Conversation No. 576-15/577-1

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:44 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald G. S. Au, Andre LeTendre, and George T. Bell; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

[The recording begins at an unknown time while the meeting is in progress]

[Photographs]

Meeting with the President
- Thanks for the opportunity

US Jaycees organization
- The President’s membership
- Jaycee convention in St. Louis, June 25, 1970
- The President's attendance
  - Enthusiasm of greeting
  - Cambodia
- The President's relationship with the Jaycees
- Membership
  - Age
  - Relationship with the younger generation
- Age group
- Jaycee role within the US
- US as country
  - Critics of the “system”
  - Economics
  - Foreign policies
- Leaders
  - Types

Miss America Contest
- Miss America contestants
  - The President's meeting with winners [Phyllis A. George, Laurie Lee Schaefer]
- Conservative values in relation to perceived current societal values
US Jaycees organization
  -Partnership relationship
  -Tradition
  -Jaycee role in the United States
    -Effort by LeTendre
    -Support of the President
      -The President's policies
  -Au's ancestry
  -Race
    -Election to office
  -Press appearances
    -Questions
      -Answers in relation to the President's forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  -Jaycee friends in Taiwan
    -Address at Jaycee national convention

PRC initiative
  -Au's support
  -Purpose of trip
    -Public speculation
  -US foreign relations with the PRC
    -Differences between the US government and the governments in the PRC and the Soviet Union
    -Negotiation as option
      -Future environment
  -US-Soviet relations
    -Middle East, Berlin, arms limitation issues
    -Detente
      -Communications
    -Methods of communications
      -Superpowers
      -Initiation
        -Negotiation of differences
  -Taiwan
    -Amount of progress
      -Type of society
      -Population
      -Trade
        -Position in United Nations [UN]
  -UN
-China membership issue
  -PRC admission
    -Secretary of State [William P. Rogers]
    -Vote
  -PRC, Taiwan
    -Vote
    -Negotiations
      -George H.W. Bush
  -Pragmatism
  -Position in the world
  -Philosophies
  -Foreign relations
  -Type of world
  -Chou en-lai
  -PRC and US position in the world
    -Superpowers
    -Negotiations
    -Future
-Au's forthcoming trip to Taiwan
-State Department
-Vote in UN
-Au's meeting with Vice President Chiang Ching-Kuo
-Message from the President
  -Cordialities
    -Friendship between the US and Taiwan
    -International relations
    -Responsibilities

East Asian affairs
-Au's request to Ronald W. Reagan
-Reagan's trip to the Far East
-Au's attendance
  -Jaycees' representation in the Far East
    -Industry
-Request
  -Date
  -Governor’s office
  -Lieutenant Governor Edwin Reinecke
-Date

Au
- Ethnic background
  - Attainment of office of presidency of the Jaycees
- Travel
  - Representation of the Jaycees
  - Manila, Philippines
- Relationship with Taiwan
  - Manufacturing of campaign paraphernalia by Taiwan
  - Relationship with Au
  - Comparison to Irish and Germans

Chinese
The President's view
- Taiwan
- Manila
- Singapore
- Bangkok
- Hong Kong
- Accomplishments

PRC
- Relations with the US
  - Type of relations
- Population
  - Type of culture
- Relations with the US
  - Types of government
  - PRC relations
  - Au’s support for the President
    - The President's foreign policy

Presidential gifts
- Cuff links
- Golf balls
- Tie clasps
- Paperweight
- Lady's gifts
  - Signatures
  - Stephen B. Bull

US Jaycees
- Support of the President
Au, LeTendre, and Bell left at 12:44 pm.

Conversation No. 577-2

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 12:44 pm - 12:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Arthur F. Burns
  - Meeting with the President

John N. Mitchell
  - Telephone call
    - Time
      - The President's meeting with Miss America contestants

Telephone call to William E. Walk, Jr.

Burns

Bull left at 12:45 pm.
Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 12:45 pm - 1:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John N. Mitchell; Arthur F. Burns entered at 12:45 pm while the conversation is in progress.

[Conversation No. 577-3A]

[See Conversation No. 9-95]

[End of telephone conversation]

Greetings

Supreme Court resignation
- John Harlan
- Health
  - Georgetown Hospital
- Announcement
  - Date
  - Speculation
- Appointees
  - Number
  - Effect on Supreme Court
- Justice Department
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Role in appointing Justices
- Appointees
  - Congressman
  - Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr.
  - G. Harold Carswell
  - Richard H. Poff
    - Credentials
      - Harry F. Byrd, Sr.
-Conservatism
-Practice of law
-Judiciary Committee
-International economics
-American Bar Association [ABA]

International economics
-Burns's European trip
-John B. Connally
-US objectives
-Europeans
-Currency re-alignment
-Convertibility of gold
-France
-Restoration of convertibility
-Results
-Significance in France

France
-Price of gold issue
-Reactions

Price of gold
-Burns's conversation with Connally
-US position
-Policies
-Tariffs

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:45 pm.

Refreshments
-coffee

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:30 pm.

International economies
-Price of gold
-Raising price
-Amount
-William Proxmire
-William V. Roth, Jr.
-Opinion
-Congressional actions
-Price of gold
-Increase
-Attitude
-Political and economic objection
  -Political objection
  -Rewards for countries
    -South Africa
    -Soviet Union
    -France

-Price of gold
  -Comparison to earlier prices
    -Official price compared to market price
  -Action of raising price
    -Percentage points
    -Inflation

-Future action
-Europe
-Japan
  -Subsidization of exports
    -Canada
  -Free trade
    -Relationship with Canada

-Great Britain
  -Political situation
  -Common market

-Germany
  -Relationship with the US
  -Question of future policy

-Forthcoming economic meetings
-International Monetary Fund [IMF] and Group of Ten
-Preparation
-Location
  -Washington
    -The President’s schedule
      -Alaska
    -Forthcoming IMF meeting
      -Possible statement by the President

-Reception
  -Connally, the President
  -Secretary of the Treasury
  -Central bankers
  -IMF chairman
-Number
-Statement by the president
  -Impact
-Location
  -White House
-Secretaries of the Treasury
  -John B. Connally
-Timing
-Great Britain
  -Connally's evaluation
    -European market
    -Common market
      -Effect on foreign policy of the US
        -Economic policy
-Approach
  -Integration of economic and foreign policies
  -Japan
    -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    -Soviet Union
-Japan
  -Relationship with US
    -Commercial relationship
    -PRC, Soviet Union
-Relationship with Europe
  -Comparison with the US
-Europe and Japan
  -Relationship with the US
    -Competition
-Japan
  -Relationship with the US
    -The President’s previous comments
      -Competition
      -People
      -Type of governments
-Relationship between foreign policy and domestic issues
  -Group of Ten meeting
  -Congress
    -Meeting with the President
-Isolationism
  -Surcharge
  -Foreign aid
- Trade barriers
  - Canada
  - Japan
    - US public
      - Possible speculation
        - Anti-trust laws
        - Subsidization
        - Okinawa reversion treaty
        - Textiles
    - Type of diplomacy for the US
    - Strength
  - Public posture
  - Congress
    - Jacob K. Javits
  - Current situation
    - Projections for the future
- Britain
  - British press
    - Influence in US
      - The Economist
  - Relationship with the US
    - Politics
    - Orientation
- Italy
  - Rome
    - Memorandum
      - Conversation between the president and Burns
- Foreign restrictions
  - Impact in the US
  - Timing
- Economic theory
  - Floating exchange system
    - Milton Friedman
    - Godfrey [Surname unintelligible]
  - Marketplace forces
    - Demand and supply
  - Contrast of theoretical and practical conditions
  - Current environment
  - Restraints
    - Government rules
    - Central banks
-European countries
  -Unification of ideas
    -Competition with the US
    -Obstacle
      -Percentage points
-Connally
  -Presentation of US position abroad
    -Understanding of problems
-Foreign countries
  -Problems
    -Gold prices
    -US understanding
      -Type of problems
-Impact of us action
-Import surcharge
  -US position
    -Duration
    -Currency realignment
      -Relation to surcharge
    -Negotiations
      -Length of time
-Gold issue
-Devaluation of the dollar
  -Psychological impact
  -Political impact
-Price of gold
-Inflation
-International reserves
  -Measured by gold
    -Reduction
      -Special Drawings Rights [SDR’s]
-Economic theories
  -Political economic effects
  -Political factors
    -Parliamentary bodies
    -US position on gold prices
    -Congress
    -Economic change
      -Election period
      -Proxmire, Roth
-Burns
-Connally
-Burns's trip
-Education
-Burns's credentials
    -Representation of the US
    -Negotiations
        -International economics
-Domestic versus international matters
-Burns, Connally
-Meeting with central bankers and finance ministers
-Clarity of communications
-Connally
-Representation of the US position
    -Connally
        -Credentials
        -Type of trip
-Connally
    -Obtaining information
        -Conversation with Burns
-France
    -Gold convertibility
-Germany
    -Percentage points appreciation
    -European economic community [common market]
        -Director General's position
-Price of gold
    -Political compared to economic problem
        -Economic problem
-Foreign, economic discussions
    -Conally's position
    -Limitation on discussions
    -Central bankers
        -Tradition of discussion
            -President’s approval
                -Connally
-US position
    -Unified position
        -Possible outcome
            -Press
-Burns
    -Relationship with Connally
-Role as economist
  -Representation of the US
-US position
  -Connally
    -Agenda proposal
      -Price of gold
      -Trade
      -Currency re-alignment
-Domestic political scene
  -Conversations between Burns, Connally, and the President
    -William P. Rogers
    -State Department
    -Federal Reserve Board [FRD]
    -Treasury Department
    -Council on International Economic Policy [CIEP]
-US negotiating position
  -Connally's staff
  -Limitations
  -Connally's
    -Credentials as negotiator
      -Understanding of foreigners
      -Perception by Europeans
        -Toughness
        -Understanding
    -John Foster Dulles
-State Department
  -Relationship with the President
-Number of individuals involved
  -CIEP
    -Peter G. Peterson
  -State Department
  -Commerce Department
  -Peterson
    -Number involved
    -Type of discussions
  -Connally's role
    -Foreign policy
-Nathaniel Samuels, Philip H. Trezise
-Henry A. Kissinger
  -Relationship with the President
-Peterson
-Kissinger
  -Foreign relations factors
    -Germans
    -France
      -Georges J.R. Pompidou
    -Britain
    -Japanese
    -Future implications
    -Member of group
    -Political interests
    -Domestic advantages

-IMF
  -The President's appearance
    -Statement
    -Reception
  -Pierre Paul Schweitzer
    -Possible meeting with the President
    -Connally
      -Possible reaction

-Detroit Economic Club
  -Upcoming Question and answer [Q&A] session with the President
    -Date
    -Preparation of background information by Burns
      -Audience
      -International issues
        -IMF
        -Gold
      -Handling
        -Transmittal
          -Date
          -Time
          -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
          -Rose Mary Woods
            -California
        -Type of information
          -Impact

The economy
  -Phase II
    -Meetings with various special interest groups and individuals
      -Date
- Decisions
  - Directions of policy
- Congressmen, Senators, business leaders
  - Preferences
- Labor leaders
  - Position on Phase II
  - Comparison to business leaders
- The President's schedule
  - Trip
    - Alaska
- Unified position
- Direction
  - Freeze
  - Phase II
  - Follow-up
  - Budgetary and tax action
- Follow-up
  - IMF meeting
- Freeze
  - Impact
- Meeting between Burns and the President
  - Freeze
  - Phase II
  - Sequence of follow-up action
    - Burns's conversation with Herbert Stein
      - Changing process
      - Mechanics of change
- Labor leaders' cooperation
  - People
    - Support of the President
    - Results of polls
  - George Meany
    - Lack of support versus support
- Freeze
  - Impact
    - Freedom
      - US people
        - Support of the President
  - Election
    - Restraint imposed by freeze
      - Labor unions
Forthcoming Q&A session
-Memo from Burns to the President
-Phase II
-Date
-Preliminary statement

Burns left at 1:30 pm.

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Briefcase
-Materials

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:40 pm.

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Schedule
-Kissinger
-Meeting
Conversation No. 577-7

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 1:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-96]

Conversation No. 577-8

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:40 pm and 2:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Status report

[The President talked with William E. Walk, Jr. between 2:09 pm and 2:12 pm].

[Conversation No. 577-8A]

[See Conversation No. 9-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

Supreme Court
  -Nominees

US economic policies
  -Arthur F. Burns
    -Information for forthcoming press conference
      -Forthcoming press conference
      -Phase II
    -Transmittal
Spiro T. Agnew
- Telephone conversation to Haldeman
- Foundations speech
  - Format
  - Possible reaction
    - Agnew's role
    - Job as Vice President
    - Agnew's attitude
  - Speech format
    - Press relations
    - Type of speech
    - Options
  - Handling
    - The Vice President's handling of previous speeches
- Foundations
- The press
  - The Vice President's role in commenting on the media
- Pentagon Papers
  - Leslie H. Gelb
  - Brookings Institute
- Press relations
  - Timing

Foundation speech
- Ford Foundation
- Brookings Institute

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 2:18 pm.

The President's schedule
- Trip to Florida
  - Flight
  - Meeting

Haldeman left at 2:18 pm.

Vietnam
- Air strikes
- Air force
  - Weather
  - Planned effect
- The People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Forthcoming announcement
- Air force
  - Flight ceiling
  - Soviet Union
- Air strike
  - Time frame
- Briefing for forthcoming National Security Council [NSC] meeting
- Richard M. Helms, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Kissinger's memorandum to the President
  - NSC
    - Condensation of two memoranda
    - Kissinger's conversation with David K.E. Bruce
      - Bruce's analysis
      - US options
- Vietnam negotiations
  - History
  - Final announcement
    - Air strike effect
- Kissinger's conversation with John B. Connally
  - Meeting
    - Agnew, John N. Mitchell
- Kissinger's conversation with Connally
  - Agnew
  - Mitchell
  - Final announcement
    - Connally's analysis
    - Date
- US strategy
- Kissinger's possible meeting with Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Meeting
    - William P. Rogers
  - Blair House
  - Clark MacGregor
  - J. William Fulbright
  - Intended purpose
  - Rogers's forthcoming testimony
  - Timing
- The President's press conference
  - Nguyen Cao Ky
    - News summary
    - Ellsworth F. Bunker
    - Meeting with Alexander M. Haig, jr.
  - NSC meeting

- Political conditions
  - Ky
  - Nguyen Khanh
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Possible US action

- Negotiations
  - Final withdrawal
  - Meetings
    - Number
    - US offer
    - Thieu
  - The President's forthcoming meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko
    - Meeting with Kissinger
      - Importance
      - Election
  - Congressional action
    - Effect
  - Activity

US-Soviet relations
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's meeting with Kissinger
  - Time
  - US-Soviet summit
  - Date

US-PRC relations
- Coordination of trip arrangements
  - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
    - Announcement
    - Response
    - Press arrangements
    - Walters
      - Message
        - Overseas delays
        - Time differences
-Announcement
-Date
-Impact
-Additional announcements
-Preparation
-State Department

International economies
-Connally's trip to Europe
  -Kissinger's concern
    -US position
-Surcharge
-Price of gold
-US position
  -Split compared to unified position
-Connally
-Burns
-Meeting with the President
  -Connally
  -Burns
-Forthcoming Group of Ten meeting
-International Monetary Fund [IMF]
  -Speech
    -Pierre-Paul Schweitzer's meeting with the President
  -Outcome
  -Social reception
-Kissinger's conversation with Connally
-US position
  -Surcharge
  -Currency floatation
    -System
-Surcharge
  -Popularity
    -Domestic scene
-Currency floatation
-Connally
  -Currency floatation
    -Negotiating position
-International economic meeting
  -The President's conversation with Burns and Connally
    -Kissinger's attendance
-Connally
-Burns
-Paul W. McCracken
-Peter G. Peterson
-George P. Shultz
-Paul A. Volcker
-State Department
  -Nathaniel Samuels, Philip H. Trezise
  -Bureaucracy
-Currency flow
-Burden-sharing
-Political issues with economic policies
  -Burns
  -Connally
  -Kissinger
  -Role
-Peterson
  -Leadership
  -Ideas
  -Strategy
  -Japanese textiles quota issue
-Kissinger
  -Participation
  -Political ideas
-Connally
-Politics
  -Knowledge in economics
-Connally's and Kissinger's relationship
-Connally's support for the President
  -Public support
-Handling
-Germany
  -US position
-Great Britain
  -France
  -European market
-US position
  -Indecision
-International economic meeting
  -Kissinger's participation
-Surchage
-Connally
-Canada, Mexico
-US position in relation to foreign countries
-Third world countries
-Japan

Japan
-Trade relations
  -Possible quotas
    -Trading with the Enemy Act
-Textiles
  -Peterson
  -David M. Kennedy
  -The President's August 15, 1971 speech on economic action
-US officials responsible for handling textile issues
-US-Japanese relationship
  -Rogers
    -Negotiations
  -Kissinger's participation
-Peterson
-Kissinger and Rogers relationship
-Nobusuke Kishi
  -Trip to the US
-US position
  -Anticipation in dealing with Japan
  -Meeting
    -Date
  -Kissinger's trip to the PRC
    -Date
      -Timing
      -US restrictions on Japan
-Kishi
  -Trip to the US
    -Date
-The President's schedule
  -Trip to Detroit, Michigan
    -Date
  -Meeting with Kishi
    -Date
      -The President's forthcoming meeting with [Emperor of Japan] Hirohito
-Trade relations
- Peterson
- US position
- Communications
- Date
  - Trading with the Enemy Act
  - Impact on Japan-US relations
- Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Connally
  - Textile issue
- David Kennedy
- Peterson
- Rogers
- Mitchell
  - Domestic issues
- Possible conversation with Kishi
- Japan
- Japan's economic position
  - Time limit
- Kishi
- US position
  - Trading with the Enemy Act
  - Strength
  - Negotiating position
- Peterson
- Staff
  - Kennedy
  - Number of people
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Kissinger
- Status

Vietnam
- The President's press conference
  - Time
  - Political impact
- Saigon
  - Situation of South Vietnamese government
    - [Thieu]
- State Department officials
  - Ky
  - Haig
  - Melvin R. Laird
-State Department officials

-Ky
-US
-Negotiation strategy
-The President's press conference
-Memorandum from State Department official
-Status
-Public life
-Stance
-The President
-Opponent to Thieu

-Negotiations

The President's handling of foreign relations
-Comparison of cienfuegos to the Cuban missile crisis
-Comparison to Jordan
-Resolution of crisis
-John F. Kennedy
-Public reaction

-Forthcoming summit meetings
-PRC
-Soviet Union

PRC initiative
-Announcement
-Timing
-Date
-Announcement
-Possible leaks

-Possible composition of traveling party
-State Department official
-Secret Service
-Role
-Cultural exchange issues

-Advance men
-Ronald H. Walker
-Alfred Les Jenkins
-Marshall Green
-Attendance at meetings
-Kissinger's conversations with Chinese leaders
-State Department officials
The President's handling of forthcoming summit meetings
  - Meeting with Chou en-lai
    - Rogers
      - Meeting with Chinese foreign minister
    - The President's meeting with Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung
      - Kissinger, Rogers
  - Plenary sessions and meetings
    - Open atmosphere for negotiations
    - The President's meeting with Chou en-lai
      - Type of negotiations
      - Rogers's attendance
    - Rogers
      - Meetings with foreign ministers
  - Attendance of meetings
    - The President's meeting with Chou en-lai
      - Type of meeting
      - Attending Chinese officials
      - Mao Tse-tung
      - Location

US foreign relations
  - Forthcoming NSC meeting
    - Briefing by Helms
    - Briefing by Moorer
  - The President's role
    - Type of statement
      - Connally
      - Agnew
      - Mitchell
      - Rogers
      - Laird
    - Type of statement

US foreign economic policy
  - Meeting
    - Attendance
      - Connally
      - Kissinger
      - Connally
    - Preparations
      - Contact with foreign leaders
-Peterson
-Connally
  -Preparations
-Preparations
  -State Department
  -Meeting between Connally and Kissinger
  -Shultz
  -Peterson
  -Knowledge
-Kissinger
  -Politics
-Textile issue with Japan
  -US position
  -Kishi
-Peterson
  -Group
  -Trading with the Enemy Act
  -US communication with the PRC
  -Impact on Japan
  -White House bureaucracy
  -Effect on negotiations
-US position
-Peterson
-Strategy
  -Meeting with Kishi
  -Textile association
  -US position
  -Kishi
  -US position
-Summary
  -Congress
-Peterson
-Role

Item in the Oval Office
-Greece
-Pakistan

Kissinger left at 2:59 pm.
Conversation No. 577-9

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 3:00 pm - 3:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Ziegler's schedule
-National Security Council [NSC] meeting
-Senate

The President and Ziegler left at 3:01 pm.

Conversation No. 577-10

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:01 pm and 4:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

[Unintelligible]

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] entered at an unknown time after 3:01 pm.

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm

Conversation No. 577-12
Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 4:41 pm - 5:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Supreme Court appointment
-Justice Hugo Black
-Health report
-Health
-Condition
-Visit by the President
-Pros and cons
-Effect on Black
-Black's health conditions
-Recommendation by Dr. Walter R. Tkach
-Recommendation by Black's son
-The President's perception
-Visit to Black

-Health

Helen Knowland
-Divorce from William F. Knowland
-Knowland's age
-Possible reason

The President's Detroit, Michigan trip
-Demonstrations
-Gen. George A. Lincoln
-Widespread nature
-American Federal of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
-Teachers
-Auto workers
-Counsel
-Picket line
-Economic policy
-Vietnam War
-Information

-Airport
-Hotel
-Type of location
- Size of crowd
- Type of press coverage
  - Use of film in broadcasts
  - Regional coverage
- Spiro T. Agnew's projected speech
  - Film coverage
- The President's Detroit Question and Answer [Q&A] appearance
  - National coverage
  - Time of day
  - Live coverage
  - Regional
    - Results for the administration
  - Time of day
  - John A. Scali
  - Live/local broadcast
  - Live coverage
  - Type of audience
  - Public Broadcasting Service
    - Equal time coverage
- Forthcoming events
  - Press conference in the Oval Office
  - John B. Connally
    - Phase II
    - Announcement
    - Date
  - Office press conferences
    - Amount of news in comparison to Detroit press conference appearance
  - Television press conference
    - Issues

Detroit trip
- Demonstrators
  - AFL-CIO
    - Labor
  - Press coverage
    - Precedent
  - National announcement
    - Decision by local authorities
      - Presentation of announcement
        - Live
          - Possible problems
Conv. No. 577-12 (cont.)

-Press questions
  -Agnew
  -National news

Haldeman left at 5:04 pm.

Conversation No. 577-13

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

  Edward J. Dwyer
  -Call to the President
  -Reply
  -Possible note from the President

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:12 pm.

Conversation No. 577-14

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

  John B. Connally
  -Location
  -Conversation with the unknown person [Kissinger?]

The unknown person’s [Kissinger?] schedule
Conversation No. 577-15

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 9-98]

Conversation No. 577-16

Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 5:04 pm - 5:12 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[Conversation No. 577-16A]

[See Conversation No. 9-99; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Henry A. Kissinger entered after 5:05 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 24s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations
   - National Security Council [NSC] meeting
     - Spiro T. Agnew
     - William P. Rogers
   - Status
   - Revelations
   - Effect
     - The President's speech on October 7, 1971

PRC initiative
   - Summit trip to the PRC
     - Announcement
       - Possible date
   - Hanoi
     - Nikolai V. Podgorny
   - Trip
     - Date options
       - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
     - Kissinger's schedule
       - Trip itinerary
         - Hawaii, Shanghai, Peking
       - Effect on negotiations
     - Date of negotiating session
     - Agreement between the US and the PRC
   - Dates
     - Order of dates
     - Flexibility of dates
     - Podgorny
       - Hanoi, Soviet Union

Soviet Union
   - Summit meeting with the President
     - Announcement
     - Timing
   - Podgorny
     - Announcement timing
   - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
Vietnam
  - Air strikes
  - Time
  - Target
  - Petroleum, oil and lubricants [POL] dumps
Cambodia
  - Target
  - Time
  - Air strikes
  - Weather
  - Date
  - Targets
  - Weather factor
  - Number of planes
    - Minimum
    - Maximum
  - Negotiations
    - Agnew
    - Rogers
    - Melvin R. Laird
      - Knowledge
  - Casualties
    - Number
    - Effect on negotiations
    - Hanoi
  - Blockade
    - Soviet Union
    - PRC
  - Soviet Union
  - Egon Bahr
    - Cable
      - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Comments about the President
      - Détente
      - Leaks
    - The President's trip to the PRC
PRC initiative
- Political attitudes within the US
  - Right wing
    - PRC trip

Vietnam
- The President's statement
  - Foreign policy
- The President's Administration
  - Unified Government
    - Laird
- Alternatives In Vietnam
  - Thieu
  - Communism
- Ngo Dinh Diem
  - Effect on US in negotiations
- Soviet Union, PRC
- Negotiations
  - Effect of US military actions
    - "Menu" air strike
    - Cambodia
    - Laos
    - Military standpoint
    - Diplomatic effect
    - PRC trip
    - Laos
      - Compared to Cambodia
- North Vietnamese
  - Date
    - Balance of negotiations
    - Laos and Cambodia
      - Attacks
        - Timing on negotiations
        - Laos
- Helms
  - Timing of attacks in Vietnam
    - Date
- Air strikes
- Military action
  - Timing
    - Soviet announcement
- US election
  - Effect on US-PRC and US-Soviet negotiations
- US goals
- Verdun Battle during World War I
- The President's possible policy in 1965
  - Bombing
    - Escalation
    - Targets
    - Locations
      - Compared to World War II
  - Date
- US position in negotiations
  - Speculation
    - Foreign policy
    - Domestic policy
  - Effect on the Administration
- Effect on US domestic policy
- Saigon
- Communist rule
- Kissinger's memorandum
  - Peace talks
  - Election
  - Bombing halt
    - Time duration
- South Vietnam
  - Projected status
    - North Vietnam
- Laird
  - Military supplies
    - Equipment
  - Congress's possible action
- Military Supplies
  - North Vietnam
    - Offensive
  - Tanks
  - Laos
- Prisoner of war [POW] issue
  - Bombing
  - Effect of re-election of the President
- Effect of election on the North Vietnamese
  - Soviet Union
- Defeat of the President in election
  - Re-election of the President
    - Polls
    - Effect on negotiations
      - North Vietnam position
  - 1968 election
    - North Vietnam
    - Bombing halt prior to 1968 election
    - Clark M. Clifford
    - W. Averell Harriman
    - John N. Mitchell
      - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Bombing halt
      - North Vietnam position
        - Attitude toward the President
        - Defeat
          - Victory
  - 1972 election
    - Polls
      - Re-election of the President
        - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement
        - Summits with the PRC and the Soviet Union
        - European summit
      - Campaign
        - Public news
          - Public reaction
      - Economy
        - George H. Gallup polls
        - Louis P. Harris polls
        - Gallup Polls
          - The President's position
            - Percentage

Kissinger’s schedule
  - Meeting with Dobrynin
    - Forthcoming call to the President

Kissinger left at 5:33 pm
Date: September 20, 1971
Time: 5:34 pm - 6:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Trip to Detroit
  - Types of press coverage
    - Electronic pool camera
    - Tape
      - Time of day
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    - Delay
    - Radio
      - Live
    - National news
    - Possible problems in Detroit
      - Oval Office press conference
- Preparation
  - John B. Connally
- Press coverage problems
- Media
  - Newspaper editors
  - Questions
    - Radio
- Film
  - Amount of work
  - Question of impact
- Speaking schedule
  - Dates
- Spiro T. Agnew
  - Banquet
    - Dates
- Disney World opening
- Eisenhower Theater appearance
  - Date
  - Changes
    - Mamie D. Eisenhower's appearance
- Florida
- Eisenhower Theater
  - [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II

Polls
- George H. Gallup poll
  - Weekend results
    - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Timing
    - August 15, 1971 speech
    - Approval vs. disapproval of the President's performance
    - Points
  - Weekend
  - Date
  - Point fluctuations

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:34 pm and 5:48 pm.

[Conversation No. 577-17A]

Gallup poll results
  - Request

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls
  - Gallup poll
    - Figures
      - Timing
      - Date
  - Louis P. Harris poll
    - Date
  - Gallup poll and Harris poll dates
  - Kennedy poll
    - Date

Press coverage of the President
  - Detroit Economic Club trip
    - National television
      - Types of questions
      - Impact in polls
  - National television
-Impact
-Oval Office press conference coverage
-Question and answer [Q&A] type sessions
-Detroit trip
-Impact
-Radio
-Live television
-Q&A format
-Exposure
-Amount of work
-Commentaries
-Press planning
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Handling of press poll

Miss America pageant winners
-The President's meeting with Miss America 1971, 1972

The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:34 pm and 6:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 577-17B]

Request for Ziegler to join meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

Miss America pageant winners
-Miss America 1971
-Miss America 1972
-Miss America 1971
-Phyllis George
-Vietnam War issue
-Domestic issues
-Support for programs
-Reaction to the press
-Travel

The President's conversation with J. Edgar Hoover
-Status of job
-Conversation
-Confidentiality
  -John D. Ehrlichman
  -Mitchell
  -Perceptions

Ziegler entered at 5:48 pm.

Detroit trip
  -Film coverage
    -Live coverage
      -Timing
      -Recent trend
    -Coverage
  -Ziegler's conversation with television executives
    -Neil Sheehan
    -Possible economic statement
      -News value
    -New Fall television programming season
    -Month
      -Coverage
    -Television coverage
      -Exposure
    -Radio coverage
      -Detroit Economic Club
        -Radio
        -Live coverage
        -Q&A
          -Number of cameras
        -Speech
        -Format
          -Panel
            -Comparison with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE] event format
          -Businessmen and labor leaders
            -Questioning
        -Film coverage of press conference
        -Impact
          -Film coverage compared to electronic coverage of press conference
            -Types of preparation
              -Q&A press conference
              -Office press conference
-Q&A session in Detroit
-Television coverage
-Q&A
  -Radio coverage
-Press coverage
  -Types of preparation by the administration
-Film coverage
  -Impact
  -Advantages for the administration
-Radio coverage
-Electronic camera coverage
  -News story
    -News programs
    -Time
-Media
  -Q&A
    -Portland, Oregon
  -Presence of cameras
  -Q&A
    -Preparation
-Press conference
-Time differences between Washington, DC and Detroit
-Q&A
  -Impact
  -Preparation
  -News stories
-Connally's absence
  -The President's role
  -Live coverage
  -Press conference
-Radio coverage
-Ziegler's conversation with television executives
  -Camera coverage
-Radio
  -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
  -CBS
-Attendance

Ziegler left at 5:57 pm.
Polls
   -Gallup poll from August 27-30, 1971
      -Recent percentage points
      -Date span
         -Trend
      -Percentage points
      -President's popularity rating
         -Intensity of ratings
            -Percentage points
            -Previous poll percentage points
               -Changes
      -Date
         -Percentage points
         -Changes
            -Previous poll figures
      -Date
         -Impact of People’s Republic of China [PRC] summit announcement
            -Percentage points
            -Month
            -Percentage points
      -Date
         -Disapproval
         -Current points
      -Date
         -Publication of polls
   -Gallup
   -Harris
   -White House poll
      -Dwight L. Chapin
      -Lawrence M. Higby
      -Kissinger's figures
   -Poll results
      -Current trend
   -PRC trip
      -The administration's poll
         -Percentage points
         -Increase
         -Comparison to Gallup
      -Differences in Gallup poll and White House poll
         -Percentage points
   -White House poll
- Discrepancy in comparison to Gallup
  - Telephone poll compared to field poll format
    - Factors
      - Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. case
      - April-September time span
- Type of sample
  - Harris
    - Youth
    - Blacks
    - Doctors
  - Type of poll
  - Quality of polls
    - Types of issues
- Possible bias
  - Gallup
    - Comparison of figures with White House poll
- Dates
- Question of issues
  - The President's speech before Congress

US economic policy
- Public perception
  - Wage and price controls
    - Continuation of process
      - Phase II
  - Wording of the President's speech
    - End of freeze
      - November 13, 1971 date
      - William L. Safire
  - Follow-up program
    - Announcement
      - Impact
        - Analogy to PRC initiative
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Glassboro Summit
- Announcement
  - Alexei N. Kosygin

Forthcoming US-Soviet Union summit
- Impact on polls
Polls
- Impact of issues
  - PRC trip
  - Intentions
  - Leadership perception
  - Public reaction

Campaigning

Detroit trip
- National television
  - Effect
  - Demonstrations
  - Public awareness of issue
    - National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  - Effect
- West Coast
  - Portland, Oregon
  - Q&A format
    - White House press
      - Types of questions
  - Electronic coverage
  - Microphones

Supreme Court
- The President's appointment of judges
  - Ideology
  - Liberals
- The President's choice
  - Reactions to choices
- Patrick J. Buchanan's recommendations
  - Richard H. Poff
    - Conservatism of nominee
  - The South
  - Full court
    - Number
  - Democrats
    - Timing
      - Robert P. Griffin
  - Election year
  - Democrat senators
-Reaction
- Election year
- Mitchell
- Warren E. Burger, Harry M. Blackmun
- Strict constructionism
- Burger’s speech at Georgetown Center
- Senate
- Further appointment
  - Ethnic Catholic
  - Italians
  - Irish
  - Polish
- Routing to Mitchell
- Italian judge
- Unknown person
- Polish judge
- Protestant
  - Catholic
  - William French Smith
  - Conservatism
- Catholic
- Conservatism

Romana Acosta Banuelos
- Swearing-in ceremony
- Effect of naming Hispanic to post of Treasurer of the US

Buchanan's memorandum
- Mitchell

The President and Haldeman left at 6:19 pm.
An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with an unknown person.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Federal Statute]
[Duration: 17s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1