  - Casualties

Fire Base 6
  - North Vietnamese Casualties
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]

Laos
  - General Creighton W. Abrams
  - Statement on possible invasion

Kissinger's Conversation with Osborne
  - PRC and Southeast Asia

Vietnam
  - North Vietnam statement
    - PRC
    - Interpretation
    - Railway Agreement
      - PRC

Edward Kennedy hearings
  - Laos
    - Administration's possible spokesman
    - Rogers

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[End of transcript]

The President's PRC initiative
  - Kennedy, Humphrey, Muskie
  - Statements
- Democrats
  - President's meeting with ASNE
    - US position

Vietnam
  - Cease fire Agreement of 1970
    - Collapse

USSR
  - SALT negotiations
    - Timing of announcement
    - PRC
    - Timing of announcement
    - Demonstrations
    - Timing of announcement

Demonstrations
  - Schedule

Press conference
  - Timing
  - Television
    - Vietnam troop withdrawals

USSR
  - SALT negotiations
    - Announcement
    - Press conference
    - Television
    - Timing
    - Agreement
    - Dobrynin
      - Schedule

President's schedule
  - April 18, 1971

Foreign policy
  - Timing
[A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

The President's PRC initiative
- Liberals
  - Reaction
  - Humphrey, Muskie
- Press
- PRC
- Laos

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Possible settlement
  - Announcement
    - Thieu
    - Terminal date
    - Cease fire agreement
    - POWs
    - Terminal date
  - Possible agreement
- Summit
  - Announcement
    - US combat role
Meeting

Length

The President's schedule

-SALT
-California
-Press conference
-Forthcoming welcome to First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, April 30, 1971

USSR

-Dobrynin's Schedule
-US position
-State Department
-Berlin

Germany

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: MAS]

[Duration: 23s]

Germany

-Willy Brandt
-US overthrow
-The President’s meeting with Rainer Barzel
-US opinion on Willy Brandt
-Communication to [David] Kenneth Rush
-Stonewall Germans in negotiations
-Will lead to overthrow of Willy Brandt

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Germany

Page | 57
- Berlin

Dobrynin
- Domestic situation
  - Politburo
- Possible summit

PRC
- US domestic situation
- Effect on USSR
- US position
- Press
- US policy
  - Telegram
- President's meeting with ASNE
- Ziegler
- President's public stance

Schedule
- Williamsburg Speech

Boat
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 3:30 pm