

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

Transcript #1: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:17 pm and 1:32 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#1

Haldeman: Uh, I've got the poll --

President: Okay.

Haldeman: -- and --.

President: Five hundred --

Haldeman: Seventy, huh?

President: That's five hundred people.

Haldeman: Yeah, five hundred and eighty-one.

President: Nationwide.

Haldeman: Nationwide - standard. It's the standard sample, solid --

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: -- sample. On the early, we always ask the "approve/disapprove" and that's fifty-one thirty-three, which would put it about the same as it was right after the speech. Fifty-two thirty-two it was then.

President: Um-hum, but it shows that the China thing didn't help us --

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Conv. No. 487-19#1 (cont.)

Haldeman: Uh --

President: -- in effect.

Haldeman: -- on, on this thing, no. Interesting - approve or diapproce of Vietnam is now shifted back to forty forty-five.

President: Against?

Haldeman: Against.

President: Um-hum.

Haldeman: That is, so you got your forty-eight forty after the speech. I think it shows the effect of the demonstration, maybe, among other things.

President: I would think it would. It also shows the problems you've got [unintelligible].

Haldeman: Camp- --

President: The, uh --

Haldeman: -- campaign.

President: -- they, they remember one thing, then go to the other thing.

Haldeman: Now, the demonstration - seventy-seven percent awareness, which is high. Uh,

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Conv. No. 487-19#1 (cont.)

"In general", the first question, uh, "In general, do you approve or disapprove of this demonstration?" Thirty-two approved; forty-two disapproved; twenty-six no opinion. That's of everybody, whether or not they were aware of it. Of those who were aware of it, thirty-seven approved; forty-five disapproved. Just --

President: Um-hum.

Haldeman: -- "[unintelligible] hear that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court upheld a court order forbidding the veterans to camp on the Mall overnight?" Yes, fifty-four; no, forty-two. But of those who were aware of the veterans' thing at all: yes, sixty-three; no, thirty-five. In other words, two-thirds of those who knew about the veterans at all knew about the Chief Justice's ruling.

"If the demonstrators refuse to obey the court order, do you feel that they should be forced by the police to leave the area, or shouldn't they?" Fifty-eight, yes; thirty-one, no. That's two to one, "should be forced to leave."

"If they refuse to leave, do you believe they should be arrested, or shouldn't they?" Forty-eight, "should be arrested;" forty, "should not."

President: Pretty close.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible] you know damn well the forty-eight that said they should be arrested are, are, uh, are the, are the same forty-eight that are, or most of the forty-eight, that are with us on the, on the war, and plus some 'cause only forty approved of, of the war, and forty-eight --

President: Yeah.

Haldeman: -- said those guys should be arrested.

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President: Well, it does show that the, uh --.

Haldeman: Well, that's an easy thing to say at this point. That's different than if they had been arrested, staged all the stuff that they would have gone through and then asked 'em, if we'd asked 'em and they'd seen that on TV, then we ask 'em, "Did you approve of the action in arresting them?" It would go down in my view.

President: Oh, absolutely.

Haldeman: Way down.

President: They'd show pictures of it and so forth.

Haldeman: Then they'd say, "That was a terrible thing to do to our --."

President: Give the, uh, give the demonstration figures again.

Haldeman: Approve/disapprove? Of those who were aware: thirty-seven approved; forty-five disapproved.

President: Those who were aware of the demonstrations. [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: Uh, seventy-seven were aware.

President: And then, and then, uh, well, then the whole populace, though, was it?

Haldeman: The whole population was thirty-two approved, forty-five disapproved.

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Conv. No. 487-19#1 (cont.)

President: It's about the same. [Unintelligible] the increase [unintelligible].

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: They must get across quite a few of their, no, it isn't, they, to get across so much.  
It does show that there's a hell of a lot of people against the war. Well --.

Haldeman: But that's only a third.

President: I know.

Haldeman: But if it, it's, it's a third where is their --?

President: It shows though, Bob, we --

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: --- were right.

Haldeman: Disapprove [unintelligible].

President: It shows to the extent quoted, it shows we were right. It's too close for us to have  
moved tough on things. Too close.

Haldeman: I think so.

President: Too close.

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Haldeman: Now, I don't think you'll find the same thing. We had a forty-two thirty-two or thirty-two forty-two on approve/disapprove on the demonstrations where, when you asked about, "Do you approve of student demonstrations?" It's sixty-five - whatever it was - seventeen. Hell of a difference. I think we, I think we can move next week. [Unintelligible]. We gotta watch how it builds up. If, if, if the kids riot, I think we can --.

President: No, if it gets to that, we've gotta move in any event. We've gotta show the, ya know, some re-, some --

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: -- some strength. Some strength. Sometimes people fault strength.

Haldeman: Well, we showed restraint this week with the veterans. Attempted to work in an orderly way because they basically were working --.

President: On the approve/disapprove, and of course, ya can't, that's difficult. There is this, this, this, this, can't. We were at, we were fifty-five thirty-four after the speech and now we're down --

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: -- fifty-one thirty-three. Right. [Unintelligible] some of these. We've, some have gone to "undecided" basically, right?

Haldeman: Five.

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Conv. No. 487-19#1 (cont.)

President: [Unintelligible] gone "undecided." It's one, six actually. No.

Haldeman: "Undecided" went up five; the "approve" went down four; and the "disapprove" went down one.

President: Well, so you really figure, figure more than that. Figure one, figure it should [unintelligible] it's, uh, numbers're --.

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Transcript #2: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:17 pm and 1:32 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#2

Haldeman: [Unintelligible] at the fifty-percent level --

President: It may --

Haldeman: -- we're all right.

President: -- it may be that, it may be that [unintelligible]. The demonstration can knock it down. The demonstration's the only factor at this time. It's, well, the demonstration and it's on and on the television every night, isn't it?



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Transcript #3: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:17 pm and 1:32 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#3

President: I think the one that is significant, though, is the group that's approved the war. That's a very significant shift, is it?

Haldeman: Yeah, and that isn't the same figure. That is the same [unintelligible] --.

President: Shift. [Unintelligible] the Muskies and all the rest crying all over [unintelligible] may be the reaction regarding what a shitty-looking group of people that is, but that isn't the country.

Haldeman: Believe that maybe it is.

President: Well, what is the reaction of the country, because, let me put it this way: a lot more people are, uh, uh, uh, uh, uh, uh, basically people react negatively to demonstrations, whereas they act negative, whereas, uh, if they, if, if they, they sorted out the way they feel on the war, they would, they would react positively tot the demonstrations. See my point?

Haldeman: Um-hum.

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Transcript #4: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:37 pm and 1:51 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#4

President: I wonder this: is there anything that can be done, are we doing as much as we can to get the media to, frankly, to give a little, give some more balance to the coverage of this demonstration thing? I mean, I know it's all been hit, but are, are they being hammered hard on that? I don't know. All week long I've watched Rainwater - one minute. That was it. That was our pitch. Right?

Haldeman: Yeah.

President: On the news --

Haldeman: Classic case, the, the --

President: -- [unintelligible].

Haldeman: -- importance that they've given four, five hundred people is just astonishing. It's not astonishing at all. It's exactly what you thought they would do, which you would have thought they would have given us.

President: [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: It's sure hard to explain.

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Conv. No. 487-19#4 (cont.)

President: But, uh, could we, could you maybe have, uh, have one, have the Colson operation take that on as a, as a, sort of zero in on that particular thing? Now what the hell? All week long you have this, and, uh, for example, uh, [unintelligible] the rest of the time [unintelligible]. For example, Saxbe on the morning show for Christ's sakes. Actually, it's a [unintelligible] thing, although it's not, in a strange way there's a little, there's been sorta, there's been a hell of a lot of [unintelligible].

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Transcript #5: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:37 pm and 1:51 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#5

Haldeman: I think it's a good time for a press conference. I think you're gonna, plus you've got a lot of, a lot of plus things: in the economy, in China, in, you know, the stuff like that. They know. They'll, they'll play on the demonstrations. You gotta say something about the demonstration [unintelligible].

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Transcript #6: Part of a conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman in the Oval Office between 1:37 pm and 1:51 pm on April 23, 1971.

Conversation No. 487-19#6

Haldeman: I think it told us that, it showed us that we didn't gain anythin in approval, which I think is significant, you know, [unintelligible] in the Vietnam thing.

President: Yeah, as a result of the demonstrations --.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible].

President: In other words, the demonstrations --.

Haldeman: [Unintelligible]. It shows that people don't disapprove of the demonstration, of this demonstration --

President: [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: -- as much as they do --

President: [Unintelligible].

Haldeman: -- of demonstrations in general.

President: [Unintelligible] of the students. That's what they [unintelligible] disapprove.

Haldeman: I think it confirms that we were right in not busting them.

President: Yeah.