Conversation No. 484-1

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:52 am and 8:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull at an unknown time after 8:52 am

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:57 am

Conversation No. 484-2

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 8:57 pm - 11:16 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Harry S. Dent

Supreme Court decision on school desegregation
- Dent’s attitude
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- President’s attitude
- Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Press conference, April 20, 1971
- Bryce N. Harlow
- Racial balance
- Limitation
  - The North
- Harlow
  - Location
  - Meeting with the President

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:57 am
Harlow
- Schedule
  - Meeting with the President
  - Location

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:17 am

Supreme Court decision

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

PEND WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 6m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Polls
- President's ratings
  - South

Supreme Court decision
- Impact
- Warren E. Burger and Harry A. Blackmun
- Effects on administration
  - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
- President's forthcoming meeting with John N. Mitchell and Elliot L. Richardson
- Opinion
- Mitchell's view
- Flexibility
- President's position
- Emergency school aid bill
- Senate
  - Abraham A. Ribicoff's amendment
  - Jacob K. Javits
- Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
- Javits
Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

-NY
-Integration
-President's possible position
-The South

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 30s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 53s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

Dent's speaking tour
  -Conversation with Charles W. Colson
    -Washington Post
  -President's public standing
  -Media
  -Administration spokesmen
    -Sub-cabinet people
    -Selling the president
  -Activities in West Virginia
    -Television
    -Speeches
    -Groups
      -Size
    -Impact
    -Revenue sharing
    -Vietnam

Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:57 am

The President's schedule
  -Harlow

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:17 am

Dent's speaking tour
  -President's speeches
  -Opposition to the President
  -Eastern establishment

Harlow entered at 9:17 am

Dent's schedule
  -Democrat Congress
  -Popular perceptions
  -Need for administration action
  -Activities in West Virginia
    -Press
    -Television
    -Schedule
      -Miami
      -New Orleans
    -Need for publicity
Popular support for the President
   - Preoccupations
   - Normal instincts
   - Confusion
   - President's program
   - Image of the President
   - Patriotism
   - Need for “missionaries” in field
   - Total picture
   - Media
   - Average American
   - Press
   - Filter

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
   - Standing in country
   - Questions to Dent
   - Republican Governors' Conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, April 19, 1971
      - Resolution
      - Revenue sharing
      - Welfare reform

Governors' Conferences
   - Frequency
   - Western
   - Republicans
   - National
   - Frequency

Agnew
   - Standing in Dent's area
   - Popular perception

Supreme Court decision on school desegregation
   - Administration's possible response
   - President's upcoming meeting with Mitchell and Elliot L. Richardson
   - Administration's position
      - Courts
      - HEW
   - Burger
   - Ziegler's press statement, April 20, 1971
-Impact
-Presidential response
-Impact
-Presidential position
  -Busing for racial balance
  -Law of the land
  -President’s statement about desegregation of elementary and secondary schools, March 24, 1970
-Opinion
  -Mitchell
  -Narrowness
-Burger
-Presidential meeting with Mitchell and Burger
  -Busing
-Opinion
  -Mitchell
  -Racial balance
-Freedom of choice issue
-Reversal of President’s stated position
-Effect on South
  -Enforcement
-Burger
-Warren
-Distribution to Southern editors
-Northern press
-Possible Justice Department interpretation
  -Robert C. Mardian
-Presidential position
  -Press inquiries to the President
-Publicizing President’s position
  -Southern opinion
    -President’s March 24, 1970 statement
    -Administration's strategy
    -Washington Post story
-Presidential position
-Upcoming Senate vote
  -Ribicoff amendment
  -Javits
-Democrat candidates
  -Muskie, Kennedy, and Humphrey
  -Ribicoff amendment
-Ribicoff’s position
- Administration's position
- Impact on South
- Ribicoff amendment
- Enforcement of principle
  - Sectional differences
- Upcoming Senate vote
- Figures on integration
  - *Washington Post* writers
- Black schools in South
- Percentages of integration
  - South and North comparison
- Polarization of black schools in the North
- President's position
  - Sectionalism
- Busing
- Practical consequences
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Possible political consequences of opposing
    - George C. Wallace
    - Burger
- President's 1969 letter to John C. Stennis
- Effect on Democrat candidates
- Javits
- Upcoming Senate vote
  - Northern liberals
  - Southerners
  - Stennis amendment
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Effect on the President's position
- Regional decision
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Racial balance
  - De facto segregation
    - De jure segregation
  - Impact on Southerners
  - Richardson
- Possible administration position
- Impact on education

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:17 am

-H.R. Haldeman
Bull left at an unknown time before 9:53 am

- Effect on the President
- Richardson's possible opinion
- Ribicoff amendment
- De facto segregation
- Administration's possible response
- Difficulties
- Effect on blacks
- Black colleges and teachers
- Dent's meeting with the President's black appointees
  - Robert J. Brown, Jr.
  - Richardson
  - College desegregation
  - Black institutions of higher learning
  - Arthur A. Fletcher
  - Samuel C. Jackson
- Tax credits
- President's position
- Segregation in educational institutions
  - Federal funds
- Colleges
  - Bob Jones University
  - Open door policy
- Affirmative action
- Racial balance in colleges
- Open door policy
- Black institutions
  - Fraternity
- Hypocrisy
- Racial issue
  - Ribicoff's opinion
  - Administration's policy towards the South
    - "Southern strategy"
- Leonard Garment's view regarding education bill
  - Administration's position
  - Ribicoff amendment
  - Javits
    - Hugh Scott
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]
[Duration: 1m 12s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Agriculture Department
-Farm situation
-Clifford M. Hardin
   -Possible reassignment
-Clarence D. Palmby
-Harlow
-Palmby
-President's meeting with agriculture editors, April 20, 1971
   -President’s comments
      -Great American Desert
- Heartland of America
  - Dent's conversations with farm leaders
    - Public relations at Department of Agriculture
  - Palmby
    - Exports
  - J. Philip Campbell
  - Congress
    - Hardin's proposed projects
    - Budget

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:17 am

  - The President's schedule
    - Meeting with Mitchell, John D. Ehrlichman, Richardson, and Edward L. Morgan
  - Dent and Harlow
    - Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:53 am

  - Agriculture Department
    - Hardin
    - Tenure

Dent left and Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Richardson entered at 9:53 am

  - Greetings

  - Richardson's trip

  - Supreme Court decision
    - Southern school problem
    - George P. Shultz

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
Supreme Court decision
- Impact on administration
- Richardson's staff
- Need for review
- Education plans
- Courts
- Rural districts
- Cities
- South

Morgan entered at 9:56 am

- Racial balance
- Busing
- Court's intention
- Charlotte concept
  - Racial balance
- Desegregation process
- Mecklenburg case
  - James B. McMillan
  - Ratios
- Busing concept
  - Numbers of students
- Racial balance decision
- President's position
  - Administration's position
  - Divisions within administration
  - President’s own record
  - Hypocrisy
  - Stennis-Ribicoff amendment
  - Double standards
  - School bill
  - President's press conferences
  - Discrimination in schools
    - North and South compared
  - One rule nationwide
  - HEW and Justice Department
    - Pasadena, Westchester
  - Busing
  - Legal position
Shultz entered at 10:00 am

- Legal Aspects
  - Civil Rights Act of 1964
    - Title VI
    - Fourteenth Amendment
  - Segregated education in North
    - Derivation from official action
    - Fourteenth Amendment
  - Words and action
  - Possible statement
    - Principle
    - Percentages of integration
      - North and South
  - Senate
    - Stennis
  - Equal treatment of North & South
  - Hypocrisy
  - Segregated schools

- Busing
  - Advocacy within administration
  - Compliance
  - Court's requirements
  - The South
    - Integration level compared to North
  - President’s instructions
    - Discipline within Justice Department and HEW
    - White House involvement
    - Enforcement of Court's opinion within administration
    - Possible future decisions of courts
  - The South
    - Double standard
    - Northern segregated cases
    - Ribicoff-Stennis debate
  - Possible future actions of district courts
  - Possible adverse effects in the South
  - Administration's position
    - Court responsibilities
    - Justice Department and HEW
    - Initiatives
    - Comply with law
Proactive measures
Voluntary integration plans
  HEW negotiations
  Terms
  President's memo, March 24, 1969
  Court order
  Jurisdiction
  Possible suits
  Administration’s possible policy
Charlotte-Mecklenburg case
  Judge McMillan
Mobile, Alabama case
Administration contacts with school districts
Justice Department and HEW cooperative efforts
  Mitchell
State advisory committees
Reexamination of cases
Administration-school districts dialogue
Number of districts involved
Voluntary negotiated plans
  Number
School districts
Mitchell's opinion
The South
  Cities
  Rural districts
    Blacks
  Black schools
  Impact of Court's decision
  Advisory committees
Civil Rights Act, Title IV
  Education office
Court-ordered integration plans
  HEW
  Assistance
  Impact on federal government
  Zoning and busing
  Court determination
  HEW recommendations
Taking initiative
  Enforcement within HEW and Justice Department
  Civil Service
- Negotiated plans
  - HEW
  - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]
  - Possible HEW and Justice Department initiatives

- Court-ordered negotiated plans
  - HEW position
  - Suits
  - Administration
  - Citizens groups
  - Effect on blacks
  - Press
  - Landmark decision
  - President's position
  - Administration compliance
    - HEW and Justice Department
    - Initiatives
    - Voluntary agreements

- Voluntary negotiated plans
  - Duration
  - Court provisions
  - Eradication of segregation
  - Districts
  - Segregation
    - Official action
    - Previously negotiated plans

- Need for administrative study
  - Case by case basis

- Possible administration initiatives
  - The South

- Negotiated plans
- Compliance
- Possible administration initiatives
- Administration actions, summer 1970
  - The South

- Administration policy
- Wallace
- Southern Senators
- Politics
- President's responsibility
- Advisory committees
  - The South
- Possible effect on South
- Shultz's and Richardson's meetings with district leaders
- Administration's position
  - Proactive measures
  - The South
- Richardson's and Mitchell's possible conversations with administration’s citizens committees
- Press conferences
  - HEW and Justice Department officials
  - Attorney General, HEW Secretary
- Administration compliance
  - Busing
- Avoidance of jealousness
  - Javits
  - Westchester, Nassau, Brooklyn Heights
- Ribicoff-Stennis amendment
  - Possible Senate action
  - Richardson's conversation with Javits
  - Richardson’s compromise with Claiborne Pell and Walter F. Mondale
  - Richardson's conversation with Garment
  - Richardson's possible letter
    - Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
    - Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
    - Javits
    - Pell
    - Winston L. Prouty
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Merits
  - Provisions
  - Use of funds
  - Possible interpretations in the South
  - Administration's position
- Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee
- Richardson's staff meeting, April 21, 1971
  - Mitchell
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Possible Senate action
    - Southerners
  - Funding of integration
  - Interpretation
  - Hearings
  - Ten year program on two year bill
- Constitutional arguments
- De facto/de jure
- Richardson's possible letter
  - Ribicoff amendment
    - Lack of position
  - Emergency school aid bill
    - Separation from amendment
  - The South and North
- Shultz
- Consequences of decision
  - Discrimination against the South
  - Burger's opinion
  - All-black schools
    - Figures
      - 1969 compared with 1971 percentages
    - The North
- Burger
- Division in the Court
- Ribicoff amendment
- Discrimination against the South
- Busing
- Richardson's possible initiatives
  - Low key approach
- President's forthcoming press conference
- Treatment of the South
  - Desegregation
- Ribicoff amendment
  - Merits
    - Community school aid legislation
  - Hearings
- Emergency school aid bill
  - Desegregation
  - House amendment
  - Administration's position
  - Merits
  - Potential difficulties for President
- Ribicoff amendment
  - The South
  - Cabinet officers
- Stennis and Ribicoff proposals
  - Fundamental justice
- Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee
  - Richardson’s opinion
-De facto segregation
  -Evenhandedness
-North and South
-Equal treatment
-Ribicoff amendment
  -Support in House and Senate
-Merits of immediate legislation
-Ribicoff amendment
-Emergency school aid bill
  -Urge passage
-Ribicoff amendment
  -Effect on aid
  -Urge rejection
-The South
-Administration's position regarding de facto segregation
  -Possible press reaction
-President's position
  -1968 election promise
  -The South
  -Evenhandedness
  -Principle
-Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee
  -Evenhanded policy
-Los Angeles County school district
  -Attorney General
  -Supreme Court
  -De facto segregation
  -Possible press reaction
-Emergency school aid bill
  -Possible press reaction
  -Procedure
  -Hearing
  -Evenhandedness
  -Emergency
  -Short-term frame
  -North and South
-Ribicoff amendment
-Emergency school aid bill
  -Evenhandedness
  -Timing
-Ribicoff and Stennis proposal
  -Purpose
- Effect on emergency school aid bill
  - Possible Senate action
  - Burger
  - Los Angeles case
  - Constitutional doctrine
  - Desegregated education

President's schedule
  - Visit of ping-pong team

Richardson's position regarding South
  - Difficulties
    - HEW
  - Use of advisory committees

Supreme Court decision
  - Administration policy
    - Press statements
    - Richardson and Mitchell
    - Possible press inquiries
    - Compliance with the law
    - Instructions for Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Need for HEW and Justice Department study of decision
    - Compliance with the law
  - The South
  - Need for leadership
    - Richardson and Mitchell
  - White House role
    - Ehrlichman
    - Compliance with the law
  - Administration's position
    - The South

The South
  - Demagoguery
    - Wallace
    - Southern Senators
      - View of administration

Supreme Court decision
  - Administration's position
    - Avoiding headlines
    - Richardson's and Mitchell's possible public statements
Desegregation and the South
- President's possible statement
  - Progress
  - Compliance with the law
  - Integration efforts
    - Compared with the North
  - Court requirements
  - Compliance with the law
  - Need for compassion
  - Javits
  - Northern Congressmen and Senators
    - Javits
      - View of administration policy

Supreme Court decision
- Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee
  - Stennis amendment
    - Administration's position
  - Senate action

Richardson's upcoming speech to NAACP
- Ink fund
  - William T. Coleman, Jr.
    - Productivity commission
    - Felix Frankfurter law clerk
  - Richardson's possible comments
    - The President's suggested comments for Richardson
      - Liberals
      - Northern politicians
      - Progress
      - De jure segregation in the South
      - Courts
      - Voluntary strides made by the South
      - Percentages of integration
        - North compared with South
        - Schools
      - Cooperation and good will
      - Jobs
      - Promotions
      - Minority enterprise
      - Appointments in government
Demagoguery on race issue
   -American politics
   -Republican and Democrat Parties
   -Rhetoric in party platforms

Race issue
   -Use
   -Solution
   -President's meetings with different groups in White House
   -Personalizing
   -Progress
   -Implementation of Supreme Court decision
      -In spirit and letter
      -Cooperation versus coercion
   -Compliance with the law
   -NAACP
      -Roy Wilkins
   -Harlow and Shultz

Welfare bill
   -H.R. 1
   -Prospects
   -Liberals

Education bill
   -Conservatives
   -Southerners
   -Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee

Morgan, Shultz, Richardson, and Harlow left at 11:03 am

Richardson
   -Qualifications
   -Intelligence
   -Loyalty
   -Finch

The President's conversation with Haldeman and Mitchell, April 20, 1971
   -Mardian
      -Staff
Supreme Court decision
- President's position
  - Richard A. Moore

  - Credit
  - The South
  - Ribicoff amendment

Demonstrations by veterans

Supreme Court decision
- Burger
- Rationale
- Compromise
- Justice and Ehrlichman
- President's conversation with Dent
- Racial balance
- Busing
- Publicizing
- Black schools and white schools
- Edward L. Morgan
- Administration research paper
  - Circulation

[Transcript #5: A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, *Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al.*, No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

Vietnam veterans
- Article
  - W. Ramsey Clark
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Privacy]
[Duration: 21s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

- [Tom C. Clark]
  - Court

Stanley R. Resor
  - Judge Advocates General
    - Captain Davis [Forename unknown] [Captain Aubrey M. Daniel, III]
  - Draft letter
  - Resor's view
    - Reviewing officer
  - Resor’s draft
    - Davis’ [Daniel’s] career
  - Administration options
    - General Counsel, Department of Defense
  - White House Counsel
  - President’s instruction
  - Tenure
  - Ziegler's view
    - Acknowledgment
  - Davis [Daniel]
  - Acknowledgment of letter
    - Reviewing officer
    - John W. Dean, III
      - Dean's assistant
      - Possible wording

Supreme Court decision
  - School cases
    - Possible consequences of improper comments

Donald E. McLarnan
  - Possible removal from office
- Small Business Administration [SBA]
- Henry Salvatori
- F. Donald Nixon
- Hilary Sandoval, Jr.
- Thomas Kleppe
- Need for discipline

Supreme Court decision
- Administration response
  - Ehrlichman
  - Richardson
- Bureaucratic response
- Off-the-record remarks
- Complexity
- Need for study
- Briefing for Ziegler

Schedule
- Meeting at 4:00 pm

Ehrlichman and Mitchell left at 11:16 am

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 11:17 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President’s schedule
- Signatures requested

Butterfield left at 11:17 am

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 11:18 am - 11:34 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. Haldeman.
The President's schedule
  - Meeting with ping-pong team
    - John A. Scali
    - Ronald L. Ziegler

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 11:18 am
  - Scali

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 11:22 am
  - Scali

  - Columbia Broadcasting Systems [CBS] news story
    - Marvin L. Kalb
    - People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
      - William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger
      - State Department
      - Rogers
    - View regarding Rogers-Kissinger relationship
    - Note to Haldeman, April 21, 1971
      - Robert J. McCloskey and Ziegler

The President's PRC initiative
  - Scali's view
  - Rogers and Kissinger
  - Implementation
  - State Department
    - Rogers
    - Scali
    - Haldeman's conversation with Kissinger
    - Kissinger's conversation with Scali

Scali
  - Role
  - Views on PRC specialists
    - Camp David
    - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  - Views on the President's positions
-Demonstrations
-Views
-Charles W. Colson

The President's PRC initiative
-State Department
-Marshall Green
-Christian Science Monitor Editorial
-Quoted
-Kissinger
-Attribution of credit
-Attribution of credit
-Scali's possible initiatives
-Editorials
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Ziegler entered at 11:22 am

-CBC News Story
-Ziegler's possible conversation with Scali
-State Department

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Graham B. Steenhoven
-Use of term ping-pong
-Preference for term “table tennis”
-Photo session
-Ziegler
-Scali
-Press
-Timing
-Steenhoven's age
-Press

Supreme Court decision
-Integration issue
-President's meeting with John N. Mitchell
-Implementation
-Richard A. Moore
-Administration's position
-”Benign neglect”
-Ziegler's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
-Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
- Ziegler's possible press statement
  - Ziegler’s press conference, April 20, 1971
- Haldeman's staff meeting
  - Leonard Garment

Press stories
- Table tennis team
- Foreign assistance message
  - Peter G. Peterson

Agnew's statement on PRC
- Washington Post story, April 21, 1971
- Possible press queries
  - President’s response
- Ziegler's possible statement
- State Department
- CBS news story
  - Kalb
  - Scali
  - President's initiatives
  - Kissinger
  - Kalb
    - Trade-off
    - Story
- Rogers

Ziegler left at 11:27 am
Rogers
- Schedule
- Trip
  - Meeting with the President, April 22, 1971
- Relations with Kissinger
- Attribution of credit
  - Kissinger
  - Attribution of credit
  - State Department
  - Instructions for Scali

Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger’s dinner with Haldeman and George P. Shultz
- Theodore White
- Shultz
Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Unknown story
-Weinberger's relations with Shultz
-Jane Weinberger
-Helena (“Obie”) Shultz
-White's remarks regarding the President's PRC policy
  -Previous conversations with the President
  -Book on PRC
  -Expertise
  -Circulation of remarks

PRC
- President's conversations with different persons
  -Rogers
    -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
      -State Department
  -Position
  -President's conversation with White in 1968
  -White's support for the President
  -John F. Kennedy

John B. Connally

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:27 am

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Steenhoven

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:34 am

Connally
  -Haldeman's conversation, April 20, 1971
  -Meeting with the President, April 22, 1971
  -Texas

Texas drought
  -President's memorandum
  -Ehrlichman
  -Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr.
  -George A. Lincoln
  -Clifford M. Hardin
  -President's conversation with Harry S. Dent
Conv. No. 484-4 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

Hardin
- Possible reassignment
  - Bryce H. Harlow
    - Schedule
  - Purdue
  - John C. Whitaker
  - Tenure
  - Rogers
  - Career aspirations
  - Possible ambassadorial appointment

Harlow
- Possible reassignment
  - Secretary of Agriculture
  - National chairman
  - Placement
  - Dent's view
  - Qualifications
    - Speaking

Haldeman left at 11:34 am

Conv. No. 484-4 (cont.)

Haldeman left at 11:34 am

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 11:35 am - 12:27 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger, Ronald L. Ziegler, Graham B. Steenhoven, and John A. Scali; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
  - Steenhoven's photograph in newspaper
    - Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Seat offered

Convo. No. 484-5
Introductions
   - Scali
   - Kissinger

Photo session
   - Press
   - [Machine noise]

General conversation

Table tennis
   - Experience
   - National association [?]

President's meeting with Muscular Dystrophy Association of America, April 15, 1971
   - Presentation of awards
   - [Richard and Robert Santin]
   - Nebraska

Steenhoven's family

President's unknown meeting with Republican governors/wives
   - Two unknown sisters
   - Ages

Chrysler Corporation
   - Steenhoven’s father
   - Pride
   - Loyalty
   - Press
   - Steenhoven's conversation with Lynn A. Townsend, April 20, 1971
   - Publicity
   - Steenhoven's career
      - Tenure at Chrysler
      - Birthplace

US table tennis team
   - Background of members
   - Selection of team
      - Criteria
      - Japan
      - Money
-Japan/PRC
-Members
  -Fifteen-year-old girl [Judy Bochenski]
  -Hungarian-born girl [Olga Soltasz]
  -Housewife [Connie Sweeris]
    -Grand Rapids, Michigan
-Rufford Harrison
  -Great Britain
-Black player [George Brathwaite]
  -Guyana
-Errol Resek
  -Dominican Republic
-Frank Allen
  -California

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:35 am

Refreshment

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:26 pm

US table tennis team
  -Members
  -Visit to PRC
    -John Tannehill
      -Middletown, Ohio
      -Health
      -Interview with reporters
      -Steenhoven's visit to hospital
      -Request
        -Wish to stay in PRC
      -Responsibilities
      -Health
  -Hotels
    -Foreign Guests
  -Airport
    -Private lane on runway
    -Guards
  -Table tennis
    -Paddles
    Use of team “ping-pong”
    -Vice President Agnew
- Ping-pong
- Grip on paddle
- Athletes
- Control
- Grip on paddle
  - Comparison with golf
- Control
- Chinese players

- Steenhoven's schedule
  - Visit to Tokyo
  - Contract
  - Visit to PRC
  - Camera
  - Photographs
- Gift of television film and script
  - Copies
  - Chrysler
  - State Department
  - English script
  - Sound
  - Description
  - Chinese writing
  - Commentary

- Chou En-lai
  - Appearance
  - Intellect
  - George Yeh
  - Meeting with US players
    - Orientation
    - Other teams
- Canadian team
  - Marge Baldwin
- Knowledge of English language
- Interpreter
- Knowledge of each group
- Memory
- Solicitation of criticism
- Comments to Steenhoven
- Luncheon
- Chinese chefs
  - Menu
  - Food
-Cities
  -Steenhoven’s travels
-Polytechnic College
  -Trucks assembled by students
    -Gasoline
    -Description
    -Chrome
    -Chrysler
  -Welding
  -Chrome
  -Professors
    -Comments on students
      -Peasants
      -Workers
      -Soldiers
    -Unknown professor’s comments
      -Mao Tse-tung
      -Carbon Steel
-Shanghai
-Chinese people
  -Steenhoven’s view
-Wire service report
  -Thomas J. Riley
-Chinese Language
-Clothing
  -Women
    -Pants
-People
  -Steenhoven’s view
  -Health
  -Curiosity
  -Children
  -Babies
  -Mothers
  -Adults
-Shanghai
  -Crowd
  -Steenhoven's US Table Tennis Association [USTTA] Pin
  -Unknown young man
-Gifts
-Buildings
-Streets
- Cleanliness
- Animals
- Trees

- People
  - Work
  - Sleeping in streets

- Shanghai
  - Population
  - Automobiles
    - Plymouths
  - Railroad station
  - Subway entrance
    - Pictures
    - Importance
    - Underground Shelter
  - Steenhoven's schedule
    - Trip to Canton
    - Gift for Wife

- Exchange
  - US dollars
  - Money
  - Rate

- Gifts
  - Loans
  - Press
  - Canadians
    - Money
  - US team
  - Steenhoven's leadership
  - Dick Miles

- Shanghai
  - Shopping
    - Tailors, interpreters, and officials
    - Dresses
    - Payment
    - Cost of material
    - Bill
    - Gifts for tailors

- Cunningham [Forename unknown]
  - Pins for Gifts
Return Visit by PRC Table Tennis Team
   -Timing
   -US position
   -Importance
   -Young people
   -Swimming team
   -Basketball team
   -Planning
     -Acceptance of Steenhoven’s invitation
   -Announcement
     -Timing of acceptance of Steenhoven’s invitation to PRC
     -Steenhoven's arrival in US
     -Chou En-lai
     -Other teams

President's Meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE] , April 16, 1971
   -PRC
     -Chou En-lai
     -Number of phone calls by US editors

Return Visit of PRC table tennis team
   -Travel
   -Visit of US table tennis team
   -Possible visit to US by PRC ping-pong team
   -Chinese
     -Reciprocation
   -Visit of US table tennis team
   -Return visit of PRC table tennis team
   -Visits
   -Return visit of PRC team
     -Importance
   -Chinese
   -US response
   -US press
     -Scali
   -Pressure
   -Trip to Japan
     -Demonstrations
     -South Koreans
   -Demonstrations
   -Photographers
   -President's visits to communist countries
-Lack of demonstrations  
-Warsaw  
-Planning  
-Chrysler Corporation  
-William T. Gossett  
-Gossett's role  
-Funding  
-Significance  
-Kissinger  
-Visit to PRC of US table tennis team  
-Steenhoven's initiatives  
-Date  
-Steenhoven's forthcoming letter to unknown Chinese person  
-Possible itinerary  
-Visit of US team to PRC  
-Itinerary  
-School  
-Commune  
-Great Wall of China  
-Chou En-lai  
-Press coverage  
-Nikita Khrushchev's visit to US  
-Treatment  
-Visit of US team to PRC  
-Treatment  
-Possible visit to Detroit  
-Bloomfield Hills  
-Hotel  
-Isolation  
-Visit of US team to PRC  
-Hotels  
-Stores  
-Opera  
-Ballet  
-Guidance  
-Gossett's role  
-US Government participation  
-Press coverage  
-Gossett  
-Administration's position regarding foreign visits to US  
-Cooperation  
-Experience
- Invitation
- Publicity
- Scali and Gossett
- Press
  - Gossett

Media
- Forthcoming "Issues & Answers" program
  - Steenhoven's possible participation
  - Fay Weeden [?] 
  - Steenhoven's possible participation

Chrysler Corporation

Presentation of gifts by the President
  - Mrs. Steenhoven
  - USTTA
  - Presidential seal
  - Cuff links
  - Presidential pen
  - Press
  - President's table tennis game
  - Golf balls

Chrysler Corporation
  - Townsend

The President's forthcoming conversation with Kissinger

Farewells

Ziegler, Steenhoven, and Scali left at 12:26 pm.

Steenhoven
  - Praised
  - Integrity
  - Press conference

Kissinger's schedule
  - Meeting with John N. Mitchell

The President's schedule
Conv. No. 484-5 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 9/08)

-Events
  -Meeting with Kissinger

Kissinger left at 12:27 pm

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:27 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
  -George P. Shultz

Bull left at 12:27 pm

Conversation No. 484-6

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:27 pm - 12:29 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz.

Economy
  -March Consumer price Index [CPI]
    -Adjustment
      -Figures
    -Release
    -Improvement
    -Figures
      -Compared with 1967 and 1970
  -Briefing
    -Paul W. McCracken

Shultz left at 12:29 pm.
Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:30 pm - 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Richard A. Moore, James M. Hannan, Thomas E. Morris, J. Paull Marshall, C. Robert Clark, and George T. Bell; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Navy League of the US

Photo session

Navy League
- Presentation of honorary membership to the President
- Support of national defense

Importance of strong Navy
- Danger of unilateral disarmament

Presentation of statue of Admiral David G. Farragut
- Spain
  - Majorca [site of memorial to Farragut built by Madrid Navy League]
  - Madrid Council
- Model of statue
- Farragut’s father
  - Ciudadela, Minorca
- Origin of Farragut’s family
- Farragut’s birthplace
- Madrid Council
- Farragut quotation, “Damn the torpedoes...”

Presentation of gifts by the President
- Seal
- Presidential cufflinks
The President's appreciation for support
  - Bill [Surname unknown]
  - Alan Brown

Washington Redskins
  - George E. Allen

The President's schedule
  - Massachusetts

Moore, Hannan, Morris, Marshal, Clark, and Bell left at 12:34 pm

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule
  - Richard A. Moore
  - Antonina Uccello
    - Former mayor of Hartford, Connecticut
  - Mary Lou Grier

Bull left at 12:34 pm
Conversation No. 484-10

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:35 pm - 12:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Richard A. Moore, Antonina P. Uccello, and Mary Lou Grier; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Moore's health

The President's speeches
- Welfare speech [at Republican Governor Conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, April 19, 1971]
- Meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- Reaction
- Charles W. Colson
- Television
  - Timing

Greetings

Photographs
- Moore

Presentation of plate commemorating the President’s last visit to Hartford, Connecticut

Statue of Admiral David G. Farragut
- Majorca
- Parents
- Madrid Navy League
- Farragut’s background
- Farragut’s quotation, “Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead”

Presentation of gifts by the President
- Presidential bow pins and paper weights

Rose Garden

George H.W. Bush

Uccello and Grier left at 12:41 pm.
Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:35 pm

Schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Meeting with the President

The President's previous meeting with Graham B. Steenhoven
- "Meet the Press"
- Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing with Steenhoven
  - Proposed comments about meeting with President
    - Steenhoven’s impressions of table team visit to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Appreciation for role of ping-pong team in opening contacts
    - Conduct of team
    - Return visit of People's Republic of China [PRC] table tennis team
    - Contacts with PRC
    - Personal impressions of Steenhoven
    - Private contact with PRC

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm

The President's meeting with ASNE, April 16, 1971
- Television coverage
  - Fear of overexposure
  - Networks
  - H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Moore’s opinion
  - Colson
  - Administration spokesmen
    - William P. Rogers
    - Melvin R. Laird
  - Overexposure
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Facts
- Radio coverage
  - California
  - Soft tone
- President's approach
- President's tone

The President's speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
-Tone

The President's meeting with ASNE
  -Significance
  -Audience

The President's speeches
  -Pre-1971 appearance before ASNE [Date unknown] Conv.No. 484-10 (cont.)
  -Moore's conversation with unknown person
  -Questions and answers
  -Reaction
  -Television
  -David Rockefeller
  -Radio

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  -Judgement
  -Statement on PRC
    -National Security Council [NSC] meeting
      -United Nations [UN] representation
      -Trade
    -President's support of Dwight D. Eisenhower
    -Relations with the press
    -Agnew’s statement on PRC
      -President's PRC initiative
        -State Department
        -Prospects
        -Anew's support
        -Visit of US ping-pong team
          -People-to-people exchange

Schedule

Moore left at 12:46 pm

Conversation No. 484-11

Date:  April 21, 1971
Time:  Unknown between 12:46 pm and 12:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull at an unknown time after 12:46 pm

The President's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm

Conv. No. 484-10 (cont.)

Conversation No. 484-12

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 12:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez at an unknown time after 12:46 pm

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm

Conversation No. 484-13

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: 12:50 pm - 1:43 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Henry A. Kissinger at 12:50 pm

The President's previous meeting with Graham B. Steenhoven
    -President’s reaction
    -Steenhoven's career at Chrysler Corporation
    -Eastern establishment
    -Kissinger's academic colleagues

Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

SOVIET UNION

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    -Dobrynin
    -Position
    -Possible US position
        -Unilateral action
        -Public disclosure

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    -Weapons Limitations
        -Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBMs]
        -Howard H. Baker, Jr.
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Duration:  52s ]

USSR

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

-Senate
-possible administration initiative
  "Doves"
-antiballistic missiles [ABMs]
-Baker
-Clark MacGregor
-Kissinger's possible lunch with Baker
-Baker's reaction
-Edward J. Gurney
-Baker and Gurney
  -Public opinion mail

The President's meeting with Republican Senators
- President's memo to H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Support for the President
- John G. Tower
- Henry Bellmon

Vietnam
-sentiment for withdrawal
-Baker
-President's speech, April 7, 1971
  - Southeast Asia
-MacGregor
-Senate
  - Baker
-MacGregor
- Communist takeover in South Vietnam
- Possible consequences
  - Unknown Senator's view
  - Senate "doves"
  - Negotiations
  - Effect on Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - National defense
- Frustrations
- Administration's policy
  - National defense
- USSR
  - Negotiations
- Baker, Gurney, and [Thomas] Hale Boggs
- National defense
- Laotian incursion (Lam Son)
- Possible communist takeover in South Vietnam
  - Possible impact on administration
- National defense
- President's speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971
  - Effect on polls
  - Glassboro meeting
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Laotian incursion
  - Effect
    - Polls
    - North Vietnamese military operations
- Baker's view regarding war issue
  - Polls
- Laotian incursion
  - Effect on polls
- Polls
  - President's press conference
  - President's speech, April 7, 1971
  - Defeat weekend
  - Marvin L. Kalb
  - President's speech, April 7, 1971
  - Laos
- Administration's policy
  - General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr's statement
- North Vietnam
-Possible rejection of peace proposal
-US options
-Timing of withdrawal announcement
-President’s position
-South Vietnamese elections
-US elections
-South Vietnamese elections
-End of ground combat
-End of draft
-William F. Buckley, Jr.
-US military
-President's possible meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu
-End of ground combat
-End of draft
-Melvin R. Laird
-Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Laird

Schedule
- Meeting with Laird
- Haldeman

The President talked with Haldeman [?] at an unknown time between 12:50pm and 1:00pm.
[Conversation No. 484-C]

Meeting with Haldeman

[End of telephone conversation]

-The Sequoia
-Breakfast
-Participants
- Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-Kissinger
-Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

Haldeman entered at 1:00 pm

-Breakfast
-Timing
Vietnam
- Peace negotiations with North Vietnamese
- President’s possible meeting with Thieu
- US strategy
- Timetable for withdrawal
- Possible US offer
  - Deadline
- "Doves"
- Possible offer
  - Prisoners of War [Pows]
  - Ceasefire
  - Timetable for withdrawal
- US position
  - Options
- President’s opponents
- President’s possible meeting with Thieu

Kissinger's Schedule
- Meeting with Dobrynin
- Possible discussions
- William P. Rogers
  - Possible trip to Moscow
  - Middle East

Dobrynin's Schedule
- Andrei A. Gromyko
- Kissinger

President’s forthcoming meeting with Laird
- Kissinger
- Moorer

President's meeting with Steenhoven
- Steenhoven’s personality
- Steenhoven's integrity

[Transcript #1: A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:00 pm and 1:13 pm

[Conversation No. 484-13A]

[See Conversation No. 2-22]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President talked with John W. Dean, III between 1:12 pm and 1:13 pm; Kissinger and Haldeman can be heard in the background

[Conversation No. 484-13B]

[See Conversation No. 2-23]

[End of telephone conversation]

[Transcript #2: A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

Kissinger left at 1:24 pm

John A. Scali
  -Role
    -Steenhoven
    -Kissinger
    -Kalb
    -View

Bureaucracy
  -State Department

The President's schedule
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[National Security]
[Duration: 47s ]

PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

-Harold Wilson
  -Timing
  -Press Conference
  -California
  -Breakfast
-Rogers C.B. Morton
  -Franklin H. Williams
    -Role
  -Photograph
-Russell B. Long
  -Welfare reform

Welfare reform
  -House bill
    -Calendar
  -Senate Finance Committee
    -Calendar

The President's schedule
  -Possible meeting with Long, Wallace F. Bennett, James D. Hodgson, Elliot L. Richardson, George P. Shultz, and John D. Ehrlichman
    -Timing
  -Frederic V. Malek
    -Presidential appointees
  -Group
    -Unknown highway agreement
    -Signing ceremony
    -California
Welfare reform
   -Right-wing reaction
   -President's speech at Republican Governors' Conference, April 19, 1971
     -Television coverage
     -President's meeting with Rio Grande high school group
   -Press
     -Unknown Boston Globe article
   -Charles W. Colson's dinner with hardhats
     -Reaction
     -Labor
   -Henry Salvatori
   -Gerald R. Ford
   -Ronald W. Reagan
   -Hodgson, Ehrlichman, Shultz, and Richardson
   -Ehrlichman
   -Liberals
   -Circulation and publicity
     -Republicans and conservatives
   -President's speech at Republican Governors' Conference
     -Text
     -Personal references
   -Welfare recipients
     -Mothers
   -Possible letter
     -Robert J. Dole
     -Reagan and Nelson A. Rockefeller
   -Governors
     -Reagan
     -Louie B. Nunn
     -Role

The President's address to Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR], April 19, 1971
   -Reception
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: _7s_]  
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Transcript # 3: A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

The President's meeting with Republican congressional leaders, April 20, 1971

- President's memo
  - Rose Mary Woods
- Clark MacGregor
- President’s evaluation
- President’s purpose for meeting
  - Supporters
  - MacGregor
  - Loyalists
  - Numbers
- Staff
  - MacGregor
  - Kenneth E. BeLieu
  - Unknown former aide of Hugh Scott
  - Number
  - Senators

Polls
- Distribution
- Colson
- MacGregor
- Distribution to Senators
- Questions
Economy
- Consumer Price Index [CPI]
- President's conversation with George P. Shultz
  - First quarter figures
    - Lowest since 1967
    - Compared with 1970
- Paul W. McCracken
  - Upcoming briefing
- President's conversation with Shultz
- Improvement
- MacGregor
  - Calls to Congressmen and Senators
- Public relations

[Transcript #4: A transcript of the following portion of this conversation was prepared under court order from December 1978 through March 1979 for Special Access 8, Ronald V. Dellums, et al. v. James M. Powell, et al., No. 71-2271. The National Archives and Records Administration produced this transcript. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

The President and Haldeman left at 1:43 pm
Conversation No. 484-14

Date: April 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:43 pm and 2:31 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people (Secret Service agents) entered at an unknown time

The President’s location
   -Executive Office Building [EOB]

[Unintelligible]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 2:31 pm