



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 481-001](#)
[Conversation No. 481-004](#)
[Conversation No. 481-006](#)

[Conversation No. 481-002](#)
[Conversation No. 481-009](#)
[Conversation No. 481-008](#)

[Conversation No. 481-003](#)
[Conversation No. 481-005](#)
[Conversation No. 481-007](#)

[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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1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 PRMPA 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]



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

[Personal Returnable]
[481-003-w001]
[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1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



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- Surveillance
 - Police state
 - John F. Kennedy administration
 - Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy
- Hoover
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Frank Cormier
- "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



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- 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



[Conversation No. 481-004](#)

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

*[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



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- 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



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- 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

[Conversation No. 481-009](#)

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

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered

[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

[Conversation No. 481-005](#)

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.]



[Federal Statute]
[481-005-w007]
[Duration: 25s]

[Conversation No. 481-005B]

[See Conversation No. 001-123A]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Federal Statute]
[481-005-w007]
[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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



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- 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



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- 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

[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



- 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

[Conversation No. 481-006](#)

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



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- 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



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal-Returnable]

[481-006-w003]

[Duration: 5s]

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

[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

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



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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. Flanigan, 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

[Conversation No. 481-008](#)

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

[Conversation No. 481-007](#)

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

[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?

- 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



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



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- [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

[*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

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



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- 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



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[481-007-w006]
[Duration: 20s]

- 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



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



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-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



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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



[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

[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

Communist assessment of the President

- PRC and USSR



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 Muhommad 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 Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Ping-pong team



- 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

[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.]



BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w010]

[Duration: 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w021]

[Duration: 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]

[End of telephone conversation]

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



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

[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

USSR

- Missiles
- Negotiations
 - USSR position
 - Dobrynin



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- 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



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- 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
 - Hué
 - 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



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- 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



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- Summit
- General Nguyen Van Thieu
- North Vietnam
 - Negotiations
- Summit
- USSR
- PRC
- Warsaw
- Dobrynin
- USSR

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[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

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

[National Security]

[481-007-w020]

[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

Germany



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-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