

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

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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.

Conversation No. 691-3

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

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Manea 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]

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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
 - Middle East
- European Security Conference

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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.

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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
- Shafer

Haldeman left at 5:07 pm.

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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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
 - Communique
- 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]
- SLBMs
 - 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
 - Alekssei 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
 - SLBMs
 - Congressional Record*
 - Minuteman III
 - Soviets
 - ICBM
 - Hardsite defense
 - SLBMs
- Congress
 - Taiwan
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Quemoy, Matsu
 - John Foster Dulles
 - China lobby
- Warheads
 - Production

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment excluded under the Atomic Energy Act on 05/31/2019. Archivist: MM] (cont.)
Copy No. 69179

[National Security]

[691-005-w001]

[Duration: 11s]

DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The President's forthcoming trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Warheads

Production

-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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

- Possible participation of entire arms control delegation
 - Smith
 - Haig
 - Smith's view
 - Haig's view
 - Paul H. Nitze
- Comparison of Soviets to Chinese
- Soviets
 - Drinking
- SLBM
 - John J. McCloy
- May 20, 1971 understanding
 - ABMs
 - Land based defensive missiles
- Semenov's talks with Smith in Vienna
 - ICBMs
 - SLBMs
- Forward bases

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-034. Segment declassified on 05/24/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[691-005-w002]

[Duration: 27s]

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

- Forward bases
 - Cuba
 - Spain
 - Scotland

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

- Forward bases
 - Moorer
 - Verification panel
 - NSC
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - The President's instructions to Smith

Smith and Haig left at 5:47 pm.

Conversation No. 691-6

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

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 09/15/2022.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[691-006-w001]

[Duration: 9s]

Refreshment
-Tea

Sanchez left at 5:48 pm.

Conversation No. 691-7

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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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]
 - 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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

- India and Malaysia
- Cooking
- Marijuana
- Forthcoming press conference
- Shafer
- Opposition to legalization of marijuana
- Commission report
- The President

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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
 - 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

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 09/15/2022. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[691-007-w003]

[Duration: 9m 8s]

1972 campaign

- Hubert H. Humphrey
- Predictions
- Edmund S. Muskie
 - Chances
- Difficulty of a presidential campaign

- George W. Romney
 - Past campaign experience
- Edmund S. Muskie
 - Press
- Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Press
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - John B. Connally's opinion
 - Ireland
 - Chappaquiddick
 - Mary Jo Kopechne
- John D. Ehrlichman's talk with Rose Mary Woods
 - Rose Mary Woods's talk with Joseph Woods
 - Robert P. Hanrahan
 - Richard J. Daley
 - Reelection
 - State's Attorney
 - Richard J. Daley
 - Black Panthers
 - Indictment
 - Chicago precinct inspection
 - 105 votes
 - 1960 campaign
 - Impounding the voting machine
- Robert P. Hanrahan
 - Black Panther incident
 - Indictment
 - Richard J. Daley
 - Running for office
- Paul L. Simon
 - Governor
- Edmund S. Muskie
 - Percentage in Illinois
 - Compared to Eugene J. McCarthy
 - Illinois
 - Polish vote
 - George S. McGovern
 - Delegates
 - Richard J. Daley
 - Press
 - Wisconsin
 - Potential importance
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Polish vote
 - Polls
- The press' treatment of the President
- Milton J. Shapp
 - Vice President
 - Hubert H. Humphrey constituency
 - Labor
 - Pennsylvania

- Frank L. Rizzo
- Raymond P. Shafer
 - 1969 and 1970
 - Richard B. Ogilvie
- Accusations
 - Edmund S. Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey
- Pennsylvania primary
 - Timing
 - Wisconsin
 - Delegates
 - Selection
 - Pledge
 - Republicans
 - Democrats

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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 [?]

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 09/15/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[691-007-w005]

[Duration: 2s]

Shafer Commission

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

-Report

-Legalization issue

-Youth

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Peter Haldeman

Shafer Commission

-Report

-Legalization issue

-Youth

-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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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.

Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

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.

Conversation No. 691-10

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

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 09/15/2022.
Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]
[691-010-w001]
[Duration: 3s]

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

Conversation No. 691-11
Conv. No. 691-9 (cont.)

Date: March 21, 1972

Time: Unknown time after 7:28 pm

Location: Oval Office

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 7:28 pm.

[first name unknown] Miller

The President's location

-Executive Office Building [EOB]