



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 498-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-006](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-009](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-012](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-015](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-018](#)

[Conversation No. 498-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-005](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-007](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-010](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-013](#)  
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[Conversation No. 498-003](#)  
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[Conversation No. 498-008](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-011](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-014](#)  
[Conversation No. 498-017](#)

[Conversation No. 498-001/499-002](#)

Date: May 12, 1971  
Time: Unknown after 5:33 pm - 6:03 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman. The recording began while the meeting was in progress. Discontinuities appear in the original recording. The initial portion of this conversation was recorded intermittently with 499-2

[The President talked with Frank T. Bow. The recording began while the conversation was in progress]

[Conversation No. 498-1A/499-2C]

[See Conversation No. 3-27]

[End of telephone conversation]



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Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:33 pm.

President's schedule

-Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:34 pm

Peter G. Peterson

[The President talked with Edward P. Boland between 5:34 pm and 5:36 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1B/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-28]

[End of telephone conversation]

Peterson

-Future work

[The White House operator talked with the President at 5:37 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1C/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-29]

[End of telephone conversation]

Peterson

-Future work

-George P. Shultz

-Compared with Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman

-Appearances

-Business Council

-Congress

-Compared with William P. Rogers



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[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 5:37 pm and 5:41 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1D/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-31]

[End of telephone conversation]

Peterson

-State Department

-Jacob K. Javits

-Future work

-International economic policy

-Water

[The President talked with Connally between 5:41 pm and 5:45 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1E/499-2E]

[See Conversation No. 3-32]

[End of telephone conversation]

Supersonic Transport [SST]

-Senate vote

-David H. Gambrell

-Alan Cranston, John V. Tunney

-Forthcoming conversations with Connally

[The intermittent recording apparently had ceased at this point]

[The President talked with Wilbur D. Mills between 5:45 pm and 5:48 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1F/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-33]

[End of telephone conversation]



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[The President talked with White House operator between 5:48 pm and 5:52 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1G/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-34]

[End of telephone conversation]

Connally

- Actions supporting the President's policies
- Compared with other Cabinet officers
- SST, Lockheed

SST

- Legislative struggle
- House of Representatives action
- Henry A. Kissinger's possible call to Otis Chandler
- Chandler's possible calls to Cranston and Tunney
- Haldeman

[White House operator talked with the President at 5:52 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-1H/499-2]

[See Conversation No. 3-35]

[End of telephone conversation]

Unknown issue

- Kissinger
- Taft Schreiber
- John A. Scali's views
  
- Role of Jewish constituency
- Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield proposal
- Considerations
- Rogers's possible efforts



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US foreign policy

- Israel
- Kissinger
- Rogers

Peterson

John N. Mitchell's schedule

Kissinger

The President's schedule

- Alabama, Texas
- Florida
- Texas radio address
- Preparation

The press

- McCall's article
- An unnamed female television reporter
- Helen A. Thomas' article
- The President's enemies goals
- Patrick J. Buchanan's views
- 1972 election

1964 election

- Barry M. Goldwater
- Buchanan

Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Weather

- Florida
- 1968 primary

The President and Haldeman left at 6:03 pm

[Conversation No. 498-002](#)



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Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 9:28 am - 10:03 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The recording began while the meeting was in progress. Discontinuities appear in the original recording

Vietnam

- Michael J. ("Mike) Mansfield's proposal
- Unknown man's response
- Jacob K. Javits
  - Calls to Kissinger
  - Speech, travel plans
  - Possible vote
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- "Establishment"
- David Rockefeller

[The President talked with William P. Rogers between 9:35 am and 9:41 am]

[Conversation No. 498-2A]

[See Conversation No. 3-41]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Rogers' forthcoming meeting with Mansfield
- Dean Rusk
  - Health
  - Support for the President
- Dean G. Acheson

US troops in Europe

- Administration Policy
  - Senate's Role
    - Charles H. Percy



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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-025. Segment declassified on 04/12/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[498-002-w001]

[Duration: 25s]

US troops in Europe

- Henry A. Kissinger's message to Willy Brandt
- Issue public statement
- Willy Brandt's support with socialists

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Mansfield Amendment

- Cyrus R. Vance's schedule
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Edmund S. Muskie
- Muskie's views
  - Vance's conversation with Kissinger
- Humphrey
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy's views
- "Establishment," Democrats
- The President's schedule
  - Acheson
  - Nicholas de B. Katzenbach
    - A meeting of a hospital board
  - Location
    - Cabinet Room
    - Rogers, Melvin R. Laird, Andrew J. Goodpaster
    - Seating arrangements
      - Rogers, Laird, Acheson, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Agnew's relations with Vance

The President's meeting



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- Vance's schedule
- Clark M. Clifford
- W[illiam] Averell Harriman
  - Views regarding the President's reelection compared with other attendees
  - Health
- Relations with Acheson

### US troops in Europe

- Muskie's views
  - William A.K. ("Tony") Lake

### The President's views on issues during the 1960's

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- "Establishment"

### The President's policies

- Acheson's views
  - Cambodia
  - Intervention

### Korea

- Acheson's Views
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - China
  - Cambodia

### Vietnam

- Laotian incursion (Lam Som)
  - Public opinion
  - Casualties
  - Effectiveness
  - Absence of spring offensive
- Military dispositions
  - Instructions for Thomas H. Moorer
    - Bombing plans
    - Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - Announcement of the President's Forthcoming Visit to USSR
- Negotiations



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- Bombing
  - The President's instruction
  - Timing
- Le Duan
  - Visits to USSR and People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

Forthcoming Announcement

- Message to PRC

The President's Schedule

- Robert D. Murphy

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-025. Segment declassified on 04/24/2019. Archivist: DR]*

[National Security]

[498-002-w003]

[Duration: 2m 34s]

Robert D. Murphy's report

- Two China solution
  - Taiwan
    - Agree provided they keep Security Council seat
    - US can't guarantee
  - Potentially better for US to lose vote
  - Peking
  - Taiwan

US policy

- Breaking treaties with Taiwan to get closer to People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Deliver Taiwanese to communists
  - US forces stationed in Taiwan
    - Approximately 6,000
- Aid to Chiang Kai-shek
- Feasibility of Two China policy



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United Nations [UN] vote

- Chiang Kai-shek
  - Probability of getting kicked out of Two China
- Communist assembly
  - Security Council seat

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Rogers

- The President's schedule
  - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Gerard C. Smith
- Possible reaction to news
- The President's schedule
  - Smith
  - Rogers
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

[Unintelligible]

Kissinger left at 9:57 am

Polls

An unknown man

SST

- Humphrey

Welfare reform

- Press reports
  - Washington Post*
- Ronald L. Ziegler's possible comments
- The President's schedule
  - John W. Gardner and head of Congress of Industrial Organization [CIO]
    - Implications
- Popular opinion
- Public relations
  - Staff's view



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- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- The President's schedule
  - Edward L. Morgan's view
    - H.R. 1
- Popular opinion
- Public relations
  - Ziegler, Herbert G. Klein, Agnew

SST

- House vote, May 12, 1971
  - Gerald R. Ford
  - Press coverage

House of Representatives

- Ford, Carl B. Albert

Connally

- Conversation with Ford
- Joseph C. Kraft's attacks
- Liberals' views

National economy

- Gross National Product [GNP] Statistics
  - Release date
  - Forthcoming briefings
    - Paul W. McCracken
    - Herbert Stein
    - William L. Safire
      - News magazines
      - U.S. News & World Report*
- Status of inventories

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:02 am

[Unintelligible]

The President's schedule

- Roger E. Johnson



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Butterfield left at an unknown time before 10:03 am

- Florida trip
- Weather

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 05/23/2019.*

*Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[498-002-w004]

[Duration: 22s]

Manolo Sanchez's schedule

- Testifying
- Florida
- Divorce

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The President's schedule

- Arrangements for Florida trip

Haldeman left at 10:03 am

[Conversation No. 498-003](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 10:04 am - 10:30 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Elliot L. Richardson, Dr. Merlin K. ("Monty") DuVal, John D. Ehrlichman, Ronald L. Ziegler and Clark MacGregor at 10:04 am; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting



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[General conversation]

Ziegler and the photographers left at an unknown time before 10:30 am.

DuVal

- Dartmouth
- Role with administration
  - Health care
    - Position of doctors
- Nickname
  - Jack Armstrong radio show in 1930's
- Background
  - Father
  - Travels
    - Mexico (Nogales area)
    - Wife
    - Friends

Mexico

- People

US

- Blacks, Latin Americans

DuVal

- Role with administration
  - Travel to Arizona
  - Indians
    - Los Angeles area
    - Health care
  - Predecessors
    - Authority
    - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
    - Role
      - American Medical Association [AMA]
  - Taft
  - Title and functions
  - John W. Gardner



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- Work
- Health care program
  - Welfare
  - Revenue sharing
  - [Unintelligible name]
  - Lewis H. Butler, Robert E. Patricelli
  - White House staff
  - Duke of Wellington's comment at Waterloo
  - Staff needs, program needs
  - National Institutes of Health [NIH], National Institute of Mental Health [NIMH]
    - Autonomy
      - Narcotics
  - Mary Lasker, James A. Shannon
  - NIH, NIMH
  - NIH director
    - Dr. Robert Q. Marston
  - Inter-departmental cooperation regarding narcotics
    - Defense, Justice, and of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    - U.S. troops in Europe
      - Robert H. Finch
  - Cancer
    - Research, publicity
    - Marston
- Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy

- State Department, Foreign Service
  - Changes
- Problems of new appointees
  - Richardson
- Fears

Medical profession

- Health care system
  - US
  - Burma
  - US
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy



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- Roger O. Egeberg, Richardson
- The President's plan in 1948
  - Christian A. Herter
  - Medical profession's response
  - Morris Fishbein
  - Russell Davenport
  - Herter
- AMA
- Popular opinion
  - Senators, Congressmen, and doctors
- Richardson's health care plan
- Political funding

Richardson's health care plan

- MacGregor's work in congress
- Kennedy program
- W. Clement Stone's comments ten years ago
- Medical profession
  - Views of administration

Presentation of gifts by the President

- Cufflinks, golf balls

Richardson, et al., left at 10:30 am

[Conversation No. 498-004](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:30 am and 10:32 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

John D. Ehrlichman's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:32 am



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[Conversation No. 498-005](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 10:32 am - 12:20 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman; Discontinuities appear in the original recording

Merlin K. ("Morty") DuVal

-Elliot L. Richardson

-[Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. ?]

Richardson

H.R. Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 10:32 am

-Compared to Robert H. Finch

-School and health issues

-Performance

-School districts

-Edward L. Morgan, John N. Mitchell

-The President's schedule

-Richardson

-Mitchell, John B. Connally

-Meeting

-Camp David

-Performance

Air bags

-John A. Volpe's action

-Charles W. Colson's possible efforts

-Herbert W. Kalmbach

-Henry Ford II's meeting with the President

-Ralph Nader

-Possible future cooperation between administration and auto industry



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- Kalmbach
- General Motor [GM], Chrysler
  - Taxes
  - James M. Roche
  - Support for the President

President's schedule

- Ford
- Roche

Roche

The President's schedule

- Roche
  - Cole [?]
  - Peter G. Peterson
    - Meetings at White House, lunch schedule
    - Conversation with Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz
      - US competitive position abroad
    - Peterson, Ehrlichman
      - Air bags
    - Speech
      - Consumerism, environmentalism, industry
- Richard J. Daley
- GM
- Conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Air bags
  - Ford
  - Department of Transportation [DOT] Safety Division
    - Ford
- Morgan's suggestion
  - John W. Gardner
  - Heds of Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] and League of Woman Voters
  - Welfare reform

Welfare reform

- Public relations
- Blacks



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- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Emphasis
- Politics
- Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan, Leonard Garment
- The President's views
- Public relations
  - Morgan and other speakers
  - Black audiences
- Wilbur D. Mills' approach
- Public relations
  - Richardson
  - Ziegler
  - Press
- Ronald W. Reagan's possible views

An unknown man [Stephen B. Bull] entered and conferred with Haldeman at an unknown time after 10:32 am

[Unintelligible]

Reagan

- Letter to the President regarding California Rural Legal Assistance [CRLA]
- Welfare reform
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and Mitchell
  - Possible conversation with Reagan

The unknown man [Bull ?] left at an unknown time before 11:33 am

Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

- The President's program regarding legal services
  - Privatization
  - Public support
  - Effect
  - The President's view
  - Walter F. Mondale's legislation
  - Board members



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- Chief Justice
- The President
- Congress
- Hoover Commission
- Frank C. Carlucci
  - Forthcoming conversation with Ehrlichman
  - President's plans

Carlucci

- Future role with administration
- State department career

Welfare reform

- Reagan

CRLA

- Mitchell
- L. Patrick Gray, III
- Relation to welfare reform
- Administration position
  - Carlucci
  - Reagan

Peterson

- Conversation with the President
  - Compared with Charles H. Percy and [name(s) unintelligible]

Great Britain and France

[UNINTELLIGIBLE]

Unknown man

- Ehrlichman's son's attendance at dinner
  - Stanford University
- Background
- Possible role with administration
  - Council of Economic Advisors

DuVal



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-Views regarding Mexicans

Blacks

- Future
- The President's conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Black studies program at Smith College
- Booker T. Washington
- George Washington Carver

Mexicans

- Compared with Blacks
- Compared with Mexican-Americans
- Role of family
- Guadalajara, Monterey, Cuernavaca
- Catholic church
- Drugs
- Labor Unions
  - Effect

DuVal

Peterson

Council [long-range economic planning]

- Views of William P. Rogers, Maurice Stans, Connally, Henry A. Kissinger

US future

- Kissinger

Peterson

- Negotiating ability
  - Japan
  - Department of State
  - Kissinger
- Foreign economic policy
  - Stans
    - Commerce Department
  - National Association of Manufacturers [NAM]



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### President's domestic policy

- Administration compared with theory
  - Revenue sharing, government reorganization, education, health, welfare, environment
- Politics
  - Cancer
    - Response to State of the Union address
    - Florida, California, Texas, Oklahoma
  - Economy
    - Jobs, family income, working Americans
    - Housing quality
      - Garages
      - Bathrooms
  - National goals
    - 1972 election
- Popular expectations of government
  - State of the Union address
  - Cost of government
- Shultz's work at the Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
  - Time* magazine coverage
- Popular opinion
  - Health
  - Education
  - Drugs
  - Crime
- Marijuana

### Homosexuality

- "All In The Family" television show on homosexuality
  - The President's view
  - Archie Bunker
    - Compared with Jackie Gleason
    - Son-in-law
  - Characters story line
    - Letter to the President
  - Issues
- The President's view



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[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 05/23/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[498-005-w004]

[Duration: 13s]

Homosexuality

- Friends of administration
  - [First name unknown] Alger [?]
  - Joseph W. Alsop
- Enemies
  - Joseph C. Kraft

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Homosexuality

- Television treatment
  - The President view
- Prostitutes
- Effect on children
- President's view
- US future
- Ancient Greece
  - Aristotle
  - Socrates
- Influence of television
- Rome
  - Last six emperors
  - Nero
- Catholic church
- Great Britain
- France
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- US

USSR



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- Narcotics
- Homosexuality

### US future

- Liberals and Communists
- Moynihan, Robert H. Finch, Garment
- Television
  - Effect on children

### Homosexuality

- Current attitudes
  - Gay liberation
- Justin W. Dart's conversation with Ehrlichman
  - University of Southern California [USC]
- San Francisco
  - Stanford University
  - Bohemian Grove attendees
    - The President's response
- Hollywood
- Pasadena
- Decorating and apparel manufacturers
  - An unknown man
- Decorators
- Women's fashions

### Women's fashions

- Designers
- Hot pants

### White House staff

- Political role
- Public relations
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower's staff
  - James C. Hagerty
  - Richard A. Moore, William L. Safire, John A. Scali
- Speech writers
  - The President's November 3, 1969 speech
  - Children's conference speech
  - Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR] speech



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- Chamber of Commerce speech
- Staff members
  - Safire, Raymond K. Price, Patrick J. Buchanan, Noel C. Koch, Moore
- Public relations
- Importance

1972 campaign

- State of the Union
  - Importance
- Budget
  - Importance
- Legislative initiatives
  - Congress
  - Taxes
    - Ehrlichman's possible meeting
      - The President, John N. Mitchell, Connally, Shultz
      - Agenda
    - White House action

Politics

- Water
- Revenue sharing
- Spiro T. Agnew's speeches
  - Democrats' response
- Joseph A. Califano, Jr., government reorganization group
- Housewife in Duluth
- Democrats

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 05/23/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[498-005-w006]

[Duration: 1m 12s]

Politics

- 1972 election



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- The President's position
- Issues
  - Avoid being too political
  - Presidential posture
  - President prefers high-falutin over grimy issues
    - Minimum wage
- Working group
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - William L. Safire
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - John A. Scali
  - Richard A. Moore

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Chicago

- Low-income housing
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]

The President's conversation with Connally, May 13, 1971

- Forthcoming vote in Congress on SST [?]

Federal budget

- Deficit
- Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger's
  - Forthcoming press briefing, May 13, 1971

Chicago

- Low-income housing program
  - Federal District Court order
    - Gatro [?] case
      - Possible referral to Supreme Court
- HUD's actions
  - Model Cities
  - Model Neighborhood program
- Public relation program
- Gatro [?] case
  - Legal status



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- HUD actions
- Forthcoming mayoral election

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting on government reorganization
  - Connally
  - The President's role
- Agenda
  - Alexander P. Butterfield

Richard J. Daley

- Effect on Illinois Congressional delegation
- Revenue sharing

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:32 am

An unknown item for Ehrlichman

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:33 am

Daley  
-Schedule

Haldeman left and Richard J. Daley and George P. Shultz entered at 11:33 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

Greetings

Arrangements for photograph

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:33 am

- Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Washington, D.C. police

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm

Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll



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### Chicago

- The President's conversation with Shultz
- Housing
  - Federal court's order
  - Problems
    - Economic classes
    - Race
- Racial composition
  - Washington, D.C.

### Public Housing

- Racial quotas

### Chicago

- Public housing
  - Vacancies
  - Crime
  - Daley's actions
  - Condominium
  - Compared with St. Louis
- Shultz's views

### Public housing

- Neighborhoods
- Operations
- Chicago
  - Locus of decision-making
    - Local non-profit organizations
  - Federal funds
- Washington, D.C. neighborhoods
- New York City
  - John V. Lindsay, Bert Kramer[?]
- Racial quotas
  - Need for control
  - Schools
  - Crime

### Education

- Public



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- Private
  - Financing
    - Citizens' commission
    - Cardinals John Cody and John Cardinal Krol
    - Special revenue sharing
      - Possible congressional response
  - Importance
- The President's schooling
- Public
  - Taxes
  - Productivity
  - Voucher program
    - Experiment
      - Location (Alrock?, California)
    - Educational establishment position

### Narcotics

- Chicago's program
  - Law enforcement personnel
- Permissiveness
  - Reverend Frye[?] in Chicago
  - Elementary schools
  - Armed forces
    - Effect on civilian work force
  - Churches' possible role
  - Educators
  - Marijuana
    - The President's previous conferences in California
      - A study
    - Legalization
      - Compared with alcohol, hard drugs
    - Study commission
    - Legalization
      - Effects
  - Treatment centers
  - Marijuana legalization
  - Crime
  - Methadone
    - Treatment program in Washington, D.C.



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Effect
- Heroin
- Treatment program in Washington, D.C.
  - Effect
  - Possible use in Chicago
  - Black population compared with Chicago

### Chicago

- Police
  - Morale
  - Community support
    - Business, labor
  - Recruitment
  - Compensation
  - Continuing education
  - Orlando W. Wilson's accomplishments
- Revenue sharing
  - Formula for calculation
  - Importance
    - Flexibility in public service uses

### Veterans

- Military discharges
  - Petitions to Washington
- Potential
- Employment
  - Narcotics
  - Less-than-honorable discharges
  - Preference
  - Prisoner rehabilitation comparison

### National Economy

- Gross National Product [GNP]
  - Increase
    - Relation to employment
  - Retail sales
    - Trends
      - Ford, Sears-Roebuck, Company
  - Inventories



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Extent of change

- Unemployment

- Shultz's talk in Chicago with business group

- Housing

- Regional Differences

- Chicago, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, West Coast, Los Angeles, New York City, Seattle

- Businessmen

### Chicago

- Development

- Compared with New York City

- Businessmen

- Labor

- Compared with New York City and Boston

- Racial programs

### Demonstrations

- Jerry V. Wilson

- Actions

- Television response

- Support of the President and Mitchell

- ORC poll

- Washington, D.C. police force

- Actions

- Questions

- Results

- Washington, D.C. police handling

### Intergovernmental relations

- California

- New York

- Agnew

- Daley

- Shultz

- Ehrlichman

- The President

- Dan Rostenkowski

- Shultz

- Importance



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Presentation of gifts by the President

- Cuff links
- Gift for Daley's wife

Daley's communications with the Administration

- Narcotics
- Law enforcement
- Employment

Chicago

- Police
- The President's support

Housing program

Ehrlichman, Daley, and Shultz left at 12:20 pm

[Conversation No. 498-019](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:20 pm and 12:50 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service agents] met.

Presidents location

- Cabinet Room

Unknown men [Secret Service agents] left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

[Conversation No. 498-006](#)

Date: May 13, 1971



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Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 1:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person

The President's schedule

-A call

[End of conversation]

[Conversation No. 498-007](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 12:50 pm and 1:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

The President's schedule

-James M. Roche

-Meeting information

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm

[Conversation No. 498-008](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 1:00 pm - 1:25 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Mr. and Mrs. John McCowan



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- Visit to the White House
- Thelma (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
- The President's schedule
  - Mrs. Nixon's conversation with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule

- Mr. and Mrs. McCowan
  - Mrs. Nixon
- Senator Edward W. Brooke
- Tree planting ceremony

Supersonic transport [SST]

- Boeing
- William M. Magruder
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Boeing
  - Concerns
  - Cost of possible cancellation
  - Jobs
    - Governor Daniel J. Evans, Senators Warren G. ("Maggie") Magnuson, Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Concerns

Chicago police

- A poll

President's Schedule

- Citizens' Committee for Government Reorganization meeting
  - Betty Furness
  - Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
- Max M. Fisher
  - Businessmen
  - Paul W. McCracken's schedule
  - The President's schedule
    - Voluntary action event
    - Meetings with the President

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

- Schedule



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- Colleges
- Security

### The President's schedule

- Bohemian Grove
  - Walter Trohan's letter to Rose Mary Woods
  - Possible demonstrations
  - Security concerns
  - Press
    - Barry M. Goldwater's visit in 1964
  - Herbert H. Hoover
- Effect on club

### Washington, D.C.

#### Demonstrations

- Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll
  - The President's previous conversation with Richard J. Daley
- Chief Jerry V. Wilson
  - Daley's views

#### Chicago police

- Daley's possible statement at Police Appreciation Night
  - The President's support
- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Adlai E. Stevenson III
- David Frost

#### Liberals

- The President's policies
  - Family assistance
  - Ehrlichman
  - Environment
  - Health

#### A call by President

#### Mrs. Nixon

- Schedule



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- Staff
- Oklahoma trip
- Staff
- The President's forthcoming trip to Oklahoma
- Tulsa trip
- Effect
- Possible trip to Texas

### Demonstration against North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

- Indianapolis event
  - Motives
  - The President's schedule
    - Announcement
  - Agnew's schedule

### Demonstrations

- J. Edgar Hoover, Ehrlichman, Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- Role of communists
  - Issues
  - Rennie Davis
- Vietnam
  - May Day
  - Future

### "All In The Family" show

- Archie Bunker
- Setting, characters
- Success, ratings
- Change in storyline
- Carroll O'Connor

### Movies

- Sex as box office attraction

### The President's schedule

- Agnew's schedule

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 1:00 pm



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The President's lunch

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:25 pm

Public relations

- Agnew
- John Connally
- Agnew
  - Rural Electrification Administration [REA] youth
- The President's schedule as Vice President
  - Gridiron Club dinner
- Speeches
  - Compared with President as Vice President, Connally

Haldeman left at 1:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 498-009](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:25 pm and 2:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Walter Trohan

Trohan's note to the President

- The President's schedule
  - Bohemian Grove
    - Herbert H. Hoover's presidency
  - Security concerns
  - Press

Jim Fregosi

- Sports

[Conversation No. 498-010](#)



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:25 pm and 2:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Barber

-James M. Roche

-John D. Ehrlichman, Peter G. Peterson

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

[Conversation No. 498-011](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 2:15 pm - 3:35 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] negotiations

-Kissinger's previous conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Forthcoming announcement

-Wording

-Politburo

-Potential problems

-Dobrynin

-US options

-Possible changes

-Kissinger view

-Timing

-Gerard C. Smith

-Wording



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- Antiballistic Missile [ABM] and Strategic Arms reductions
  - The President's view
- Public pronouncements
- Private Messages
  - William P. Rogers
  - Smith, Rogers
  - Soviet acceptance
  - Protocol
  - Wording
    - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
- Timing
  - Scope of agreement
- Potential future problems
  - Kissinger's view
  - Smith's negotiations

### Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:15 pm

- The President's Schedule
  - Forthcoming meeting

### Bull Left at an unknown time before 2:34 pm

- SALT negotiations
  - Forthcoming Announcement
    - Wording
    - Timing
    - Possible effect
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Wording
    - Dobrynin

### John D. Ehrlichman, Peter G. Peterson, and James M. Roche entered at 2:34 pm

- Greetings
- Kissinger left at 2:34 pm

Dumping[?]



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-Status

A camera

-Origin

American cars

-Competition

-Japanese

-Russians

-British

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 05/23/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]

[498-011-w001]

[Duration: 3s]

American cars

-British competition

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Agenda

-Safety

-Environment

-Peterson

Environment and safety

-President's views

-Use in a speech

-Ehrlichman

-Proponents

-Motives

-Public statements

-Proponents



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Concerns over motives
- Administration policy
  - House and Senate
  - Programs
- Effect on U.S. business
  - Automobile industry
    - European and Japanese competition
- Ehrlichman, William D. Ruckelshaus

### Safety

- Proponents
- Seat belt rules
  - Possible effect
  - Administration policy
- Air bags
  - Tests
  - Administration policy

### Automobile industry

- Roche's role
- General Motors
  - Perception
- White House views
  - Ehrlichman
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Cooperation
- Position
- Anti-pollution efforts
- Safety efforts
  - US record
  - Legislation in Florida
  - Enforcement of drunk driving laws
  - Improper maintenance
    - Inspections
  - Air bags
    - Durability and reliability
- Critics
  - Extremity
  - Congress



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Forthcoming White House action
  - Ehrlichman
- Goals
  - Effects
    - Jobs
      - Germany and Japan
    - Air bags

### Government regulations

- 1973 safety standards
  - Passive restraints seat belts
  - Air bags
  - Seat belts
  - Air bags
  - Current review at the White House
  - Department of Transportation [DOT]
    - A letter
    - An unnamed man
  - John A. Volpe's position
  - Air bags
  - White House handling
  - Reconsideration process
    - Manufacturers
    - June 14, 1971 deadline
  - The President's response
  - Economic impact
    - A California lawyer for General Motors [GM]
- Congress
- Air quality
  - Hearings
    - Ruckelshaus
  - Legislation
  - Public opinion
  - Economic impact
  - White House position
- Air bags, seat belts, and shoulder harnesses
  - Use by public

### Safety



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- US cars
- Drivers
  - Germans
- Accident rate
  - Germany
  - England
  - Japan
  - US
    - Compared with losses in Vietnam
    - Number of cars
    - The President's driving
      - California
      - Freeways

### Auto industry

- White House contacts
  - Flanigan
  - Ehrlichman
  - Meeting with Henry Ford II
  - Roche's May 13 meeting with Ehrlichman
- Japan
  - Possible White House Action
    - Flanigan, John B. Connally
  - Position
    - Roche's trip to Japan
  - Capacity
  - Exports
    - Future
    - People's Republic of China [PRC], Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Thailand
      - The President's view
    - US
    - Trade barriers
    - Korea
      - Automobile industry development
    - Latin America
      - Automobile industry development
    - PRC

### US and Japanese economic relations



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Currency valuation
- Investment restrictions
- Import restrictions
- Future
  - Peterson's view
- US strategy
  - Japanese steel
    - Use in automobiles
    - Possible US import restrictions
    - Possible Japanese response
- US auto exports
  - Restrictions in Japan
    - Taxes
      - Cadillac cost
    - Possible future actions
- GM and Isuzu Cooperation
  - Restrictions in Japan
  - Shared Technology
    - Environment
    - Safety
    - Car Design
  - GM
    - Japanese expectations
  - Kiichi Miyazawa
  - Isuzu

### US economy

- Goals
  - Concepts
  - Business Council
  - Areas of concentration
  - Competitiveness
  - Technology
    - Areas of concentration
      - Energy, water, medicine
  - Possible action by government
- Research and development
  - Private sector
  - Space program



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Breeder reactor
  - A previous cabinet briefing
  - Costs
  - Results
- Desalinization
  - Costs
  - A previous briefing
  - Department of Interior saline water program
    - Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
    - Compared with programs in Germany, England, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], Japan
    - Possible private sector cooperation with government
- Government subsidies
  - Domestic council
  - Supersonic transport [SST] comparison
  - USSR, PRC
  - Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, Netherlands, and Belgium
  - High technology
  - Private sector action
    - Compared to Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture
  - SST comparison
  - Water desalinization programs
  - Health programs
    - X-rays
    - Vaccinations
  - Possible studies
    - Business, scientists, Harvard, Stanford
  - Japan, USSR, Great Britain, Germany, France

[Unintelligible]

- Future status
  - Economic standing
  - The President's forthcoming meeting regarding North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Compared with US economic status in 1945
    - Germany, Japan
    - Great Britain, Italy, France
  - Compared with Europe in 1970's



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- The President's view
  - Trade
  - Government subsidies
  - Productivity, labor costs
  - Attitude of government
  - Attitude of public
- Compared with Great Britain
  - Labor costs
  - Edward R.G. Heath
  - British economy
    - Effect of labor costs
  - Unions

### Ehrlichman left at 3:18 pm

- Conference Board
  - [first name unintelligible] Sheppard [sp?]
  - Sandy Treadwell[?]
  - A study commission
- Business Council
  - Possible study
    - Staff capability
  - Members
- A possible study
  - Schools of business
    - University of Chicago, Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT],  
Stanford University, University of Southern California [USC]
- A previous study[?]
  - Scientists
    - Dr. Charles Salin[?]
- Public opinion
  - Peterson's experience on White House Conference on Youth
    - Colorado
    - Zero growth
  - Social aspect
    - Technology
    - Jobs
      - Service economy
- Future



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- Compared with Great Britain
- Needs
  - Basic industries
    - An unnamed French writer
    - Japan
      - Automobiles
    - US
      - Chemicals
      - Services
    - Other countries
      - Steel
      - Textiles
    - Results
      - George P. Shultz
      - Results for US
  - Peace
    - Prospects
    - Biblical translation
- Agriculture
  - US position
  - Farmers
- Steel, auto, chemical, radio, and camera manufacturing
  - Japanese competition
    - Panasonic televisions
    - Radio Shack[?]
- Motion picture industry
  - The President's knowledge
  - Future
    - British and French films
- SST
  - Possible competition from USSR, France
    - Results
- Public opinion
  - Older Americans compare to younger Americans
  - Growth
  - Redistribution
    - Youth
    - Great Depression
      - Wendell Willkie campaign in 1940



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- New Deal policies
- Experience in communist societies
  - USSR, Hungary, Romania, and Poland
- Possible campaign
- Exploration of the unknown
  - Individual creativity
  - Benefits
  - Retirement
  - Creativity
  - Space program
    - Future
    - Purpose
- Possible campaign
  - Focus
    - Building
    - Individual growth
      - Compared with California redwoods
- Youth
  - Views on redistribution and growth
  - Peterson's experience
    - Contradiction of public service and materialism
  - Influence of press
  - Influence of educational system
  - Influence of television
  - Influence of educational system
  - Influence of churches
    - Fundamentalists
    - Orthodox Jews
  - Influence of teachers
  - Influence of churches
  - Influence of television
  - Reading habits

Farewells

Lee Sprague

- Army Corps of Engineers
- Possible meeting with the President



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Farewells

Peterson and Roche left at 3:35 pm

[Conversation No. 498-012](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:35 pm and 3:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

[See Conversation No. 3-42]

[Conversation No. 498-013](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:35 pm 3:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

[See Conversation No. 3-43]

[Conversation No. 498-014](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 3:38 pm - 3:39 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Dwight L. Chapin



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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 05/23/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[498-014-w001]

[Duration: 39s]

[Begin telephone conversation]

[See Conversation No. 003-044]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

[Conversation No. 498-015](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: 3:40 pm - 4:27 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule

-James M. Roche

-Individuals

-Groups

Roche

The President's schedule

-Individuals

-Groups

Supersonic Transport [SST]

-Gerald R. Ford



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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-William M. Magruder  
-Work in Senate

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 05/23/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
[498-015-w001]  
[Duration: 18s]

The President talked with J. Glenn Beall, Jr. between 3:43 pm and 3:44 pm

[Begin telephone conversation]

[Conversation No. 498-15A]

[See Conversation No. 003-045]

[End of telephone conversation]

\*\*\*\*\*

SST

-Ford  
-Senate  
-Magruder's title

[The President talked with the White House operator at 3:46 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-15B]

[See Conversation No. 3-46]

[End of telephone conversation]

-Magruder's location



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-St. Croix

SST

-Forthcoming Senate vote

[The President talked with the White House operator at 3:46 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-15C]

[See Conversation No. 3-47]

[End of telephone conversation]

Magruder

-Location

-White House operator

-John D. Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman

-Meeting with John N. Mitchell

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 3:46 pm and 3:47 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-15D]

Ehrlichman's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with Clark MacGregor between 3:47 pm and 3:48 pm]

[Conversation No. 498-15E]

[See Conversation No. 3-48]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with Edward W. Brooke



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- Henry A. Kissinger
- MacGregor
- Charles W. Colson
- MacGregor
- Kissinger
- Colson

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 3:49 pm

National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]

- Apollo program
  - A meeting, May 12, 1971
  - Budget
- Nuclear Engine for Rocket Vehicle Application [NERVA]
- Space shuttle
- Priorities
  - Apollo program
- Research and development
- Funds, mission, name

MacGregor entered at 3:50 pm

SST

- The President's previous attempt to call Magruder
- The President's conversation with John B. Connally
  - Connally's forthcoming conversations
    - John V. Tunney, Alan Cranston, David H. Gambrell, Clinton P. Anderson, unknown Floridan [Lawton M. Chiles, Jr.?], Lloyd Bentsen
- Gambrell's views
  - The President's conversation with George Meany, May 12, 1971
    - Meany's location
- Forthcoming Senate vote
  - Lockheed
    - Connally
  - Boeing
    - Daniel J. Evans
    - Ehrlichman's attempted meeting with chairman, May 12, 1971
    - Jobs, profits



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[Personal Returnable]

[498-015-w002]

[Duration: 2m 34s]

John B. Connally talked with the President between 3:52 pm and 3:53 pm

[Begin telephone conversation]

[Conversation No. 498-15F]

[See Conversation No. 003-049]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, and Clark MacGregor.

The President's telephone conversation with John B. Connally

- Texas gubernatorial race
  - Ben F. Barnes as possible candidate
  - Preston Smith
    - President's opinion
    - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
  - Impact of Ben F. Barnes as possible candidate
  - Peter O'Donnell
  - John G. Tower

\*\*\*\*\*

SST

- Forthcoming Senate vote
  - Republicans
  - Issue



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- The President's conversation with James L. Buckley
    - Environment
  - Clifford P. Hansen, Jack P. Miller, Winston L. Prouty, Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
  - The President's conversation with Hansen
  - Miller
  - The President's conversation with Hansen
  - Costs of termination
    - Effect in House
    - Lockheed
  - Boeing
    - Magruder's conversations
      - Thornton ("T.") Wilson
      - Lowell Mickelwait
    - Statement after House vote
  - Evans' statement
    - Jobs
  - Efforts of Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson and Warren G. ("Maggie") Magnuson
  - Ehrlichman's forthcoming call to Evans
  - Forthcoming Senate vote
    - Boeing
      - Termination costs
      - Magruder's agreement with Wilson
      - Unemployment in Seattle
        - Newspapers position
    - Timing
      - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield, Hugh Scott
      - William Proxmire's view
    - Senators
  - Popular opinion
    - Effect on Senators
    - Considerations
  - Senate Appropriations Committee action
- U.S. troops in Europe
- Mansfield's view
- SST
- Forthcoming Senate vote
    - Business Council's possible actions



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- Ehrlichman's forthcoming call to Peter M. Flanigan
  - Telegrams
  - Meetings at Hot Springs
- Roche
- Labor's possible action
  - Colson
  - Meany
    - Telegrams from labor
- Lockheed
  - Future
  - Connally
  - Magruder's role
  - MacGregor's forthcoming meeting with Connally
    - Connally
- Commitments by senators
  - Hansen's experience

Forthcoming Senate vote

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Situation
  - George W. Ball

SST

- Forthcoming Senate vote
  - Commitments
  - Buckley
  - Bentsen
    - Connally's efforts

Forthcoming Senate vote on NATO

- MacGregor's efforts
- NATO council statement distribution
- Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
- European efforts
- Spending
- MBFR
  - Compare to Vietnam War
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- MacGregor's schedule



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- Possible meeting with Ford
- Lunch
- List of Senators
- Copies
- Mansfield Amendment [?]
- A meeting
- Ball
- List of senators

MacGregor left at 4:11 pm

Connally's schedule

- European trip
- Possible May 25, 1971 briefing in Birmingham, Alabama
  - Reorganization
- European trip
- Possible Alabama briefing
  - Paul W. McCracken
  - Ehrlichman
  - George W. Romney, Elliot L. Richardson, Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Mitchell
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Florida trip
- Lyndon B. Johnson Library trip with the President
- Florida trip
  - Connally
  - Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally
  - Accommodations
- Possible Alabama briefing
- Congressional testimony

The President's schedule

- Florida trip
  - George A. Smathers
- Johnson Library trip

Connally



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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The President's schedule

- Florida
  - Possible press announcements
- Johnson Library
- Florida
  - Possible press announcements, radio address
  - Red Cross
- Interview with ten business magazines
  - Maurice H. Stans dinner

*Fortune* magazine

- Forthcoming article on George P. Shultz
  - Arthur F. Burns
  - Interview with *Time* magazine reporter
  - Shultz's meeting with businessmen in New York City
  - Shultz

Burns

International monetary situation

- Burns
- Connally
- Paul A. Volcker

Shultz

- Forthcoming *Fortune* article
  - Burns
  - Motives

Connally

- Internal Revenue Service [IRS] investigation of unknown people's income tax returns
- John S. Nolan's appointment

H. Ross Perot

- Bargain with administration over third largest brokerage house

New IRS head

- Johnnie M. Walters



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- Mitchell
- Nolan
- Roger Bersh [?]
  - Views regarding Nolan
  - Edwin S. Cohen
- Walters
  - Ehrlichman's forthcoming conversation with Mitchell
- Requirements
  - Investigations
  - Nolan
  - Ronald W. Reagan in California
  - John J. Rhodes
  - Democrats
  - Law
  - The President's experience
    - Kennedy [John F. or Robert F.]
  - Finch
  - Requirements
    - Walters
    - Richard G. Kleindienst
  - Kleindienst

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]

- Kleindienst's deal regarding anti-trust action
  - ITT and Hartford
  - ITT and Grinnell
    - Timing
- Harold S. Geneen
  - Possible campaign contribution
  - Kleindienst's contact on ITT board
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach
  - Possible campaign finance law
    - Effect

SST

- Ford's efforts in House
- Importance
  - Jobs
- Termination costs



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- Boeing
  - Possible future administration action
- Magruder
  - Location
    - Virgin Islands

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 05/23/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]  
 [498-015-w004]  
 [Duration: 17s]

- Supersonic transport [SST]
  - Jeb Stuart Magruder
    - Gall bladder surgery

\*\*\*\*\*

- Connally's schedule
  - Possible Alabama briefing, meeting with the President, congressional testimony

Haldeman and Ehrlichman left at 4:27 pm

[Conversation No. 498-016](#)

Date: May 13, 1971  
 Time: 4:28 pm - 4:31 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
 Henry A. Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin



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The President's schedule

-Forthcoming statement

-Dean G. Acheson, William P. Rogers

-Possible statement by the President endorsed by former Cabinet officers

[Unintelligible]

The President and Haig left at 4:31 pm

[Conversation No. 498-017](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 6:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:05 pm

[Conversation No. 498-018](#)

Date: May 13, 1971

Time: Unknown after 6:03 pm until 6:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

President's schedule

[Signing documents]



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Henry A. Kissinger entered at 6:05 pm

Changes in document

- Cyrus R. Vance
- Form of address

US troops in Europe

- The President's statement
  - Importance
    - "The Establishment"
    - Herbert H. Humphrey

Butterfield left at 6:08 pm

- Distribution
- Possible changes
  - John A. Scali
- Distribution, endorsement
  - Ronald L. Ziegler's views
    - Timing
- Possible changes
  - Kissinger's conversation with Vance
- Mansfield resolution
  - The President's response
  - Kissinger's conversations
    - Clark MacGregor, Hugh Scott, Robert P. Griffin
    - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] announcement
- The President's statement
  - Kissinger's possible call to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Harry S. Truman
    - Dean G. Acheson's possible call
    - Relations with the President
  - Johnson
  - Truman
    - Acheson's call

Forthcoming announcement on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]

- Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin



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- Text of the statement
  - Working
  - Possible problems
  
- Dobrynin's instructions
- Memo for the President's file
- Soviet Union interpretation
- Timing
  - Press coverage
    - Soviet Union concerns
    - US concerns
- William P. Rogers
- Kissinger's possible conversation with Gerard C. Smith
- Kissinger's role
- Rogers
  - Knowledge of Middle East peace negotiations
- Defense Department
  - Forthcoming conversation with the President
    - Alexei N. Kosygin
    - Dobrynin
- Understanding
  - Smith
  - John McRoberts
  - Murrey Marder
  - Senators
    - J. William Fulbright
- Press Coverage
- Negotiations
  - Smith

The President's schedule

- Robert D. Murphy
  - Conversation with Kissinger, May 13, 1971
  - Report

The President's previous meeting regarding U.S. forces in Europe

- Henry Cabot Lodge
- Gen. Lauris Norstad
  - John Hay Whitney



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- Acheson
- Rogers

Rogers

Kissinger's schedule

- Address to Brookings Institute Board of Directors
- Democratic National Committee
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- Vietnam

President's foreign policy

- Berlin agreement
- SALT
- Forthcoming Congressional recess
- Forthcoming Soviet summit
- People's Republic of China [PRC]

Vietnam

- Laotian incursion
  - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Negotiations
  - Le Duan's Schedule

Demonstrations in Washington, D.C.

- Radio Peking's reports
- Johnson's Administration
- Effect
  - Johnson compared to the President

Presidency

- The President contrasted with Lyndon B. Johnson

Johnson

- Trip to Vietnam
- Public statements
  - Compared with the President
- Foreign policy



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- Compared with the President
- Advisors
- Kissinger's briefings
- Interests

The President

- Kissinger's interview with *New York Daily News*
- Nelson A. Rockefeller support in 1968
- Kissinger's statements

John F. Kennedy

- Knowledge of world leaders

Mansfield

- Resolution regarding NATO
  - Popular opinion
  - Vance's comment regarding Herbert H. Humphrey, Edmund S. Muskie
  - Prospects in Congress
  - The President's response
    - Statement
    - Endorsement by "Establishment"

The President and Kissinger left at 6:28 pm