Conversation No. 473-1

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:30 am and 8:58 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger

President’s schedule
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- Length
- Signing ceremony
- Executive Branch reorganization
- NSC meeting
  - Briefing by General Robert E. Cushman, Jr.

Vietnam report

Conversation No. 473-2

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:31 am
Location: Oval Office

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

President’s schedule
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  - Length
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- Signing ceremony for government reorganization
- Briefing on the economy
  - Staff work
- National Newspaper Association reception
  - President’s role
  - Number attending
- An interview with Frank van der Linden
  - President’s accomplishments
  - Length
-President’s accomplishments
- van der Linden
  - Interviews with other staff
- Meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
  - Length
  - Meeting with press
  - Length
  - Meeting with other press

Unemployment in space and technology fields
- Staff meeting discussion
  - Supersonic transport [SST]
  - Possible action on President’s trip to California
  - Scope
  - Type of event to be staged
  - Reasoning
    - George P. Shultz
    - Orange County and San Mateo County, California
- General Electric Company layoffs
- Possible event in California
  - Timing
  - A meeting concerning aerospace layoffs
- Possible follow-up to Senate vote
  - Budget cuts in space program
- Public opinion
- Space program
- Public opinion
- Administration policy
- Senate vote
  - Clinton P. Anderson
  - Margaret Chase Smith

President’s schedule
- National Newspaper Association reception
  - President’s remarks
    - Herbert G. Klein
    - John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - Content of briefing remarks
    - Length

News coverage
- SST
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] withdrawal
  - Future stories
    - Public relations efforts

NSC meeting

[Pause]

Young people
- Robert H. Finch’s efforts
  - Administration policies
- College students
  - President’s position
  - Professors
    - Compared with church members’ activism
- Effect of universities
- Haldeman’s daughter at Stanford University and a friend at University of Southern California [USC]
  - Compared with President and Haldeman’s college lives
- Course work
  - College life
  - Compared with President’s student career
  - Pass-fail courses
  - An exam

SST
- Staff response to Senate vote
- Effect on President’s schedule
  - California
  - Florida

President’s schedule
- California, Florida
  - Facilities
    - President’s meeting with General Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Weather
  - Symbolism
  - Weather
  - Purposes
    - Movie industry concerns
    - Aerospace industry concerns
- Agricultural concerns
- Western White House facility
  - Justification
- Effect of SST vote
- Announcement to press
  - Public awareness
  - Weather
  - Public awareness

Congress
- Schedule for recess
  - Timing
- Schedule for re-convening
  - Senate, House
  - President’s forthcoming meeting with editors

Vietnam
- US troop withdrawal
  - President’s announcement
    - Timing
    - House session
      - A forthcoming Organization of American States [OAS] event
  - House response
  - Timing
  - Congressional response
    - Timing
    - Effect
  - Public response
  - Columnists’ response
    - Public response
    - President’s position
      - Columnists
      - Public response

John A. Scali
- Possible White House job
  - Health

President’s schedule
- California trip
  - Previous announcement to press
  - Possible Florida trip
-California trip
-Weather
-Effect
 -Staff meeting discussion
 -SST vote
 -Staff
-Previous announcement to press
 -President’s view
 -Ronald L. Ziegler
-Length
 -Weather
-Press conference
-Preparation for a speech
 -Florida
 -Camp David
-California, Florida
 -Weather
-California trip
 -Press conference
-Length
 -Possible event
 -Press conference
 -Date
 -Aerospace event
 -Date
 -Press conference
 -President’s preparation
-March 30, 1971 event
-Aerospace meeting
 -Logistics
 -Samuel Goldwyn meeting
 -Date
-March 27, 1971
 -Aerospace meeting
 -Goldwyn
 -Action
 -Decision

The President left at an unknown time before 9:31 am
Conversation No. 473-3

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 9:31 am
Location: Oval Office

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman talked with the White House operator

President’s location

President’s previous call [to Rose Mary Woods]

President’s location

Conversation No. 473-4

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:31 am and 9:50 am
Location: Oval Office

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

Rose Mary Woods’ call

President’s schedule
  -California trip

White House staff
  -Needs
    -California trip
    -Public relations
    -Compared with House and Senate
    -Compared with a campaign

Cabinet
  -John B. Connally
    -Public relations
White House staff
- Haldeman
- Charles W. Colson
  - Colson’s role
  - Public relations
- Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Peter H. Dominick’s previous meeting with President
  - Republican leaders’ meetings

Congressional relations
- Clark MacGregor
  - Possible meeting with President or Haldeman
  - Dominick meeting
  - Charles H. Percy
- Need for support for President’s policies
  - Vietnam
- SST vote
  - Administration efforts
    - Meetings with Senators
    - Effect
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Robert H. Finch and Rumsfeld’s trip to Europe
  - Possible position
    - Trade Representative
  - Possible work with MacGregor
    - Congress
- Finch
  - Work
    - Public relations efforts
- MacGregor
- William E. Timmons
- MacGregor
  - Meetings with President’s supporters
    - Possible meeting with President
      - Reasons for meeting
        - Public relations efforts
        - Motivation
      - Needs

President’ schedule
- California trip
  - Possible alternative
- Troop withdrawal announcement
  - Meeting with surrogate speakers

[Name unintelligible]
- White House staff
- National Security Council [NSC] meetings
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Public relations efforts
    - Relations with the press
    - Stewart J. O. Alsop
    - John Kenneth Galbraith
- Public relations efforts
  - Galbraith
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Finch
    - The President
    - Kissinger
    - Vietnam briefings
- Kissinger
  - Vietnam briefings
  - Student groups

President’s schedule
- Cabinet and senior staff
  - Information for press
    - Public relations efforts
  - Haldeman’s US News and World Report interview
  - Public relations efforts
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Congressional groups
  - Press
  - Timmons, Ehrlichman, MacGregor, George P. Shultz, and Finch
  - Cabinet officers
  - Colson’s role
  - Questionnaire

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:31 am

President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:58 am
Public relations
-Questionnaire
-Responses
-President’s qualities
-Polling techniques
-President’s qualities
-Compared with Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
-Children

Haldeman left at 9:50 am

Conversation No. 473-5

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 9:50 am - 10:12 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Steven Baker, Walter Byrd, Eileen Friars, Stanley Grimm, Jay Sternoff, and Robert H. Finch

Introduction

Seating arrangements

A photographer

Finch’s paper on youth
- President’s meeting with Edwin D. Etherington
- Public relations efforts
- Administration policies

Issues of concern to students
- Military service draft
- Deferments
- Student loans
- Need for communications
- Military service draft, loans, internships
- Administration speakers and counselors
-Summer internship in government
  -Number
  -Capitol Hill
    -One Senator’s experience
  -Numbers
  -Congress
  -White House assignments
  -Departmental assignments
  -State and local governments
    -New York
    -California

Student leaders’ conference
  -Student leaders
  -Credibility
    -Meeting with Finch
  -Student legislation
  -Policy position
  -Credibility
  -Subsidies
  -Legislation
    -Student views
      -Resolutions
    -Credibility of student leaders
      -Accessibility to government leaders

Issues
  -Marijuana
  -Eighteen-year-old vote

Students and government
  -Communications
    -Importance
      -A previous conference
    -Effect
  -Memorandum from the students to the President
  -Relationship
    -President’s view
    -Draft
  -Employment
    -Fields of study
- White House and Cabinet officers
  - Internships
- Congressmen and Senators
- Need for government action
  - Volunteers in Service to America [VISTA]
  - Peace Corps
  - Teachers’ Corps reorganization
    - Joseph H. Blatchford
  - Blatchford’s role
  - National Center for Voluntary Action
- Administration policies
- State and local government level
  - Revenue sharing policy
    - Effect
      - President’s position
- Bellevue, Washington
- Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
  - Urban renewal
  - Model Cities programs
  - Effect of President’s programs
- Communications
  - Student government
  - President’s student government career
  - Role of student leaders
    - Administration speakers
      - Revenue sharing
      - Vietnam
  - Administration speakers
    - Appearances at clubs, campuses
  - Cabinet and department officers
    - Compared to professors
      - President’s professors
    - Effect
    - Possible invitations
    - Reception on campus
- Congressional speakers
  - 1961 to 1970 period
    - World and national events
  - Importance of communication
  - President’s possible appearance
    - Secret Service
  - Finch’s experiences
Conversation No. 473-5 (cont.)

- Baker’s perception
- Attitude toward President’s reelection
- Possible meetings with President
- Baker’s attitude toward President
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- President’s support among students in 1972
- Attitude toward administration
  - Administration’s view of youth
  - Importance of dialogue
- Possible invitation to speakers
  - Peter Teague
- Perception of President
- Communications

President’s schedule
- National Security Council [NSC] meeting

Oval Office
- Tour by Finch
  - George Washington portrait
  - Head of State gifts

The President left at 10:12 am

- A gift from Boy Scouts

Recording was cut off at 10:12 am

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:20 am and 11:25 am
Location: Oval Office


[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]
Revenue sharing
- Work of staff
- Legislators
- Mayors, county officials
- State government officials
- Special revenue sharing
  - Education
  - A task force
- President’s meetings
- Meeting on special revenue sharing

Government reorganization
- Work of staff
  - President’s appreciation

Gifts
- Secretaries
- Golf balls

Government reorganization
- Forthcoming press briefing
  - President’s role

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:20 am

President’s schedule

President’s location
  - Cabinet Room

The President, et al. left at 11:25 am

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:25 am and 11:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull
Forthcoming press briefing

The President and Bull left at an unknown time before 11:30 am

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 12:16 pm - 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Frank van der Linden interview
- General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Henry A. Kissinger
- President’s enemies, supporters
- Forthcoming interview with the President
- Vietnam negotiations
- Possible interview with Kissinger

President’s schedule
- California trip
- Weather
- Press
- Staff advice
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - George P. Shultz
- Length of stay
- Florida trip

Congress
- Support for President
- Robert H. Finch
- Support for President
  - Core constituency
- Ehrlichman’s and Finch’s advice
  - Clark MacGregor
- Response to President
-Recess
-Executive Branch reorganization plan
  -Response
  -Haldeman’s view
  -Senate Democrats

Supersonic Transport [SST] issue
  -Hubert H. Humphrey
  -Position
  -Environmentalists
  -Industry
  -Power compared with popular opinion

Congress
  -Shultz
  -MacGregor
  -Finch
  -Rumsfeld
  -John N. Mitchell
  -Shultz
  -Ehrlichman
    -Work
  -Shultz
  -Ehrlichman
  -Cycles

George H. Gallup poll
  -Approval of President
    -Charles W. Colson
    -Meaning and effect
      -Possible effect on Congress

President’s schedule
  -California trip
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Events to be set up by staff
-Press conference
-Length
-President’s speech
-Kissinger’s and William L. Safire’s role
-President’s work
-Location
-Florida
-President’s speech
-California compared with Florida
-Weather
-California trip
-Palm Springs
-San Clemente
-Samuel Goldwyn
-Medal of Freedom
-Timing
-Press conference
-Timing
-President’s preparation
- Compared with Howard K. Smith interview
-Timing
-Goldwyn
-Press conference
-John B. Connally
-Quadriad meeting
-Purpose of visit
-Meeting with James D. Hodgson and aerospace officials
-Purpose
Issues
- Economy
- Vietnam War
  - Forthcoming coverage
  - Domestic programs
- President’s programs

President’s schedule
- California trip
- Weather
- President’s speech
- Kissinger
- Kissinger and Melvin R. Laird
  - Congress
  - President’s speech and press conference
    - Work with Patrick J. Buchanan
    - Delivery

Congress
- SST vote
- White House efforts
- Meaning
- President’s possible appearance at Chowder and Marching Society, March 24, 1971
- Mood
  - Ehrlichman and Rumsfeld’s advice

******************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 1s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
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President’s appearances
- Effect
- Smith interview
-Cabinet meeting
-Republican leaders’ meeting
  -President’s role
  -SST
-Effect
-SST vote in House of Representatives
-National Newspapers Association reception
  -Effect
-Use of President’s time
  -Public appearances
-Television

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:16 pm

Forthcoming van der Linden interview
  -Possible rescheduling in California
  -Meeting with President on plane
  -President’s schedule
  -National Newspaper Association reception
  -March 26, 1971
    -Breakfast with Carl B. Albert, Ford, and [Thomas] Hale Boggs
    -10:00 Cabinet meeting
    -Justian Society
    -California trip
    -Departure time
    -Meeting with Laird ?
  -Possible interviews en route to California
  -President, Kissinger
  -Possible interview with President, March 26, 1971
Bull left at an unknown time before 12:42 pm

Connally
- Possible trip to California
- Recent work

Republicans
- Program of administration
- Response
- Theodore (“Teddy”) Roosevelt
- Response
- Farmers
- Roosevelt

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 40s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
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Refreshments

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:42 pm

President’s schedule

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 24s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
******************************************************************************
Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:42 pm

van der Linden interview
   -March 26, 1971
   -California trip

President’s schedule, March 25, 1971
   -Possible interview with van der Linden
   -Meeting with Thomas A. Pappas and Mitchell
     -Length
     -Timing
   -Possible van der Linden interview
     -Time
   -Congressional Black Caucus
   -Meeting with Mitchell and Pappas
     -Follow-up meeting with Mitchell

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:58 pm

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 12m 19s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Woods left at 12:58 pm

President’s schedule
   -Congressional Black Caucus
     -Briefing for President
     -Ehrlichman’s view
       -MacGregor and Robert J. Brown
     -President’s role
     -Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
Youth
- Student body presidents
  - Compared with students in President and Haldeman’s eras
    - Effect of television
      - Haldeman’s children
  - President’s previous meeting with youth leaders
    - Finch’s role
      - One student’s remarks
- White House staff
  - Meetings with the President
  - Memoranda to the President
- Interests
  - Draft deferment
    - Finch
  - Summer intern program
    - View of participants
    - President’s view
- Peace Corps
  - Joseph H. Blatchford
  - Volunteers
  - Effect of unemployment
  - Reason for joining
  - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
- President as a young person
  - Trip to Europe
- Student body presidents’ previous meeting with President
- President’s possible appearances with students
  - Educational television
  - College campuses
    - Effect
      - Compared with William F. (“Billy”) Graham’s appearances
- Graham’s campus appearances
  - Effect
- President’s possible appearances with students
  - Educational television
  - Meeting in Oval Office
    - Forthcoming meeting with Finch and Colson
- Student leaders
National spirit
- Administration stands on SST, space program, Vietnam War, defense, US leadership
- Compared with British, French, Germans, and Japanese
  - German and Japanese youth

Young people

President’s schedule
- Use of President’s time
- Meetings with students
  - Students
- Use of President’s time
  - Public appearances

Stock market
- Dow-Jones average
  - President’s response

President’s schedule
- A swearing-in
  - President’s role
  - March 25 or March 26, 1971
- Public appearances
  - Effect
    - Public relations value
    - Cabinet officers
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Connally

Agnew
- Compared with Connally
  - President’s position
- Media
  - Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak column
  - Rumsfeld
  - A Cabinet meeting
  - Shultz
- Possible appearances on campuses
  - Youth
  - Shultz’s desegregation group
- Right-wing connections
President’s schedule
- California trip
  - William P. Rogers
    - Role as Secretary of State
  - Kissinger’s role

Vietnam
- President’s forthcoming speech
  - Kissinger and Safire
  - Tone
    - Compared with President’s Cambodia and November 3, 1969 speeches
    - 1972
    - President’s critics
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
    - Withdrawal
      - President’s view
  - Coverage by media
    - General Nguyen Van Thieu’s instructions
    - Alternative actions
- Thieu’s election
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] News
- ARVN withdrawal
  - Thieu
  - Casualties
- North Vietnamese casualties
  - Compared with ARVN casualties
- Bombing
  - Effect
  - Tonnage dropped
- Air Force

President’s schedule
- Possible call to Boeing employees
  - Colson
  - Coverage
  - President’s statement
    - Content
      - President’s policies
      - President’s support
      - Boeing 707s, 727s, 747s
- Washington state
- Public relations effect
- California trip

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _59s_]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

-Presidential’s speech
-California trip
- Return time
-April 6 and April 7, 1971 (?)
President’s previous interview with Smith
  -Congressional response
  -Need for surrogate speakers
  -Press coverage
  -White House follow-up

Public relations efforts
  -Whitney M. Young, Jr.’s funeral
  -President’s statements
  -Revenue sharing
  -Importance

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12
President’s schedule
- Meeting with National Newspaper Association
- Meeting with mayors
- Meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
  - Length, agenda
- Reception for White House social aides
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
- Meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
  - Agenda

Agnew
- Motives for behavior
  - Novak’s column
  - Haldeman’s conversations
- Relations with President
- Relations with White House staff
- Phone calls
  - Compared with John A. Volpe and George W. Romney

White House secretaries
- Phone calls
  - A secretary of Haldeman’s
  - Woods

Haldeman’s phone call
- Calls to Senators
  - White House switchboard
- Call to Rogers
  - Maggie Howell [?]

Vietnam
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
- Coverage
  - Monday magazines
  - Kissinger

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:58 pm

Kissinger’s location

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

Mrs. Nixon’s staff
- Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart and Lucy A. Winchester
  - Trip to California
  - Stuart

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:58 pm

Manolo Sanchez’s location

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm

Congress
- President’s supporters
  - Finch and Rumsfeld’s advice
  - Colson’s advice
- Freshmen Republican Congressmen
- Vietnam War, Laos operation
- Effect of recess
  - Public opinion
- Effect of press
  - Haldeman’s view
  - Washington Post
  - New York Times
- Recess plans
  - Bahamas
- Trips
- Work with constituents
  - Staff
  - Work
  - Mail
-Committee meetings
  -Re-election work
  -Relations with White House

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration:  1m 50s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14
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Hoover
  -Haldeman’s forthcoming meeting with Mitchell
    -Jerry Greene [?]

Agnew
  -Peter H. Dominick
  -Relations with Moynihan, Leonard Garment, Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -Relations with Buchanan
    -Memorandum
  -President’s conversation with Barry M. Goldwater
  -Work
    -Revenue sharing
      -A cities meeting
  -Public relations
  -Staff [?]
  -A speech at Republican fundraiser
  -A briefing
  -A group
  -Possible campus speeches
  -March 24, 1971 speech

President’s schedule
  -Dinner for businessmen
    -[Name unintelligible]
    -Roger Milliken
The President met with George P. Shultz, John D. Ehrlichman, and James D. Hodgson

Executive Branch reorganization
   -President’s meeting with staff

Construction industry
   -Boards of control
      -Strikes
      -Wages
      -Appeals
   -Wage adjustments
      -Factors
      -Equity
      -Limits
   -Role of federal government
      -Executive Order
         -Effect
         -Hodgson’s view
   -Wage and price controls
      -Drawbacks
         -Political considerations
            -Democrats
         -Philosophical basis
            -Complaints, appeals
- Alternatives
  - Wage increases
    - Effects
  - Davis-Bacon Act
    - Effects on building trades
    - Building and Trade Unions
      - Forthcoming meeting
      - Demonstrations
    - Collective bargaining
  - Unions
    - Administration policies
- A commission
  - Recommendations of public members
  - Recommendations of labor
  - Public members
    - Presidential appointees
    - John T. Dunlop
  - Recommendations
    - Executive Order
      - Wage stabilization boards
      - Strikes
      - Wage increases
    - "Super board" as monitor and appeal board
  - Enforcement
  - Davis-Bacon Act
  - Wages
    - Settlements
  - Government construction
  - Enforcement power
- Steel strike possibility
  - Wages
    - Union leadership
    - Union members’ views
    - Steel compared with copper and aluminum
- Possible stabilization boards
  - Jurisdiction
    - Plasterers, electrician, bricklayers
  - Union jurisdiction
  - MDA and Associated General Contractors of America [AGCA]
  - Time to be established
    - "Super board"
-Possible effects on wages
  -Hodgson’s view
-Possible effects on relations with labor
  -George Meany
  -Building trades
-Possible response to wage controls as opposed to Davis-Bacon Act
  -Hodgson’s report to the President
    -Administration policy
  -Unions
  -Management
  -Housing industry
  -Unions
    -Contractors
      -AGCA resolution
  -Housing industry
    -Union’s views
  -Meany
    -Meeting with President
    -President’s meeting, March 24, 1971
  -Housing industry
  -Democrats’ legislation
    -President’s position
  -Ehrlichman’s previous meeting with leaders
    -Leaders’ view of Administration policy
  -Industry
  -Response of George W. Romney and group
  -Wage-price stabilization boards
    -Effects
    -Union response
      -Unemployment
      -Wages
  -Applicability to other industries
    -President’s concern
    -Aluminum
    -Future trends
    -Possible response
      -Shultz’s view
      -Steel, longshoremen
  -Industry
  -Members of boards
    -Appeals board
-Need for wage control
  -Shultz’s view
    -Compared with Hodgson’s view
-View of other segments of organized labor
  -Support for President
  -Leonard Woodcock
-Maurice A. Hutcheson
  -Carpenters’ union
    -Position
    -A Florida situation
    -Position
  -Support for the Administration
-Davis-Bacon Act
-Business’ position
-Effects of possible action by President
  -”Ehrlichman group”
  -Volpe’s knowledge of industry
    -Volpe’s view
  -Ehrlichman’s meeting
    -Other industries
    -Paul W. McCracken’s paper
    -Alternatives
-Possible wage increases and controls
  -Hodgson’s assumptions
  -Management’s position
    -Reasons
    -Fortune magazine group
      -Meeting with President
-Possible government action
  -Davis-Bacon
  -Contractual considerations
  -Effect
  -Attorney General
    -Possible injunctions
      -Ehrlichman’s view
  -Executive Order language
  -Enforcement
    -Boards’ authority
    -Davis-Bacon
-Emergency situation
  -Legal limitations

-Possible meeting with President and Hodgson
  -Volpe
  -Purpose
    -Effect on President’s policy choices

-Public opinion
  -Management, unions
  -“Ehrlichman group”
  -Political considerations
    -Ehrlichman’s view

-Possible speeches by Volpe, Romney, Maurice H. Stans, and Blount
  -Position
    -Support for Administration policies
  -Possible meeting with President, March 26, 1971

-Possible meeting of President and Meany, March 26, 1971
  -Cabinet meeting time

-Possible administration action
  -President’s view
  -Hodgson’s view
  -Romney, Volpe, Stans, and McCracken positions
  -Herbert Stein’s possible response
    -A paper on controls
  -Shultz’s position

-Hodgson’s work
  -Florida

-Meany
  -Possible statement
    -Support for Administration
  -Relations with Shultz
  -Possible meeting with Hodgson or Shultz
    -Timing
    -Meany’s health

-President’s position

-Business community’s response
  -Stock market
  -Compared with future response
    -Shultz’s assessment
    -Profits
    -Davis-Bacon Act

-12% wage increase
  -Administration efforts
- Compared with other industries
- Hodgson’s work
- Compared with steel and aluminum
- Publicity
- Union leaders
- Davis-Bacon Act repeal
  - Possible time limit
  - Injunction
  - Effect on construction industry

- President’s action
  - Effect on state laws
- Meetings
  - Purpose
  - Labor unions
    - Meany
    - Davis-Bacon Act
- Cabinet
  - Purpose
  - President’s remarks
- President’s announcement
  - Timing
    - Ehrlichman’s view
    - Meetings
    - Forthcoming Cabinet meeting
- Effect of previous actions

Shultz and Hodgson left at 3:53 pm

Domestic Intelligence Advisory Board
- John N. Mitchell
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.’s hearings on domestic surveillance
  - Mitchell’s staff’s discussion with Ervin
  - Executive Order
- Message for Mitchell
  - President and Ehrlichman’s discussion

Ehrlichman’s meeting with Wilbur D. Mills, March 25, 1971

Ehrlichman left at 3:55 pm
Date: March 25, 1971
Time: 3:55 pm - 4:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell and Thomas A. Pappas

President’s schedule
- Previous meeting with James D. Hodgson

Pappas’ schedule
Domestic Intelligence Advisory Board
- Paperwork

Pappas
- Work

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 4m 23s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Hugh Scott
- Pappas’ previous conversation

A gift
- George A. Murphy

Scott
- Pappas’ previous conversation
- Support for President
- Supersonic Transport [SST]
John A. Volpe
   -Health
   SST
      -Volpe’s work

SST
   -Administration work

National mood
   -SST
      -Space program
      -Defense programs
      -Poverty
         -President’s upcoming meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
         -Program priorities
         -Source of revenue

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:55 pm

Refreshments

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 41s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:23 pm

Support for President
   -Pappas’ experiences
   -Pappas
      -1960 election
         -John C. Folger
World leadership
- President’s role
- Era of change
  - General Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
  - Konrad Adenauer
  - Winston S. Churchill
  - Alcide de Gasperi
  - King Paul of Greece [Paul I]
- The Vatican
  - Pope Pius XII [Eugenio Pacelli]
  - Compared with Popes John XXIII [Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli] and Paul VI [Giovanni Battista Montini]
- Catholic Church
- United States
  - American Eastern Establishment
  - Harvard University
- Vietnam War
  - President’s role
  - President’s policy
  - Importance to US
    - Charles H. Percy
    - R. Sargent Shriver
    - Edward W. Brooke
    - Enemies of US
    - Europe
    - Public opinion
  - President’s forthcoming announcement
    - Effect
      - US troops
      - Withdrawal
      - Prisoners of War [POWs]
      - South Vietnam
- Peace talks in Paris
  - Henry Cabot Lodge, Dr. David K. E. Bruce
  - Effect
  - US strategy
    - Timing of negotiations
    - POWs
    - Geneva
National mood
- Effect of World War II
  - Compared with French, Germans, and Japanese
- Effect of Korean and Vietnam Wars
- Intellectuals
  - Media
  - Attitudes toward US role in world
    - Aviation
    - Space exploration
    - Domestic orientation
    - Blacks
- Communists
  - Britain, France, Japan, US
- Intellectuals
  - View of America
  - John Kenneth Galbraith
  - McGeorge Bundy

Henry E. Ford, II
- Attendance at President’s March 23, 1971 dinner
- Wife
- Work in volunteer efforts
- Relations with Pappas
- Support for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
  - First wife
- Support for President
  - Max M. Fisher
- Contribution

Pappas
- Support for the President
- Meeting with the President
- Italy
  - Pappas’ business
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: _1m 30s_]

ITALY AND THE VATICAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Italy
  -Henry J. Tasca
  -Possible appointment
    -Pappas’ view
  -Wife
  -Greece
  -Comments on State Department
  -Relations with Pappas

Communists
  -Spain, Turkey, Italy
  -Pappas’ view
  -Greece
    -President’s position
      -Support for Greece
      -Mitchell
      -National Security Council [NSC]
      -Pappas previous conversation with George Papadopoulos
      -Support of Greece
        -Tasca
        -Pappas’ previous conversation with Constantinos Karamanlis
        -Tasca’s role
  -Political developments
    -Pappas’ assessment
  -Martial law
  -Tasca
  -Status
-King Constantine [Constantine II]
  -Health

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[National Security]  
[Duration: 19s]  

GREECE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Yugoslavia
  -Josip Broz Tito
    -Accomplishments
  -President’s visit in October, 1970
    -Status
      -Pappas’ view
    -Tito’s planned visit to US
      -Timing
      -Pappas’ possible attendance at State dinner

Pappas’ work for Mitchell
  -Schedule

Yugoslavia
  -Monetary situation
  -Pappas’ business connections
    -Imports and exports
    -Steel plant
      -Japan, England, Germany, France

Middle East
  -A Prime Minister
    -Friendship with Pappas
- Tom Pluskey [?]
  - Brother
  - Soviet Union role
  - Israel
  - US role
  - Soviet Union role
  - Pappas’ view

Turkey
- Drug traffic
  - Pappas’ role
  - President’s position
  - New leader
    - Program
    - Pappas’ view
    - Advisors
  - Pappas’ view
  - Previous conversations with the President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Duration: 18s]

CYPRUS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Possible Meeting of President and Giuseppe Saragat
- Italy
  - California
  - Previous state visit
  - Private visit
    - Timing
    - California
-Florida
-Alaska
-Circumstances
-Lieutenant General Vernon A. Walters
-Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration role

Folger
-Pappas’ meeting
- Contribution to Common Cause
- John W. Gardner
- Common Cause

Ripon Society
-Shriver
- A party for Charles E. Goodell
- Mitchell’s view

Pappas’ forthcoming work
- President’s appreciation

Gifts
- Cufflinks
- Paperweight

Stephen B. Bull entered at 4:23 pm

The President’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Congressional Black Caucus

[Forename unknown] Wells [?]

President’s support

Mitchell, Pappas, and Bull left at 4:23 pm
Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:23 pm and 4:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger

Vietnam
- Negotiations
  - Status
  - Dr. David K. E. Bruce
  - Delay by North Vietnamese
  - US strategy
    - Delays
      - Bruce
        - The President’s instructions
- Melvin R. Laird
  - Press briefing
- Military option
  - South Vietnamese
  - Bombing
    - President’s view
- Laird’s comments to Stewart J. O. Alsop
  - South Vietnamese military
    - US military supplies
    - President’s talk with Alsop
    - President’s position
      - Material and equipment
      - Possible meeting with Laird, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, and David Packard
        - Scheduling
        - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- An unnamed man
- Laird
  - An unnamed man’s advice
- Moorer
- General Nguyen Van Thieu
- Laos operation (Lam Son)
  - Importance compared with Cambodia
    - President’s policies
Date: March 25, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:23 pm and 4:40 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President’s telephone call to Boeing Corporation  
-Techinal arrangements

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm

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Date: March 25, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 4:23 pm and 4:40 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person [Henry A. Kissinger?]

Soviet Union - US relations  
- President’s instruction  
- Public statements on arms control

People’s Republic of China  
- United Nations admission  
- “Two China” policy  
- US strategy  
- John B. Connally
Conversation No. 473-14

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:23 pm and 4:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man [Stephen B. Bull?]

Arrangements for President’s call to Boeing Corporation

The unknown man [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm

Conversation No. 473-15

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:23 pm and 4:56 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler

Seating arrangements

The President’s schedule
  -Robert H. Finch and Clark MacGregor

President’s call to Boeing [?]
  -Publicity

A wire story on Japanese technology

Finch and MacGregor entered at 4:40 pm

President’s meeting with Congressional Black Caucus [?]
  -A briefing paper
  -Changes
    -Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
    -Appreciation for President’s actions

A report
President’s schedule

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 4:40 pm and 4:52 pm]

[Conversation No. 473-15A]

President’s call to William M. Allen
-Line to use

[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm

President’s forthcoming call to Allen
-Line

The unknown man [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 4:50 pm

President’s forthcoming meeting with Black Caucus
-Number of attendees
-Agenda
-Diggs
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, Donald H. Rumsfeld
-MacGregor’s place
-Agenda
-Charles B. Rangel
-Photographs
-President’s possible role
-Length of meeting
-President’s next meeting

President’s call to Boeing
-Signal Corps

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm

-Feedback problems at Boeing

President’s meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
-Possible photograph
-Location
-Publicity
-Time
-Publicity
  -Possible newspaper story
  -The President’s view
-Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
-Publicity
-Diggs’ request
-Press response
-Time
  -President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:50 pm

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:40 pm and 4:50 pm]

[Conversation No. 473-15B]

Call to Boeing
  -Line to use

[End of telephone conversation]

President’s meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
  -President’s role
  -Cabinet attendees
  -Length
  -Administration response to issues raised
  -Cabinet attendees
    -George W. Romney, James D. Hodgson
  -Seating arrangements
  -Diggs
    -Augustus F. Hawkins
    -Ronald V. Dellums
    -Hawkins [?]

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:40 pm

President’s call to Boeing
  -Line at Boeing plant
  -A speaker problem
Bull left at an unknown time before 4:50 pm

President’s meeting with Congressional Black Caucus
   - Finch and MacGregor’s presence
   - President’s call to Boeing
   - President’s schedule

Finch and MacGregor left at 4:50 pm

   - Responses
   - Publicity
   - Photograph
      - Diggs’ possible statement to press

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:50 pm

President’s call to Boeing
   - Allen

Bull left at 4:52 pm

[The President talked with Allen between 4:52 pm and 4:56 pm]

[Conversation No. 473-15C]

Broadcast of call to Boeing plant

Supersonic Transport [SST]
   - President’s position on Senate vote
   - Effect on Boeing employees
   - President’s position
   - President’s appreciation for Boeing’s work
   - Future use of Boeing’s work

Boeing
   - Air Force One
      - President’s trip to West Coast, March 26, 1971
   - Contribution to US
      - 707, 727, 737, 747
      - Future contributions
SST
  -President’s position
  -US leadership
  -Congressional action

US role in world
  -President’s policies
  -Boeing workers
  -Future

Boeing
  -President’s use of planes

[End of telephone conversation]

Ziegler left at 4:56 pm

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Conversation No. 473-16

Date: March 25, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:56 pm and 5:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Reverend Walter E. and Dorothy (Simms) Fauntroy, Marvin K. Fauntroy, Clark MacGregor, and Robert J. Brown

Greetings

Photo session
  -Arrangements

President’s daughters

W. E. Fauntroy’s electoral victory

President’s autograph for M. K. Fauntroy
Gifts
- Cufflinks
- Golf balls

President’s schedule

W. E. Fauntroy
- Doctorate  

Presidential golf balls

The President, et al. left at 5:00 pm

Conversation No. 473-17

Date: Unknown between March 25 and March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:00 pm, March 25 and 9:40 am, March 26, 1971
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull
[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:40 am, March 26, 1971

Conversation No. 473-18

Date: Unknown between March 25 and March 26, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:00 pm, March 25 and 9:40 am, March 26, 1971
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met
A group
  - Tour of the Oval Office
  - Tour of the Cabinet Room

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 9:40 am, March 26, 1971