



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973  
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 481-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-006](#)

[Conversation No. 481-002](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-009](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-008](#)

[Conversation No. 481-003](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-005](#)  
[Conversation No. 481-007](#)

[Conversation No. 481-001](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 8:54 am and 8:56 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator

[See Conversation No. 1-121]

[Conversation No. 481-002](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: 8:56 am - 8:57 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Dr. William M. Lukash

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.  
Segment will remain closed.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[481-002-w001]

[Duration: 53s]

[See Conversation No. 001-122]



END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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[Conversation No. 481-003](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: 8:56 am - 9:13 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.  
Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[481-003-w001]

[Duration: 39s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 8:58 am

- The President's meeting with the American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- Television
- Questions to the President
  - Vietnam
  - Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.



- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Vietnam and Calley
- Compared with the President's press conference

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 9:10 am

- Opening question
  - Suggested response
- President's responses
- Radio reception
  - John N. Mitchell's call to the President
    - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
    - J. Edgar Hoover
  - President's responses to questions
    - Hoover
    - Calley
    - Prisoner of War [POW] issue
    - Vietnam
      - Emmett Dedmon
      - Withdrawal
      - Residual forces
        - Melvin R. Laird
      - Withdrawal
        - Timing
        - Election date
    - Communist takeover issue
- Radio audience
  - Numbers
  - Television broadcast
- Questions
  - Calley
  - Vietnam
  - PRC
  - Cuba
  - Hoover
    - Surveillance
  - Youth
    - Otis Chandler
    - Al Capp



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- Surveillance
  - Police state
  - John F. Kennedy administration
    - Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy
- Hoover
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Frank Cormier
- "Making news"
- Unknown quip
- Economic indicators
  - Retail sales
- Television
- Rostrum
  - Use
  - Naked microphone
  - J. F. Kennedy
  - President's style
  - J. F. Kennedy's style
    - Use of notes
- Naked microphone
  - Use
- Questions
  - Number
  - Length
  - President's answers
  - [Dwight] David, II and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Easter discussion
    - Possible visit to the PRC
    - Personalizing answers
- PRC
  - Ping-pong
  - Henry A. Kissinger

Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger and John A. Scali

- President's possible presence
- Kissinger and Scali
  - Relationship
    - Frequency of meetings
- PRC



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- Scali
- Access to President
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Briefing
- Role

Bull entered at 9:10 am

- The President's schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz

- Peter G. Peterson's memorandum to the President
- Approval

Bull left at 9:12 am

- Vietnam
- Withdrawal
- Kissinger's views
- Scali

- The President's schedule
- Forthcoming welcome to First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California, April 30, 1971

- Vietnam
- Possible statement by President
- Withdrawal
- Ping-pong team

- Haldeman's forthcoming conversation with Kissinger and Scali
- President's schedule
- Meetings
- President, Haldeman, Kissinger and Scali

Haldeman left at 9:13 am



[Conversation No. 481-004](#)

Date: April 17 1971  
Time: 9:15 am - 9:34 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz

Dr. James R. Schlesinger

- Departure [from Office of Management and Budget]
- Department of Interior

Kenneth W. Dam

- Placement
- Evaluation
- William P. Rogers
- Talent
- Finish in law school class [University of Chicago]

Elliot L. Richardson

- Qualifications
- Harvard Law School

Welsh

- University of Chicago
- Abilities
- Writings
- "The Pricing of North Sea Gas in Britain"
- Anti-trust
- Common Market problem
- Languages
- Abilities
- Placement
- Peter G. Peterson
- International economics
- Schlesinger
- Possible role
- Abilities



-Age

-Shultz's schedule

Peterson entered at 9:20 am

Upcoming meeting

-Agenda

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

US relations with Taiwan

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number  
LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/24/2019. Archivist: MAS]*

[National Security]

[481-004-w001]

[Duration: 58s]

Oil

-Canadian negotiations

-Pipeline

-Lack of progress

-US position and a more forceful negotiating approach

-Department of State [DOS]

-U. Alexis Johnson

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Oil

-People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative

-US relations with Taiwan

Textile Negotiations

-Forthcoming meeting prior to David M. Kennedy's trip

-Objectives

-Strategy



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- State Department
  - Shultz
  - Textile industry
  - Negotiations
    - Evaluation
  - US position
  - Trade
    - Strategy
    - Southeast Asia
    - Negotiating problems
    - Kennedy
  - Need for instructions
    - Effect on negotiations
- Peterson's meeting with General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Negotiating strategy
- Trade inducements
- Instructions for Kennedy
- Trade inducements
- Kennedy's schedule
  - Trip to Asia
    - Philippines
- Discussions of inducements
- Attendees
  - John B. Connally
  - U. Alexis Johnson
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Maurice H. Stans
  - Haig
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Haig
    - Defense Department
- Stans
- Kennedy
  - Message to State Department
  - Role
  - Trip to Asia
  - Schedule
  - Attitude toward assignment
- Peterson's conversation with Johnson





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- Henry A. Kissinger
- Attendees
  - Kissinger
  - Haig
  - Kissinger
  - Defense Department
  - Laird

- Location
  - Oval Office
  - Cabinet Room
- Schedule
- President's conversation with Kissinger

US economic leadership in post-Vietnam War era

- "Peaceful competition" theme
- PRC
- Competitiveness
- Leadership
  - Consequences
- Purposes
- US position
- American spirit
- Competition
  - Supersonic Transport [SST]
  - Steel
    - Exports
      - Share of market
      - Compared with 1940-1950
      - Japan
- Possible consequences of failure
  - Isolationism
  - Protectionism
- Leadership
- Foreign policy
  - National defense
- Economics

State Department



- Organization of foreign economic policy
  - Possible effect on negotiations
    - Possible White house involvement
  - Responsibilities
  - Shultz
  - Need to build strength
  - Negotiations
    - Canada
    - Japan
  - Commercial attaches
    - Stans
  - Spirit
  - Rogers
    - Responsibilities
      - State Department effectiveness in economic field
      - Oil negotiations
    - Possible conversation with Peterson and Shultz

The President, Peterson and Shultz left at 9:34 am

[Conversation No. 481-009](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: 9:34 am - 3:30 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] entered

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal. This segment was rereviewed 06/26/2019 with new guidance. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Federal Statute]  
[481-009-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 6s]



[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

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The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:45 am

[Conversation No. 481-005](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 10:45 am and 11:24 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule  
-Henry A. Kissinger

[The President talked with the White House operator at 10:46 am]

[Conversation No. 481-5A]

[See Conversation No. 1-123]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bull left at an unknown time between 10:46 am and 10:49 am

[The President talked with J. Edgar Hoover between 10:49 am and 10:52 am]

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[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. 25s segment cleared for release. 14s remain closed as 481-005-w007.]



[Federal Statute]  
[481-005-w007]  
[Duration: 25s]

[Conversation No. 481-005B]

[See Conversation No. 001-123A]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

[Federal Statute]  
[481-005-w007]  
[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

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Kissinger entered at 10:52 am

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[End of telephone conversation]

[Kissinger talked with Hoover at 10:52 am]

[Conversation No. 481-5C]

[See Conversation No. 1-123B]

[End of telephone conversation]

Hoover's resignation



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- President's statement to American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971
- General Lewis B. Hershey
- President's statement to ASNE
- William C. Sullivan
  - Qualifications

Meeting with Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield  
-Clark MacGregor

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 10:52 am and 11:02 am]

[Conversation No. 481-5D]

[See Conversation No. 1-124]

[End of telephone conversation]

Meeting with Mansfield  
-Foreign policy

Kissinger's dinner with Katharine L. Graham

- Sir [Arthur] George Weidenfeld
- President's meeting with ASNE
  - Radio
- Radio
- Weidenfeld
- Adlai E. Stevenson, III
  - Vietnam withdrawal
  - Elections
- Indian Ambassador
- Weidenfeld
  - Comment about the President
  - Sir Harold G. Nicolson
  - Son
- David Ginsberg
- Judgement of President's interview by ASNE
- Hoover



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- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. case
  - George C. Wallace
- Graham's remarks

President's meeting with ASNE

- President's 1968 appearance
- President's remarks
  - People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Vietnam
  - Calley
- Strain on the President
- Vietnam
  - Withdrawal
  - Residual force
  - Korea
  - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - US position

Vietnam

- Ellsworth F. Bunker
- Negotiations
- Withdrawal date
- President's forthcoming meeting with General Nguyen Van Thieu
- Withdrawal date
  - Announcement
  - Negotiations
  - Joint announcement

Bull entered at an unknown time between 10:45 am and 11:02 am

President's schedule

- Mansfield

Bull left at an unknown time between 10:45 am and 11:02 am

- US position
- POWs
- Cease fire



Mansfield entered at 11:02 am

Greetings

Letter

- Lecture series
- Speech
- Kissinger

President's PRC Policy

- Mansfield's schedule
- President's possible trip to PRC
- Possible trip by Mansfield
  - Private offer of presidential trip
- Development of relations
- Chou En-lai
  - George Kung-chao Yeh
- US objectives
- Possible trip by Mansfield
  - Private effort
  - Romanians
    - Mansfield telegram to Chou En-Lai
- Mansfield's letter to the President
  - Congress
- Possible trip by Michael Gravel
- Romanian Ambassador

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/24/2019. Archivist: MAS]*

[National Security]

[481-005-w003]

[Duration: 1m 11s]

The President's People's Republic of China [PRC] policy

- Norodom Sihanouk
  - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's possible cable



- Henry A. Kissinger's reaction
- Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's visit to Cambodia
  - Long-term goals
  - Norodom Sihanouk
- Cambodia relations with People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - The President's opinion
  - Norodom Sihanouk
    - Relations with People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Henry A. Kissinger's analysis

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's People's Republic of China [PRC] policy

- Publicity
- Mansfield's possible cable
  - Possible consequences
- Mansfield's letter to the President
  - Fall back position
- Requests for visits by senators to PRC
  - State Department
- Ping-pong team
- Possible trip by Mansfield
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Mansfield's possible visit to PRC
  - US relations
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Middle East
- Mansfield's statement in Senate
- President's policies
- Mansfield's position
- President's meeting with ASNE
  - Response to questions
    - United Nations [UN]
    - Trade and travel restrictions
    - Timetable
- Trade
- US strategy
- Normalization of relations





- UN representation issue
  - Taiwan
  - Great Britain
- British representation in Peking
- Romania
  - Nicolae Ceausescu
- Mansfield's possible cable
- Importance of making new request
- Ceausescu
  - Role
  - Chou En-lai
  - Meeting with President
    - Vietnam
    - North Korea
  - Value of channel
- Josip Broz Tito
- Ceausescu
- Mansfield's Possible Cable
- President's meeting with ASNE
  - Calls to Chou En-lai
- Reaction in Senate
  - Lifting of trade and travel restrictions
  - Mansfield's statement
- Travel Restrictions
  - Travel by Americans and Chinese
  - Defense Department
  - Justice Department
  - Espionage
    - Soviets
    - Chinese

#### World War II

- Nisei
- Relocation camps
  - California
  - Missoula, Montana
  - Earl Warren
- Pearl Harbor
- Blame



World War I

- Blame
  - Germans
  - Austrians
  - French
  - British
  - Russians
  - Kaiser Wilhelm II

Mansfield's possible trip to PRC

- President's possible visit to PRC
- Presidency
- President's senate experience
- Other congressmen
- Advantages
  - Possible report by Mansfield
  - Amateurs
- Romanians
  - US relations with PRC
  - Mansfield's role
  - Ceausescu
- Ping-pong table

Kissinger and Mansfield left at 11:24 am

[Conversation No. 481-006](#)

Date: April 17, 1971

Time: 11:24 am - 11:49 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

President's schedule

- Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler



[The President talked with the White House operator at 11:24 am]

[Conversation No. 481-6A]

[See Conversation No. 1-125]

[End of telephone conversation]

H. R. Haldeman entered at 11:25 pm

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:30 am

Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]  
-Congressional interest  
-Chou En-lai

The President's PRC initiative

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.  
Segment will remain closed.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[481-006-w001]

[Duration: 1m 44s]

The President talked with Dr. William M. Lukash at 11:25 am

[Conversation No. 481-6B]

[See Conversation No. 001-126]

[End of telephone conversation]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1



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Henry A. Kissinger  
-Unknown man [Ziegler?]

The President's schedule  
-Leslie Towne ("Bob") Hope  
-Fund-raising dinner  
-Mamie G. D. Eisenhower  
-Phone call to Hope  
-President's possible attendance

The President's meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971  
-J. Edgar Hoover's call to the President  
-Response to questions  
-Radio  
-Kissinger  
-Dinner at Katharine L. Graham's

Ziegler entered at 11:30 am

-Report  
-Cocktail party  
-Attendees  
-William V. Shannon  
-Ziegler's possible call to Shannon  
-Sylvan H. Meyer  
-Cuba and Chile  
-Emmett Dedmon  
-Question on PRC  
-Hoover  
-Robert F. Kennedy  
-Army  
-W. Ramsey Clark  
-Responses  
-Reaction  
-Audience response



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- Applause
- Unknown woman
- Radio
- Statler Hotel
  - Quality of room
  - Television
  - Shoreham Hotel
  - Size
- Number of questions
- Editorial conference
- Media coverage
- Meyer's comment
- Radio coverage
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Hoover
- PRC
  - President's daughters
- Forum
- Television
  - Coverage
- News conference
  - ASNE
- Hoover
  - Tenure
- Vietnam
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
- Hoover
  - President's response
  - Compassion
  - Fairness
  - Cartoon in the President's office
    - Harry S. Truman administration
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Dedmon
- Agnew

The President's schedule



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal-Returnable]

[481-006-w003]

[Duration: 5s]

The President's schedule  
-Dentist appointment

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Ziegler left at 11:39 am

The President's schedule  
-John L. McClellan  
-Schedule  
-Attorney General [John Mitchell]  
-John A. Volpe  
-John D. Ehrlichman  
-George W. Romney  
-Jennie (Benedetto) Volpe [?]  
-Unknown visit by Italian women  
-Camp David  
-Farm editors  
-News conference  
-Timing  
-Farm editors  
-Clifford M. Hardin  
-Briefing  
-Conference  
-Attendance  
-Number  
-Possible White House tour  
-Blue Room  
-White House tour  
-Wives



- Jaycees leadership
  - Attendance
  - White House tour
  - Rose Garden
  - State Dining Room
  - Press coverage
  - Briefings

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal-Returnable]

[481-006-w004]

[Duration: 7s]

- The President's schedule
  - Dental appointment

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Bull left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

- The President's schedule
  - Senate loyalists
  - House loyalists
    - Daniel H. Kuykendall
  - Press conference
  - 4-H Club
    - Attendance
      - Number
    - Rose Garden
    - White House tour
    - Rose Garden
    - President's participation



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The President's with ASNE

- Panelists
  - Certificate of appreciation
  - Memento
  - Paperweight

The President's schedule

- Building Trades Council executive committee
- Opposition to the President
- Willie J. Usery
  - Views
- John D. Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson, Peter M. Flanigan, and George P. Shultz
  - Views
- James D. Hodgson
  - Views
  - President's leadership
- Boat
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President and Haldeman left at 11:49 am

[Conversation No. 481-008](#)

Date: April 17, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:49 am and 1:00 pm

Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with Manolo Sanchez and an unknown man

Forthcoming call to Charles Rochester

Furnishings

- General Services Administration [GSA]





Bull, Sanchez, and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:00 pm

[Conversation No. 481-007](#)

Date: April 17, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 1:00 pm and 3:30 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield

Stock market

Promotion for unknown man  
-President's order to Armed Services

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 1:00 pm and 1:05 pm]

[Conversation No. 481-7A]

The President's call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower

[End of telephone conversation]

Promotion for unknown man  
-Armed services  
-Unknown man's views  
-Admiral Thomas H. Moorer  
-Assignment  
-Re-phrasing of order  
-Rose Mary Woods

Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR] speech  
-Photos  
-Timing



H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 1:05 pm

*McCall’s story on Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon*

Butterfield left at 1:05 pm

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w001]

[Duration: 11s]

- McCall’s story on Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon*
- Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon’s reaction
- The President’s opinion
- Comparison to story by Jessamyn West?

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- McCall’s story on Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon*
- Writing
- Photos
  - Fred Maroon
- Cover
  - President and Mrs. Nixon
  - Double-spread photo
    - President and Mrs. Nixon
    - San Clemente
    - Dana Point
  - Photos
    - Mrs. Nixon and Tricia Nixon
    - Mrs. Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Lucy A. Winchester and Jack H. Ficklen
  - Letter to publisher



The President's schedule

- Weather
  - Boat
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Prep for ASNE meeting
  - Effort
  - Frequency
  - Television
- Golf
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Cabinet
- Meetings with Cabinet officers
  - John A. Volpe
    - George W. Romney
  - Benefits
  - James D. Hodgson
  - Clifford M. Hardin
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Romney and Volpe
  - Rogers C.B. Morton
  - Volpe, Romney, and Morton
    - Schedule
  - Length of meetings
  - Volpe
  - Romney
  - Volpe
  - Morton
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Hardin
    - 4-H Club
    - Agriculture editors
    - 4-H Club
    - White House

Appearance of Presidents

- Public scrutiny
- Tiredness
- Age



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- [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
- Franklin D. Roosevelt
- John F. Kennedy
  - Looks
- Eisenhower
  - Age
- Johnson
- President's weight
- President's schedule
  - Need for rest

The President's schedule

- Golf
  - California
- Benefits
- Camp David
- Boat
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Location
- Williamsburg
- International Committee of the Red Cross
  - Marcel Naville
  - Prisoner of war [POW] wives
    - William P. Rogers
- Rogers meeting
- International Red Cross
  - POW wives

The President's meeting with ASNE, April 16, 1971

- Vietnam
  - US presence
  - Possible use of US military forces
    - POWs
    - Bombing North Vietnam

The President's schedule

- Henry A. Kissinger

The President's meeting with ASNE



- Vietnam
  - Possible consequences of North Vietnamese victory
    - Civilians/refugees
    - Casualties
      - Victory
      - North Vietnamese attacks on South Vietnamese
  - President's visit to Hanoi [in 1953]
    - Refugee camps
  - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
    - Television appearance

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:05 pm

- Kissinger's schedule
  - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

- McCloskey
  - Television appearance, April 18, 1971
  - "Face the Nation"
  - Trip to Laos
    - G. McMurtrie Godley
    - Press
    - Incident
      - Behavior
    - Ehrlichman
  - Trip to Laos
    - Godley
    - Press
    - Jerome R. Waldie
    - Lodging
      - Embassy
      - Hotel
      - Dinner
      - Waldie's comments
      - President's position
      - Gerald R. Ford
      - Ford's forthcoming call to Godley



- President's position
- Press
- Analogy to Eugene J. McCarthy
  - Johnson
  - Attempt to bring down the President
- Press
- McCloskey's political affiliation
- Conservatives
- Liberals
- McCloskey's political affiliation
- Significance
- Press

[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]

McCloskey

- Administration counterattacks
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Ronald W. Reagan
- Liberal republicans
- Reagan

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w003]

[Duration: 1m 37s]

Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.

- Attempt to deny the President the 1972 Republican nomination
  - Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
  - Charles E. Goodell



-Allard K. Lowenstein

1972 campaign

- Deny the President the 1972 Republican nomination
  - Meetings
    - Primary states
      - Rhode Island
      - Florida
      - Providence, Rhode Island
        - Allard K. Lowenstein
    - Charles E. Goodell, Allard K. Lowenstein, and Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
  - Counterattacks by Administration
    - Charles W. Colson

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The President's defense of J. Edgar Hoover and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

- Cabinet officers

McCloskey

- Attacks against President
- Trip to Laos
  - Purpose
  - Visit to refugee camps
    - US bombings
    - Administration's position
    - North Vietnamese attacks
    - US bombings
- Need for counterattacks
  - Charles Colson
  - Congress
  - Ford
  - William B. Saxbe

Saxbe

- Clark MacGregor
- Kenneth E. BeLieu
- MacGregor



President's schedule

- Meetings with Senate loyalists
- MacGregor

MacGregor

- Meeting with high school students

Media treatment of President

- Fairness
- Coverage
- Sarah McClendon
- Texas
- Unknown woman correspondent

Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]

- ASNE
- Democrats
- President's PRC initiative
  - Democrats
- Administration's position
- Bipartisanship
  - Hugh Scott
  - "Bobby" [Surname unknown]
  - Importance
- PRC possible reaction
- Administration's activities
  - Chou En-lai
    - Mansfield's telegram
  - Romanians
  - Scott
  - Interest in PRC
  - Possible visit to PRC by the President

Kissinger's activities

- Meetings with editors, etc.
- John A. Scali
  - Relationship with Kissinger





#### Kissinger and Scali

- Roles defined
- Haldeman's conversation with Scali
  - Presentation of President's position
- Contrasts
  - Kissinger's interest in process

#### Scali

- Interest in foreign policy
  - Substance and strategy
- Views

#### McCloskey

- Laotian refugee casualties
- Preparation for President's press conferences
  - Bombing of civilians
    - Kissinger
    - Administration's position

#### Kissinger

- Possible meeting with President and Haldeman regarding issues
- Problem
- Scali
  - Qualifications
  - Interests
  - Presentation of President's position
  - Ideas
  - Process

#### Ping-pong team visit to [PRC]

- Publicity
- Return
- Scali's views
  - Lawyers
  - Foreign policy planners

#### Foreign policy

- President's visit to Bucharest
- Nixon doctrine



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- Briefing in Guam
- Press corps
- Kissinger's activities
  - Effect on people
- President's image as policy maker
  - Administration's efforts
  - Kissinger

The President's forthcoming speech to Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR], April 19, 1971

- Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s draft
- Length
  - Interest
  - Content

The President's forthcoming speech to US Chamber of Commerce, April 26, 1971

- Schedule

Staff

- William P. Rogers
  - Kissinger
- Kissinger
  - Value
- Scali
- Daniel P. ("Patrick") Moynihan
- Kissinger
  - Strengths
  - Weakness
  - Selling the President
- Scali

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 1:05 p.m

The President's speech to DAR

- Length

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

Preparation of speeches



- Guidance
- Staff's role
- President's speech, April 7, 1971
  - Drafts
    - William L. Safire
    - Patrick J. Buchanan
- President's time
- Text

PRC

- Visit by Scott and Mansfield
- Scott
  - Knowledge of country
- Kissinger's previous conversation with Mansfield
- Haldeman's possible call to Scott
  - Mansfield
  - Mike Gravel
  - White House role
    - Privacy
  - Chou En-lai
    - Possible wire from Scott
  - Kissinger
  - Romania
- Democrats

McCloskey

- President's forthcoming conversation with MacGregor
- President's loyalists in Congress
- MacGregor
- President's involvement
- Scott
- Vietnam
- Press
- Possible administration counterattacks
- Attacks by Californians

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]  
[Personal Returnable]  
[481-007-w006]  
[Duration: 20s]

- Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - Craig Hosmer
  - Campaign committee
    - Possible run
    - Deny support for Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr

\*\*\*\*\*

- Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - Image
    - Veteran
    - Shirley Temple Black
    - Laos
  - Personality
    - Supporters
      - Administrative Assistant
      - Unknown people
    - Norton Simon
      - Contribution
    - Efforts to impeach President
    - Administration's efforts

Charles E. Goodell and Donald W. Riegle, Jr

[Thomas] Hale Boggs and Carl B. Albert

Mansfield

Scott

Congress

- Leadership



President's schedule

Kissinger and Scali

- Problem
- Scali
  - Assignment
- Relationship
- Kissinger
  - Activities
  - Katharine L. Graham
  - Unknown journalist
- Importance of meeting
- Press
- Kissinger's concern with own place in history
  - Exclusive knowledge
  - Role
  - Awareness
- Scali
  - Selling the President
  - Role
- Haig
  - Value
- Instructions to Haldeman
- Relationship
- Pattern

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

- PRC
- Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.
- Developments

Richard A. Moore

- Campaign
- California earthquake
- Calley
- Schedule

Haldeman's schedule



The President's style

- Credibility
- Speeches
  - Use of teleprompter
- Staff's views
- Letter from unknown people in Florida
- John B. Connally
  - Views
  - Contrasted with the President
    - Public relations
- Difficulty of presidency
- Vietnam
  - MacGregor
  - Congress
  - Withdrawal rate
    - President's concern
    - Connally's view
- Calley case

Calley case

- Review by the President
- Ziegler

President's statements

- Calley
- Hoover
- Agnew

Press conferences

- Advantages for President

President's style

- Connally
- Unknown Florida man's view

Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:05 pm

Arrival of Ehrlichman party

- Bertha Denny



Bull left at an unknown time before 2:15 pm

The President's style

- Staff
- Press conferences
- Connally
- Possible changes

Ehrlichman, Jeanne Ehrlichman, and Mrs. Denny entered at 2:15 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting

Introductions

Unknown reception

The President's meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971

- Radio
- President's remarks

Photo session

The President's meeting with ASNE

Ehrlichman's schedule

- Denny

Description of office

- Flags

The President's meeting with ASNE

- President's remarks

Agnew

The President's meeting with ASNE

- Radio
- Television
- Radio



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-Seattle

Presentation of gifts

-Pin

Tricia Nixon

-Television show on White House

Rose Garden

-Blossoms

-Tulip garden

General conversation

-Haldeman

-Editors

-Movies

-Hoover

-Unknown woman

-Unknown girl

-Photograph of the President and Mrs. Nixon

-Unknown film

-Anti-trust violation

Farewells

Rose Garden

-Tulips

Ehrlichman, Mrs. Ehrlichman, and Mrs. Denny left at 2:23 pm

Denny

-Aunts

-Middle America

-Press

Middle America

-Administration's constituency

-Sammy Davis, Jr.





Support for President among youth

- Meeting with ASNE
- Issues
- Numbers
  - Democrats
  - Undecided
  - Peace
  - Draft
  - People-to-people
  - Idealism

The President's PRC initiative

- Liberals
- Reaction

The President's meeting with ASNE

- Revenue sharing
- Questions not asked
  - Revenue sharing
  - Government reorganization
  - Environment
  - Withholding funds
- Questions
  - Economy
  - Youth
  - Domestic issues
    - Federal Bureau of Investigations [FBI]
- National security
  - FBI
- Economy
- Youth
- Otis Chandler's remark
- President's treatment of editors and questions
- Editors compared with reporters
- Radio coverage
  - Dr. William Chase
    - Television
    - President's supporters



1952 campaign

- Ratings
- Radio
- Speeches made by candidates
- Audience

Radio audience

- Numbers
- Rating
- Compared with Howard K. Smith television interview, March 22, 1971
- Audience
- Mrs. Denny

The President's meeting with ASNE

- Radio coverage

Radio talks by the President

- President's leadership
- "Fireside talks"
- Length of talk
- Number of words
- Limit
- Subject
- Advantages
- Details
- Need for planning
- Format

Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:23 pm

Kissinger's schedule

- Meeting with the President

Weather

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:36 pm



[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:23 pm and 2:36 pm]

[Conversation No. 481-7B]

[See Conversation No. 1-127]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Weather
  - Washington
  - Camp David
  - Sequoia
  - Spring
- Trips to Florida and California
- California
  - Activity
- Press conference
- Televised press conference
  - Advantages

White House Conference on Aging

- John B. Martin
- Executive director
- Richardson
- Chairman
  - Arthur S. Flemming

Kissinger entered at 2:36 pm

Mansfield's trip to PRC

- Kissinger and Haldeman
- Democrats

[The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 2:36 pm and 2:51 pm]



[Conversation No. 481-7C]

[See Conversation No. 1-128]

[End of telephone conversation]

#### Mansfield's trip to PRC

- Interest
- Opposition to Vietnam
- Scott and Marian Scott
  - Interest in art
  - Visits to Taiwan
  - Hong Kong
- Democrats
- Scott's possible Itinerary
  - Chou En-lai
  - Kissinger's role
    - Ceausescu channel
  - Romania
    - Ambassador Corneliu Bogdan
- Message to PRC

#### PRC

- Invitations to Congressmen
- US relations
- Possible invitations to Mansfield and Scott
- Scott
  - Knowledge of Chinese art
- Bogdan
- Invitations to candidates
  - Possible consequences
- Edmund S. Muskie, Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy, and Hubert H. Humphrey
- Israel
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republic [USSR]
  - President's previous visit
- Visits
- President's initiatives
- John F. Osborne
  - Article
  - Readership



- Views
- President's note to Kissinger, February 1, 1969
  - Quoted
- Context
  - Speech
- Pace of President's initiatives
- Admission to United Nations [UN]
  - US position
- USSR
  - US relations
  - Ziegler statement
  - New York Times*
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin and Yuli M. Vorontsov
  - Assessment of the President
  - President's meeting with ASNE

Communist assessment of the President

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-023. Segment declassified on 04/30/2019. Archivist: MAS]*

[National Security]  
[481-007-w007]  
[Duration: 34s]

Communist assessment of the President

- Intelligence reports
- Member of Hanoi Politburo
  - Talking to Japanese group
    - View of the President as formidable opponent
  - Theory of protracted war

\*\*\*\*\*

Communist assessment of the President

- PRC and USSR



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

- Kissinger's conversation with Osborne

The President's meeting with ASNE

- Kissinger's conversation with Chandler
  - California beach
    - Los Angeles
  - Format
  - Questions
- Chandler

PRC

- Possible visit by Scott
- Bogdan
- Visits by Congressmen
  - Mansfield
  - Democrat candidates
  - Mansfield and Scott
    - Possible invitation by PRC
  - David M. Kennedy
  - USSR
- Special envoy
  - Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
  - Robert D. Murphy
  - Timing
- Ping-pong team
  - Return to US.
  - Schedule
  - San Francisco
    - Parade down Market Street
  - Maoist Member
- Romanian Davis Cup team
  - Reception by the President
- Ping-pong team
  - Reception in US
  - Possible report
- Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
- Ping-pong team



- Newsmen
- Possible reception by the President
- Photo
- State Department
  - Debriefing
  - Rogers
- Visit to White House
  - Ceremonial nature
  - Photos
- Maoist member
  - Possible statement on Vietnam, civil rights
- Osborne
  - US relations with Communists
  - President's report to Congress on Foreign Affairs
  - President's note to Kissinger, February 1, 1969
- Mansfield
  - Vietnam
  - North Korea
    - Negotiations
  - Vietnam
    - Withdrawal date
    - Deadline
- Congressmen

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower between 2:51 pm and 2:53 pm

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/26/2019. 1m 55s segment cleared for release with two segments of 4s and 19s remaining closed as 481-007-w010 and 481-007-w021 respectively.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w010]

[Duration: 1m 55s]

[Conversation No. 481-7D]

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]



\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w010]

[Duration: 4s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*\*\*\*\*

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w021]

[Duration: 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

\*\*\*\*\*

[See Conversation No. 001-129; two items withdrawn.]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule  
-Recreational activities

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#### Mansfield

- Relations with the President
- Meetings with the President

#### PRC

- Democrats
  - UN representation
  - Development of relations
    - Tactical nature
    - Pattern
      - Exchanges
      - Trade
      - Other Issues

#### The President's meeting with ASNE

- State Department
- US relations with Cuba and Chile
- USSR
  - Military aid

#### USSR

- Military Capability
- President's forthcoming press conference
- Possible US initiatives
  - Strategic Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Missiles
  - Number
    - Possible deployment
    - Antiballistic Missiles [ABMs]
- Negotiations
  - Capital cities
- ABMs
  - Radar
    - Timing
  - Deployment
    - Possible freeze on offensive missiles
- Negotiations



- Danger
- Melvin R. Laird
- David Packard
- Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
- Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- President's possible television statement

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/25/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[481-007-w012]

[Duration: 1m 45s]

1972 campaign

- Henry A. Kissinger's April 17, 1971 meeting with William F. Buckley
  - Views on the President's supporters
    - The President's possible vulnerability
    - Moderates
  - Speech
  - John N. Mitchell
  - William F. Buckley's views
    - Strategy for the President
      - Pull Democrats to the right
      - Move to the right
      - Issues
      - National defense
      - Democratic Party's loss of center

\*\*\*\*\*

USSR

- Missiles
- Negotiations
  - USSR position
  - Dobrynin



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- Safeguard
- Gerard C. Smith
- US defense
  - Washington
- USSR defense
  - Missiles
  - Military buildup
- US position
  - Dobrynin
  - Smith
  - Safeguard
- US Defense
  - Taxes
- Missiles
  - James L. Buckley
  - ABMs
- Negotiations
  - Possible agreement
- US position
  - Safeguard
  - Weapons
- Agreement
  - American people

1972 elections

- Buckley
- Peace issue
- Democrats
- Buckley
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] agreement
- President's position
  - Push for defense buildup

Defense

- Defense budget
  - Congress
  - Democrat cuts
  - Administration's policy
    - Opposition to cuts



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- National security
- Forthcoming press conference
- 1972 elections
- Political problem
  - Republican support
  - National defense
- SALT
  - Affordability
  - Political significance
    - Democratic leaders
      - Cyrus R. Vance
      - Clark M. Clifford
      - New Democrats

American establishment

- PRC
- USSR

Democrats

- Ping-pong team
- Humphrey
  - Senate
- President's foreign policy
  - Credit
- President's speech on Southeast Asia, October 7, 1970
  - Regret
  - Political repercussion
- PRC
- Laos
- PRC
  - Timing

[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]



Laos

- McCloskey
- Task force
- Civilian bombing
  - Communists
- Location of bombing
  - Population
- Refugees
- ASNE interview
  - Question
- Ford
- McCloskey
- Refugees
  - Location
- North Vietnamese military actions
  - Meo [tribesman]
- McCloskey
  - Refugee camps
  - Refugees
    - Interviews
- Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - Harold Willens
    - Businessmen's Mobilization for Peace
    - Los Angeles

Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy hearings

- Possible statement by the President
- Rogers
  - Possible testimony
- Statistics
- Laotian bombing
  - Casualties
- Possible consequences of US withdrawal from Vietnam
  - Casualties

PRC

- Vietnam

Laos



- South Vietnamese Military Activity
  - Objectives
    - Ashau Valley
    - Hué
  - Casualties

Fire Base 6

- North Vietnamese Casualties
- Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]

Laos

- General Creighton W. Abrams
  - Statement on possible invasion

Kissinger's Conversation with Osborne

- PRC and Southeast Asia

Vietnam

- North Vietnam statement
  - PRC
  - Interpretation
  - Railway Agreement
  - PRC

Edward Kennedy hearings

- Laos
  - Administration's possible spokesman
  - Rogers

[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 PRC initiative

- Kennedy, Humphrey, Muskie
- Statements



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- Democrats
- President's meeting with ASNE
  - US position

Vietnam

- Cease fire Agreement of 1970
  - Collapse

USSR

- SALT negotiations
  - Timing of announcement
- PRC
  - Timing of announcement
  - Demonstrations
  - Timing of announcement

Demonstrations

- Schedule

Press conference

- Timing
- Television
- Vietnam troop withdrawals

USSR

- SALT negotiations
  - Announcement
  - Press conference
  - Television
  - Timing
  - Agreement
  - Dobrynin
    - Schedule

President's schedule

- April 18, 1971

Foreign policy

- Timing



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- Summit
- General Nguyen Van Thieu
- North Vietnam
  - Negotiations
- Summit
- USSR
- PRC
- Warsaw
- Dobrynin
- USSR

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[End of transcript]

The President's PRC initiative

- Liberals
  - Reaction
- Humphrey, Muskie
- Press
- PRC
- Laos

Vietnam

- Negotiations
  - Possible settlement
  - Announcement
    - Thieu
    - Terminal date
    - Cease fire agreement
    - POWs
    - Terminal date
  - Possible agreement
- Summit
- Announcement
  - US combat role





- Meeting
- Length

The President's schedule

- SALT
- California
- Press conference
- Forthcoming welcome to First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, April 30, 1971

USSR

- Dobrynin's Schedule
- US position
- State Department
- Berlin

Germany

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*[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: MAS]*

[National Security]

[481-007-w020]

[Duration: 23s]

Germany

- Willy Brandt
  - US overthrow
  - The President's meeting with Rainer Barzel
    - US opinion on Willy Brandt
- Communication to [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Stonewall Germans in negotiations
    - Will lead to overthrow of Willy Brandt

\*\*\*\*\*

Germany



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-Berlin

Dobrynin

- Domestic situation
  - Politburo
- Possible summit

PRC

- US domestic situation
- Effect on USSR
- US position
- Press
- US policy
  - Telegram
- President's meeting with ASNE
- Ziegler
- President's public stance

Schedule

- Williamsburg Speech

Boat

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 3:30 pm