Conversation No. 464-1

Date: March 8, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Daniel T. Kingsley, Bill Horton, and Frederic V. Malek
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress; discontinuities appear in the original recording]

White House staff
- An unknown man
- Clark MacGregor
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Henry A. Kissinger
- John W. Dean, III
- Malek’s role
- Charles W. Colson
- William E. Timmons
- Harry S. Dent
- Role
- Timmons
- Malek’s role
- Review of positions
- An unknown man [George P. Shultz?]
- Richard P. Nathan
- Dr. James R. Schlesinger
- Donald B. Rice

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 1:08 pm

Conversation No. 464-2

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 7:58 am - 7:59 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield
President’s schedule
- Clark MacGregor
  - Conversation with Butterfield
- Forthcoming call to Daniel H. Kuykendall
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - John D. Ehrlichman
- Forthcoming meeting with Republican Congressional leadership
- Forthcoming meeting with George P. Shultz and Peter G. Peterson
  - Content
  - Possible forthcoming speech

Butterfield left at 7:59 am

Conversation No. 464-3

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 7:59 am - 8:00 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Daniel H. Kuykendall

Kuykendall’s support
  - President’s appreciation

John B. Connally

Conversation No. 464-4

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 8:00 am - 8:05 am
Location: Oval Office

President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
President’s schedule
  - Press coverage
  - Public remarks

Peter M. Flanigan
  - Japanese textiles
    - Wilbur D. Mills
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Maurice H. Stans
    - Negotiations

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:00 am

President’s schedule
  - Republican Congressional leadership meeting
    - Absentees
      - Gerald R. Ford, Robert J. Dole

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:05 am

  - Time

Flanigan
  - Role
    - Textiles
    - Oil
    - Airlines

The President and Haldeman left at 8:05 am

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 9:58 am - 10:36 am
Location: Oval Office

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

President’s previous meeting
James H. Hogue
   - Franklyn C. (“Lyn”) Nofziger’s staff
   - Peter M. Flanigan

President’s schedule
   - Forthcoming breakfast with Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
     - March 10, 1971
       - National Security Council [NSC] meeting
         - Possible agenda
           - Middle East
           - William P. Rogers
           - Henry A. Kissinger
           - Melvin R. Laird
           - Richard M. Helms
           - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
             - Role
           - Time
         - Forthcoming dinner
         - Forthcoming breakfast with Mansfield
     - Williamsburg trip, March 11, 1971
       - Time of departure
       - Speech time
     - Forthcoming breakfast with Mansfield
     - Time
     - NSC meeting
   - Forthcoming meeting with [Thomas] Hale Boggs and Carl B. Albert
     - Date
     - Williamsburg trip
     - Leslie C. Arens
     - Clark MacGregor
     - Mansfield
     - MacGregor, William E. Timmons
     - March 10, 1971
     - NSC meeting
     - March 11, 1971
       - Williamsburg trip
       - Evening
       - John N. Mitchell
       - Women’s press meeting
         - Barbara Walters
         - President’s possible appearance
- Possible questions
  - Helen A. Thomas
-A breakfast with Mansfield
  - Time
    - Williamsburg speech
-[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II’s graduation
- Williamsburg trip
- Eisenhower’s graduation
  - John O. Pastore, Claiborne Pell, Congressmen
    - A ride
  - John H. Chafee
  - Pastore
    - Support for President
  - Pell
  - President’s inspection tour
    - President’s previous visit

British grain policy
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - Clifford M. Hardin and John B. Connally
  - Peterson
    - Suggested letter from President to Connally
      - President’s position
        - Meeting
  - [Forename unintelligible] Byrnes [sp?]
  - Common Market
  - George P. Shultz’s position
  - Peterson’s position
  - Possible meeting

President’s schedule
  - President’s call to Daniel H. Kuykendall
    - Alexander P. Butterfield
      - President’s possible appearance at a Congressional breakfast, March 9, 1971
        - Haldeman’s March 8 conversation with Connally
      - A forthcoming dinner for Congressmen
        - Kuykendall, Gerald R. Ford, Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr., Silvio O. Conte,
          Barber B. Conable, Jr., John R. Dellenback, William J. (“Jack”) Edwards,
          Marvin L. Esch, John H. Kyl, James A. McClure, Bradford F. Morse
    - Attendees
      - Number
-President’s possible appearance at a March 9, 1971 Congressional breakfast
  -Phone call
  -Connally’s position

Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Meeting with President, March 8, 1971
  -Future
    -Special Trade Representative
      -Interests
      -Carl J. Gilbert
      -Peterson
      -Shultz
      -Forthcoming conversation with Haldeman
        -President’s view
      -Job requirements
      -Compared with Robert H. Finch
  -Talk with Haldeman

A staff meeting
- Connally
  -Patrick J. Buchanan
  -Connally’s remarks
    -Press and other external contacts
      -Benefits
    -White House staff Congressional relations
      -Connally’s view
        -Bryce N. Harlow
        -Return calls policy
      -President’s position
    -Public image of White House staff
      -Kissinger
      -Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
        -Sherman Adams, Jerry Persons

White House staff
- Loyalties
  -Compared with Congress and country at large
  -Public relations efforts
- Needs
  -Connally’s view
    -Availability
      -Congress
- Press
  - Need for confidentiality
- Connally
  - March 8, 1971 dinner
  - Compared with President
  - Remarks at staff meeting
- Cabinet meetings and Congressional meetings
  - President’s role
  - Edwin L. Harper
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - President’s position
  - President’s future role
  - Future meetings
    - President’s role
- Rumsfeld
  - Possible attendance at President’s March 9, 1971 meeting with Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] executives

President’s schedule
- March 8, 1971 Meeting with George R. S. Baring [Earl of Cromer]
  - Attendees
    - Shultz
- Meeting with CBS executives
  - Attendees
    - Charles W. Colson
    - Herbert G. Klein
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Colson

A poll
- Source
- President’s job performance
  - Percentages
- Vietnam
  - Percentages
    - George H. Gallup poll
    - Louis Harris poll
- Laos
  - Percentages
- Vietnam
  - Wording of questions
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Possible South Vietnamese invasion of North Vietnam
  -Percentages
  -Eugene J. McCarthy
-People’s Republic of China [PRC] admission to United Nations [UN]
  -Percentages

An unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?] entered and left at an unknown time between 9:58 am and 10:36 am

-Importance
  -Television coverage of Laos operation (Lam Son)
    -Percentages
    -Importance
    -Reporters’ commentary
      -Percentages
-Presidential credibility on Vietnam
  -Percentages
-Compared with Gallup poll
  -Credibility of President, Congress, Pentagon, press, media on Laos operation
    -Percentages
  -Timing
    -Effect

A statement by the President on press credibility

Opinion Research Corporation poll
  -Compared with Gallup poll

Possible broadcast by President
  -Importance
  -Effect on polls
    -November 3, 1969, example

Vietnam
  -Need for Congressional support
    -Public statements
    -Boggs
    -Robert J. Dole
  -President’s credibility
    -Poll results
  -President’s goals
-Need for Congressional support
  -Public statements
- Rogers’ March 8, 1971 meeting
  -Compared with Kissinger’s backgrounders
  -Veterans of Foreign Wars
  -Media coverage
-White House public relations effort
  -US withdrawal
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
  -Polls

The President and Haldeman left at 10:36 am

Conversation No. 464-6

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:36 am and 10:40 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:40 am

Conversation No. 464-7

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 10:40 am - 11:28 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John L. (“Jack”) Swigert, Jr., William R. Pogue, Jack R. Lousma, William A. Anders, Donald H. Rumsfeld, and Jeb Stuart Magruder

Introductions
Astronauts’ visit to schools
- San Diego and three other cities
- Colleges and high schools
- Moods and attitudes of youth
  - Space program
  - Policies of “the Establishment”
  - Vietnam
- Types of sessions
- Conclusions on students’ appearances and philosophies
- Colleges
  - University of Arizona
  - Texas A & M University
- Conclusions on students’ attitudes
- University of Miami [Florida]
  - James Lovell
  - Student questions
    - Walter J. Hickel
    - Vietnam and Cambodia
      - Lovell
      - Ho Chi Minh Trail bombing
- University of Utah
  - US withdrawal from Vietnam
    - Possible scenario
      - North Vietnam
- Vietnam policy
  - Student attitudes
    - Public service
    - Indonesia
    - Peace Corps
    - Draft
    - US position
      - Korea
      - Public relations efforts
- University of Toledo
  - Students
    - View of Administration
    - Interests
      - Space program
  - Student attitudes
    - Vietnam
      - My Lai
    - Economy
-Middle East
-Domestic social programs
-Space program
-Discussions with faculty members
-San Diego
-Space program discussions
-Space program
-Importance
-Information

A photograph

Astronauts’ visits to schools
-Discussions with student body presidents
-An unknown man
-John [Surname unknown]
-Social programs
-Future

-Student attitudes
-Types of meetings
-An unidentified campus newspaper editor
-Business school groups
-Faculty
-Conclusions about student attitudes
-Concerns
-Future
-Grades
-Patsy Hill [?]
-Ohio Wesleyan University
-Appearance of school
-Environmental issue
-Results of “Earth Day”

-Student concerns
-Student influence on society
-Student government
-University of Utah
-University of Arizona
-Trinity College
-University of Arizona
-Need for adult leadership
-Student Congress on National Affairs
-Delegate from Mexico
- Benefits
  - Relations between students and faculty
- Political interest
  - Apathy
  - Need for involvement
  - University of Arizona
  - Need for liaison with university community

Student attitudes
- Changes
- Teachers
- Leaders
  - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
- Public policy
- Involvement
- Military service
- Race relations
- Selfishness
- Business
- Young faculty
  - Effect on youth
- Military service
  - Reserve Officers Training Corps [ROTC]
  - Peace Corps
  - Conscientious objector status
    - World War II
  - Effect of “the Establishment”
  - Press, television, faculty

Faculty attitudes
- Junior members compared with senior members
- Space program
- Vietnam

Environmental issue
- Convictions of activists
  - Jean Jacques Rousseau
  - Effect of civilization

Doers and thinkers
- Wilson lecture
- Influences on younger generation
  - Media
    - Television
    - Howard K. Smith
  - Students
    - Idealism

National spirit
  - President’s view
  - Space program
  - Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Effect on nation’s greatness
    - Spain, France, Great Britain, US
  - Space program
    - Space shuttle

-Concerns
  - Polls
  - SST, space program
  - Taxes, prices
  - Vietnam
  - Environment
  - Crime
  - Foreign obligations
    - Faculty
      - President’s college experience compared with current situation
  - Social concerns
  - Space program, SST, Vietnam, federal budget
  - Foreign obligations
    - Europe after World War II
    - US today
  - Intellectualism
    - Chicago, Los Angeles, New York
  - Location
    - Toledo
    - Yale and Harvard Universities, University of California
  - Working classes
  - Upper middle classes
    - Potential

Photographers entered at an unknown time after 10:40 am
Conv. No. 464-7 (cont.)

[General conversation]

The photographers left at an unknown time before 11:28 am

Youth
- Faculty influence
- Trinity College changes
  - An unidentified student under Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] indictment for inciting to riot
- Amherst and Trinity Colleges and women’s divisions
- Faculty influence

Swigert, et al. left at 11:25 am

Conversation No. 464-8

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 11:30 am - 11:39 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and Alexander P. Butterfield

The President’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting
  - George P. Shultz

A memorandum from Peter G. Peterson
- Letter for John B. Connally
- A call from Haldeman
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Problem with the letter
  - Need for meeting
  - Cabinet officers

Butterfield left at 11:32 am
-Cabinet meetings

Administration credibility
- Poll
  - Effect of Vietnam
    - 1969 poll
- Press credibility
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - President’s press conferences
    - News summaries
    - Vietnam
    - March 4, 1971
  - William P. Rogers
- Strategy
- President’s opponents
- Effect of President’s domestic initiatives
  - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
    - Revenue sharing
    - Congressman, governors, mayors
      - Support for Administration’s efforts

1972 election
- Moynihan’s view
- Issues
  - Environment
    - Edmund S. Muskie
    - President
  - Revenue sharing and welfare reform
    - Wilbur D. Mills
    - Muskie
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
- Vietnam War
- Postal reform
- School desegregation
  - Harry S. Dent’s view
  - Shultz’s view
  - President’s leadership
- Vietnam War
- President’s leadership
  - Need for public relations
Conversation No. 464-9

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 11:39 am - 12:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz, Henry A. Kissinger, Peter M. Flanigan, and Peter G. Peterson

Greetings

[Unintelligible]

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
- Wilbur D. Mills’ position
- Japanese restraint
  - Voluntary controls
  - Steel
  - Administration concerns
  - Industry response
- An announcement regarding negotiations
  - Effect of Mills’ comments
- A meeting with Japanese ambassador
- Industry position
- Administration’s position
- Possible results
- Textile legislation
- Options for administration
  - Possible public statement
  - Possible effect on textile industry
- Maurice H. Stans’ position
- Legislation
- John N. Mitchell’s position
- Harry S. Dent’s position
- Kissinger
- President’s position
- Mills

Mills
- Position on textiles
- Position on Social Security and welfare reform
- Administration handling

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
- State Department suggestion

[The President talked with the White House operator at 11:45 am]

[Conversation No. 464-9A]

Dent

[End of telephone conversation]

- Mills
- Textile legislation
- Mills’ position on agreement
- Industry position on agreement

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time after 11:45 am]

[Conversation No. 464-9B]

President’s call to Dent
- Availability

[End of telephone conversation]

Dent
- Location
  - Roosevelt Room

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
- Dent’s position
Japanese position
  - Definition of terms
    - Shultz’s view
  - Problems
    - US negotiating position
- Japanese imports in 1971
- [Forename unknown] Machino
  - Japanese embassy
- Japanese ambassador
- US position
- Textile legislation
- Options
  - Negotiations
    - Stans
  - Legislation
  - Negotiations
    - Mills
- A Meeting with [Name unintelligible]
  - Mills
  - Legislative approach
- Options
  - Negotiations
    - Effect of Mills’ comments
    - US position
    - Textile industry position
    - Possible results
    - The President’s position
      - Japanese voluntary restraint
      - Legislation
        - Monitoring
          - Mills
    - US position
    - Textile legislation
      - Conditions
        - Mills
- Importance to US
  - Effect on foreign trade
- Textile legislation
- Dent’s involvement
- John W. Byrnes
- Mills
- Congressional position
Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 12:03 pm - 12:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Fred Fassen, Foster J. Pratt, Arthur Schuettner, Raymond Ast, Emily T. Barhydt, Dr. Louis Blueth, Dr. Charles C. Fichtner, George E. Gilbert, Dr. Robert C. Gillingham, H. Benjamin Hendler, Florence Krieger, Leslie O. Long, A. O. Mathias, William J. Powell, Carl R. Quast, Willie C. Ray, Jacob B. Spiegel, J. Cecil Sandberg, H. A. Tiller, Dr. Lola Tilly, Jennie S. Wilmot, Emma Woodward, Bernard E. Nash, Dorothy Crippen, Cyril Brickfield, Lloyd Wright, Charles Thomas, Bernard S. Van Rensselaer, John B. Martin, George T. Bell, and Robert H. Finch; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

Introductions of members of the American Association of Retired Persons

[General conversation]

Welcome

Oval Office
-Previous visits by members
-Decorations
-President seal carpet
-Color
-Portraits of George Washington
-John Mills
-Rembrandt Peale

Portraits
-Cabinet Room
-Theodore (“Teddy”) Roosevelt
-[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
Problems of aging
- Martin’s arrangement of meeting
- Importance

Problems of youth
- President’s meetings with astronauts
  - Astronauts’ visits to colleges and universities
- Importance

Problems of aging
- Medical care
- Retirement
- Solutions
  - Communication
    - Compared with youth
- Importance of aged

Administration concerns
- Social Security
- Welfare reform
- Quality of life for aging
- President’s experience
  - Mother and father

Aged
- Importance
- Programs
- Needs
- Importance
  - Message to youth
- Medical care
- President’s support
  - White House Conference on Aging
- Importance
- Youth
- White Conference on Aging
Follow-up on recommendations
- Administration
- Congress
- Importance
- Minorities in US

Presidential gifts
- Pins
- Cufflinks
- Key rings

President’s thoughts of aging

[General conversation]

Fassen, et al. left at 12:23 pm

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Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:23 pm and 12:26 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger
- John D. Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz
- Kissinger
- Time
- Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
- Photographs at meetings
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  - An unknown photographer

Bull left at 12:26 pm
Conversation No. 464-12

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 12:26 pm - 1:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President’s schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Time

Polls
- President’s credibility
  - George H. Gallup poll
  - Percentages
  - Vietnam War
  - White House-sponsored poll

An unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 12:26 pm

President’s schedule
- Meeting with Kissinger
- Time

The unknown person [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 12:36 pm

Polls
- President’s credibility
  - Vietnam War
    - White House-sponsored poll
    - Gallup poll
    - Louis Harris poll
    - Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson
      - A 1967 Gallup poll

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Possible attendance at Congressional leaders meetings

Japanese textile trade negotiations
- Peter M. Flanigan’s role
- Kissinger
Cabinet meetings  
- Leader  
- Cabinet secretary  
- Alexander P. Butterfield  
- John D. Ehrlichman  
- George P. Shultz  
- President’s role

Polls  
White House staff  
- Public relations group  
- Frequency of meetings

Polls  
- Chilton poll  
- Percentages  
- Date  
  - Effect of President’s press conference, televised conversation, State of the Union  
- Gallup poll  
- Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll  
  - January figures compared with March figures  
- Gallup poll  
- 1970 figures  
- Chilton poll

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:36 pm

Presidential gifts  
- Robert H. Abplanalp, Elmer B. Bobst, and Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo  
  - Pen set  
  - Clock  
  - White House glasses

Woods left at 12:38 pm
Polls
- Effect of State of the Union address
  - Harris poll
  - Gallup poll
    - Possible effect of Laos operation (Lam Son)
- January figures
- John B. Connally’s view
- Harris poll
  - December, 1970
  - Before and after State of the Union address
- Gallup poll
- ORC poll
- Gallup poll
  - Before President’s press conference
  - Next polling
- Questions
  - Vietnam War
- Gallup and Harris polls
  - Approval ratings
  - January and February figures
    - Effect of Laos operation (Lam Son)
    - Gallup poll

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:38 pm

President’s schedule
- Kissinger meeting
- Time

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:05 pm

Polls
- Gallup poll
  - January

Kissinger’s schedule
- Meeting at State Department
  - Postponement

Peter G. Peterson
- Knowledge of textiles
  - Foreign trade
Polls
- Gallup poll
  - Vietnam
  - January

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 12:38 pm

A letter from the President

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 1:05 pm

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 12:38 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-12A]

Delivery of poll information

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls
- A question regarding shortening the war
  - Harris and Gallup polls compared with ORC poll
  - Sample
- Timing
  - President’s press conference
- Cambodian operation
  - Compared with Laotian operation (Lam Son)
    - Approval ratings
- Results
  - Compared with Cambodian operation
- Effect of events
  - Press conference
  - President’s foreign policy report
  - State of the Union address
  - President’s televised conversation
  - President’s Cambodia announcement

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:38 pm

Poll information

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:30 pm
Polls
- Changes
  - President’s credibility
  - Media credibility
    - Commentators, press
  - Congressional credibility
  - President’s credibility
    - Laos operation (Lam Son)
  - Television networks’ credibility
  - A question on withdrawal from Vietnam
    - Wording
  - Question on credibility of press
  - Vietnam War

White House staff
- Public relations group
  - Laos operation (Lam Son)
    - Effort regarding President’s credibility and effort
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr.’s office
    - A suggestion by Connally

Presidency
- Price’s view
  - Traits
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Connally’s view
  - Public perception of President
  - President
  - President’s public appearances
    - Des Moines
    - Campaign behavior compared with presidential behavior
  - President’s view
  - Press coverage

President’s schedule
- Meetings with Congressmen and young Senators
  - Public relations
    - Surrogate speakers
  - Breakfasts
    - A scheduled breakfast
      - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:38 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-12B]

Call to Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen

[End of telephone conversation]

Campaigning
  -Connally
  -Scheduling
  -1970
    -President’s activity
    -President’s actions
    -Prospects for 1972
  -Current
    -Motorcade
    -Crowd shots

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:38 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-12C]

President’s call to Frelinghuysen

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:38 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-12D]

Call to Frelinghuysen’s secretary

[End of telephone conversation]

Frelinghuysen’s support for the President
  -President’s appreciation
  -William P. Rogers
  -W[illiam] Stuart Symington’s comments

Polls
-Trends regarding President’s Vietnam policy
  -Influential events

[The President talked with William T. Kendall between 1:05 pm and 1:06 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-12E]

Frelinghuysen’s statements
  -Congressional Record
  -President’s appreciation for support

Mills

[End of telephone conversation]

Kendall’s statements to President

Polls
  -Trends regarding President’s Vietnam policy
  -Influential events
    -Approval ratings
  -Gallup poll
  -White House-sponsored poll

Press credibility
  -Possible White House action
    -Need for public relations efforts
    -Patrick J. Buchanan
    -Ehrlichman
    -Kissinger
    -Connally
    -Buchanan
    -Price
    -William L. Safire
    -Buchanan
    -Leak of plan

Vietnam
  -Possible White House public relations effort
  -Laos operation (Lam Son)
    -Kissinger’s view
    -General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Tchepone
-Approval ratings
-Melvin R. Laird’s view
-Chou En-lai
-Hanoi trip
-Negotiations in Paris
-Kissinger’s view
-Effect of Lam Son
-Possible Kissinger trip to Paris
-Secrecy
-President’s view
-Military action
-North Vietnam
-Possible White House public relations effort
-President’s leadership
-Laos operation
-Public comments
-Kissinger and Haig
-US accomplishments
-Military action
-Rogers
-Kissinger

Middle East
-Forthcoming meeting

White House staff meeting
-Connally
-Kissinger
-Ehrlichman
-Kissinger
-Connally
-Kissinger

An unknown man [Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 1:06 pm

Call to Harry S. Dent
-Possible telephone call

The unknown man [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 1:30 pm

Public relations efforts
- Haldeman’s memorandum
- President’s leadership
  - Kissinger, Ehrlichman, Shultz, Connally
- President’s view
  - Johnson
- Meetings with the President
- Need for more effort
- Recognition of needs
  - Safire’s request of President
- Connally’s meeting with Haldeman
  - Comments on President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:06 pm

Dent’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:30 pm

Public relations
  - Connally
    - Comments on President
    - White House staff and Cabinet officers

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
- President’s meeting with Peterson
  - Proposed action
    - Mills
    - Connally
    - Mills’ dealings with Japanese
    - Peterson’s actions
    - Mills
    - Peterson
    - Peterson and Shultz’s position
      - Compared with Mills
      - Dent’s position
    - Maurice H. Stans’ position
    - Follow-up meeting between Peterson and Haldeman
- A proposed letter from the President to Connally
  - Effects
  - Alternatives
  - Peterson
  - Kissinger
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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Peterson
- Shultz
- Rogers
- Stans
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Possible job as Special Trade Representative
    - Loyalty to the President
    - Role
- Possible meeting between President and Mills
  - Bryce N. Harlow and Clark MacGregor
- Harlow’s role
  - Mills

Polls
- Changes
- Effect of President’s press conference
- Effect of stock market
  - Increases

Vietnam, Laos
- Haig
- Prospects
- Public statements

[Unintelligible]

The President and Haldeman left at 1:30 pm

Conversation No. 464-13

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
- Harry S. Dent and Peter M. Flanigan
- John D. Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz
-Henry A. Kissinger
- Ehrlichman and Shultz
- Welfare reform

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:34 pm

**Conorversation No. 464-14**

Date: March 9, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 2:34 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule  
- Harry S. Dent  
- Peter M. Flanigan

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:34 pm

**Conversation No. 464-15**

Date: March 9, 1971  
Time: 2:34 pm - 2:58 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Harry S. Dent and Peter M. Flanigan

Textile trade negotiations with Japan  
- President’s previous meeting  
- Dent’s view  
  - Peter G. Peterson  
- Dent’s calls  
  - Roger Milliken  
  - John W. McCormack  
  - Industry position  
  - Wilbur D. Mills  
- Democrats’ position  
- Dent’s efforts  
- President’s action  
  - Public perception  
- Mills
-Flanigan’s meetings
  -Milliken
  -Dent
  -Robert C. Jackson
  -Industry representatives
    -Position
    -Role of the President
-Mills
  -Meeting with industry representatives
    -Jackson
    -Results
  -President’s position
  -Bryce N. Harlow
  -Possible future position
  -Japanese embassy
    -Communication with Mills
      -Mills’ efforts
      -Administration
    -Ambassador’s meeting with Flanigan
-Flanigan’s meeting with Japanese ambassador
-Flanigan’s view
-Possible Action by President
  -A draft statement on Japanese proposal
    -Voluntary restraints
    -Legislation
    -Monitoring
    -Legislation
-Legislation
  -Industry position
    -Mills
    -Administration efforts
  -President’s position
  -Content
  -Ernest F. (“Fritz”) Hollings’ position
    -Mills
  -President’s possible action
  -Possible statement by President to press
    -Mills
    -President’s position
  -Support for President’s position
    -Dent’s work with Congressmen
-Mills
- Administration position
  - Statement to press
- President’s forthcoming meeting with industry representatives
- John N. Mitchell’s position
  - Compared with Mills’ position
- George P. Shultz and Peterson’s philosophy
- President’s philosophy
  - Effect on action
- Legislation
  - Administration action
  - Mills
    - Position on other administration measures
      - Revenue sharing
      - Social Security
      - Welfare reform
  - Mills’ position
  - Textile industry convention in Florida
    - Herbert Stein and William D. Ruckelshaus
- Legislation
  - Mills
  - Administration position
  - Time limit
    - Industry
- President’s forthcoming statement
  - Timing
  - Content
  - Tone
  - Mills
  - Effect on proposed legislation
  - Monitoring reports to Congress
  - Wording of statement
    - Possible effect
  - Possible future action
  - Shultz and Peterson’s views
    - President’s position
    - John B. Connally’s views
- Peterson
- Connally, Mitchell
- Peterson
- President’s decision
- Dent
- U. Alexis Johnson
Conv. No. 464-15 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-State Department’s view

Dent and Flanigan left at 2:58 pm

Conversation No. 464-16

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:58 pm and 3:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
-Unknown people
-George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
-A meeting in the Cabinet Room
-Robert A. Taft, Jr.

Bull left at 3:01 pm

Conversation No. 464-17

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 3:01 pm - 3:42 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger

Meeting with William P. Rogers
-Postponement
-Rescheduling
-Kissinger’s possible attendance
-Richard M. Helms
-Melvin R. Laird
-Kissinger’s possible attendance

Kissinger
-Role in administration
-Possible resignation
-Reasoning
-State Department
  -Rogers
-Possible resignation
  -Reasoning
  -John N. Mitchell
  -H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Work on the White House staff
-Rogers’ role
  -Kissinger’s view
-President’s support
-Current situation
  -Calls from State Department
    -Rogers
    -Relationship with Rogers
-Relations with Defense Department
  -Laird
-Public attacks
  -State Department
    -Senate
      -New York Times, March 7, 1971
  -Bureaucratic leaks
    -State Department
    -Defense Department

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]
[Duration: 30s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

-Rogers
  -Department of State
    -Call from Kissinger
      -Results
      -Bureaucracy
-Richard F. Pedersen
-U. Alexis Johnson
-John N. Irwin, II
-State Department

-Kissinger’s role
-Support for the President

-Possible problems
-Newsweek article on Rogers and Kissinger
-Press credibility
-Effect on Kissinger
-Liberal journalists
-Bureaucracy, liberal senators, and press
-J. William Fulbright
-W[illiam] Stuart Symington
-Laos operation (Lam Son)
-Kissinger’s conversation with General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Need for President’s support

-Role of possible successor
-Changes
-Effect
-Rogers

-Role in administration
-Rogers
-Press commentary
-Laos (Lam Son)

Foreign policy
- Outstanding issues
- President’s view
-Japanese textiles
-Peter G. Peterson
-George P. Shultz
-Harry S. Dent
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Wilbur D. Mills
-State Department
-Vietnam
-Soviet Union
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-Middle East
-President’s view
-Rogers
-Laird
- Kissinger’s role
- State Department

Middle East
- State Department analysis
  - Suez Canal
    - Golda Meir
    - Kissinger’s view
- Joseph J. Sisco
- Possible US negotiating strategy
  - Israel
    - Suez Canal
  - Soviet Union involvement

Foreign policy
- President’s advisors
  - Role
  - Kissinger
  - Rogers
    - President’s foreign policy report
    - State Department
    - Kissinger’s possible resignation
      - President’s view
        - Effect on foreign policy
  - Shultz
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Peterson
  - John B. Connally
  - Peterson
    - Possible letter from President
      - A memorandum

- Trade
  - Great Britain
    - Peterson’s view
    - Options
    - Connally, Clifford M. Hardin, and Maurice H. Stans’ positions
    - Kissinger’s conversations with Peterson, March 8, 1971
      - Bureaucracies
        - US Department of Agriculture [USDA] involvement
          - Negotiating role
          - Peterson’s negotiations with George R. S. Baring [Earl of Cromer]
          - USDA position
-Connally
-Connally's role
-Work with Connally and Hardin

-Soviet Union
-Peres' role
-Work with Peres and Hardin

-Kissinger's future role
-President's future role
-Public criticism

-State Department and Kissinger
-Relationship
-Kissinger's possible resignation
-President's view

-SALT
-Status
-Soviet Union response
-Possible speech by the President
-Gerard C. Smith
-US negotiators
-Instructions
-Timing

Vietnam
-Peace talks
-People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Chou En-lai
-Possible effect
-Possible developments
-Xuan Thuy and Dr. David K. E. Bruce
-Newsweek
-Possible talks
-Lieutenant General Vernon A. Walters
-US position
-Strategy
-Use of Soviet Union
-Summit

An unknown man [Stephen B. Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 3:01 pm
Robert A. Taft, Jr.
The unknown man [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 3:42 pm

Vietnam
-Peace talks
  -US position
    -Strategy
      -Soviet Union
      -Walters
  -Military situation in Laos (Lam Son)
    -Laird and Admiral Thomas H. Moorer
  -Length of operation
    -Kissinger’s view
    -South Vietnamese position
    -General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
    -General Nguyen Van Thieu
    -Abrams’ view
    -South Vietnamese position
    -Possible results
      -Kissinger’s view
-Public opinion
  -Los Angeles Times
  -President’s meeting with press
  -Comparison with Cambodian operation
-Reinforcements
-Battlefield positions
  -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
  -North Vietnamese army
    -Tchepone
  -Possible ARVN attack
    -Kissinger’s view
-Moorer’s briefing
-Enemy losses
-Moorer’s briefing
  -Congress
  -Enemy losses
-Effect on future negotiations
-Air strikes
  -US Air Force
  -Moorer
  -Timing
  -Problems
    -Weather
  -US Air Force
  -Timing
-North Vietnamese army
Conv. No. 464-17 (cont.)

-Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Casualties
  -Hill 31
-Continued ARVN action
  -Ground and air power
  -Abrams’ view
-Possible ARVN withdrawal
  -Timing
    -President’s schedule
-Possible troop announcement
  -Timing
    -Scenario
    -President’s forthcoming speech to editors
      -Format
-Possible troop announcement
  -Timing
    -President’s schedule
-Haig
  -Laird

Kissinger’s role in administration
  -Haldeman
  -Ehrlichman
  -Kissinger’s possible resignation
    -President’s position
-State Department
-Kissinger’s background
-State Department
  -Foreign Service

President’s schedule
  -A meeting with Kissinger
    -Middle East
      -Timing
    -Haldeman
-Taft

Kissinger left at 3:42 pm

Conv. No. 464-18
Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:42 pm and 3:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:45 pm

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 3:45 pm - 3:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert A. Taft, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Richard Dusterberg, and John E. Nidecker; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

Introductions and greetings

Presentation of gift to President
- Inaugural Medals
- Background of publication project
  - R. Dusterberg
    - Background
  - Library of Congress
  - National Archives

Presentation of gifts by President

R. Dusterberg’s acquaintance with Taft

Taft, et al. left at 3:48 pm
Date: March 9, 1971  
Time: 3:48 pm - 3:55 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Silvio O. Conte, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Farrick, James H. LaSalle, Robert Rodriguez, Fred H. Bardwell, and John E. Nidecker; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

**Introductions**

Presentation of gift to President
- Whately, Massachusetts
- Town bicentennial
- Location
- Population
- Gift to the President

**Photograph arrangements**

An unknown man’s daughter, [Lisa? [Surname unknown]]
- Autograph
- Gift

**Gifts**

Congress
- Conte
- Daniel H. Kuykendall
  - President’s previous telephone call

Conte

John B. Connally

Unknown persons

Conte, et al. left at 3:55 pm
Conversation No. 464-21

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 3:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
- Manuel Lujan, Jr.

Bull left at 3:55 pm

Conv. No. 464-20 (cont.)

Conversation No. 464-22

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 3:55 pm - 4:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manuel Lujan, Jr. and John E. Nidecker; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

- Presentation of gift to President
  - Ticket to Little League baseball game
  [Unintelligible]

- Presentation of gifts by President

Lujan, et al. left at 4:00 pm

Conversation No. 464-23

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 4:05 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s schedule
   - John D. Ehrlichman
   - Wilbur D. Mills
   - Photographs

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:05 pm

Conversation No. 464-24

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 4:05 pm - 5:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with William S. Paley, Frank Stanton, John A. Schneider, Richard W. Jencks, Robert D. Wood, Richard S. Salant, Herbert G. Klein, Charles W. Colson, and Ronald L. Ziegler; photographers were present at the beginning of the meeting

[Discontinuities exist in the original recording]

President’s schedule
Greetings

Arrangements for photographs

Fire in fireplace

Topics for discussion

President’s meetings with network executives
   - Agenda
   - President’s previous meeting with newspaper editors
      - Agenda
   - President’s relationship with the media

Television
   - President’s press conferences
      - President’s televised interviews
         - Commentary
- President’s view
- Frequency of President’s television appearances
  - Possible future appearances
  - Network coverage

President’s televised interviews
  - Networks
    - [Forename unknown] Davidson
    - Howard K. Smith
  - Format
    - President’s view
      - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
    - Edited tapes compared with live appearance
    - An American Broadcasting Company [ABC] interview in March
      - President’s appearance
  - Format
    - President’s view
    - Network concerns
    - Compared with East Room press conferences
      - Number of reporters present

President’s press conferences
  - Time of airing
  - Location
    - Oval Office
    - Old State Department building [Old Executive Office Building]
      - “Indian Treaty Room”
    - Networks’ views

President’s televised interviews
  - Smith
    - Foreign policy
  - Cronkite
    - Domestic policy
  - Format

Campaign spending bill
  - Hugh Scott and John O. Pastore’s proposals regarding media
    - Spending limitations
  - A previous bill
    - Veto
      - Reasons
-Limitations
  -President’s view
  -Implementation
-Television networks
  -Free time
-Government’s role
-Spending limitations
  -Various election races
- Presidential and Congressional candidates
  -Incumbency
    -Advantages
  -Networks’ position
    -Comprehensive bill
    -Robert J. Dole
  -Equal time
    -Splinter parties
      -Possible problems
      -New York
      -Role of networks
    -Likelihood in 1972 Presidential election
      -Possible solution
      -George C. Wallace
  -Administration’s view
    -Scott’s efforts
  -Television broadcasting
-Provisions
  -Enforcement
  -Effect
    -Fairness
    -Colson’s efforts
  -Possible outcome
  -An unknown event
    -Scott and Dole
    -Legislation
-Restrictions
  -Enforcement
  -President’s position
  -Corporations, individuals, unions
  -Implementation
  -Committees
    -Political Action Committees
    -Non-profit committees
-Pure Water Committee example
  -President’s position
-Burden on candidates
  -Effect of expensive campaign
-Restrictions
  -Individuals, unions, private lobbies
-A news story
  -Campaign donations
  -Possible provisions

Fairness doctrine
  -Union support compared with other support
    -Financial spending
-1968 Presidential election
  -Wallace
-Political events
  -President’s State of the Union address
    -Black Congressmen
      -Edward W. Brooke
      -Networks’ position
-Television commercials
  -Cigarettes
  -Detergents
  -Peace
  -Chevron gasoline in California
  -Alcoholism
  -Pharmaceuticals
-Presidential position
  -Executive privilege
  -Application of equal time
    -Networks
    -Federal employees
-Environmentalists
  -Public view
    -Perception
  -Industrialism
    -Nature
  -Industry efforts
    -Automobile example
  -Cost and benefit analysis
  -Possible effect of equal time
  -Possible network action
- Enforcement
  - President’s suggestion
  - Campaign compared to social issues
  - Effect
    - Minorities
  - Liberal commentators
  - Possible effect
    - Possible network action
      - Public perception
        - Women’s liberation
        - Congressional Black Caucus
      - Possible letters
    - Federal Communications Commission [FCC]
      - Nicholas Johnson
  - Commercials
    - FCC
    - A court ruling
    - Administration position
  - Public service
    - Anti-pollution
      - New York City environmental commissioner
      - FCC
    - Ralph Nader’s Raiders
    - Columbia Broadcasting System’s [CBS] record
      - Public programs
    - Possible network action
      - President’s view
  - Station license renewals
    - Challenges
      - Effect
      - Dean Burch
        - The President’s instructions
  - Television and newspapers
    - Richard E. (“Dick”) Berlin
  - Current situation
    - Causes
      - Minorities
      - Johnson
  - Attempts at Congressional or FCC action
    - Purpose
  - Colson
    - President’s instructions
-Burch and FCC
  -Private enterprise aspect
-American television
  -Variety
-FCC licensing policy
  -President’s view
  -Radio
    -California
      -Bakersfield and Los Angeles
        -Number of radio stations
    -Radio
      -Future use by President
        -Forthcoming speakers
      -Compared with television news coverage
        -KCBS, KNX, KFWB, KFI
      -President’s recollection of a Los Angeles station
        -Earle C. Anthony
        -Don Lee
        -KHJ, KNX, KFI
      -Anthony’s station
        -Burbank

Colleges
  -Berkeley
  -University of Southern California [USC]
    -Football team
      -A Notre Dame game
      -A Nebraska game
  -A Nebraska - Louisiana State University [LSU] football game
    -An unidentified fullback or Fulbright
  -Notre Dame
    -Football team
  -USC
    -John McKay
    -Anthony Davis

Television
  -Domestic satellites
  -Networks’ position on FCC
    -Clay T. (‘‘Tom’’) Whitehead
    -Value
      -Costs
-American Telephone and Telegraph [AT&T]
  -Technology
  -Bureaucratic problems
  -Whitehead
  -Approaches
    -Communications Satellite Corporation [COMSAT]
    -Western Union
    -Networks’ position
    -FCC action
    -Public utilities
  -COMSAT
  -Globe Com [?]
  -AT&T
  -Value and quality of photos from satellites
  -Canadian experience

Cable television [CATV]
  -CBS’s holdings
  -FCC ruling
    -CBS’s divestiture
    -New York Stock Exchange action
  -Impact
  -Governmental policy
    -FCC
      -Regulations
      -Burch
      -Formulation of Administration’s position
  -Office of Telecommunications Policy
    -Whitehead
    -Staff
  -FCC
    -Compared with other commissions
      -Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
      -Federal Power Commission [FPC]
    -President’s Advisory Council on Executive Organization
      -John B. Connally
      -Walter N. Thayer
    -Networks
      -Employees

[An unknown portion of the conversation was not recorded while the tape was changed]
-Cost
-Public utilities
-Public television compared with private enterprise
  -A boxing match
  -Super Bowl
  -Public interest

Media
-Private enterprise aspect of television and radio
  -Government regulation
    -President’s view
    -Networks’ efforts
    -Campaign spending bill
  -Effect
  -FCC role
    -FCC commissioners
    -President’s view
  -Government role
    -Compared with wage and price controls
      -Public opinion

Golf course

Wage and price controls
-Public opinion
  -Businessmen
  -Unions
  -US Steel
  -Fred Borch [?]
  -Chairman of General Motors
  -George Meany
  -World War II experience
    -Enforcement problems
  -Prospects
  -Effect on economy

Television
-Public interest aspect
-Government regulation
  -Compared with newspapers and radio
    -Los Angeles
  -Public service aspect
- Compared with medical profession
  - Problems
- Private enterprise aspect
  - President’s view
    - Needs
    - Expansion
- Public service aspect
  - Campaigns
    - Fairness doctrine and equal time
      - President’s position
        - Previous statement
- Commercials
  - President’s position
- Courts

Supreme Court
  - Warren E. Burger, Potter Stewart, Harry A. Blackmun, John M. Harlan, Byron R. (“Whizzer”) White
  - Possible views
  - William J. Brennan, Jr.

Television
  - Private enterprise aspect
    - Fairness doctrine
    - Wage and price controls
    - Network relations with stations
      - England, France, India
  - President’s position
    - Networks’ support
  - Follow-up
    - Colson
    - Whitehead and staff
    - Burch
  - Burch
    - Tenure
    - Networks’ view
  - Possible future
  - Barry M. Goldwater
  - Networks’ response
  - Possible meeting with President
  - Previous meeting with President
Quakers

Astronauts
   -Television coverage
   -A splashdown attended by President
      -Frank Borman
      -Neil Armstrong
      -Cronkite
      -Interest
   -Meetings with students
   -Space program
   -Space program, Supersonic Transport [SST]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:05 pm

President’s schedule
   -John D. Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:34 pm

Astronauts
   -Meetings with students
      -Space program
      -Benefits
      -Value of space program
         -Military position
         -President’s view
   -Borman
      -Future
   -Armstrong
   -Value of space program
      -Future exploration
         -Mars
         -National spirit, spirit of exploration of New World
      -Shuttle program, exploration of Mars
      -National spirit

SST
   -President’s position compared with editorial writers’
      -Value
         -Speed of international travel
         -Cost of development
- Job creation
- Tax revenue increase
- Increase in foreign trade
- Role in transportation
  - DC-3, DC-6; jets
- Prospects for future
- Speed of travel
  - Europe, San Francisco
- National role in transportation
  - Soviet Union
  - United Kingdom
  - Compared with space program
- Future implications

US role in world
  - Youth
  - Vietnam, Middle East, Africa, Latin America, India
- Space program
- Isolationist feeling
  - Late 19th century
  - Current situation
- Importance
- Effect
- Goals

Appreciation

Golf

Football
  - Notre Dame
    - Ara Parsegian
    - A quarterback
    - University of Miami

Presidential gifts
  - Golf balls
    - President’s golf
  - Cuff links
  - Wives, secretaries
  - Value

Goodbyes
President’s schedule
  - United States Information Agency [USIA] meeting

Paley, et al. left at 5:34 pm

Conv. No. 464-24 (cont.)

Conversation No. 464-25

Date: March 9, 1971
Time: 5:36 pm - unknown before 7:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
[Discontinuities appear in the original recording]

President’s schedule
  - March 9, 1971
    - Williamsburg speech

Topics for discussion
  - Wilbur D. Mills
  - Milk, cheese, dairy problems
  - Textiles
  - Welfare and Social Security
  - Health
  - Revenue sharing

Dairy industry
  - Price supports
  - Cheese purchase program
  - Import controls
  - Price supports
    - Effect on cheese purchase program and import controls
    - 1970 parity level
    - 85%/492/505
  - Gerald R. Ford and Hugh Scott
    - March 9, 1971 talk with Clark MacGregor
  - John W. Byrnes
  - Democrats
-Leadership
-Mills
-Hyde Murray
-Position
-1970 increase
-Effects
-Dairy industry position
-Clifford M. Hardin’s position
-Concerns
-Cholesterol
-Effect of high prices
-Cheese import letter
-Parity level
-505/495
-Page Belcher
-William R. Poage
-Hardin
-85%, 87%, 80.5%
-Productivity, income
-Hardin
-Robert J. Dole’s position
-85% or above
-82% to 83%
-Future
-Cheese imports
-Possible action by President
-Murray
-Barry M. Goldwater
-President’s conversation, March 6, 1971
-Position
-MacGregor
-Murray
-Mills
-Social Security-welfare connection
-Russell B. Long’s call to Shultz
-Parity level
-Milk producers
-Commitments

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 5:48 pm

-Hardin’s position
- Farm lobby
  - Belcher
    - Corn, cotton, cheese
  - Byrnes, Carl B. Albert
  - Mills
  - Albert
- President’s schedule
  - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
  - Albert
  - Minneapolis
  - Breakfast

Haldeman left at 5:50 pm

- Administration commitments
  - Textiles and [unintelligible]
  - Possible future action by President
  - Murray

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 5:46 pm and 5:48 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-25A]

Call to Murray

[End of telephone conversation]

Social Security
  - Long’s call to Shultz
  - Mills
  - Long’s position in Social Security increase
    - Debt limit
    - Interest equalization tax
  - Mills
  - Welfare
    - Republican position
  - Mills
  - Byrnes
    - Experience
  - Mills
  - Relations with administration
    - Discussions with members of White House staff
Dairy program
   -Cheese price supports
   -Mills

Mills
   -Relationship with Administration
   -Bryce N. Harlow
   -MacGregor
   -Harlow

[The President talked with Murray between 5:56 pm and 5:59 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-25B]

Dairy program
   -Shultz and Ehrlichman
   -Dairy supporters
   -Cheese for school lunch program
   -Mills
   -Parity level
      -Effect
      -Support for Ford, Albert
   -Possible action

[End of telephone conversation]

-President’s conversation with Murray
   -Land o’ Lakes dairy cooperative
      -Wisconsin
      -Position
   -Dole
      -Contributions to Republican National Committee

Social Security and welfare
   -Long’s proposal
   -Mills
   -A March 9, 1971 meeting on welfare
      -A further report
      -Costs
Mills
- House Ways and Means Committee
  - Mills
    - John B. Connally

[Thomas] Hale Boggs
  - Conversation with Ehrlichman
    - Shultz
    - Connally

Mills
  - Connally
  - Dealings with Japanese regarding textiles
    - Committee hearings
      - Connally and Shultz

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
  - President’s conversation with Peter M. Flanigan
  - A possible letter from the President
  - Ehrlichman’s March 6, 1971 meeting with Peter G. Peterson
  - President’s conversation with Flanigan
  - A March 10, 1971 meeting
    - Textile industry
    - Mills
    - Legislation
      - Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
    - Possible future action
      - Shultz’s efforts
    - John N. Mitchell’s conversation with Ehrlichman

Administration’s position
  - Legislation
    - Voluntary restraints
    - Japanese industry proposal
    - Legislation
      - Options
      - Possible executive action
        - Dumping

President’s schedule
  - Discussions on Social Security and welfare

Internal Revenue Service commissioner
- A possible nominee of Mills’
  - John S. Nolan
    - Background
      - Department of Treasury
        - Edwin S. Cohen
    - Ehrlichman’s meetings with Mitchell and Connally
      - Connally’s meeting with Cohen
      - Connally
      - Nolan
  - Requirements
    - George D. Webster
      - Background
    - Johnnie M. Walters
      - Mitchell’s assistant
    - Requirements
    - Walters

Mills
  - Connally
  - Revenue sharing
  - Possible meeting between the President, Mills, and Byrnes
    - Welfare and Social Security
      - Milk
      - Textile policy
    - Milk
    - Social Security and welfare

President’s schedule
  - Possible meeting between the President and Shultz
    - Mid-decade concerns
      - Congress
      - Department of Commerce
      - Cost
      - President’s position

Haldeman entered at 6:13 pm

  - Meeting with Ehrlichman and Haldeman

[Name unintelligible]
  - Note to Shultz

Shultz left at 6:14 pm
Mills
- Harlow
  - Haldeman’s conversation with Harlow
  - Possible meeting of Byrnes and Harlow

Harlow
- Promotion to vice president at Proctor and Gamble
  - Forthcoming call from Haldeman

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:14 pm and 6:16 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-25C]

Call to Harlow

[End of telephone conversation]

Mills
- Dealings with Japanese on textiles
  - Foreign policy implications
  - Harlow’s response
  - President’s response
  - Mills’ activities
    - Possible future actions
  - Long’s response
  - Harlow’s view
    - Long

[The President talked with Harlow between 6:16 pm and 6:18 pm]

[Conversation No. 464-25D]

Harlow’s promotion

Mills
- President’s meeting with Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Shultz
  - Forthcoming meeting between Harlow and Ehrlichman
- Dealings with Japanese
  - Textile negotiations
    - President’s position
-Forthcoming call to Harlow by Ehrlichman
  -Byrnes
  -Future relations with administration

[End of telephone conversation]

-Connally’s relationship with Mills
  -A meeting with an unidentified person
  -Position of Social Security

Textile trade negotiations with Japan
  -Flanigan
    -Workload
  -Mills
  -Flanigan’s work
    -Workload
      -Flanigan’s meetings with Japanese negotiator
  -State Department
  -Maurice H. Stans
  -Henry A. Kissinger
  -Possible action
    -Administration’s position
  -Mills
    -Legislation
      -Possible statement
        -Administration position
  -A voluntary steel program
    -Alaska Pipeline case
      -Previous conversation with the President
    -Lyndon B. Johnson Administration case
    -Differences
  -Peterson and Shultz’s philosophy
  -President’s position
  -Kissinger’s position
  -President’s position
  -Peterson’s role
    -Possible instructions from the President
    -Flanigan
      -Role
Grain sale to Great Britain
  -Peterson’s role
  -Conversation with Connally
    -Trip to New York
  -Possible meeting with Hardin
  -Outcome
  -Hardin’s call to Connally
  -Peterson
  -Hardin
  -Connally
  -State Department’s role

Kissinger
  -Previous conversation with the President
    -Newsweek article
      -Background
      -William L. Safire
      -Kissinger’s response
        -Possible resignation
  -President’s position
  -Duties
    -Laos
    -Soviet Union
      -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    -Middle East
  -Compared with William P. Rogers
  -Role in US Middle East policy
    -A paper on the Middle East by State Department
    -Jewish background
      -Holocaust
      -Potential problems
    -Effect on American Middle East policy
  -Compared with a health decision
    -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
      -Role
        -Reason
  -Possible resignation
  -Relations with Rogers
    -Compared with Ehrlichman’s relations with George W. Romney
  -Possible meeting with Rogers
    -General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s call to Rogers
    -Rogers’ call to Kissinger
- Relations with Rogers
  - President’s position
- President’s foreign policy decisions
  - Laos, Middle East, SALT
    - Kissinger’s role
    - President’s position
- State Department
  - President’s position
- Possible resignation
  - The President’s view
  - Other considerations
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Relations with Rogers
  - Rogers’ call to Kissinger
- Position
  - National Security Council [NSC] system
    - Meaning
    - Rogers
- President’s calls to Admiral Thomas H. Moorer
  - Compared with Haldeman’s situation
- President’s talks with Rogers
  - Trip to an unidentified island [Guam?]
- President’s talks with Rogers and Richard M. Helms
- Position
  - President’s foreign policy decisions
    - Bases
      - NSC papers
      - Kissinger
      - Rogers
      - Differences of opinions
      - Public relations considerations
- Compared with Rogers and Melvin R. Laird
- Compared with Ehrlichman
  - John A. Volpe
  - Romney
  - Hardin
- Knowledge of foreign policy
- Employment at the White House
  - Compared to Ehrlichman
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]
[Duration: 29s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 7:10 pm