Conversation No. 691-1

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 4:07 pm - 4:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President's schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with the White House News Photographers Association
  [WHNPA]
  - Timing
  - Pictures
    - Handshaking
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  - Questions
    - Dinner

Ziegler left.

Conversation No. 691-2

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 4:08 pm - 4:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with White House News Photographers Association
  [WHNPA]
  - Cabinet Room

Bull left.
Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 4:21 pm - 4:56 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Manca Manescu, Corneliu Bogdan, Herbert Stein, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Charles W. Schaller and Mircea Mitran; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

Seating

[Photograph session]

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Greetings from Nicolae Ceausescu

The Ceausescu’s previous meeting with the President and Mrs. Nixon
- Bucharest
- White House

The President's previous meetings with Ceausescu
- Reception
- The President’s previous meetings with Manescu

Manescu's present visit
- Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
- Stein

Romania
- Relations with the US
- The President's visit, 1969
- Political, economic, cultural and technical relations
  - Personnel exchanges
  - Delegation
  - Economy
- Development
  - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank
  - Overseas Private Investment Corporation [OPIC]
- Most Favored Nation [MFN] status for Romania
  - Romanian public opinion
    - Manescu's visits
    - Factories
    - Villages

- International Relations
  - Trade
    - Balance with western and socialist countries
    - Détente
  - Romanian principles
    - Independence
    - Equality
    - Freedom
    - Non-interference
  - International process
    - Romania relations with the US
    - Romania economy
    - Romania society

- Ceausescu’s visit to Africa
  - Message of friendship
    - Developing countries
  - Contribution to détente

- The President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Ceausescu’s view
  - Romanian public opinion
    - Communique
  - Benefit to international relations
  - Talks, Meetings
    - Communique
      - Principles
        - Non-interference, equal rights, renunciation of force
        - Concurrence with Romanian principles
        - International relations
          - Importance
          - Appreciation of Romanian people

- The President's trip to the Soviet Union
  - Importance
    - Principles of international relations
    - Soviet-US relations

- Romanian contributions
  - Negotiations
    - Indochina
Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:21 pm.

The President's schedule
- Arrival of Gerard C. Smith [?]

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:56 pm.

Romania
- European Security Conference
- Desire for peace

The President
- Greetings to Ceausescu
  - Previous meetings
    - The President’s previous trip to Romania
    - Visit to a socialist country
    - US-Soviet Union relations
    - US-PRC relations
      - Socialist leaders’ opposition to the President’s PRC trip
        - Soviet Union
        - Ceausescu's acceptance

Romania
- The President's foreign trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
  - US-Romanian relations
    - The President's assurance
  - MFN status
    - Vietnam
- Relations with the US
  - Economy
    - Ceausescu's talks with the President
  - Romanian people
    - Reception for the President
- Large compared to small nations
  - Independence of smaller nations
    - US
      - Comparison with Romania

The President's response to Ceausescu’s letter
Romanian tennis players

Farewells

Manescu, et. al. left at 4:56 pm.

Conversation No. 691-4

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 4:57pm - 5:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Manea Manescu
- Background materials
  - Length
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Meeting with [Nihat Erim]
    - Meeting with George P. Shultz
  - Preparation time

The President’s possible trip to Poland
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- German Treaty
- Soviet Union
- William P. Rogers
- Turkey
  - Refueling
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  - Visit by the President
- Iran
- Istanbul
- Ankara
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Talk with Haldeman
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:57 pm.

The President's schedule
   -Meeting with Gerard C. Smith

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:07 pm.

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
   -Typewriters
     -Charles W. Colson
   -Hearings
   -Progress

Pandas
   -Arrival in the US
   -Tour of the US
   -Washington National Zoo
   -Tour
     -Children
     -Danger
   -Television
   -National Zoo

Busing
   -John D. Ehrlichman
   -Hubert H. Humphrey's view
     -Changes
     -The President’s March 16, 1972 speech
   -The President’s March 16, 1972 speech
     -Press
       -Editorial writers
       -Blacks
         -William L. Safire
       -Balance
         -Leonard Garment
         -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
         -Children
         -Equal opportunity
   -Racial tension

The President's schedule
   -Meeting with Raymond P. Shafer
Haldeman left at 5:07 pm.

**Conversation No. 691-5**

Date: March 21, 1972  
Time: 5:10 pm - 5:47 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Gerard C. Smith and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The President's schedule  
- Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.  
- Meeting with Raymond P. Shafer  
- Forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:47 pm.

General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament [ACDA]

The President’s forthcoming Soviet trip  
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]  
- Decisions  
- Agreement  
- Pro-arms control group  
- Anti-arms control group

- The People's Republic of China [PRC] trip  
- Communiqué  
- Arms Control Agreement  
- US position  
- Defense Department  
- Political reaction  
- Example of Taiwan, Republic of China issue  
- National security  
- Right wing  

- *Human Events*  
- *National Review*  
- Melvin R. Laird
-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
-John C. Stennis
-SALT delegation
-Smith’s efforts
-Arms control agreement
-Democrats
-Political opportunity
-Other nations
-Reelection year
-Reactions
-Critics
-Haig
-John G. Tower
-Congressional reaction
-Smith’s appearances before committees
-Tower
-Robert C. Byrd [?]
-Jackson
-Stennis
-Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile [SLBM]
-SLBM
-Defense Department
-State Department
-Haig's view
-Defense Department
-Submarines
-Land based missiles
-Anti-ballistic missiles
-Navy
-William P. Rogers’s forthcoming memorandum to the President
-Aleksei N. Kosygin
-Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Soviets
-May 20, 1971 agreement
-The President’s view
-Smith's talks with the Soviets
-Vienna
-Vladimir S. Semenov
-National Security Council [NSC]
-French submarines
-British submarines
-Soviets
-Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBM], SLBM, ABM
  -Programs
    -Poseidon, Minuteman
    -Multiple Independently-Targeted Reentry Vehicle [MIRV]
-Jackson
  -Proposal for an interim freeze
    -SLBM
    -Congressional Record
    -Minuteman III
-Soviets
  -ICBM
  -Hardsite defense
  -SLBM
-Congress
  -Taiwan
    -Dwight D. Eisenhower
    -Quemoy, Matsu
    -John Foster Dulles
    -China lobby
-Warheads
  -Production

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 10s]

DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-MIRV
  -Power
    -Minuteman MIRV
-SLBMs

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:10 pm.

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with Shafer

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:47 pm.

SALT
- Hardsites
  - Defense Department
  - ACDA
  - Reaction of Congress
    - Allies
    - Weapons production
      - Interceptors
  - Need to keep issue open
  - Lasers
    - Soviets
      - Treaty
  - Research and Development
    - Laird
  - Components
  - Sites
  - Short range radar
  - Sprint missiles
  - ABM
    - Future
      - Interceptor
      - Radar
    - Verification of hardsites
      - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
        - Soviets
  - Possible divisions in the Soviet government
  - Domestic compared to military expenditures
  - Soviet estimate of US domestic politics
  - Soviet military
  - Politics
    - Democratic platform
      - Jackson
        - Budget cut request
US bargaining power

- NSC
  - Military budget
- Soviet desire for agreement
  - Semenov
    - Timing for agreement
  - Haig
    - US desire for deal
    - Forthcoming US-Soviet summit
- Soviet domestic politics
  - Hardsites
- Further negotiations in Vienna

-Helsinki
  - Smith's trip
- Llewellyn E. (“Tommy”) Thompson, Jr.
  - SLBMs
  - ABMs
    - Finances

- ABMs
  - Interceptors
  - ICBM program
- Left wing reaction
  - Non-proliferation
  - Test Ban Treaty

-SALT compared to Non-Proliferation Treaty and Test Ban Treaty
- Arms control agreement
  - Announcement
    - Timing
      - The President’s forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union
      - Congress
      - The Administration
      - Smith
  - Moscow summit
    - Duration of agreement
    - Possible participation of entire arms control delegation
      - Smith
      - Haig
      - Smith’s view
      - Haig's view
      - Paul H. Nitze
    - Comparison of Soviets to Chinese
  - Soviets
Conversation No. 691-6

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 5:47 pm - 5:48 pm

Smith and Haig left at 5:47 pm.
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at 5:48 pm.

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 5:48 pm - 7:00 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Raymond P. Shafer, John D. Ehrlichman and Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.

Greetings

The President’s schedule
-Arms control
-[Nihat Erim, Manea Manescu]

Shafer’s report
-Vietnam
-Copies
-Marijuana

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.
Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 6:21 pm.

Marijuana
- Schools of thought
  - Users and non-users of marijuana
  - Objectivity
- President’s Commission on Marijuana report
  - Research
  - Harold E. Hughes
  - Jacob K. Javits
  - Tim Lee Carter
  - Paul G. Rogers
  - Mitchell Ware

The White House photographer entered and left at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

- Legalization
  - Discouragement policy
    - Youth
- Differences from other drugs
  - Heroin
  - Cocaine
  - Amphetamines
  - Barbituates
  - Hallucinogens
  - Volatile solvents
- Symbolism
- User
  - Education and discouragement
    - Responsibility
      - Family
      - Church
      - Medical profession
      - Police
    - Efforts to arrest drug dealers
- Commission news conference
  - Commission's report presented to the President
    - The President’s approval
    - Ehrlichman
    - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
Members of the Commission
- Dr. Dana L. Farnsworth
- Maurice H. Seevers
  - Southern Methodist University [SMU]
- Charles O. Galvin
- John A. Howard
  - Rockford College
- Congressional members
  - Javits
  - Hughes

Legalization
- Alcohol model
- Shafer’s public statements
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Penalties
- Decriminalization of possession
- Supply
- Children
  - Arrest and prosecution
- Penalties
  - Spain and Greece
    - Family and Church
  - India
  - Morocco
    - Hashish

Press
- Legalization
  - Shafer’s previous appearance on CBS
    - Comparison to Prohibition
      - Decriminalization of possession

Commission report
- Javits
- Ware
- Howard
- John F. Cooney
- Legalization
- Proposals
  - Review
  - Scientific studies
    - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
    - American Bar Association [ABA]
    - American Medical Association [AMA]
Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Potential harm
- Penalties for drug dealers
- Heroin
  - Physical addiction
  - Compared to marijuana
    - 1937 statute
    - Myths
  - Youth
  - Jerry Rubin
  - Crime
  - Myth
- Shafer’s view
- Private personal possession
- Public
  - Criminal act
- Influence of marijuana
  - Compared to alcohol
  - Effect on nation
  - Youth
  - Experience
  - Compared to hashish
    - India and Malaysia
    - Cooking
  - Marijuana
  - Forthcoming press conference
  - Shafer
    - Opposition to legalization of marijuana
    - Commission report
    - The President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:21 pm.

Marijuana
  - Press conference
  - Commission report
    - Legalization of marijuana
    - Recommendations
  - The President’s position
Conv. No. 691-7 (cont.)

- Submission of report
- Democratic presidential candidates
  - George S. McGovern
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - George C. Wallace
  - John V. Lindsay
  - McGovern
  - Humphrey
    - Busing issue
    - Change in position
  - Muskie
  - Segregation
  - Elderly

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 9m 6s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Presidential gifts
  - Paperweight

Soviet trip

Shafer’s
  - Forthcoming talk with Ehrlichman
  - Future meeting with the President

Marijuana Commission
  - Report
    - The President's endorsement

Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:48 pm.
Shafer’s schedule
- Secretary

Shafer, Krogh and Bull left at 6:21 pm.

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
- Document
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - J. Edgar Hoover
  - Examination
  - ITT experts
- The President's forthcoming talk with Hoover
- Ehrlichman's forthcoming call to Hoover
  - Cooperation
  - Ehrlichman's possible meeting with Hoover
- Examination of ITT document
  - ITT experts
    - Possession of the FBI
    - L. Patrick Gray, III
- The President's note to Hoover
  - Use of telephone
  - Jack N. Anderson

Shafer [?]

The President’s schedule
- [Erim]

[No conversation]

Dorothy Kirsten
- State Dinners
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower

[No conversation]

The President's schedule
- Church services [?]
State dinner
   - Guest lists

[No conversation]

World War I
   - Turkey
      - Gallipoli
         - Mustafa Kemal Ataturk
         - Winston S. Churchill
         - Allies
            - Erim's statement

Shafer Commission
   - Report
      - Ehrlichman’s view
         - Carter
         - Howard
      - Legalization of the use of marijuana
         - Public compared to private use
         - Ehrlichman and Krogh
            - Shafer
      - The President's forthcoming press conference
      - Legalization issue
         - Youth
            - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
- Ehrlichman's children
- Use of marijuana
  - Ehrlichman's speech before the Harvard Club
  - Question from youth
    - Legalization
      - The President
      - Drug users compared to non users
    - Applause
  - Compared to alcohol
    - The President
    - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Happy compared to unhappy people
    - Addiction
      - Cure
  - Legalization issue
    - Jaffe
    - Krogh
    - Jaffe
    - ABA
      - Edward Bennett Williams
    - Heroin maintenance
  - Krogh
    - Talk with Ehrlichman
  - The President
  - The report
    - Evidence
      - Scientific

Ehrlichman’s schedule

Busing
  - Humphrey's view
    - Change
    - The President's television address, March 16, 1972

Humphrey
  - Change in positions
    - Press reaction
    - Vietnam
    - War
    - Crime
    - Civil rights
-Welfare
  -Florida
-Plan for elderly Jews

The President's busing speech
  -Edward M. Kennedy's view
    -Staff
    -Equal educational opportunity
    -Blacks
      -Liberals
        -Compassion
  -The President's previous statement, March 24, 1970
  -Blacks
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -Minority businesses
  -Television
  -Children
  -Liberals
  -The President’s previous trip to New York City
    -Interaction with black government employees
  -James E. Cheek
    -President of Howard University
    -Letter to the President
  -As issue
  -Constitutionality
    -Congress
      -Remedy compared to right
        -Desegregation
        -Legislation
  -Administration blacks
  -Efforts with editorial boards and television
    -Harry S. Dent
    -Edward L. Morgan
    -Kenneth W. Clawson
    -South
    -Texas
  -News summary
    -Lyndon K. (“Mort”) Allin
  -South
    -Opposition
  -Denver
  -Indianapolis
- Intervention by the Justice Department
  - Richard G. Kleindienst
  - Talk with Ehrlichman
    - Michigan
    - Nashville
    - Texas
    - Morgan
    - Justice Department position

- Legislation
  - Moratorium
    - Conference committee
  - Constitutional amendment
    - Strom Thurmond
    - Possibility of passage

ITT
- J. Edgar Hoover
- Talk with Ehrlichman
  - Anderson
- Document (Dita D. Beard memorandum)
  - Gray
    - James O. Eastland
    - Tests conducted in New York
    - Questioning
    - Colson
    - Decision
    - Public statement
- FBI experts
- White House strategy

-Hearings
- Beard testimony
- Denver
- Eastland
  - Edward M. Kennedy's witnesses
- Mike J. Mansfield
- Beard memorandum
- Authenticity
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew comments
  - Life magazine story
  - Press coverage
  - Kleindienst comments
    - Justice Department
- Clifford Irving
  - *Look* magazine

- *Life* magazine
- Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
- Postal subsidy
  - *Life* magazine
  - Peter M. Flanigan's views
  - *Esquire*

**Pay Board**
- George Meany
- George P. Shultz
  - Meany
    - Democrat
  - Public members
  - Meany's resignation
    - Effect on Phase II
- Food prices
- Longshoremen strike
- Labor representatives
- Wage and price controls
  - The President’s August 15, 1971 statement
- Economy
- Food prices
  - Consumer Price Index [CPI]
- Dock strike
  - Duration
  - Effect on economy
  - Congress
    - Legislation
    - Herbert Stein

The President’s forthcoming state dinner for Erim

**Ehrlichman left at 7:00 pm.**
Conversation No. 691-8

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 7:00 pm - 7:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President’s forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim
   -Marjorie P. Acker [?]
   -Henry E. Ford II
   -Contribution
       -Hubert H. Humphrey
   -Max M. Fisher
   -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
   -Gale E. Sayers
   -Lowell C. Wadmond
   -Del E. Webb
       -Charles W. Colson
   -Max von Schrader
   -Webb
       -Contributions
   -O[renthal] J[ames] Simpson
       -Delivery of invitation

Woods left at 7:04 pm.

Conversation No. 691-9

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: 7:09 pm - 7:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.
The President's forthcoming state dinner for Nihat Erim
-Gale E. Sayers’s schedule

Woods left.

Date: March 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:10 pm and 7:28 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:28 pm.