Conversation No. 479-1

Date: April 14, 1971
Time: 9:10 am - 9:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger

Kissinger’s call to President

[The President talked with the White House operator [?] at an unknown time between 9:10 am and 9:45 am]

[Conversation No. 479-1A]

Telephone call

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger’s dinner with Joseph W. Alsop

Unknown people entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am

[Unintelligible]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 9:45 am

Kissinger’s dinner with Alsop
- Attendees
  - Katharine L. Graham
  - Marilyn B. (“Missy”) Chandler
  - Benjamin C. Bradlee
  - Stewart J. O. Alsop
  - Alice Roosevelt Longworth
    - Esteem for President
    - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - Conversation regarding 1972 elections
      - Graham
      - Bradlee
      - President’s prospects
Possible Democrat candidate
- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Edmund S. Muskie
- George W. Romney
- Bradlee’s remarks
- Romney

President’s conversation with William P. Rogers
- Rogers’ location
  - Cornell University
- Muskie
  - US Senate
  - Television
  - Press conference

Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
- Chandler
  - Support for President
- Vietnam
- Chandler
- Mood
- S. J. O. Alsop
- Reaction to President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
- S. J. O. Alsop
  - Article
  - Joseph C. Kraft
  - Vietnam article
    - Withdrawal
    - Laos
- J. W. Alsop
- Attendees
  - Robert S. McNamara
- McNamara’s remarks regarding 1972 elections
  - President’s prospects
- McNamara
  - Letter
    - World Bank
- Graham
- Polls
- Mood
- Kissinger’s support for the President
- Attitude toward the President
  - Chandler

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Privacy]                                           Conv. No. 479-1 (cont.)
[Duration:  5s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

-Population Control Council
- President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
- Vietnam
  - J. W. Alsop
    - Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
      - John B. Connally
      - Leavenworth military prison
      - Trial

Middle East
  - J. W. Alsop’s views
  - State Department
    - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] arms shipments
    - Israel
    - Administration’s possible response

Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
  - McNamara
  - Graham
  - Bradlee
    - Trip around world
    - View regarding President’s foreign policy
      - Support
    - Trip to Vietnam
Vietnam
- Press coverage
- Bradlee
- Peter Jay
- Laos

Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
- Comments
- Tone
- Chandler
  - Remarks
  - Otis Chandler
  - M. B. Chandler

Vietnam
- Television coverage
- Media
- Newspaper

People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- [Announcement of relaxation of trade and travel restrictions, April 14, 1971]
- Chou En-lai
  - Statement
    - Ping-pong team
    - US relations
    - Ping-pong team

USSR
- PRC initiative
- Kissinger’s conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Congratulations on Central Committee’s elections
- Kissinger’s possible initiatives
  - Yuli M. Vorontsov
  - US priority
- Dobrynin’s schedule
- Kissinger’s conversation with Vorontsov
  - Pyotr A. Abrassimov
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev’s speech
    - Kissinger’s response
  - Dobrynin’s schedule
  - Brezhnev’s speech
    - Air Force One
- Kissinger’s response
- Dobrynin’s election to Central Committee
- Kissinger’s conversation with Dobrynin
  - Telephone number
  - Congratulations
  - Letters
  - Dobrynin’s schedule
    - Instructions
- Possible soviet responses
  - Brezhnev

PRC
- US relations
  - Possible diplomatic relations
    - Timing
- Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
  - Location
  - Support for the President
  - Possible use by Administration
  - President’s initiatives
    - Credit
- Peter G. Peterson
  - Time/Life briefing
- State Department
  - Press
  - Trade
  - United Nations [UN] representation
  - Publicity
  - Marshall Green
  - Pakistan
    - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Trade
- Jean Sainteny
- State Department
- Advantages for US
  - Confusion of opponents
- Possible North Vietnamese reaction
- USSR
- Brezhnev
- Coincidence of needs
Support for President
- Kissinger’s dinner
  - Criticism of Kissinger
- Senate
- PRC
- President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
  - Compared with November 3, 1969 speech
  - Conclusion
  - Accountability
- Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
  - Vietnam
    - Draft, withdrawal rates
- M. B. Chandler
- Bradlee
- McNamara
- S. J. O. Alsop
- Longworth
- Bradlee
- Longworth’s views

Draft legislation
- Dwight L. Chapin
- House
  - Pay increase
    - Defense budget
  - Troop increase
  - Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
- Senate
  - Margaret Chase Smith
  - John C. Stennis
  - Four-year draft extension

ABM
- Prospects
- Senate
  - Ernest F. (“Fritz”) Hollings
  - Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
  - J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
  - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
  - California and Illinois
  - Unknown person
Conv. No. 479-1 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Smith
-Karl E. Mundt
-Prospects
-Congress
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-USSR
-Dobrynin
-Negotiations
-Possible statement
-Timing
-Senate
-Vote
-Difficulties
-PRC
-Dobrynin’s schedule
-Kissinger’s possible initiatives
-State Department
-Exchange of letters
-PRC
-Relations with US
-Vorontsov
-Politburo meeting

Vietnam
-Military activity
-South Vietnam
-Timing
-Ashau Valley
-Casualties
-Risks
-US policy
-Casualties
-Helicopters

PRC

USSR
-SALT negotiations
-PRC
-Timing
-Summit meeting
-Timing
- SALT negotiations
  - State Department
-Summit
  - US position
  - State Department
    - Jacob D. Beam
-Summit meeting
  - Announcement
  - Vietnam
-SALT/Summit
  - Prospects
  - Timing
  - Press
-Summit
  - Vorontsov
  - Dobrynin
  - President’s schedule
-Negotiations
  - Style

Laos
  - Effects on PRC and USSR
  - PRC

Vietnam
  - President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
    - Congress
    - White House staff
  - Democrats
    - Prospect of end of war
  - Liberal Republicans
    - John V. Lindsay
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
-Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
  - Reaction to the President
    - President’s speech, November 3, 1969
      - Hardhats
    - Cambodia
-Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop
  - Consensus
  - John Freeman
  - Kissinger’s attempted telephone call to the President
Date: April 14, 1971
Time: 9:50 am - 10:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John C. Stennis, Margaret Chase Smith, David Packard, Henry A. Kissinger, Clark MacGregor, and Peter M. Flanigan

[General conversation]
-Greetings
-Speeches
- Senate rules

Senate
- Armed Services Committee
  - Legislation
  - President’s appreciation for Smith and Stennis’ support
  - National security issues in 1969 and 1970
  - Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. case

Defense
- Current mood of the country
  - Importance of leadership of Smith and Stennis
  - Cutbacks
    - Media
      - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] program
  - Senate
    - Armed Services Committee
      - Opinions
  - Defense Department
    - Responsibilities
  - Draft extension
    - Timetable
  - Stennis
    - Senate Armed Services Committee
      - Hearings
        - Manpower [draft extension]
        - Military pay increase
        - Manpower levels
        - Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
        - Timetable
        - Bills
        - Draft extension
        - Manpower
        - Schedule
        - C5A
        - Military construction
      - Hardware funds
      - ABM
    - Senate rule
    - Climate of opinion
    - Legislation
      - Procurement bill
      - Ceiling
-Weapons
  -ABM
-Conference
-Procurement bill
-Manpower reductions
-Budget cuts
-Manpower
-Appropriation bill
-Military procurement
  -Hardware
  -Research & development
  -Operations and maintenance money
  -Reductions
-Draft bill
  -Prospects
  -Extension of draft
    -Four years
    -Two years
-House
  -Action
-Volunteer Army
  -Mark O. Hatfield and Barry M. Goldwater
  -Extension
    -Two years
  -Armed Services Committee
  -Informal talks
  -Goals
-Budget cuts
  -Membership
  -William Proxmire
  -Strategists
  -Armed Services Committee
-Procurement bill
-Manpower reductions
  -President’s announcements
  -Bargaining
  -Armed Services Committee
  -Negotiations
  -Overall cut
  -Ceiling
  -Armed Services Committee
  -Solidarity

Conv. No. 479-2 (cont.)
-Procurement
  -Weapons
-Navy
  -Target
  -Carrier
  -Amendment
  -Talks
  -Armed Services Committee
    -Difficulties
-Selective Service
  -Richard S. Schweiker
  -Goldwater
  -John G. Tower
  -Peter H. Dominick
  -Goldwater
-Armed Services Committee
  -Individualists
  -William B. Saxbe
  -Goldwater
  -One-year extension vote
-Effort
  -Stennis’ forthcoming initiatives
  -Members of Committee
-Vote on Senate floor
  -Selective Service
    -Timing
    -Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
  -Procurement bill
    -Timing
  -Timing of Congressional recess
    -Agreement
-Chairman
-Manpower reductions
-National Security
  -Stennis’ role
  -President’s role
-Members of Armed Services Committee
  -Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr.
  -Harold E. Hughes
  -Saxbe
    -President’s possible action
-Stennis and Smith’s contributions
-Context

International conditions
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-[Twenty-fourth Soviet Party] Congress
-Leadership
-Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Speech
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-US military position
-Leadership
-Brezhnev
-Negotiations
-USSR missile strength
-US negotiating position
-US military budget
-Negotiations
-SALT
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-US policy

Stennis’ schedule
-Speech

Defense

Stennis left at 10:17 am

-Upcoming Senate votes
-Stennis
-Manpower reductions
-Budget
-Pay increase
-Draft extension
-Two-year limitation
-Importance
-US relations with USSR
-Procurement
-Vote
-Timing
-Administration’s position
-International conditions
  -US negotiations with USSR
  -USSR leadership
  -President’s PRC initiative
    -Ping-pong team
  -Vietnam negotiations
  -Budget cuts
    -Need for steadiness
  -US negotiating position

-Timing of procurement bill
  -Possible delay
  -Administration’s position
  -Discussion with leadership
  -August/September
  -Flexibility
  -Smith’s possible initiatives

-Timing of ABM vote
  -Manpower bill
    -Vietnam
      -Smith’s mail

-Calley case
  -Research
  -Guilt
  -Standards
    -Comparison to civilian crimes
    -District of Columbia

-Judge
  -Fort Leavenworth military prison

-President’s possible actions
  -Confinement
    -Fort Leavenworth
  -President’s review
  -Armed Services Committee
  -Possible investigatory commission
    -Earl Warren Commission
  -Military justice

-Manpower
  -Two-year extension
  -Chairman
    -Stennis
-Armed Services Committee
  -Difficulties
  -Smith and Stennis
  -Two-year extension
  -Volunteer army
  -Draft
  -Goldwater and Hatfield
  -Transition
  -Politics
  -Four-year extension
  -Strategy
  -Two-year extension
  -Armed Services Committee
    -W[illiam] Stuart Symington
    -Saxbe

Rose Garden
  -Trees

Smith, Packard, Kissinger, MacGregor, and Flanigan left at 10:30 am

Date: April 14, 1971
Time: 10:30 am - 12:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
  -Vote
  -Administration’s position
    -Staff meeting
  -Strategy
    -Political price for votes
      -Quid pro quo
        -Contracts, judgeships
  -Staff
  -Necessity
- Trades
- Timing of vote
- Trades
- President’s possible meeting with Senators
  - Arguments
  - Administration losses in Senate
    - Illinois
  - Gains
    - Margaret Chase Smith
    - William E. Brock, III
- President’s previous meeting
  - Henry A. Kissinger
- Administration’s position
- President’s instruction for staff
- President’s meeting with Senators
  - Timing
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Cabinet
  - William B. Saxbe
  - Clark MacGregor and William E. Timmons
- Presidential involvement
  - Timing
  - Staff responsibilities
  - Firmness
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - William P. Rogers
    - Possible statement
- Arguments
- Deals
- President’s previous meeting
- Timing of vote
- President’s possible involvement
- Senators
  - David H. Gambrell
  - Lawton M. Chiles, Jr.
  - Arguments
  - Laird
    - Gambrell
  - Kissinger’s role
    - Gambrell
    - Chiles
- Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr.
  - Smith
- Shifts
- Nuclear Engine for Rocket Vehicle Application [NERVA]
- Administration’s position
- Timing of vote
  - Kissinger’s views
- President’s previous meeting
  - Smith
  - Timing of vote
- Timing
- Administration’s advantages
  - Deals
  - Presidential involvement
- Appropriations bill
  - Prospects in Senate

Texas drought
- President’s conversation with General George A. Lincoln
  - John G. Tower
- Publicity
  - John B. Connally
    - Involvement
- Political handling
- Haldeman’s forthcoming call to Tower
- Political handling
  - Lincoln
  - President’s interest
- Clifford M. Hardin
- Presidential interest
  - Haldeman’s forthcoming call to Hardin
  - Publicity

Justice Department
- Drugs
  - [J. Edgar Hoover?]
President’s conversation with Kissinger
  -Kissinger’s dinner with Joseph W. Alsop
  -Marilyn B. (“Missy”) Chandler

President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Arthur F. Burns
    -Burns’ schedule
      -Forthcoming trip
    -George P. Shultz
    -John D. Ehrlichman
    -Leonard Garment
    -Shultz
    -Paul W. McCracken
    -Quadriad
      -Ehrlichman
    -Time
  -Forthcoming Republican Governors’ Conference, April 19, 1971
    -Mitchell’s views
    -Ehrlichman’s views
    -Revenue sharing
    -Welfare reform
      -Ronald W. Reagan and Nelson A. Rockefeller
    -Issue
    -Poll
      -Families with children
      -Framing of questions
      -Elliot L. Richardson
    -Timing
      -Ehrlichman
      -Hard line
    -Timing
  -Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR]
    -Meeting
    -President’s participation
      -Greetings
    -Marine Corps Band
      -“Hail to the Chief”
    -Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
      -Schedule
    -Tricia Nixon
      -Schedule
-Office press conference
- Congressional leadership
- Republican Governors’ Conference
  - Statement on welfare reform
  - Harry S. Dent
  - Opening
- Worship service
  - Invitations
  - Editors
  - List

Smith
- Approach toward Administration
  - Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
  - Speech
- Support for Administration

President’s schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 1m 42s]

ZAMBIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Visit to Camp Pendleton
  - 1st Marine Division
  - Visit by Moroccan King [Moulay] Hassan II
- Visit to California
  - Timing
  - Chamber of Commerce
- Visit by King Hassan II
  - Prime Minister Mohammed Karim Laurani
- Visit to Camp Pendleton
  - Ceremony
  - Invitations
- Meeting with Dr. Rainer Barzel [?]
  - Duration
    - Previous meeting with Barzel
- Visit to California
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Timing
  - Demonstrations
  - Possible public perception
- Camp David
- White House
- Visit to California
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Demonstrations
  - Timing
  - Press conference
  - Camp Pendleton
    - Ceremony
- Chamber of Commerce
- Camp Pendleton
  - Moore
  - Welcome-home ceremony
    - Ehrlichman
      - John A. Scali
  - Timing
- California
- Florida

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:30 am

- Swearing-in ceremony for William J. Casey

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:10 am

Tricia Nixon’s wedding
- Invitations to White House staff and Cabinet
  - Rose Mary Woods
  - John S. Davies
-McCracken
-Kissinger
-Woods
-Casey
-Dean Burch
-Problem
  -Analogy
    -Haldeman and Ehrlichman
    -Unknown ceremony
-Ehrlichman’s views
-Haldeman and Ehrlichman
-Peter G. Peterson
-Kissinger
-Peterson
-McCracken
-Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
-Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Kissinger
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Assistants to the President
-Scali
-Charles W. Colson
-Scali
-Herbert G. Klein
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Klein
-Woods
-Patrick J. Buchanan
-Scali
-Shelley A. Scarney
-Garment
-Buchanan-Scarney
  -Wedding
-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-William L. Safire
-Assistants to the President and Klein
-Number of invitations
-Limit
-Staff
-Peterson
-Flanigan
-Klein
-Kissinger
Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:30 am

Casey swearing-in ceremony
  - Statement
  - President’s position
  - John J. Sirica

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:10 am

T. Nixon’s wedding


[General conversation]

[Applause]

Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC]
  - Office
  - Regulatory agencies
    - Impact
    - Business
  - W. J. Casey

[Applause]

Swearing-in of W. J. Casey
  - Oath of office

[Applause]
Burns

Ceremony
  -President’s confidence in W. J. Casey

W. J. Casey’s statement
  -Gratitude
  -SEC
    -Administration’s policy
    -Tradition
    -Staff
    -Capitalist system
    -Investor confidence
    -Capital machinery
    -Capital resources
    -Importance
    -Economic health
    -US competitive position in world
    -Objectives
    -Cooperation with other agencies/Congress
    -Responsibility

[Applause]

[General conversation]

Presentation of Bible/gifts

[General conversation]

Unknown man’s collaboration with W. J. Casey

[General conversation]
  -Relief rolls
  -Potomac fever

Bull entered at 11:26 am

Gifts for W. J. Casey party
  -Tie clasp

Bull, W. J. Casey, et al. left at 11:26 am
Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am

Weather

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:30 am

President’s schedule
- Trip to Florida
- Agriculture dinner
- Florida
  - Visit of Giuseppe Saragat
- Trip to California
- Agricultural dinner
  - Entertainment
- Trip to Florida
  - Saragat visit
- Trip to California
- Dinner for King Hassan II
- Camp David
- Office press conference
- Trip to California
- Press conference
- Photographers’ dinner
- Press conference
- California trip
  - Duration
- Correspondents’ dinner
- Church service
- Correspondents’ dinner
  - Publishers & editors
- Church service
- Marines
  - 1st Marine Division
  - Calley
  - Timing
  - Kissinger
- Announcement
- California trip
  - Western White House
- Vacation
  - California
-August
-Congress
-California
-Bohemian Grove
-Arts and sciences
-Republican Governors’ Conference
-“Bull” session
-Timing
-Topics of conversation
  -Dent
  -Mitchell
  -Robert H. Finch
  -Thomas W. Evans
  -Robert J. Dole
  -Franklyn C. (“Lyn”) Nofziger

Appointments
-W. J. Casey
-Charles W. Yost
-Recommendations
  -Kissinger
  -Shultz
-Dismissals
  -Alain C. Enthoven
    -McGeorge Bundy
    -Shultz
    -1972 election campaign

President’s schedule
-Meeting with Barzel

Cabinet and staff
-Connally’s view
-John A. Volpe
-Passion

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am

President’s schedule
-Meeting with Barzel
  -Rolf Pauls
  -Kissinger
Bull left at an unknown time before 11:44 am

Cabinet and staff
- Commitment to President’s policies
  - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
  - Lack of passion
  - Ehrlichman and Shultz
  - Ziegler
  - Klein
  - Reflection upon the President
  - Garment’s theory
  - Connally’s view
    - Texas drought
    - Lincoln
  - Statistics
  - Lack of warmth/passion
  - Speech writing
    - Noel C. Koch
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Need for warmth/commitment
  - Procedures
    - John K. Andrews, Jr.

John F. Kennedy
- Victor Lasky’s Man & the Myth
- Publicity
- Garment’s opinion

Kissinger entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am

President’s schedule
- Barzel meeting

Kissinger left at an unknown time before 11:44 am

Cabinet and staff
- Commitment to President’s policies
  - Need for warmth
  - Price
  - Letter from unknown person in Florida
  - Public statement by the President
    - Press conferences and conversations
-Connally’s view
-Need for emotion
-Peterson, Kissinger, Ehrlichman, et al.
-Connally’s view
  -Lyndon B. Johnson
  -Style compared with the President
-Ehrlichman, Shultz, Kissinger, Mitchell, Donald H. Rumsfeld, and Garment
-Instructions for Haldeman
-Illusion
  -Press conferences and conversations
-President’s image
  -Television
  -Demonstrators
-Connally’s view
-Price, Safire, Moore, Klein, Ziegler, Scali, and Colson
-Instructions for Haldeman
-Public relations
-Press conferences
-President’s image
  -Press conferences
  -Need for evaluation
  -Kennedy’s image
-Rumsfeld’s possible view
  -McCracken
  -President’s credibility
-Style
-Moore, Price, Garment, and Safire
-Klein
-Scali
-Ziegler, Shultz, and Kissinger
-Commitment to President’s policies
  -Connally’s view
    -Passion
  -Apathy, efficiency, lack of warmth
-Rogers
  -Schedule
  -Connally
-Views

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am

President’s schedule
-Meeting with Burns

**Bull left at an unknown time before 11:44 am**

President’s image

**Kissinger entered at 11:44 am**

Barzel meeting

**Haldeman left at 11:44 am**

- Barzel
  - Minority leader of parliament
  - Chancellor candidate
  - Christian Democratic Union [CDU]
  - Kurt Georg Kiesinger
- Points of discussion
  - Berlin
    - Presence of Federal Republic of Germany [FRG]
      - Andrei A. Gromyko
  - Access routes to Berlin
    - Sovereignty of East Germany [German Democratic Republic [GDR]]
- CDU
  - Possible vote on negotiations
- US/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] negotiations
- Berlin
  - Access routes
  - GDR
  - Presence of FRG
- Points of discussion
- Interpreter
- Duration
- President’s schedule
- Meeting with Burns

Article on People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Haldeman
  - Henry Hubbard

Barzel, Emil (“Bus”) Mosbacher, Jr., and Pauls entered at 11:47 am; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting
[General conversation]

Photo session
[General conversation]
- Weather

Berlin
- Importance
- US position
- Statements to Pauls
- President’s conversation with Gromyko
- [Talking points]
  - FRG’s presence
  - Access routes
    - GDR sovereignty
    - Negotiations
    - GDR sovereignty
- Negotiations
- President’s meetings with FRG leaders
  - Willy Brandt
- Gromyko
- FRG’s presence
- Sovereignty over access routes
  - GDR
- Negotiations
- Technical issues
- President’s conversation with Gromyko
- FRG presence
- Sovereignty
- Treaty draft
- US position
- Four-power responsibility
- Technical issues
- Points of discussion
- Barzel’s September 1970 meeting with the President
- FRG’s position
- Barzel’s possible public statement
- Domestic/foreign policy considerations
- Soviet position
  - Lack of concessions
- CDU/Christian Socialist Union [CSU] position regarding Soviet treaties
  - Vote in Bundestag
-President’s Congressional message [Second annual report to Congress on US foreign policy, February 25, 1971]
-Effect on Berlin people
  -Prevent mass departure from city
-Young workers
-Links with FRG
-US/North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  -Democracy
-Question of FRG presence
  -Administrative presence
  -Parliamentary controls
    -Committees
    -Group meetings
-President’s statements on FRG presence and access rights
-Four powers
-Possible Soviet rights over three western sectors
  -Four powers
    -Impact on democracy
-Seriousness of issues
-Modus vivendi with USSR
  -Practical matters
    -Kissinger
-Lack of settlement
-Soviet views regarding Brandt’s Ostpolitik
-FRG/Soviet differences in point of view
  -Finality versus lack of settlement
  -CDU’s position
-Leonid I. Brezhnev’s statement
  -Common concerns of Western world
-Skepticism
  -Soviet intentions
-Issue
-Soviet intentions
  -Modus vivendi
-Possible FRG concerns
-Kissinger’s relations with [David] Kenneth Rush
-Impact of problem
  -German people
  -CDU
-Desire
  -Viable Berlin
  -Lessening of tensions
-Dangers
  -Treaty with USSR
  -Berlin
-US policy regarding Soviet/FRG treaty
-US position regarding Berlin
-Principles
-Ambassador [Rush]
-Brandt
-President’s conversation with Gromyko

Germany
- FRG public opinion regarding USSR
- Evaluation
- Anti-communism
- Disappointments
- Brandt’s Ostpolitik
  - Results
- Possible consequences of failure on Berlin issue
- Nationalism
  - FRG foreign policy issues
    - Nationalism
- President’s second annual report to Congress on US foreign policy
- Progress on German question
  - Connection to lessening of tension in Europe
- Modus vivendi with GDR
- Ostpolitik
  - German question
  - FRG government
    - Temporary arrangement
  - USSR
    - Permanent arrangement
  - FRG domestic politics
-Dangers
- Economic situation
- Political situation
  - State elections, or Landtag
    - CDU
- European policy field
- Summary of general mood
Marxism
   - Appeal
   - Moscow and East Berlin
     - Karl Marx
   - FRG and Catholic theologians
     - Renaissance
   - Latin America
   - Intellectuals
   - Workers

Barzel’s visit
   - Candor
   - President’s conversation with Kissinger

Kissinger
   - Possible visit to US

Foreign visitors
   - Visits from governments and opposition
   - Great Britain
     - Harold Wilson
   - France
   - Italy
   - Germans/British
   - Japan
     - Socialists
     - Prime Minister [Eisaku Sato]

Berlin
   - Status

Farewells
   - President’s greeting to Barzel’s colleagues
   - President’s foreign policy views
     - Kissinger

Kissinger, Barzel, Mosbacher, and Pauls left at 12:20 pm
Conv. No. 479-3 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 479-4

Date: April 14, 1971
Time: 12:21 pm - 12:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

John D. Ehrlichman met with Arthur F. Burns
President’s location
Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
-Unknown story

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 12:22 pm

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

The President entered at an unknown time after 12:22 pm

Economic policy
- Ehrlichman
- President’s forthcoming conversation with Burns
- Paul W. McCracken
- George P. Shultz
- John B. Connally
- Troika
- Quadriad
- Burns’ position
- Future meetings

Butterfield left at 12:26 pm
Burns’ schedule
- Appointment
- Duration

Germany
- President’s meeting with Dr. Rainer Barzel
- Berlin negotiations
  - Kurt Georg Kiesinger
  - Opposition party
- Willy Brandt
- German treaty
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Possible Berlin agreement
- Opposition party
- Brandt
- US position
- Federal Republic of Germany [FRG]/Soviet agreement regarding Berlin
  - Possible consequences
    - Nationalism
    - Schizophrenia
    - Henry A. Kissinger’s view
    - Leftists
    - Franz Josef Strauss
    - US policy

Connally
- Burns’ view
  - Burns’ forthcoming meeting with central bankers
  - Asset to the President
  - Manner
    - Warmth, affection
  - Confidence

Cabinet
- Loyalty
- William P. Rogers
- Melvin R. Laird
- John A. Volpe
- President’s conversation with Burns
- Treasury
- David M. Kennedy
-Economic team
  -Burns
  -Connally
-Connally’s speech to Southern California businessmen
  -San Clemente
  -Republican reaction
  -Unknown man’s reaction
-George W. Romney
  -Political ambitions
    -1968 election campaign
-Connally

Balance of payments
- President’s conversation with Connally
- Dollar outflow from Germany
- Stabilization
- Connally’s forthcoming report to President
  - [Balance of payments]
- Paul A. Volcker
- Consultation between Burns and Volcker
- Contingency plan
- Understanding between Connally and Burns
- Connally’s views
- Burns’ possible statement to central bankers
  - No benign neglect of balance-of-payments problems
  - Administration’s policy regarding inflation
    - Firmness
    - Budget increases
    - Use of veto
    - Discussions with labor
    - Congress
    - Needed legislation
    - President’s interest in and awareness of problem
    - Recommendations
- Burns’ conversation with Connally

Monetary policy
- Treasury Department activities
  - Interest rates
- Connally
- Higher rates to bankers
- Flow of dollars to European central banks
- Contingency funds
  - Tightened monetary policy
  - Outflow of dollars
  - Interest rates
  - Treasury activities
  - Balance of payments
  - Money supply
    - Growth
    - Rate of growth

Economic indicators
  - Retail sales
  - Interest rates

Interest rates
  - Administration’s objectives
    - Short-term use
    - Bond yields, mortgages
  - Money supply
  - Rise

Economy
  - Steel situation
  - Wage and price freeze
    - Composition of board
      - Public members
      - Economics/politics
    - Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy
      - Authority
      - Price index
  - Wage and price review board
    - Risk
  - Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy
    - President’s possible directive
      - Inflation
      - Authority
      - Connally
      - Maurice H. Stans
      - Labor
      - Commerce
      - Labor
      - Treasury
Ehrlichman and Burns left at 12:40 pm

Date: April 14, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:40 pm and 1:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

Ronald L. Ziegler’s schedule
Date: April 14, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:40 pm and 1:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

Ronald L. Ziegler’s schedule
- Briefing

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:05 pm

Conversation No. 479-6

Date: April 14, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:40 pm and 2:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Polls
- Approval ratings
- Disapproval ratings
- No opinion
- Possible influence
- Undecided level
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. case
- Undecided
- Calley case

Conversation No. 479-7
- Vietnam
  - Approval/disapproval ratings
  - Shift
  - President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
  - Television report, April 7, 1971
- Awareness
- Reaction figures
- Withdrawal from Vietnam plan
  - April 13, 1971 poll
  - Previous poll
  - Figures
  - Change
  - President’s speech, April 7, 1971
  - State Department’s releases
  - Use of word “communists”
- Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Withdrawal from Vietnam
- George H. Gallup and Louis Harris poll
- Calley
- Gallup poll
- Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll
- Calley
  - Stockade
  - Review
- Gallup poll
- President’s speech, April 7, 1971
- Trends
  - Forthcoming
- Gallup poll
  - Demonstrations
- Calley
- Economy and Vietnam
- ORC
- Calley
  - Conviction
- Gallup poll
  - Timing
- ORC
- Gallup poll
- Calley
  - Timing of release
  - Review
Haldeman’s conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
-Kissinger’s dinner with Joseph W. Alsop

[The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 12:40 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 479-7A]

Kissinger’s schedule
-Lunch
-Meeting with President

[End of telephone conversation]

Calle case
-Kissinger
-President’s decision to review case
-Poll

Polls
-Gallup poll
-ORC poll

Kissinger entered at 1:05 pm

Kissinger’s schedule
-Lunch with [Arnold] Eric Sevareid

Kissinger’s press interviews
-Newsweek and Time
-Sevareid

President’s meeting with Dr. Rainer Barzel
-Berlin

Kissinger’s press interviews
-Newsweek and Time
- Hugh S. Sidey
  - *Newsweek*
    - Article on US policy on the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - State Department
- Vietnam
  - *Newsweek*
    - Article on PRC policy
    - Implications
- State Department
  - Memoranda
    - Llewellyn E. (“Tommy”) Thompson, Jr. and Charles E. (“Chip”) Bohlen
      - Memoranda
    - Opposition to Administration’s PRC policy
    - Marshall Green
    - Thompson
    - President’s visit to Romania
    - Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
- Kissinger’s possible conversation with Sevareid
  - Stoessel
- President’s 1967 *Foreign Affairs* article on PRC
- Kissinger’s dinner with Alsop
  - Stewart J. O. Alsop’s remarks
    - President’s foreign policy
    - Planning
- Kissinger’s conversation with Herbert E. Kaplow
  - Ping-pong team visit

PRC
- Press
    - Significance
  - Durdin
  - Chou En-lai’s statement

Kissinger’s conversation with Kaplow
- President’s toast at Nicolae Ceausescu’s dinner
  - Use of term “PRC”

PRC
- President’s use of term “PRC”
- Chou En-lai’s interview with unknown Japanese newsman
- President’s 1967 article in *Foreign Affairs*
- President’s policy regarding recognition/United Nations [UN] representation
- Taiwan
- Overseas Chinese
- Taiwan
  - Robert D. Murphy
  - Schedule

President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Moroccan Prime Minister Moulay Ahmed Laraki
  - Meeting with Murphy
  - Meeting with Kissinger

Taiwan
  - Murphy’s visit
    - Presidential emissary
  - State Department
  - William P. Rogers
  - Chiang Kai-shek
  - Murphy

PRC
  - Ping-pong team
  - Newsmen
    - Significance
  - Ronald L. Ziegler’s briefing
    - Relaxation of trade restrictions
      - Timing
        - December 1970 news conference
        - Second annual report to Congress on US foreign policy, February 25, 1971
  - Ping-pong team
  - President’s initiative
    - President’s trip to Romania
    - India
      - Foreign Minister
      - Josip Broz Tito
      - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
      - Jean Sainteny

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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-Ceausescu
-Romanians
-UN representation
-President’s upcoming meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors
  [ASNE], April 16, 1971
  -Television
  -US position
  -Taiwan
    -US alliance
  -Two Chinas
-Chou En-lai’s statement
-North Vietnam
-Taiwan
  -US/PRC relations
-USSR
-Possible US envoy
-USSR
  -Leonid I. Brezhnev
  -Middle East
  -US press
  -President’s PRC initiative
-Domestic considerations

Vietnam
  -Casualties
    -Figures
  -Cambodia
  -Upcoming Communist offensive
    -South Vietnam
    -Planning dates
- Laos
- Khe Sanh
- Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- Richard M. Helms

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 25s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

PRC
- Timing of invitation to ping-pong team
- Possible perception of the President
- Demonstrations
- USSR

President’s meeting with Barzel
- Danger of German nationalism
- Popular support for Communism
- Eastern Europe
  - East Germany [German Democratic Republic [GDR], Moscow, Budapest
- Western Europe
- Rolf Pauls’ statement
- Intellectuals and workers
- Christian Democratic Union [CDU]
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[National Security]
[Duration: 6s ]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Conv. No. 479-7 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Kissinger left at 1:15 pm

Polls
- Trial heats
- ORC poll
  - March 1971
- Edmund S. Muskie
- George C. Wallace
- Figures
- Gallup poll
- Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Gallup trial heats
- Laos
- Changes
- Reaction
- People reporting
- President’s Cambodia speech
  - May 1-2, 1969 poll
  - Favorable/unfavorable ratings
- President’s November 3, 1969 speech
  - November 23, 1969 poll
- Cambodia speech
- Awareness
- March 1971 press conference
- Vietnam
- Press
- Approval of President’s Vietnam policy
- Approval of President
  - Calley
  - President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
- Kissinger’s dinner with J. W. Alsop

Robert J. Dole
- Meeting with President
- Forthcoming Republican Governors’ Conference, April 19, 1971
- Schedule
- John N. Mitchell
- Meeting with President
- President’s schedule
- Popular feeling on Vietnam
  - Withdrawal

Vietnam
- Staff
  - Clark MacGregor
  - President’s position
  - Dole’s views

President’s conversation with Arthur F. Burns
- John B. Connally’s observations about Cabinet
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Burns’ observations
- Cabinet
  - Loyalty
- Ehrlichman’s comments
- Staff and Cabinet
- Connally

Polls
- Results
- May 1971 poll
  - PRC

Staff opinion on Cabinet
- Public relations
- Views
- Connally
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
President’s forthcoming meeting with ASNE, April 16, 1971

President’s public appearances
- Danger of intemperate statements
- Charles A. Halleck’s memorandum
  - Conversations
    - Warmth
- Speeches
- Press conferences
  - Humor
  - Connally’s view
  - Impression
- Peter Lisagor
- Anecdote
- Suggestions

Ziegler entered at 1:39 pm

Ziegler’s conversation with Lisagor

Press leads on Vietnam
- National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Story

Ping-pong team
- Press interest

PRC initiative
- Ziegler’s press briefing
  - Development of President’s policy
- President’s 1967 *Foreign Affairs* article
- President’s December 1970 press conference

President’s ping-pong game
- Law school
- Chou En-lai
- National Table Tennis Association
- Ping-pong table
- Camp David

President’s bowling score
- Achievement
- Games
- Score
- Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Spectators
  - Robert H. (“Bob”) Taylor
  - Manolo Sanchez
  - Dogs
- Score
- Ziegler’s bowling score
- Games
  - Strikes
- Champions

Press conference
- Announcement of relaxation of trade and travel restrictions, April 14, 1971
  - Ping-pong team
  - President’s previous initiatives
  - Normalization of trade and travel
  - President’s recent initiatives
  - Kissinger
  - Ping-pong team
- Expectations
- UN
- Recognition issue
- Envoy
- President’s initiatives
Ziegler’s meeting with Tricia Nixon
  - Film of Luci B. (Johnson) Nugent’s wedding
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Filming

Film
  - Administration’s use
  - Johnson’s filming
  - Possibilities
    - Historical
  - Occasional use
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  - Johnson
    - Crew
  - Cabinet meeting, April 13, 1971
    - Atkins
  - Atkins’ role
  - Johnson
  - Atkins

Frank Leonard’s criticism of administration
  - Use of statements
    - Word orientation
  - Pictures
    - Press
    - Atkins
  - President’s Caracas visit
    - Atkins’ alleged picture
    - Frank E. Cancellare
    - Hank [Surname unknown]

Pictures
  - Rogers
  - Use
    - Cabinet meeting
      - Chet Holifield
  - Carl M. Yastrzemski
    - Washington Post
    - New York Daily News
    - Baltimore Sun
Ziegler’s meeting with T. Nixon
- Coverage by Look
  - Edward R. F. Cox
- Ladies Home Journal
- Life
- Cover picture
  - President and T. Nixon
  - Cox and T. Nixon
  - June cover
  - Timing
- President and T. Nixon
  - Editorial control
- Writer
- Pre-wedding picture
- President and T. Nixon
- Family photograph
  - Engagement
- T. Nixon and Cox
- Wedding portrait

- Look
- Photographs
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon’s view
- Television interviews
  - Controls
  - Metromedia
  - Prime time
- Other magazines
  - Readers’ Digest
    - Use of art
  - Brides magazine
  - Gowns
- Wedding arrangements
  - Ziegler’s conversation with Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
  - Press
  - Wedding cake
  - Champagne
  - Tent
  - Filing facilities
  - Press
  - Tent
  - Foreign press
    - Briefing
- Stuart
- Helen Smith
- Handling of press
  - Discretion
- Weather
- Time

President’s meeting with ASNE, April 16, 1971
- Network coverage
  - Single camera
  - Electronic camera
- Lighting
  - Heat from lights
  - Air conditioning
  - Intensity
  - Spotlight on President
- Cameras
  - Electronic camera
  - Tape
  - Film

T. Nixon’s wedding
- Story
- Mood of staff and press
- T. Nixon’s concerns
  - Wesley [Surname unknown]
  - Intrusion of cameras
  - Private wedding
    - Pictures, not audio
- Press
- Cameras
- Photographs
- White House steps
- T. Nixon’s views
  - Rose Garden
  - Stuart
- Network coverage
  - Filming
  - Live coverage
  - Film
  - Tape
  - Show
- Cutting of cake  
- Formal picture  
- Live coverage

Democrat candidates  
- President’s Vietnam policy  
- Vietnam critics

May Day demonstrations  
- Disruption of traffic and public power  
- Muskie  
- Sidey’s views  
- Timing  
- Weather

Ziegler left at 2:06 pm

President’s upcoming meeting with Dole  
- Advice to President  
- Foreign policy  
- Feeling towards Vietnam  
- Poll results regarding Vietnam

Polls  
- End-the-war poll  
- Timing  
- Calley  
- President’s speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971  
- Calley  
- Results  
- Charles D. Bennett  
- March poll  
- Upcoming demonstrations  
- Calley  
- Communist takeover  
- POWs  
- Vietnam  
- Stories

The President and Haldeman left at 2:11 pm