Conversation No. 277-1

Date: September 14, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:56 pm and 8:59 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Paul W. Keyes.
[The recording begins at an unknown time while the conversation is in progress]

[See Conversation No. 9-12]

Conversation No. 277-2

Date: September 14, 1971
Time: 9:16 pm - 9:18 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Paul W. Keyes.

[See Conversation No. 9-13; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 47s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 11:05 am - 11:15 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Attica prison riot
- Ziegler’s conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
- Ehrlichman’s conversation with Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - Time
  - Autopsies on hostages
  - Advice
    - Low profile stance of administration
    - Support by the administration of Rockefeller
  - The administration’s response
    - Possible press conference statements
      - Decision-making process by the administration
      - The administration’s relationship with Rockefeller
  - Events concerning Attica riot
    - Possible outside influence
      - Action of inmates
      - Confrontation between guards and inmates
    - Stance
      - The left-wing and radicals
      - Comparison to anti-Vietnam War moratoriums
    - Public statement by the administration
      - Decision by Rockefeller
        - Position of responsibility
      - Administration’s position on situation
    - Rockefeller
      - Action
        - Telephone call to Ehrlichman
          - Timing
    - Possible public statements
    - May Day demonstrators

Forthcoming press conference
- Possible question
  - George S. McGovern
    - Trip to Vietnam
- Security problem
- The President’s travels abroad
  - Latin America, Peru, Burma, Pakistan
- Possible response
  - Details
  - Comments
  - Ambassador
- McGovern’s security

Edmund S. Muskie
- *Time* magazine story

Attica
- Decision
  - The President’s position

Ziegler left at 11:15 am.

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:59 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-14]
Conversation No. 277-5

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 11:59 am - 12:01 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-15]

Conversation No. 277-33

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:01 pm and 12:18 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

An unknown woman [Mary A. (“Toni”) Sidley?] entered at an unknown time after 12:01 pm.

Schedule

The unknown woman [Sidley?] left at an unknown time before 12:18 pm.

Conversation No. 277-6

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 12:18 pm - 12:20 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-17]
Conversation No. 277-7

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 12:24 pm - 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-19]

Conversation No. 277-8

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 12:37 pm - 12:39 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-21]

Conversation No. 277-9

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:39 pm and 1:05 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Schedule
   - Meeting request
Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 1:05 pm - 2:10 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Weather
- Temperature
  - President’s schedule, September 14, 1971
    - [Truman] balcony

The press
- Instructions to Ronald L. Ziegler regarding contacts with the press
  - Response
    - Call from James B. ("Scotty") Reston to Ziegler
      - Time
    - Appointment request
      - Max Frankel
    - Robert B. Semple, Jr.
      - *New York Times*
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Conversation with Reston
  - Strategy involved
    - Pressure
  - Contacts
- Ziegler’s handling
- Kissinger
  - Clearance with Ziegler, Haldeman
    - Joseph C. Kraft
  - In-depth interviews with newspapers
    - Handling prior to election time
      - Timing
    - Richard L. ("Dick") Wilson
    - Stewart J.O. Alsop
      - Attitude towards the administration
- Agreements by Ziegler
The press
- Alsop
- Handling during forthcoming year
  - Written articles compared with interviews
    - US News & World Report
  - Possible article by the President
    - Associated Press [AP] and United Press International [UPI]
- Reston
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Ziegler
- Thomas W. Braden
- Semple
- President’s view
  - The New York Times interviews
    - Frankel, Reston
  - Protection of the administration
- Semple, Edward Dale
- Strategy towards the press
  - Exclusive interviews
- George P. Shultz’s view
  - Dale, Semple
- The administration’s relations with the press
  - Ziegler
  - Press attitude
- Type of support for the administration
  - Los Angeles Times
    - Relationship with the administration
    - Claude Erwin
- New York Post
-Don Erwing [sp?]  
-Reston’s inquiry to Kissinger  
  -Haldeman’s involvement  
  -Response  
  -Estimation of newspaper response  
-The President’s relationship with the press  
  -Possible outcome  
-Question of interviews  
  -Alsop, Chalmers Roberts  
-Ziegler  
-George Putnam  
  -Influence  
  -Compared to Reston  
  -Votes

The President’s schedule  
-National Security Council [NSC]  
  -Meeting  
  -Time  
  -John B. Connally  
    -Return from trip  
    -Time  
  -Date  
  -Schedule for meeting  
    -Date  
    -Time  
-Camp David  
  -Florida  
-Problems  
  -Discussion  
  -Chain of events  
-Type of schedule  
-Days of the week  
  -Scheduling of days  
  -Wednesday  
    -Preparation for possible press conference

Press relations  
-Briefing book for press conferences  
  -Patrick J. Buchanan  
  -Responsibility for briefing book
-Current situations
  -Updating
  -Day of the week
  -Preparation for the President
-Reduction of questions for the President
  -Update of events
-Day of the week
  -Weekly review for the President
  -Local news

-Accuracy
-John N. Mitchell
-Connally
-Shultz
-Edwin Hoyt’s use of contacts in the White House
  -Herbert G. Klein
  -Rose Mary Woods
    -Knowledge
    -Answers to questions
    -Duty as personal secretary
    -Position
    -Edward C. Nixon

Publication of books
-Individuals writing books
  -Time
  -Paul Healy
-Administration reaction towards writing books about the President
-Time period before the election
  -Lack of time
  -After election
  -Effects on the President
-Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak
  -Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power
  -Lyndon Johnson: An Exercise in Power
  -The People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -Economic action
    -Inclusion at end of book
  -Publication of errata
  -Style of writing
    -Authenticity of book on the President
  -Kissinger
- Evans
  - Accuracy of facts, quotes
  - Hugh S. Sidey
  - Columns versus books
  - Effects
  - Effects of PRC developments
  - Buchanan’s opinion of Evans’ book
    - Bestselling book’s impact
  - Type of book
    - Reader’s Digest
    - Personal focus
    - Story of Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, Klein, William L. Safire, Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Buchanan’s view
    - Type of book
    - Possible effect of book
    - Comparison to Victor Lasky’s book on John F. Kennedy
  - Conservatives
    - Book on Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Effect of book about the President
    - Perceptions
      - Arthur F. Burns’ role in the administration
      - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
    - Type of story
  - Buchanan
    - More books published about the President
    - Look magazine article about Haldeman
    - William Loeb
      - Unknown book
  - Evans
  - Kennedy
  - Reston

Press stories
- Pentagon Papers
  - Kissing
    - Involvement of the New York Times
- Interviews
- Meeting between the President and Kissinger
- Reston
  - Contact issue
-Question of interview with Kissinger
-Instruction for Haldeman to talk with Kissinger

Security of documents
- Papers of the White House staff
  - [Forename unknown] Reitzel (sp?)
  - Retrieval system within the administration
- NSC papers
  - Kissinger
  - Importance
  - Distribution among NSC staff
  - Handling
    - Post-election period
  - Kissinger
    - Possession
  - Location
  - Establishment of special safekeeping measures
    - Possible problems
- Coordination of efforts
- Kissinger
  - Contacts
    - George S. McGovern, Edward M. Kennedy
  - William P. Rogers
  - Handling of contacts
  - White House location

Scheduling
- Warren E. Burger
- Meetings with groups
  - Value
- Clark MacGregor
- Congressional leaders, members
- Presidential trips
- Types of events
  - Focus
- Type of meeting held at Camp David
  - Second line staff
    - Safire
    - Paul A. Volcker
  - Focus
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
- Safire, Kenneth W. Dam
  - Ehrlichman, Weinberger
- Forthcoming economic action
  - Quadriad
- Astronauts
  - Trip to Camp David

Cabinet
- Connally
  - Forthcoming talk with Haldeman
- Leadership
  - Rogers
  - Rogers C.B. Morton
  - George W. Romney
  - Maurice H. Stans
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - John A. Volpe
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Politics compared with administrative work

Press relations
- Interviews in the Oval Office
- Television
  - News hour
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Announcement
- Timing
  - Press conferences
- Editors
- Question and answer [Q&A] sessions
  - Detroit
  - East Wing
  - News hour
- Press conference scheduling
- Number of appearances by the President since July 1

The President’s meetings with small groups
- Effectiveness
- Meetings
- Education factor
- Color reports on meetings
-Kennedy administration

Evans and Novak book
- Challenging of judgements, facts
  - Knowledge of details
- Drew Pearson
  - Column
  - Columns

The President’s schedule
- Florida
- Charlotte, North Carolina [William F. (“Billy”) Graham tribute]
- Opening of Disney World
  - Veteran’s Day weekend
  - Possible preview visit by the President
    - Orlando, Florida
    - Importance
    - Publicity
- Interest by foreigners in Disneyland
- Visitors
  - Disneyland compared to Disneyworld
    - Southern California
    - Florida

- Events
  - Jews
  - Dinner

Evans and Novak book
- Ehrlichman’s reaction
- Campaign comparison
- Focus
  - John R. Chamberlain

Unknown woman

Evans and Novak book

Programs
- Possible changes

Polls
- Effectiveness of the President’s actions
  - Leadership
    - Meetings with groups of individuals
      - Influence
    - Productivity

Economy
  - Connally
  - Burns
    - Monetary issues
      - Predictions
  - Shultz
  - Connally
  - Penn Central Corporation
  - Collapse of stock market

The media
  - Publication of Edith Efron’s book

Attica State Prison riots
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Position
    - Decision
      - Hostages
    - Killings
      - Number of killings
        - Sequence
    - Decision by Rockefeller
    - Convicts
      - Guard killings
        - Effect of kill ratio
  - Rockefeller
    - Relation of situation to Cambodia
    - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid, Harry Reasoner
      - Course of action by Rockefeller

Presidential leadership
  - Perceptions
    - The PRC initiative
      - Public view of presidential authority
    - Use of power of presidential office
- Sidey’s column
  - Possible impact
    - Asia
      - Japan and China
      - Economic conditions
  - Cambodia
    - Use of power in foreign policy
      - PRC trip
    - Use of power in handling domestic issues
      - The economy

The President’s staff

Congressional relations

Polls
  - Charles W. Colson
    - Imbalance of positive and negative

[Unintelligible]

Staff
  - Morale
    - Recent actions
      - News summary reports
      - Sense of activity

**********************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 12s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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[Unintelligible]
Opening of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
- Leonard Bernstein
  - Mass
  - Reviews
  - Performances, architecture, theaters
  - Response
  - Emotional impact
  - Unknown person’s criticism

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Buchanan
- Evans and Novak book

Haldeman left at 2:10 pm.

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:10 pm and 2:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:10 pm and 2:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.
Time: Unknown between 2:10 pm and 2:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:30 pm.

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 2:30 pm - 2:32 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President’s schedule
-Details

Butterfield left at 2:32 pm.
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-23]

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:33 pm and 2:37 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger’s schedule
- Meeting with the President
- The President’s forthcoming press conference

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:33 pm and 2:37 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-24]
The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 9-25]

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 2:38 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Press conference, September 16, 1971
-Report on US foreign aid
  -Democratic elections
  -Statistics
    -Number of countries
    -Elective processes
    -Democratic elections compared to contested elections
-Contested elections
  -William R. Tolbert, Jr.
  -Liberia
    -Elections
-Number of countries
-United Nations [UN]
  -US position on membership
    -Secretary of State
    -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    -Taiwan, Republic of China
-PRC trip
  -James B. ("Scotty") Reston column
  -Forthcoming details
  -Vietnam
  -US relations with PRC
-Vietnam
  -US military
    -Withdrawal
    -Protection of forces
  -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
    -North Vietnamese actions
    -Helicopters
-National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  -Time
  -Arrangements
-Troop withdrawals
- Announcement
  - Speculation
  - Future announcements
  - Timing
  - Proposed announcement of troop withdrawal
- Forthcoming South Vietnamese Presidential election
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Negotiations
- Announcement
  - Time
- Thieu
  - Ambassador Ellsworth F. Bunker
- Forthcoming South Vietnamese Presidential election
  - Thieu’s opponents
- US foreign aid
  - Contested elections
- Great Britain
  - Parliamentary procedures
    - Question and answer sessions
    - Position of Prime Minister
      - Speaker of the House of Commons

Presidential press conferences
  - Format
    - On the record, no correction
  - Organization of conference

Press conference, September 16, 1971
  - Statements
    - Negotiations
      - Kissinger’s role

Vietnam
  - Response
    - Congress
    - US patriotism
    - Elections in South Vietnam
      - Questions
    - Vietnamization
    - Republicans
    - Attitudes during phased US withdrawal
-Opponents
-Support of war
-Current status
- Lack of support
-Chronology
- November 3, 1969 Speech
- Cambodia
- Laos (Lam Son 719)

Amchitka Nuclear nest
- Timing
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip announcement
- PRC trip
- USSR
- Timing of nuclear test
- Proximity to time of announcement
- The PRC
- USSR
- Timing of announcement

[Unintelligible]

Vietnam
- Prisoner of war [POW] situation
- Effect on election
- Troop withdrawal
- Timing of action
- Possible questions on negotiations
- Ceasefire
- Military operations
- Perceptions
- Thieu
- POW situation
- US action
- Troop withdrawal
- Possible methods of negotiating
- Deadline
- Time

Foreign affairs
- USSR
- Relations with PRC
-Position in Southeast Asia
-Relations
  -Negotiations
  -Moscow
-Timing of Peking trip
-US alternatives for proposal
  -Thieu
    -Position
-USSR
  -The President’s forthcoming meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
    -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    -Handling of negotiations
-Reactions to recent developments
  -The President’s domestic opponents
-Kissinger’s trip to the PRC
  -Peking
  -The President’s schedule

Vietnam
-Timing of action
  -November
-Withdrawal of troops
  -Haig
    -Announcement of withdrawal
    -Military service draft
    -Number of troops
      -Time
        -Christmas period
        -Announcement
    -Additional announcements
      -Time
      -Type of announcement
        -Effect of announcement
      -Number of troops withdrawn
      -The President’s PRC trip
      -Troop withdrawal
      -The President’s trip to the USSR
  -Thieu
    -Importance of strength
-Troop withdrawal
  -Effect
Conv. No. 277-18 (cont.)

-Election
-Withdrawal
-Timing
-William F. Buckley
-Thieu
-Kissinger’s forthcoming meetings
-US position
-Timing
-Fall 1971
-Thieu
-Deadlines

Kissinger left at 3:15 pm.

Conversation No. 277-19

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:15 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-26]

Conversation No. 277-20

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 4:15 pm - 4:38 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 9-27; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]
Conv. No. 277-18 (cont.)

Conversation No. 277-21

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:38 pm and 4:44 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Request for unknown person
-Schedule

Conversation No. 277-22

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:38 pm and 4:44 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-28]

Conversation No. 277-23

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 4:44 pm - 4:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with George P. Shultz.

[See Conversation No. 9-29]
Conversation No. 277-24

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:48 pm and 5:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Mary A. (“Toni”) Sidley.

Alexander P. Butterfield’s schedule

Sidley left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.

Conversation No. 277-25

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 5:15 pm - 5:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

[See Conversation No. 9-30; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Conversation No. 277-26

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:22 pm and 7:23 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Schedule
- Request for a call back
Conversation No. 277-27

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:22 pm and 7:23 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Briefing book
- Additional pages

Schedule
- Sally Inge
  - Typing
  - Departure

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:23 pm.

Conversation No. 277-28

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:22 pm and 7:23 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

Unknown people met.

Table
- Location

[Unintelligible]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 7:23 pm.
Conversation No. 277-29

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: 7:23 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-31]

Conversation No. 277-30

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 7:23 pm and 9:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-32]

Conversation No. 277-31

Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 7:23 pm and 9:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Pen

Schedule
-Sally Inge

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:00 pm.
Date: September 15, 1971
Time: Unknown between 7:23 pm and 9:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:00 pm.