

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF****Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 691-1

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: 4:07 pm - 4:08 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting with the White House News Photographers Association  
[WHNPA]
- Timing
- Pictures
  - Handshaking
  - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Questions
- Dinner

Ziegler left.

Conversation No. 691-2

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: 4:08 pm - 4:09 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting with White House News Photographers Association  
[WHNPA]
- Cabinet Room

Bull left.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 691-3

Date: March 21, 1972  
 Time: 4:21 pm - 4:56 pm  
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Manea Manescu, Corneliu Bogdan, Herbert Stein, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Charles W. Schaller and Mircea Mitran; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

Seating

[Photograph session]

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon  
 -Greetings from Nicolae Ceausescu

The Ceausescu's previous meeting with the President and Mrs. Nixon  
 -Bucharest  
 -White House

The President's previous meetings with Ceausescu  
 -Reception  
 -The President's previous meetings with Manescu

Manescu's present visit  
 -Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]  
 -Stein

Romania  
 -Relations with the US  
   -The President's visit, 1969  
 -Political, economic, cultural and technical relations  
   -Personnel exchanges  
   -Delegation  
   -Economy  
 -Development  
   -Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank  
   -Overseas Private Investment Corporation [OPIC]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 691-3 (cont.)

- Most Favored Nation [MFN] status for Romania
  - Romanian public opinion
    - Manescu's visits
      - Factories
      - Villages
- International Relations
  - Trade
    - Balance with western and socialist countries
    - Détente
  - Romanian principles
    - Independence
    - Equality
    - Freedom
    - Non-interference
    - International process
      - Romania relations with the US
      - Romania economy
      - Romania society
  - Ceausescu's visit to Africa
    - Message of friendship
      - Developing countries
    - Contribution to détente
  - The President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Ceausescu's view
    - Romanian public opinion
      - Communique
    - Benefit to international relations
    - Talks, Meetings
    - Communique
      - Principles
        - Non-interference, equal rights, renunciation of force
        - Concurrence with Romanian principles
        - International relations
        - Importance
    - Appreciation of Romanian people
  - The President's trip to the Soviet Union
    - Importance
      - Principles of international relations
      - Soviet-US relations
  - Romanian contributions
    - Negotiations
    - Indochina

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-3 (cont.)

- Middle East
- European Security Conference

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:21 pm.

- The President's schedule
- Arrival of Gerard C. Smith [?]

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

## Romania

- European Security Conference
- Desire for peace

## The President

- Greetings to Ceausescu
- Previous meetings
  - The President's previous trip to Romania
  - Visit to a socialist country
- US-Soviet Union relations
- US-PRC relations
  - Socialist leaders' opposition to the President's PRC trip
  - Soviet Union
  - Ceausescu's acceptance

## Romania

- The President's foreign trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
- US-Romanian relations
  - The President's assurance
- MFN status
  - Vietnam
- Relations with the US
  - Economy
  - Ceausescu's talks with the President
  - Romanian people
    - Reception for the President
- Large compared to small nations
  - Independence of smaller nations
  - US
    - Comparison with Romania

The President's response to Ceausescu's letter

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-3 (cont.)

Romanian tennis players

Farewells

Manescu, et. al. left at 4:56 pm.

Conversation No. 691-4

Date: March 21, 1972

Time: 4:57pm - 5:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Manea Manescu
- Background materials
- Length
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Meeting with [Nihat Erim]
  - Meeting with George P. Shultz
- Preparation time

The President's possible trip to Poland

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- German Treaty
- Soviet Union
- William P. Rogers
- Turkey
  - Refueling
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Visit by the President
  - Iran
  - Istanbul
  - Ankara
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Talk with Haldeman

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 691-4 (cont.)

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:57 pm.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Gerard C. Smith

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:07 pm.

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]

- Typewriters
  - Charles W. Colson
- Hearings
- Progress

Pandas

- Arrival in the US
- Tour of the US
- Washington National Zoo
- Tour
  - Children
  - Danger
- Television
- National Zoo

Busing

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Hubert H. Humphrey's view
  - Changes
  - The President's March 16, 1972 speech
- The President's March 16, 1972 speech
  - Press
    - Editorial writers
      - Blacks
      - William L. Safire
- Balance
  - Leonard Garment
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - Children
  - Equal opportunity
- Racial tension

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Raymond P. Shafer

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-4 (cont.)

-Shafer

Haldeman left at 5:07 pm.

Conversation No. 691-5

Date: March 21, 1972

Time: 5:10 pm - 5:47 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Gerard C. Smith and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The President's schedule

- Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
- Meeting with Raymond P. Shafer
- Forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:47 pm.

General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament [ACDA]

The President's forthcoming Soviet trip

- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Decisions
  - Agreement
    - Pro-arms control group
    - Anti-arms control group
- The People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
  - Communique
- Arms Control Agreement
  - US position
    - Defense Department
  - Political reaction
    - Example of Taiwan, Republic of China issue
  - National security
  - Right wing
    - Human Events*
    - National Review*
    - Melvin R. Laird

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
- John C. Stennis
- SALT delegation
  - Smith's efforts
- Arms control agreement
  - Democrats
    - Political opportunity
    - Other nations
  - Reelection year
  - Reactions
    - Critics
  - Haig
    - John G. Tower
  - Congressional reaction
    - Smith's appearances before committees
    - Tower
    - Robert C. Byrd [?]
    - Jackson
    - Stennis
      - Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile [SLBM]
- SLBMs
  - Defense Department
  - State Department
  - Haig's view
  - Defense Department
  - Submarines
  - Land based missiles
  - Anti-ballistic missiles
  - Navy
  - William P. Rogers's forthcoming memorandum to the President
    - Aleksandr N. Kosygin
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
      - Soviets
        - May 20, 1971 agreement
      - The President's view
  - Smith's talks with the Soviets
    - Vienna
    - Vladimir S. Semenov
  - National Security Council [NSC]
  - French submarines
  - British submarines



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

- Soviets
- Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBM], SLBM, ABM
  - Programs
    - Poseidon, Minuteman
    - Multiple Independently-Targeted Reentry Vehicle [MIRV]
- Jackson
  - Proposal for an interim freeze
    - SLBMs
    - Congressional Record*
    - Minuteman III
  - Soviets
    - ICBM
    - Hardsite defense
    - SLBMs
- Congress
  - Taiwan
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower
    - Quemoy, Matsu
    - John Foster Dulles
    - China lobby
- Warheads
  - Production

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 10s]

DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- MIRV
  - Power
    - Minuteman MIRV

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

-SLBMs

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:10 pm.

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with Shafer

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:47 pm.

SALT

- Hardsites
  - Defense Department
  - ACDA
  - Reaction of Congress
    - Allies
    - Weapons production
      - Interceptors
  - Need to keep issue open
  - Lasers
    - Soviets
      - Treaty
  - Research and Development
    - Laird
  - Components
  - Sites
  - Short range radar
  - Sprint missiles
  - ABM
    - Future
      - Interceptor
      - Radar
  - Verification of hardsites
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
      - Soviets
- Possible divisions in the Soviet government
  - Domestic compared to military expenditures
- Soviet estimate of US domestic politics
  - Soviet military
- Politics
  - Democratic platform
    - Jackson
      - Budget cut request

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

- US bargaining power
- NSC
  - Military budget
- Soviet desire for agreement
  - Semenov
    - Timing for agreement
  - Haig
    - US desire for deal
      - Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
  - Soviet domestic politics
    - Hardsites
    - Further negotiations in Vienna
- Helsinki
  - Smith's trip
- Llewellyn E. ("Tommy") Thompson, Jr.
  - SLBMs
  - ABMs
    - Finances
- ABMs
  - Interceptors
  - ICBM program
- Left wing reaction
  - Non-proliferation
  - Test Ban Treaty
- SALT compared to Non-Proliferation Treaty and Test Ban Treaty
- Arms control agreement
  - Announcement
    - Timing
      - The President's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
      - Congress
    - The Administration
    - Smith
  - Moscow summit
    - Duration of agreement
    - Possible participation of entire arms control delegation
      - Smith
      - Haig
      - Smith's view
      - Haig's view
      - Paul H. Nitze
    - Comparison of Soviets to Chinese
    - Soviets

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
 (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

- Drinking
- SLBM
  - John J. McCloy
- May 20, 1971 understanding
  - ABMs
  - Land based defensive missiles
- Semenov's talks with Smith in Vienna
  - ICBMs
  - SLBMs
- Forward bases

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security]

[Duration: 31s]

DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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- Moorer
  - Verification panel
  - NSC
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
- The President's instructions to Smith

Smith and Haig left at 5:47 pm.

Conversation No. 691-6

Date: March 21, 1972

Time: 5:47 pm - 5:48 pm

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-5 (cont.)

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 6s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Sanchez left at 5:48 pm.

Conversation No. 691-7

Date: March 21, 1972

Time: 5:48 pm - 7:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Raymond P. Shafer, John D. Ehrlichman and Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.

Greetings

The President's schedule

-Arms control

-[Nihat Erim, Manea Manescu]

Shafer's report

-Vietnam

-Copies

-Marijuana

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 6:21 pm.

## Marijuana

- Schools of thought
  - Users and non-users of marijuana
  - Objectivity
- President's Commission on Marijuana report
  - Research
  - Harold E. Hughes
  - Jacob K. Javits
  - Tim Lee Carter
  - Paul G. Rogers
  - Mitchell Ware

The White House photographer entered and left at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

- Legalization
- Discouragement policy
  - Youth
- Differences from other drugs
  - Heroin
  - Cocaine
  - Amphetamines
  - Barbituates
  - Hallucinogens
  - Volatile solvents
- Symbolism
- User
  - Education and discouragement
    - Responsibility
      - Family
      - Church
      - Medical profession
      - Police
    - Efforts to arrest drug dealers
- Commission news conference
  - Commission's report presented to the President
    - The President's approval
    - Ehrlichman
    - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Members of the Commission
  - Dr. Dana L. Farnsworth
  - Maurice H. Seevers
    - Southern Methodist University [SMU]
  - Charles O. Galvin
  - John A. Howard
    - Rockford College
  - Congressional members
    - Javits
    - Hughes
- Legalization
  - Alcohol model
- Shafer's public statements
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Penalties
- Decriminalization of possession
- Supply
- Children
  - Arrest and prosecution
- Penalties
  - Spain and Greece
    - Family and Church
  - India
  - Morocco
    - Hashish
- Press
- Legalization
  - Shafer's previous appearance on CBS
    - Comparison to Prohibition
    - Decriminalization of possession
- Commission report
  - Javits
  - Ware
  - Howard
  - John F. Cooney
  - Legalization
  - Proposals
    - Review
    - Scientific studies
      - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
      - American Bar Association [ABA]
      - American Medical Association [AMA]

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Potential harm
- Penalties for drug dealers
- Heroin
  - Physical addiction
  - Compared to marijuana
    - 1937 statute
    - Myths
  - Youth
  - Jerry Rubin
  - Crime
    - Myth
- Shafer's view
- Private personal possession
- Public
  - Criminal act
- Influence of marijuana
  - Compared to alcohol
- Effect on nation
- Youth
  - Experience
- Compared to hashish
  - India and Malaysia
  - Cooking
    - Marijuana
- Forthcoming press conference
- Shafer
  - Opposition to legalization of marijuana
  - Commission report
    - The President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:21 pm.

Marijuana

- Press conference
- Commission report
  - Legalization of marijuana
  - Recommendations
  - The President's position



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
 (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Submission of report
- Democratic presidential candidates
  - George S. McGovern
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - George C. Wallace
  - John V. Lindsay
  - McGovern
  - Humphrey
- Busing issue
  - Change in position
- Muskie
- Segregation
- Elderly

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 9m 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Presidential gifts

- Paperweight

Soviet trip

Shafer's

- Forthcoming talk with Ehrlichman
- Future meeting with the President

Marijuana Commission

- Report
- The President's endorsement

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

Shafer's schedule  
-Secretary

Shafer, Krogh and Bull left at 6:21 pm.

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]  
-Document  
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]  
-J. Edgar Hoover  
-Examination  
-ITT experts  
-The President's forthcoming talk with Hoover  
-Ehrlichman's forthcoming call to Hoover  
-Cooperation  
-Ehrlichman's possible meeting with Hoover  
-Examination of ITT document  
-ITT experts  
-Possession of the FBI  
-L. Patrick Gray, III  
-The President's note to Hoover  
-Use of telephone  
-Jack N. Anderson

Shafer [?]

The President's schedule  
-[Erim]

[No conversation]

Dorothy Kirsten  
-State Dinners  
-Dwight D. Eisenhower

[No conversation]

The President's schedule  
-Church services [?]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

State dinner  
-Guest lists

[No conversation]

World War I  
-Turkey  
-Gallipoli  
-Mustafa Kemal Ataturk  
-Winston S. Churchill  
-Allies  
-Erim's statement

Shafer Commission  
-Report  
-Ehrlichman's view  
-Carter  
-Howard  
-Legalization of the use of marijuana  
-Public compared to private use  
-Ehrlichman and Krogh  
-Shafer  
-The President's forthcoming press conference  
-Legalization issue  
-Youth  
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Privacy]

[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Ehrlichman's children
- Use of marijuana
  - Ehrlichman's speech before the Harvard Club
  - Question from youth
    - Legalization
      - The President
      - Drug users compared to non users
      - Applause
  - Compared to alcohol
    - The President
      - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Happy compared to unhappy people
    - Addiction
      - Cure
- Legalization issue
  - Jaffe
  - Krogh
  - Jaffe
    - ABA
      - Edward Bennett Williams
      - Heroin maintenance
  - Krogh
    - Talk with Ehrlichman
- The President
- The report
  - Evidence
    - Scientific

Ehrlichman's schedule

Busing

- Humphrey's view
  - Change
  - The President's television address, March 16, 1972

Humphrey

- Change in positions
  - Press reaction
  - Vietnam
  - War
  - Crime
  - Civil rights

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
 (rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Welfare
  - Florida
- Plan for elderly Jews

## The President's busing speech

- Edward M. Kennedy's view
  - Staff
  - Equal educational opportunity
  - Blacks
    - Liberals
    - Compassion
- The President's previous statement, March 24, 1970
  - Blacks
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - Minority businesses
  - Television
  - Children
  - Liberals
- The President's previous trip to New York City
  - Interaction with black government employees
- James E. Cheek
  - President of Howard University
  - Letter to the President
- As issue
- Constitutionality
  - Congress
    - Remedy compared to right
      - Desegregation
      - Legislation
- Administration blacks
- Efforts with editorial boards and television
  - Harry S. Dent
  - Edward L. Morgan
  - Kenneth W. Clawson
  - South
  - Texas
- News summary
  - Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
- South
  - Opposition
- Denver
- Indianapolis

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Intervention by the Justice Department
  - Richard G. Kleindienst
    - Talk with Ehrlichman
      - Michigan
      - Nashville
      - Texas
    - Morgan
      - Justice Department position
- Legislation
  - Moratorium
    - Conference committee
  - Constitutional amendment
    - Strom Thurmond
    - Possibility of passage

## ITT

- J. Edgar Hoover
- Talk with Ehrlichman
  - Anderson
- Document (Dita D. Beard memorandum)
  - Gray
    - James O. Eastland
    - Tests conducted in New York
      - Questioning
    - Colson
    - Decision
    - Public statement
  - FBI experts
  - White House strategy
- Hearings
  - Beard testimony
  - Denver
  - Eastland
    - Edward .M. Kennedy's witnesses
  - Mike J. Mansfield
- Beard memorandum
  - Authenticity
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew comments
  - Life* magazine story
    - Press coverage
    - Kleindienst comments
      - Justice Department

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

-Clifford Irving

-*Look* magazine-*Life* magazine

-Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis

-Postal subsidy

-*Life* magazine

-Peter M. Flanigan's views

-*Esquire*

## Pay Board

-George Meany

-George P. Shultz

-Meany

-Democrat

-Public members

-Meany's resignation

-Effect on Phase II

-Food prices

-Longshoremen strike

-Labor representatives

-Wage and price controls

-The President's August 15, 1971 statement

-Economy

-Food prices

-Consumer Price Index [CPI]

-Dock strike

-Duration

-Effect on economy

-Congress

-Legislation

-Herbert Stein

The President's forthcoming state dinner for Erim

Ehrlichman left at 7:00 pm.

## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 691-8

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: 7:00 pm - 7:04 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim

- Marjorie P. Acker [?]
- Henry E. Ford II
- Contribution
- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Max M. Fisher
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Gale E. Sayers
- Lowell C. Wadmond
- Del E. Webb
- Charles W. Colson
- Max von Schrader
- Webb
- Contributions
- O[renthal] J[ames] Simpson
- Delivery of invitation

Woods left at 7:04 pm.

Conversation No. 691-9

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: 7:09 pm - 7:10 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.



## NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

The President's forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim  
-Gale E. Sayers's schedule

Woods left.

Conversation No. 691-10

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:10 pm and 7:28 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 3s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:28 pm.