

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 484-1

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

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

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:57 am

Conversation No. 484-2

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

The President met with Harry S. Dent

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

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:57 am

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Harlow -Schedule -Meeting with the President -Location

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:17 am

Supreme Court decision

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: <u>6m 19s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Polls

-President's ratings -South

Supreme Court decision -Impact -Warren E. Burger and Harry A. Blackmun -Effects on administration -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] -President's forthcoming meeting with John N. Mitchell and Elliot L. Richardson -Opinion -Mitchell's view -Flexibility -President's position -Emergency school aid bill -Senate -Abraham A. Ribicoff's amendment -Jacob K. Javits -Edmund S. Muskie, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy -Javits

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. 9/08*)

-New York -Integration -President's possible position -The South

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Supreme Court decision -School issue -Race -Impact on administration -Burger -Criminal law -Race -Burger -Earl Warren

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

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

-Vietnam

Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:57 am

The President's schedule -Harlow

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:17 am

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

Harlow entered at 9:17 am

Dent's schedule -Democrat Congress -Popular perceptions -Need for administration action -Activities in West Virginia -Press -Television -Schedule -Miami -New Orleans -Need for publicity

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Popular support for the President -Preoccupations -Normal instincts -Confusion -President's program -Image of the President -Patriotism -Need for "missionaries" in field -Total picture -Media -Average American -Press -Filter

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

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

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

Agnew

-Standing in Dent's area -Popular perception

Supreme Court decision on school desegregation -Administration's possible response -President's upcoming meeting with Mitchell and Elliot L. Richardson -Administration's position -Courts -HEW -Burger -Ziegler's press statement, April 20, 1971

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Impact -President's response -Impact -President's position -Busing for racial balance -Law of the land -President's statement about desegregation of elementary and secondary schools, March 24, 1970 Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Opinion -Mitchell -Narrowness -Burger -President's meeting with Mitchell and Burger -Busing -Opinion -Mitchell -Racial balance -Freedom of choice issue -Reversal of President's stated position -Effect on South -Enforcement -Burger -Warren -Distribution to Southern editors -Northern press -Possible Justice Department interpretation -Robert C. Mardian -President's position -Press inquiries to the President -Publicizing President's position -Southern opinion -President's March 24, 1970 statement -Administration's strategy -Washington Post story -President's position -Upcoming Senate vote -Ribicoff amendment -Javits -Democrat candidates -Muskie, Kennedy, and Humphrey -Ribicoff amendment -Ribicoff's position

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Administration's position -Impact on South -Ribicoff amendment -Enforcement of principle -Sectional differences -Upcoming Senate vote -Figures on integration -Washington Post writers -Black schools in South -Percentages of integration -South and North comparison -Polarization of black schools in the North -President's position -Sectionalism -Busing -Practical consequences -Ribicoff amendment -Possible political consequences of opposing -George C. Wallace -Burger -President's 1969 letter to John C. Stennis -Effect on Democrat candidates -Javits -Upcoming Senate vote -Northern liberals -Southerners -Stennis amendment -Ribicoff amendment -Effect on the President's position -Regional decision -Ribicoff amendment -Racial balance -De facto segregation -De jure segregation -Impact on Southerners -Richardson -Possible administration position -Impact on education

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:17 am

-H.R. Haldeman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:53 am

-Effect on the President -Richardson's possible opinion -Ribicoff amendment -De facto segregation -Administration's possible response -Difficulties -Effect on blacks -Black colleges and teachers -Dent's meeting with the President's black appointees -Robert J. Brown, Jr. -Richardson -College desegregation -Black institutions of higher learning -Arthur A. Fletcher -Samuel C. Jackson -Tax credits -President's position -Segregation in educational institutions -Federal funds -Colleges -Bob Jones University -Open door policy -Affirmative action -Racial balance in colleges -Open door policy -Black institutions -Fraternity -Hypocrisy -Racial issue -Ribicoff's opinion -Administration's policy towards the South -"Southern strategy" -Leonard Garment's view regarding education bill -Administration's position -Ribicoff amendment -Javits -Hugh Scott

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:<u>39s</u>]

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Scott

-Position on integration -Howard H. Baker, Jr. -Roman L. Hruska -Baker

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5 [Privacy] [Duration: <u>1m 12s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Agriculture Department -Farm situation -Clifford M. Hardin -Possible reassignment -Clarence D. Palmby -Harlow -Palmby -President's meeting with agriculture editors, April 20, 1971 -President's comments -Great American Desert

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Heartland of America -Dent's conversations with farm leaders -Public relations at Department of Agriculture -Palmby -Exports -J. Philip Campbell -Congress -Hardin's proposed projects -Budget

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:17 am

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

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:53 am

Agriculture Department -Hardin -Tenure

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

Greetings

Richardson's trip

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:<u>37s]</u>

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Supreme Court decision -Impact on administration -Richardson's staff -Need for review -Education plans -Courts -Rural districts -Cities -South

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

Morgan entered at 9:56 am

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Shultz entered at 10:00 am

-Legal Aspects -Civil Rights Act of 1964 -Title VI -Fourteenth Amendment -Segregated education in North -Derivation from official action -Fourteenth Amendment -Words and action -Possible statement -Principle -Percentages of integration -North and South -Senate -Stennis -Equal treatment of North & South -Hypocrisy -Segregated schools -Busing -Advocacy within administration -Compliance -Court's requirements -The South -Integration level compared to North -President's instructions -Discipline within Justice Department and HEW -White House involvement -Enforcement of Court's opinion within administration -Possible future decisions of courts -The South -Double standard -Northern segregated cases -Ribicoff-Stennis debate -Possible future actions of district courts -Possible adverse effects in the South -Administration's position -Court responsibilities -Justice Department and HEW -Initiatives -Comply with law

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Proactive measures -Voluntary integration plans -HEW negotiations -Terms -President's memo, March 24, 1969 -Court order -Jurisdiction Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Possible suits -Administration's possible policy -Charlotte-MecKlenburg case -Judge McMillan -Mobile, Alabama case -Administration contacts with school districts -Justice Department and HEW cooperative efforts -Mitchell -State advisory committees -Reexamination of cases -Administration-school districts dialogue -Number of districts involved -Voluntary negotiated plans -Number -School districts -Mitchell's opinion -The South -Cities -Rural districts -Blacks -Black schools -Impact of Court's decision -Advisory committees -Civil Rights Act, Title IV -Education office -Court-ordered integration plans -HEW -Assistance -Impact on federal government -Zoning and busing -Court determination -HEW recommendations -Taking initiative -Enforcement within HEW and Justice Department -Civil Service

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Negotiated plans -HEW -National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] -Possible HEW and Justice Department initiatives -Court-ordered negotiated plans -HEW position -Suits -Administration Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Citizens groups -Effect on blacks -Press -Landmark decision -President's position -Administration compliance -HEW and Justice Department -Initiatives -Voluntary agreements -Voluntary negotiated plans -Duration -Court provisions -Eradication of segregation -Districts -Segregation -Official action -Previously negotiated plans -Need for administrative study -Case by case basis -Possible administration initiatives -The South -Negotiated plans -Compliance -Possible administration initiatives -Administration actions, summer 1970 -The South -Administration policy -Wallace -Southern Senators -Politics -President's responsibility -Advisory committees -The South -Possible effect on South

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Shultz's and Richardson's meetings with district leaders -Administration's position -Proactive measures -The South -Richardson's and Mitchell's possible conversations with administration's citizens committees -Press conferences -HEW and Justice Department officials Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Attorney General, HEW Secretary -Administration compliance -Busing -Avoidance of jealousness -Javits -Westchester, Nassau, Brooklyn Heights -Ribicoff-Stennis amendment -Possible Senate action -Richardson's conversation with Javits -Richardson's compromise with Claiborne Pell and Walter F. Mondale -Richardson's conversation with Garment -Richardson's possible letter -Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare -Harrison A. Williams, Jr. -Javits -Pell -Winston L. Prouty -Ribicoff amendment -Merits -Provisions -Use of funds -Possible interpretations in the South -Administration's position -Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee -Richardson's staff meeting, April 21, 1971 -Mitchell -Ribicoff amendment -Possible Senate action -Southerners -Funding of integration -Interpretation -Hearings -Ten year program on two year bill -Constitutional arguments

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-De facto/de jure -Richardson's possible letter -Ribicoff amendment -Lack of position -Emergency school aid bill -Separation from amendment -The South and North -Shultz -Consequences of decision -Discrimination against the South -Burger's opinion -All-black schools -Figures -1969 compared with 1971 percentages -The North -Burger -Division in the Court -Ribicoff amendment -Discrimination against the South -Busing -Richardson's possible initiatives -Low key approach -President's forthcoming press conference -Treatment of the South -Desegregation -Ribicoff amendment -Merits -Community school aid legislation -Hearings -Emergency school aid bill -Desegregation -House amendment -Administration's position -Merits -Potential difficulties for President -Ribicoff amendment -The South -Cabinet officers -Stennis and Ribicoff proposals -Fundamental justice -Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee -Richardson's opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-De facto segregation -Evenhandedness -North and South -Equal treatment -Ribicoff amendment -Support in House and Senate -Merits of immediate legislation -Ribicoff amendment -Emergency school aid bill -Urge passage -Ribicoff amendment -Effect on aid -Urge rejection -The South -Administration's position regarding de facto segregation -Possible press reaction -President's position -1968 election promise -The South -Evenhandedness -Principle -Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee -Evenhanded policy -Los Angeles County school district -Attorney General -Supreme Court -De facto segregation -Possible press reaction -Emergency school aid bill -Possible press reaction -Procedure -Hearing -Evenhandedness -Emergency -Short-term frame -North and South -Ribicoff amendment -Emergency school aid bill -Evenhandedness -Timing -Ribicoff and Stennis proposal -Purpose

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Effect on emergency school aid bill -Possible Senate action -Burger -Los Angeles case -Constitutional doctrine -Desegregated education President's schedule Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Visit of ping-pong team Richardson's position regarding South -Difficulties -HEW -Use of advisory committees Supreme Court decision -Administration policy -Press statements -Richardson and Mitchell -Possible press inquiries -Compliance with the law -Instructions for Ronald L. Ziegler -Need for HEW and Justice Department study of decision -Compliance with the law -The South -Need for leadership -Richardson and Mitchell -White House role -Ehrlichman -Compliance with the law -Administration's position -The South The South

-Demagoguery -Wallace -Southern Senators -View of administration

Supreme Court decision -Administration's position -Avoiding headlines -Richardson's and Mitchell's possible public statements

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Desegregation and the South -President's possible statement -Progress -Compliance with the law -Integration efforts -Compared with the North -Court requirements Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -Compliance with the law -Need for compassion -Javits -Northern Congressmen and Senators -Javits -View of administration policy Supreme Court decision -Richardson's possible letter to Senate Committee -Stennis amendment -Administration's position -Senate action Richardson's upcoming speech to NAACP -Ink fund -William T. Coleman, Jr. -Productivity commission -Felix Frankfurter law clerk -Richardson's possible comments -The President's suggested comments for Richardson -Liberals -Northern politicians -Progress -De jure segregation in the South -Courts -Voluntary strides made by the South -Percentages of integration -North compared with South -Schools -Cooperation and good will -Jobs -Promotions -Minority enterprise -Appointments in government

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Demagoguery on race issue -American politics -Republican and Democrat Parties -Rhetoric in party platforms

Race issue

-Use

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

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

Welfare bill

-H.R. 1 -Prospects -Liberals

Education bill

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

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

Richardson

-Qualifications -Intelligence -Loyalty -Finch

The President's conversation with Haldeman and Mitchell, April 20, 1971 -Mardian -Staff

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Supreme Court decision -President's position -Richard A. Moore

> -Credit -The South -Ribicoff amendment

Demonstrations by veterans

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

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

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

[End of transcript]

Vietnam veterans -Article -W. Ramsey Clark

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Privacy] [Duration: 21s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.) -[Tom C. Clark] -Court Stanley R. Resor -Judge Advocates General -Captain Davis [Forename unknown] [Captain Aubrey M. Daniel, III] -Draft letter -Resor's view -Reviewing officer Resor's draft -Davis' [Daniel's] career -Administration options -General Counsel, Department of Defense -White House Counsel

> -Tenure -Ziegler's view -Acknowledgment -Davis [Daniel] -Acknowledgment of letter -Reviewing officer -John W. Dean, III -Dean's assistant -Possible wording

-President's instruction

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

Donald E. McLarnan -Possible removal from office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Small Business Administration [SBA] -Henry Salvatori -F. Donald Nixon -Hilary Sandoval, Jr. -Thomas Kleppe -Need for discipline

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

Schedule -Meeting at 4:00 pm

Ehrlichman and Mitchell left at 11:16 am

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

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule -Signatures requested

Butterfield left at 11:17 am

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

The President met with H.R. Haldeman.

Conv. No. 484-2 (cont.)

Conversation No. 484-3

Conversation No. 484-4

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

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

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

-Scali

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

Scali

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

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

Scali

-Role -Views on PRC specialists -Camp David -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy -Views on the President's positions

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Demonstrations -Views -Charles W. Colson

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

Conv. No. 484-4 (cont.)

Ziegler entered at 11:22 am

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

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

Supreme Court decision -Integration issue -President's meeting with John N. Mitchell -Implementation -Richard A. Moore -Administration's position -"Benign neglect" -Ziegler's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW] -Ziegler's possible press statement -Ziegler's press conference, April 20, 1971 -Haldeman's staff meeting -Leonard Garment

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

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

Ziegler left at 11:27 am

Rogers

-Schedule -Trip -Meeting with the President, April 22, 1971 -Relations with Kissinger -Attribution of credit -Kissinger -Attribution of credit -State Department -Instructions for Scali

Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger's dinner with Haldeman and George P. Shultz -Theodore White -Shultz

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

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

Conv. No. 484-4 (cont.)

PRC

-President's conversations with different persons
-Rogers

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-State Department

-Position

-President's conversation with White in 1968
-White's support for the President

-John F. Kennedy

John B. Connally

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

The President's schedule -Meeting with Steenhoven

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:34 am

Connally

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

Texas drought -President's memorandum -Ehrlichman -Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. -George A. Lincoln -Clifford M. Hardin -President's conversation with Harry S. Dent

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Hardin

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

Harlow

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

Haldeman left at 11:34 am

Conv. No. 484-4 (cont.)

Conversation No. 484-5

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

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

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Introductions -Scali -Kissinger Photo session -Press -[Machine noise] General conversation Table tennis -Experience -National association [?] President's meeting with Muscular Dystrophy Association of America, April 15, 1971 -Presentation of awards -[Richard and Robert Santin] -Nebraska Steenhoven's family President's unknown meeting with Republican governors/wives -Two unknown sisters -Ages Chrysler Corporation -Steenhoven's father -Pride -Loyalty -Press -Steenhoven's conversation with Lynn A. Townsend, April 20, 1971 -Publicity -Steenhoven's career -Tenure at Chrysler -Birthplace US table tennis team -Background of members -Selection of team -Criteria -Japan -Money

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

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

Conv. No. 484-5 (cont.)

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

Refreshment

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

US table tennis team -Members -Visit to PRC -John Tannehill -Middletown, Ohio -Health -Interview with reporters -Steenhoven's visit to hospital -Request -Wish to stay in PRC -Responsibilities -Health -Hotels -Foreign Guests -Airport -Private lane on runway -Guards -Table tennis -Paddles Use of team "ping-pong" -Vice President Agnew

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Ping-pong -Grip on paddle -Athletes -Control -Grip on paddle -Comparison with golf -Control -Chinese players -Steenhoven's schedule -Visit to Tokyo -Contract -Visit to PRC -Camera -Photographs -Gift of television film and script -Copies -Chrysler -State Department -English script -Sound -Description -Chinese writing -Commentary -Chou En-lai -Appearance -Intellect -George Yeh -Meeting with US players -Orientation -Other teams -Canadian team -Marge Baldwin -Knowledge of English language -Interpreter -Knowledge of each group -Memory -Solicitation of criticism -Comments to Steenhoven -Luncheon -Chinese chefs -Menu -Food

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Cities

-Steenhoven's travels -Polytechnic College -Trucks assembled by students -Gasoline -Description -Chrome -Chrysler -Welding -Chrome -Professors -Comments on students -Peasants -Workers -Soldiers -Unknown professor's comments -Mao Tse-tung -Carbon Steel -Shanghai -Chinese people -Steenhoven's view -Wire service report -Thomas J. Riley -Chinese Language -Clothing -Women -Pants -People -Steenhoven's view -Health -Curiosity -Children -Babies -Mothers -Adults -Shanghai -Crowd -Steenhoven's US Table Tennis Association [USTTA] Pin -Unknown young man -Gifts -Buildings -Streets

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Cleanliness -Animals -Trees -People -Work -Sleeping in streets -Shanghai -Population -Automobiles -Plymouths -Railroad station -Subway entrance -Pictures -Importance -Underground Shelter -Steenhoven's schedule -Trip to Canton -Gift for Wife -Exchange -US dollars -Money -Rate -Gifts -Loans -Press -Canadians -Money -US team -Steenhoven's leadership -Dick Miles -Shanghai -Shopping -Tailors, interpreters, and officials -Dresses -Payment -Cost of material -Bill -Gifts for tailors -Cunningham [Forename unknown] -Pins for Gifts

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Return Visit by PRC Table Tennis Team -Timing -US position -Importance -Young people -Swimming team -Basketball team Conv. No. 484-5 (cont.) -Planning -Acceptance of Steenhoven's invitation -Announcement -Timing of acceptance of Steenhoven's invitation to PRC -Steenhoven's arrival in US -Chou En-lai -Other teams President's Meeting with American Society of Newspaper Editors [ASNE], April 16, 1971 -PRC -Chou En-lai -Number of phone calls by US editors Return Visit of PRC table tennis team -Travel -Visit of US table tennis team -Possible visit to US by PRC ping-pong team -Chinese -Reciprocation -Visit of US table tennis team -Return visit of PRC table tennis team -Visits -Return visit of PRC team -Importance -Chinese -US response -US press -Scali -Pressure -Trip to Japan -Demonstrations -South Koreans -Demonstrations -Photographers -President's visits to communist countries

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Lack of demonstrations -Warsaw -Planning -Chrysler Corporation -William T. Gossett -Gossett's role -Funding -Significance Conv. No. 484-5 (cont.) -Kissinger -Visit to PRC of US table tennis team -Steenhoven's initiatives -Date -Steenhoven's forthcoming letter to unknown Chinese person -Possible itinerary -Visit of US team to PRC -Itinerary -School -Commune -Great Wall of China -Chou En-lai -Press coverage -Nikita Khrushchev's visit to US -Treatment -Visit of US team to PRC -Treatment -Possible visit to Detroit -Bloomfield Hills -Hotel -Isolation -Visit of US team to PRC -Hotels -Stores -Opera -Ballet -Guidance -Gossett's role -US Government participation -Press coverage -Gossett -Administration's position regarding foreign visits to US -Cooperation -Experience

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Invitation -Publicity -Scali and Gossett -Press -Gossett

Media

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

Chrysler Corporation

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

Chrysler Corporation -Townsend

The President's forthcoming conversation with Kissinger

Farewells

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

Steenhoven -Praised -Integrity -Press conference

Kissinger's schedule -Meeting with John N. Mitchell

The President's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Events -Meeting with Kissinger

Kissinger left at 12:27 pm

Conv. No. 484-5 (cont.) Conversation No. 484-6

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule -George P. Shultz

Bull left at 12:27 pm

Conversation No. 484-7

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

The President met with George P. Shultz.

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

Shultz left at 12:29 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 484-8

Date: April 21, 1971 Time: 12:30 pm - 12:34 pm Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 484-7 (cont.)

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

Navy League of the US Photo session

Introductions

Navy League

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

Importance of strong Navy -Danger of unilateral disarmament

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

Presentation of gifts by the President -Seal -Presidential cufflinks

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

The President's appreciation for support -Bill [Surname unknown] -Alan Brown

Washington Redskins -George E. Allen

The President's schedule -Massachusetts Conv. No. 484-8 (cont.)

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

Conversation No. 484-9

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

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

Bull left at 12:34 pm

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 484-10

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

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

Moore's health

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

Greetings

Photographs -Moore

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

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

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

Rose Garden

George H.W. Bush

Ucello and Grier left at 12:41 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:35 pm

Schedule -Henry A. Kissinger -Meeting with the President

The President's previous meeting with Graham B. Steenhoven

"Meet the Press"
-Ziegler's forthcoming press briefing with Steenhoven
-Proposed comments about meeting with President
-Steenhoven's impressions of table team visit to People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Appreciation for role of ping-pong team in opening contacts

-Conduct of team
-Return visit of People's Republic of China [PRC] table tennis team
-Contacts with PRC
-Personal impressions of Steenhoven
-Private contact with PRC

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 12:46 pm

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Tone

The President's meeting with ASNE -Significance -Audience

The President's speeches -Pre-1971 appearance before ASNE [Date unknown] -Moore's conversation with unknown person -Questions and answers -Reaction -Television -David Rockefeller -Radio

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

Schedule

Moore left at 12:46 pm

Conversation No. 484-11

Conv.No. 484-10 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Location: Oval Office

<u>The President met with Stephen B. Bull at an unknown time after 12:46 pm</u> The President's schedule -Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm

Conv. No. 484-10 (cont.)

Conversation No. 484-12

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

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration:<u>3s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm

Conversation No. 484-13

Date: April 21, 1971 Time: 12:50 pm - 1:43 pm Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger at 12:50 pm

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

Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration:<u>12s</u>]

SOVIET UNION

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Schedule -Upcoming meeting with Kissinger -Possible discussions

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

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] -Weapons Limitations -Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles [ICBMs] -Howard H. Baker, Jr.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8 [National Security] [Duration: 52s]

USSR

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

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

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

Vietnam

-Sentiment for withdrawal -Baker -President's speech, April 7, 1971 -Southeast Asia -MacGregor -Senate -Baker -MacGregor

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Communist takeover in South Vietnam

-Possible consequences -Unknown Senator's view -Senate "doves" -Negotiations -Effect on Supersonic Transport [SST] -National defense -Frustrations -Administration's policy -National defense -USSR -Negotiations -Baker, Gurney, and [Thomas] Hale Boggs -National defense -Laotian incursion (Lam Son) -Possible communist takeover in South Vietnam -Possible impact on administration -National defense -President's speech on Southeast Asia, April 7, 1971 -Effect on polls -Glassboro meeting -Lyndon B. Johnson -Laotian incursion -Effect -Polls -North Vietnamese military operations -Baker's view regarding war issue -Polls -Laotion incursion -Effect on polls -Polls -President's press conference -President's speech, April 7, 1971 -Defeat weekend -Marvin L. Kalb -Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. -President's speech, April 7, 1971 -Laos -Administration's policy -General Creighton W. Abrams, Jr's statement -North Vietnam

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Possible rejection of peace proposal -US options -Timing of withdrawal announcement -President's position -South Vietnamese elections -US elections -South Vietnamese elections -End of ground combat Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.) -End of draft -William F. Buckley, Jr. -US military -President's possible meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu -End of ground combat -End of draft -Melvin R. Laird -Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Laird

Schedule -Meeting with Laird -Haldeman

The President talked with Haldeman [?] at an unknown time between 12:50pm and 1:00pm.

[Conversation No. 484-C]

Meeting with Haldeman

[End of telephone conversation]

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

Haldeman entered at 1:00 pm

-Breakfast -Timing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Vietnam

-Peace negotiations with North Vietnamese

-President's possible meeting with Thieu
-US strategy
-Timetable for withdrawal
-Possible US offer

-Deadline
-"Doves"

-Possible offer

-Prisoners of War [Pows]
-Ceasefire
-Timetable for withdrawal

-US position

-Options
-President's opponents
-President's possible meeting with Thieu

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

Dobrynin's Schedule -Andrei A. Gromyko -Kissinger

President's forthcoming meeting with Laird -Kissinger -Moorer

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

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

[End of transcript]

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. 9/08*)

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 1:00 pm and 1:13 pm

[Conversation No. 484-13A]

[See Conversation No. 2-22]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

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

[Conversation No. 484-13B]

[See Conversation No. 2-23]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

[End of transcript]

Kissinger left at 1:24 pm

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

Bureaucracy -State Department

The President's schedule

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. 9/08*)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [National Security] [Duration: <u>47s</u>]

PAKISTAN

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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

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

The President's schedule

-Possible meeting with Long, Wallace F. Bennett, James D. Hodgson, Elliot L. Richardson, George P. Shultz, and John D. Ehrlichman
-Timing
-Frederic V. Malek
-Presidential appointees
-Group
-Unknown highway agreement
-Signing ceremony
-California

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. 9/08*)

Welfare reform -Right-wing reaction -President's speech at Republican Governors' Conference, April 19, 1971 -Television coverage -President's meeting with Rio Grande high school group -Press -Unknown Boston Globe article Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.) -Charles W. Colson's dinner with hardhats -Reaction -Labor -Henry Salvatori -Gerald R. Ford -Ronald W. Reagan -Hodgson, Ehrlichman, Shultz, and Richardson -Ehrlichman -Liberals -Circulation and publicity -Republicans and conservatives -President's speech at Republican Governors' Conference -Text -Personal references -Welfare recipients -Mothers -Possible letter -Robert J. Dole -Reagan and Nelson A. Rockefeller -Governors -Reagan -Louie B. Nunn -Role

The President's address to Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR], April 19, 1971 -Reception

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

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

[End of transcript]

The President's meeting with Republican congressional leaders, April 20, 1971 -President's memo -Rose Mary Woods -Clark MacGregor -President's evaluation -President's purpose for meeting -Supporters -MacGregor -Loyalists -Numbers -Staff -MacGregor -Kenneth E. BeLieu -Unknown former aide of Hugh Scott -Number -Senators Polls

-Distribution -Colson -MacGregor -Distribution to Senators

-Questions

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

-Vietnam -Communication -Hand-delivery system -Telephone calls -Cabinet officers -Senators -Congressmen -George [Horace] Gallup -Withdrawal from Vietnam -Vietnam -Approval percentages -Ford -Distribution

Conv. No. 484-13 (cont.)

Economy

-Consumer Price Index [CPI]
-President's conversation with George P. Shultz
-First quarter figures

-Lowest since 1967
-Compared with 1970

-Paul W. McCracken

-Upcoming briefing

-President's conversation with Shultz
-Improvement

-MacGregor

-Calls to Congressmen and Senators

-Public relations

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

[End of transcript]

The President and Haldeman left at 1:43 pm

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 9/08)

Conversation No. 484-14

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

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Agency Policy] [Duration: <u>3s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

[Unintelligible]

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