



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 529-001](#)
[Conversation No. 529-004](#)
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[Conversation No. 529-024](#)

[Conversation No. 528-016/529-001](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:23 am and 11:35 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with John Mackey, Mrs. John Mackey, Ed Garvey, Bill Curry, Nick Buonconti, and Henry C. Cashen II.

[An unknown portion of the conversation was not recorded while the tape was changed]

General conversation

Best wishes for the season

Mackey, et al. left at 11:35 am.

[Conversation No. 529-002](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:35 am and 11:36 am



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Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

- Upcoming meeting with delegation from the Police Athletic League [PAL] of Philadelphia
- Format of presentation

Bull left at 11:36 am.

[Conversation No. 529-003](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:36 am - 11:45 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with a delegation from Police Athletic League of Philadelphia: Students: Robert Anastasia, Alison Franks, Vincent W. Furlong, Jean Marie Gola, Steven Head, Wendy Johnson, Carol Klieman, Alfred Levy, Daniel F. Madonna, Jr., Frank Whitley, Robert Young. Adults: Paul Klieman, Harry G. Fox, Sgt. Vincent E. Furlong, Si Shaltz, Thomas Thomson, Philip Bruno. Members of White House staff: Geoffrey C. Shepard and Stephen B. Bull.

Greetings

Introductions

Work of Police Athletic League [PAL]

-Quality

Photographs

-Posing

PAL program

-Benefits

-Importance



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- Singing groups
 - Compared to recent performance of Polish Youth choir
- Baseball
 - Babe Ruth
 - Cancer
 - Pitching record
 - Hitting record

Presentation of gifts

- Cuff links
- Bracelets

President's schedule

- Arrival of helicopter

Tour of White House for PAL

President's schedule

- Trip to Indiana and Chicago, Illinois

Petition presented to President

- Number of signatures

Anastasia, et al. left at 11:45 am.

[Conversation No. 529-004](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:46 am - 11:58 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule

Mansfield amendment



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-House of Representatives vote

Personnel

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr. [?]

Presidential statements

-Wording

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/08/2019.]

[Unintelligible]

[529-004-w001]

[Duration: 2m 34s]

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

Presidential statements

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-Effect of Mansfield Amendment on negotiations

-Public relations

-Wording

The President's schedule

Ziegler's statement

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 11:46 am.

The President, et al. left at 11:58 am.

Conversation No. 529-026



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Date: June 24, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:58 am and 12:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/09/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[529-026-w001]
[Duration: 1m 39s]

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

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 12:03 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-005](#)

Date: June 27, 1971
Time: Unknown between 7:44 pm and 7:52 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown man's schedule
-Return of call



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[Conversation No. 529-006](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: Unknown between 7:44 pm and 7:52 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

Camp David discussions

-Conference on aging

-Budgeting

-Cruipshank[?]

-Alternatives

-Examination of all domestic programs and budget proposals

[This memorandum continued as Conversation No. 529-7]

[Conversation No. 529-025](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 7:52 pm - 7:53 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Delivery of papers

Butterfield left at 7:53 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-007](#)

Date: June 27, 1971



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Time: Unknown between 7:53 pm and 8:02 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

[This is a continuation of Conversation No. 529-6]

Camp David discussions

- Areas of political gain
- Expenditures
 - Effectiveness
 - Environmental health
 - Pressure
- Budget
 - Considerations
 - Defense spending
 - Economy
 - Defense spending
 - Effect on employment
 - Short term spending
 - Effect in 1972
 - 1973 budget
 - Cuts
 - Effect on planning
- Domestic Council role
- President's role
 - San Clemente

[Conversation No. 529-008](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: Unknown between 7:53 pm and 8:02 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.



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Meeting with local broadcasters

- President's proposals
 - George Putnam
 - Irv Kupcinec
 - Attendance
 - Purpose
 - Meeting of radio talk show hosts
 - Criteria
- Influence of media figures
 - Use of photographs

Camp David presentation

- Preparations for San Clemente meeting
 - John D. Ehrlichman and Haldeman meeting
 - Richard A. Moore
 - William L. Safire
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Points to emphasize
 - Public relations
 - President's image
 - Focus on issues
- Haldeman meeting with the President

[Conversation No. 529-009](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:02 pm - 8:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Call from William F. ("Billy") Graham

- Butterfield's taking the call
- Call back
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Return of call



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- Butterfield's conversation with Graham
- Graham's schedule
 - San Francisco trip
- Operator
- Kissinger's items

Lights

Butterfield left at 8:05 pm.

Conversation No. 529-010

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:06 pm - 8:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

- Winton M. ("Red") Blount dinner
- Attendance
 - Attendance of deputies
 - Elmer T. ("Ted") Klassen
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Willie J. Usery, Jr.
 - Role in Postal strike

- Cabinet meeting
- Agenda
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Length
 - George P. Shultz
 - Agenda
 - Ehrlichman
 - Document security discussion
 - Length

Butterfield left at 8:11 pm.



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[Conversation No. 529-011](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: Unknown between 8:11 pm and 8:13 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to George P. Shultz.

Arthur F. Burns letter

-Milton Friedman reaction

Inflation

-Administration response

-Expected results

-Jawboning

-Wage and price freeze

[Conversation No. 529-012](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: Unknown between 8:11 pm and 8:13 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-162]

[Conversation No. 529-013](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: Unknown between 8:11 pm and 8:14 pm

Location: Oval Office



The President talked with the White House operator.

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger between 8:13 pm and 8:14 pm.

[See Conversation No. 5-163]

[Conversation No. 529-014](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:18 pm - 9:14 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's trip to Paris

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 8:18 pm.

Item for President

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 9:14 pm.

Vietnam peace negotiations

- Kissinger's trip to Paris
 - Le Duc Tho
 - Xuan Thuy demeanor
 - Set up of negotiating area
 - Discussion of US proposals
 - Le Duc Tho speech
 - Consequences of failure
 - North Vietnamese questions
 - Kissinger's response
 - North Vietnamese counter proposals
 - Precedent
 - Significance
 - Details



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- US withdrawal
 - Time frame
- Prisoners of war [POW] release
 - Time frame
- Political settlement
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Nguyen Cao Ky
- Political settlement
 - US response
 - Letter from President
- Details
 - Laos and Cambodia Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962
 - Disposition
 - Indochinese future
 - Signing of agreement
 - International guarantees and supervision of ceasefire
- Significance of counter proposals
- Possible overthrow of Thieu, Ky and [Duong Van Minh ?]
- Next meeting
 - US changes in proposals
 - Focus on South Vietnamese government
- Kissinger's questions on North Vietnam counter proposal
 - Possible Thieu, Ky and Minh overthrow
 - South Vietnam acceptance of North Vietnam terms
 - Assurances
 - Coalition government
 - International supervision
 - Thieu and Ky status
- Next meeting
 - Danger of leaks
 - Consequences
- North Vietnam counter proposal
 - POWs
 - US leaks
 - Benefits
- Kissinger and David K.E. Bruce conversation
 - Chance for progress on China
 - Briefing of Bruce by Vernon A. Walters
- Timing



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- Prior breakthrough
- Significance of proposal
- Future negotiations
 - Next meeting
 - Secrecy
 - Timing
 - Bruce
 - William P. Rogers
 - Bruce and Rogers role
 - Further information
- Kissinger's conversation with Bruce

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:18 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:14 pm.

People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations

- Significance
 - Kissinger's conversation with Bruce
 - Revelation of PRC contacts
 - Secrecy
 - Rogers
 - Discussion of PRC contacts with others
- Bruce

Soviet Union summit

- Possibilities

Vietnam negotiations

- History of Soviet involvement
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Le Duc Tho's role
 - Earlier proposals
 - Japanese parallel
- Significance of Laos
 - Reports
 - I Corp Area



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- Past involvement
 - Possible impact
 - PRC
 - Thieu
 - House and Senate
 - Mansfield resolution
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Totality of story
 - North Vietnam intentions
 - US options
 - Kissinger's trip to San Clemente
 - Thieu's response
 - US options
 - East German report
 - Cambodia
 - PRC
 - North Vietnam activities
 - PRC announcement
 - Timing
 - Alexander M. Haig Jr.
 - Related to Soviet Summit announcement
 - US support for Thieu
 - Ky
 - Critique of President's policy
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's reaction
- Pentagon Papers
- British Press Regarding Pentagon Papers
 - Roy H. Thompson lunch
 - John Freeman
- British government
- Edward R.G. Heath
 - Regards to the President
 - Demeanor in adversity
 - Reaction to Pentagon Papers
 - Effect on domestic politics
 - Official secrets act
 - Need for secrecy in diplomacy



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Pentagon Papers

- Supreme Court action by President
 - Effects
 - Democratic Party
- Effects
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Humphrey and Johnson relationship
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - Eventual result
 - Johnson
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Kissinger's comments to British press
 - President's reaction
 - Integrity of government
 - Justice
 - Freeman's comments
 - President's morality
 - President's religious background
 - [Unintelligible name]

Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- Thieu's fate
 - Impact of US Congressional action
 - Survival potential
 - Pentagon role
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Bombing
- Bruce
- Political implications
- Nature of agreement
 - Ceasefire
 - POWs
 - Compromise of US and North Vietnam proposals
 - Withdrawal offer
 - Date
 - POWs
- Thieu and Ky



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- Thieu election strategy
 - Relationship to US presence
- US role
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Bombing of harbors
 - Size of US Army in Asia
 - Compared to PRC Army
- Future US role
- US position
 - Need for withdrawal
 - Role of bombing
 - Role of bombing
 - Effect of Senate actions
 - Mansfield Amendment
- Kissinger's talk to Hugh Scott
- Gerald R. Ford
- John C. Stennis
- US meetings with PRC and Soviet Union
 - Kissinger's conversation with Chou En-lai
 - PRC influence
 - Further Kissinger and President Contacts
- Help for Kissinger
 - Haig
 - Security leaks
 - Winston Lord
 - Impact of announcement of PRC trip

PRC

- Announcement of President's trip
 - Timing
 - Impact
 - Effect on Paris talks
 - Contact with Soviet Union
 - Bruce's mission
- Kissinger trip to San Clemente
 - Informing William P. Rogers
 - Other travels
 - Camouflage for PRC trip



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- Prevention of leaks
 - Dobrynin's contacts with Kissinger and Rogers
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - Mutual and Balances Force Reduction [MBFR]
 - Bruce
- Rogers and Congressional committees
- Dean Rusk

Foreign Policy initiatives

- Announcements
 - President's visit to PRC
 - Bruce's mission
 - Soviet move
 - Presidential visit to the Soviet Union
 - Timing
 - [Richard A. Moore ?]

Vietnam negotiations

- Support for Thieu
 - Effect of other as President
 - Humphrey
 - Muskie
 - Edward Kennedy
 - Need to prevent Communist takeover
 - Risk of settlement
 - Communist takeover
 - Timing
 - Effect on US policy
 - POWs
 - Congressional pressure
- Length
 - Effect of PRC announcement
 - North Vietnamese flexibility
 - Soviet Pressure
 - Berlin talks
 - D. Kenneth Rush
 - Dobrynin
 - SALT
 - North Vietnamese flexibility



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PRC initiative

- PRC cooperation
 - Possible price
 - Taiwan
 - US support
 - Announcement
 - Timing
 - Coverage
- Impact of PRC and US talks
 - Substance
 - Nature of US and PRC relations
 - Taiwan
 - Japanese and US long term relationship
 - Expansion
 - Reasons
 - PRC expansion
 - Reasons
 - PRC image in other Asian nations
 - Thailand
 - Burma
 - Indonesia
 - Philippines
 - US and PRC detente
 - Impact on Asia
 - Balance of power
 - Soviet desire for summit
 - Timing of summits
 - Soviet Union compared with PRC
 - Bruce
- Rogers
 - Middle East negotiations
 - Kissinger's view
 - Conduct of negotiations
- Bruce
 - Bruce's ability
 - Rejection of publicity
- Use of Two-man team
 - Soviet Union



-PRC

General foreign policy performance

- Melvin R. Laird
- Rogers
- President's role in history
 - Kissinger's view
- Letter to Kissinger from Harvard "dove"

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:18 pm.

President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:14 pm.

The President and Kissinger left at 9:14 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-015](#)

Date: June 28, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:12 am and 9:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[529-015-w001]
[Duration: 1s]

Request
-Tea



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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:21 am.

Conversation No. 529-016

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 9:21 am - 10:04 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:22 am.

Briefing

- Camp David meeting
- Cabinet meeting
- Expected Supreme Court decision
 - Dynamics of decision
 - Decisions versus opinions
 - Timing of major decisions

Ziegler left at 9:24 am.

Pentagon Papers

- Congressional investigation
 - Carl B. Albert
 - Impact on Vietnam negotiations
 - President's conversation with David K.E. Bruce
 - Prospects
 - Recall of Bruce
- Prospects for House passage of Mansfield Amendment
 - Lucien N. Nedzi-Charles W. Whalen, Jr. amendment
 - Whalen
 - Alternative resolution
 - Tactics
 - John W. Byrnes
 - Authority of resolution



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- Impact
- House prospects
 - Timing of introduction
- Conference tactics
- Senate filibuster on draft bill
 - Impact
- Clark MacGregor
 - Fixed date fund cutoff in both houses
- Henry A. Kissinger information
- Fixed date fund cutoff
 - Impact on negotiations
- Statement by President
 - George P. Shultz
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Upcoming decision
 - Albert
 - F. Edward Hebert

President's schedule

- New Hampshire and Maine
 - Visit by President
 - Timing
 - Ship conversion
 - ACTION Project
 - Portsmouth Navy Yard
- Haldeman forthcoming conversation with William P. Rogers
- Camp David trip

Pentagon Papers

- Question and answer session
 - Ehrlichman
 - Timing
 - Value
 - Hostility of audience
 - Haldeman and Richard A. Moore preparations
- George H. Mahon mailing
 - Attendance
- Calls to Congressmen



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- Norris Cotton
- Gerald R. Ford
- Hugh Scott
- Longevity of Congressmen
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Duane J. Matthies [?]
- MacGregor's expertise
 - Responsibility
 - Preparation for Richard H. Ichord
 - Bryce N. Harlow
 - Whalen
 - Congressional tactics
- Calls to Congressmen
 - Albert
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - Other Congressmen

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:24 am.

Request for Kissinger

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:39 am.

President's schedule

- Albert's health
 - Effect on meeting with President
- Congressional "Half -hour", July 2
 - T. Warren Parker
 - Receiving line
 - MacGregor
 - Politically important people

Kissinger entered at 9:39 am.

Casualties

- Number
- Trends
- Play by media
 - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]



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- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Washington Post/New York Times*
- Pentagon Papers
- Offensive in Vietnam

President's talk with Albert

- Effect of Congressional action
 - Negotiations with the Soviet Union
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations
 - Vietnam
 - Bruce
 - Recall
 - MacGregor's report
 - Filibuster in Senate
 - Benefit to administration
 - PRC and Soviet Union trip announcements
- Albert
 - Stand on Congressional action
 - Weekend schedule
 - Health

Congressional action on Vietnam

- Cutoff of funds
 - MacGregor's report
 - Accuracy
 - Effect on US strategy
 - Kissinger's conversation with Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Perception of President's action
 - Strategy
 - Timing
 - PRC visit announcement
 - End of combat announcement
 - Soviet Union visit announcement
- MacGregor's report
 - Accuracy
- Albert
 - Administration opponents
- Albert
 - Contact with John C. Watts



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- Congress
 - Effect of other accomplishments
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - PRC initiative
 - Ping-pong diplomacy
- Vietnam
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Two schools of thought
 - President's success
 - Dole

Vietnam

- Vietnam strategy
 - "Lifeboat" concept
 - Need for strong front
- Vietnam agreement
 - Terms
 - Ceasefire
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - President's comments to Albert
 - President's comments to Mansfield
- Support for President
 - Compared to support for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967
- Vietnam agreement
 - Nine points
 - Supervision
 - Changes
 - Ceasefire
 - Use as bargaining chip
 - Support for Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky, and Duong Van Minh
 - Support by South Vietnamese
- Timing
 - Effect on US strategy
 - SALT
 - President's appearance on television
 - Timing
 - Effect on Audiences
- News summaries
 - Length
 - Compared to foreign service reporting



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-Good ambassadorial reports

-William C. Bullitt

-Joseph C. Grew

Pentagon Papers

-Media coverage

-Richard ("Dick") Wilson

-Peter Arnett of Associate Press

-Arnett's view of administration

-Rationale for Arnett story

-Defense of Daniel Ellsberg

-Ellsberg criminal prosecution

-Counterattack after PRC announcement

-Administration response

-Albert breakfast

-President's contact with Mansfield

-Bruce

-Albert

-Bruce's efforts in PRC

-Chou En-lai

Foreign Policy

-Triumphs

-SALT

-PRC

-Bruce's efforts in PRC

-Soviet summit

-Effect on Bruce's efforts in PRC

-PRC strategy

-Timing

-Reaction of free Chinese to President's announcement

-Soviet summit

-Double play

-Bruce

-President's visit

-Compared with Bruce's visit

-Prospects



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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 10/24/2019. Archivist:MAS]

[National Security]

[529-016-w010]

[Duration: 36s]

SOVIET UNION

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Foreign Policy

- Obsession with Vietnam
 - Effect of other events
 - Congressional action
 - Effect of PRC announcement
 - Cut-off of funds
 - Effective date
- Watershed of US policy
 - End of World War II
 - Civil War
- PRC announcement
 - Length
 - Content
 - "Peace" focus
 - Pacific region
 - World
- PRC trip
 - Attendance
 - Rogers
 - Democrats
 - Mansfield



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- Scott
- Necessity of first visit by President
 - Chou En-lai
 - Handling by PRC
 - Mansfield's letter to Norodom Sihanonk
 - Invitation by Chou to Mansfield
- United Nations [UN] debate
 - Rogers
 - Timing
 - PRC
 - Chou En-lai
 - Taiwan
 - Reaction

Stephen B. Bull entered at 10:02 am.

Schedule

- Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP]
- Days engagements

Bull left at 10:03 am.

Foreign policy

- PRC trip
 - Attendance
 - Richard A. Moore [?]
 - Other Democrats
 - Press conferences

The President, Haldeman and Kissinger left at 10:04 am.

[Conversation No. 529-017](#)

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:04 am and 10:05 am

Location: Oval Office



Ronald L. Ziegler met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's location

The President entered at an unknown time after 10:04 am.

Schedule

- Briefing
- Defense budget

The President, Butterfield and Ziegler left at 10:05 am.

Conversation No. 529-018

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:21 am

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met at an unknown time after 10:05 am.

[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Non-Historical]

[529-018-w001]

[Duration: 7m 6s]

The President's location

Outside conditions

- Darkness

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

Weather

- Rain
- Tornado



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-South Grounds

General conversation

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:21 am.

Conversation No. 529-019

Date: June 28, 1971
Time: 10:22 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[529-019-w001]
[Duration: 3s]

Request
-Tea

Sanchez left at 10:22 am.

Conversation No. 529-020



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Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 10:23 am - 10:51 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP] meeting

- President's comments
 - John B. Connally
- Repetition at June 29 Cabinet meeting
 - Foreign policy points
 - Domestic policy points

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:24 am.

- Toughness
- Need for discipline in foreign policy
- Credit for policy success
- Arthur F. Burns' letter
- Connally
- Connally meeting with Burns
- Burns' criticism
 - Scope
- Audience
 - Effect on morale
 - Permissiveness
- Lack of discussion

Criticism of President

- Kissinger's lunch with Edward R.G. Heath, Sir Alexander Douglas-Home, and William Whitelaw
- Public criticism of President
 - British tradition
 - Effect on negotiations

Congressional attendance on People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

- Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- President's visit



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Mansfield
- Hugh Scott
- Protocol problems
 - Press conferences

PRC visit announcement

- Consultation with Congressional leaders
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] consultation
 - Benefits from consultation
- Location of announcement
- Consultation with staff
- Staff work with Congress
- Television timing
 - Time differences
- Television build-up

Pentagon Papers

- Supreme Court decision
- Herbert G. Klein
- Daniel Ellsberg surrender and admission
- Legal problems
 - Injunction criteria
 - Damage
 - Ellsberg perjury
 - Supreme Court Justices
 - John M. Harlan
 - Potter Stewart
 - Law clerks
 - Social activity
- Charles W. Colson's memorandum
 - Ellsberg prosecution
 - Problems
 - Need to keep issue alive
 - Senate hearings
- Democratic fears
 - Administration exploitation
- Revelation of material by Republicans
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Banner headline



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-Korean War and World War II document release

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-020-w002]

[Duration: 26s]

Pentagon Papers

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr. dinner with Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
- Democratic Party problems
- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Inability to be nominated
- Democrats' strategy for their 1972 convention
- Hold early to avoid possible riots

Domestic policy

- Burns
 - Background
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower era
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller support
 - European trip
 - Federal Reserve appointment
 - Age
 - Debt to President
 - Respect among economists
 - Foreign travels
 - Israel
 - Korea
 - Japan
 - Future plans
- President's Domestic Policy Council comments
- Morality of administration



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- Maurice H. Stans
- Plugging of leaks

Foreign Policy

- Attacks on President's critics
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Attack on President
 - Timing
 - US openings to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - President's comments to Mansfield
 - Carl B. Albert
- July 15th announcement
 - Prospect for PRC visit
 - Position of Taiwan
 - Robert Bruce Atwood
- William P. Rogers
 - Revelation of Kissinger's efforts
 - Timing
 - President's knowledge
 - Story presented
 - Retrieval of message
 - Knowledge of destination
 - Final Ok for trip
 - President's involvement
 - Kissinger's report
 - Camouflage for trip
 - Rogers
 - Yahya Khan's role
 - Publicity benefits
 - Charges of deception
 - Leaks
 - David K.E. Bruce
 - Rogers' negotiating ability
 - Congressional questions
 - Rogers
- Bruce
- Bruce's view of PRC initiative
- Bruce's attendance on PRC trip
- Attendance on PRC trip



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- President
- Rogers
- Kissinger
- Bruce
- Bruce's view on Vietnam negotiations
 - Need for toughness
 - Bruce
 - Future negotiations

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:24 am.

Meeting with Vernon E. Jordan

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:51 am.

Foreign policy

- Bruce's view of Vietnam negotiator
 - New initiatives
- Congressional view of Vietnam negotiations
 - Charles H. Percy
 - Support for President
- Repetition of President's CCEP remarks
 - Cabinet meeting
 - Haldeman's repetition to staff
 - Focus on Pentagon Papers
 - Staff attendance
 - Haldeman

Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- July 15th announcement
 - Le Duc Tho's probable response
- Negotiations
 - Le Duc Tho social contact
 - Le Duc Tho visits to Peking
 - Vernon A. Walters
 - Comment to Kissinger
 - Precedent
 - Le Duc Tho visit to Peking
 - Peking support for North Vietnam
- Vietnam negotiations



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- South Vietnamese election
 - Incentive to settle
 - Impact of November 1 settlement
- MacGregor
 - Work with Senate
 - Mansfield

Kissinger and Haldeman left at 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 529-021

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 10:54 am - 11:38 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Vernon E. Jordan Jr., Robert J. Brown, John D. Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz, and Leonard Garment; Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

General conversation

Jordan's position

-Activity

National Urban League

-Upcoming convention

-Attendance

-Personnel

-Harold R. Sims

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:54 am.

Refreshments



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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:38 am.

Jordan's background

- Marvin W. Russell
- President and Jordan's 1956 DePauw University meeting
 - Eugene S. Pullian
 - Russell J. Humbolt [?]
- Work
- Family
- Work
- Early experience
- DePauw University
 - Experiences
- Responsibilities
- Benefits
- Humbolt [?]
- Pullian
 - Resignation from DePauw University Board of Trustees

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 10:54 am.

Presentation to President

- Photograph
 - 1956 President and Jordan meeting [?]
 - Description

National Urban League

- Jordan's leadership
 - Timing
 - Whitney M. Young, Jr.
- Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Mystique

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:35 am.

National Urban League

- Youth
 - Death
- Jordan's leadership



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Youth
 - Benefits
 - Youth
 - Courage
- Relationship with administration
 - Shultz and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Young
 - Administration commitment
 - Calls to Ehrlichman and Shultz
 - Cooperation
 - Contact with President
 - Disagreements
 - Jordan's address to unknown college
 - Money available
 - Money cuts for schools
- Programs
 - Funds for the Urban League
 - Department of Labor
 - Other agencies
 - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
 - Office of Economic Policy
 - Department of Defense [DOD]
 - Office of Management and Budget [OMB] coordination
 - Sims
 - Credit to administration
 - Movement from House of Representatives and Senate
 - President's experience
- Jordan's residence
 - Funds for Urban League
 - Source
 - Drug program
 - Effect of drug problem
 - Veterans
 - Youth
 - Racial distinction
 - Education money
 - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
 - Education programs of Urban League
 - Atlanta



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Need for drug program
 - Scope of problem
- Public relations
 - Achievements of Urban League
- Need to provide service
 - Jaffe
- Urban League role in drug programs
- Public relations
- Urban League mission
- President's suggestions
- Black Caucus
 - Charles B. Rangel
 - Domestic problems
 - Supply
 - Turkey
 - France
 - Vietnam
- Drug programs
 - Appeal to various groups
 - Rangel
- President's suggestions
- Need to broaden scope
 - Donald McI. Kendall
 - Competition for money
 - Urban coalitions
 - Obscure sources
 - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
[NAACP]
- Unknown Atlanta girl
 - School paper
 - Drug knowledge
 - Background
- Drug programs
 - Teacher training
 - Need for current knowledge
 - John Mackey visit
 - Responsibility of athletes in education
 - Carl M. Yastrzemski
 - Jordan's press conference



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Revenue sharing discussion
 - Clarence Coleman
 - Edwin L. Harper
 - Information session
- Welfare reform
 - Administration efforts
 - Drawbacks
 - Change in approach
 - Urban League position
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - Expertise
 - Urban League approach
 - Goals
 - Effect on worker
 - Manpower and revenue sharing
 - Training benefits
 - Link to welfare
- Administration's overall approach to welfare and revenue sharing
 - Objectives
 - Rise of self-respect
 - Incentives
 - Sensitivity to citizens
- Urban League
 - President's visit to New York offices
 - Emphasis on dignity and self-respect
 - Benefits to all races
 - Chicanos
 - Whites
 - Blacks
 - Focus on social problems
 - Task force approval
 - West Virginia
 - Mississippi
 - Alabama
 - Illinois
 - Aid to poor
 - Message from Washington
 - George Bartlett
- Welfare and revenue sharing



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Senate action
- Senate sentiment
 - Opposition to social programs
- Need for support in Senate
- Alternative Senate plans
 - New York problems
 - Inadequacy of present system
- Administration efforts
 - Drug, welfare and revenue sharing programs
 - Richardson
 - James D. Hodgson
 - Arthur A. Fletcher
 - Philadelphia program
 - Need for specifics
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Urban League opportunities
 - New leadership
 - Jordan
 - Opportunity
 - Need for initiatives
 - Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt
 - Jordan
 - Responsibilities to constituents
 - Extremes of behavior
- Administration efforts
 - Welfare
 - Urban problem
 - Desegregation
 - Basis for relations with Urban League
 - Cooperation on drug and revenue sharing

Shultz and Garment left at 11:35 am.

Autograph

Gift presentation

- Jordan
- Martha's Vineyard
- Golf balls



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Kendall
- Paperweight
- Pens
 - Jordan's daughter
 - Jordan's secretary
 - Jordan's wife

Football

- Jordan's career
- Size of players
 - Mackey
- Melody[?]
- Southern California star
 - Kansas City Chiefs

Jordan and Brown left at 11:38 am.

Language of press statement

Ehrlichman left at 11:38 am.

Conversation No. 529-024

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:38 am and 11:46 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019.

Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-024-w001]



[Duration: 1s]

Request
-Tea [?]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:46 am.

[Conversation No. 529-022](#)

Date: June 28, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:38 am and 11:46 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-164]

[Conversation No. 529-023](#)

Date: June 28, 1971
Time: 11:39 pm - 1:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

New York Times story of Ambassadorial transfers
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Terance F. Smith
-Peoples Republic of China [PRC]
-Reference to Kissinger's trip
-Photograph
-Story



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Chou En-lai
- William P. Rogers
 - Kissinger
- Haldeman meeting with Kissinger
- Further stories
 - Rogers' Role
- Rogers' information
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr. role
- National Security Council [NSC] staff leaks
- Race to visit PRC
 - George S. McGovern's Ottawa trip
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy contact with Chou En-lai
- White House denial of Kissinger trip
 - Possibility of Rogers' leak
 - Chinese leak
- Arthur W. Galston
 - Meeting with Chou En-lai
 - John Foster Dulles demeanor
 - 1954 Geneva conference
 - McGovern political prospects
 - Nixon stand on Communism
 - Nixon PRC visit
 - Galston
- PRC leaks
- Rogers' knowledge of PRC trip
- PRC leaks
- Kissinger
 - Accuracy of Ambassadorial transfers
 - David K.E. Bruce
- State Department release of information
 - Propriety

[The President talked with Congressman Donald G. Brotzman between 11:46 am and 11:47 am]

[Conversation No. 529-23A]

[See Conversation No. 5-165]

[End of Telephone Conversation]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- New York Times* story on Ambassadors
- Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
 - Relation to other stories
 - Rogers leaks
 - Details of story

[The President talked with Kissinger at an unknown time between 11:47 am and 11:50 am]

[Conversation No. 529-23B]

Request for meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

- Times* story on Ambassadors
- Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
 - State Department transfers
 - Philip C. Habib
 - William J. Porter
 - Korea
 - Marshall Green
 - Armin H. Meyer
 - Japan
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Leonard Unger
 - Thailand
 - Charles Whitehouse
 - Sullivan
 - Accuracy
 - Change in Assignments

[Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:47 am and 11:51 am]

[Conversation No. 529-23C]

[See Conversation No. 5-166]



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[End of telephone conversation]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip

-Leaks

-State Department transfers

-John S.D. Eisenhower

-Walworth Barbour

-Tel Aviv

[The President talked with Peter M. Flanigan between 11:50 Am and 11:51 am]

[Conversation No. 529-23D]

[See Conversation No. 5-167]

[End of telephone conversation]

New York Times Story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Ambassadorial appointments

-Haldeman's call to Rogers

-Revocation of decision on assignments

-Lyndon B. Johnson

-Habib

-Korea

-Porter

-Southeast Asia

-Green

-Japan

-Sullivan

-Thailand

-Unger

-Sullivan

-Whitehouse

Kissinger entered at 11:51 am.

New York Times Story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Ambassadorial appointments



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Accuracy
- Reference to Kissinger trip to Peking
 - Rogers
 - Rogers' information
 - Leaks
 - Kissinger staff
 - Clues from story
 - Chou En-lai
 - Galston
 - Press conference information
 - President's possible visit
 - Smith's calls to Kissinger's staff
 - Kissinger staff instructions
 - Times phone calls

[The President talked with the White House Operator at an unknown time between 11:51 am and 12:20 pm]

[Conversation No. 529-23E]

[See Conversation No. 5-168]

[End of telephone conversation]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Kissinger trip to Peking
 - Rogers
 - Richard F. Pederson
 - Haldeman contact with Rogers
 - Packaging of story
 - Benefit to Rogers

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment declassified on 05/08/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[529-023-w012]



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[Duration: 3s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Henry A. Kissinger trip to Peking
- William P. Rogers
- Packaging of story
- Indian hatred of People's Republic of China [PRC]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Henry A. Kissinger trip to Peking
- William P. Rogers
- Kissinger standing with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Precedent of Chinese leak
- Chinese leak
- Chinese interests
- Recent Chinese note
- Kissinger trip to Rawalpindi

[The President talked with Congressman Jack H. McDonald at an unknown time between 11:50 am and 12:20 pm]

[Conversation No. 529-23F]

[See Conversation No. 5-169]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
- Rogers
- State Department leak
- Galston interview
- Chou En-lai
- Rationale from PRC point
- PRC
- Meeting in Norway
- Ambassadorial leaks
- Revocation of appointments



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- Announcement of appointments
 - Effect on Kissinger
- Eisenhower appointment
- Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
 - Kissinger reference to *Times* story
 - President's press statement of PRC visit
 - Kissinger's announcement of Saigon trip
 - Speculation
 - PRC announcement
- Haldeman's contact with Rogers
 - PRC request for envoy
 - Warsaw meeting
 - Coverage by article
- Rogers' knowledge of Kissinger's trip
- Rogers
 - Packaging of story
 - State Department leak
- Announcement of Kissinger's trip
 - Press speculation
- Impact of story
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's comment
- Haldeman's contact with Rogers
 - Focus on Ambassadorial appointments leak
 - Focus on Rogers leak
 - Withdrawal of appointments
- Effect on PRC announcement
- PRC announcement
 - Kissinger contact with PRC
- Ziegler
- Effect on US and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
 - Dobrynin positioning
 - Consideration of US and USSR summit
- Reference to Ambassadorial appointments
 - Accuracy
 - Rationale
- Haldeman's contact with Rogers
 - Focus on appointment leaks
- Revocation of appointments



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- Habib
 - Debt of administration
- Sullivan
- Porter
 - Asian post
- Green
- Announcement timing
 - August 1 date
 - July 15 announcement
 - Need for discipline
 - Johnson precedent
 - Revocation of appointments
 - Effect on USSR summit
- Rogers' role
 - Source of information
 - Haig
- Chinese
- USSR
- Rogers' knowledge of PRC initiative
 - White House contact
 - Discrepancy in Kissinger schedule

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment declassified on 05/08/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[529-023-w015]

[Duration: 32s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- William P. Rogers' knowledge of People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
 - Discrepancy in Kissinger schedule
 - Henry A. Kissinger previous lunch with Lakshmi Kant Jha
 - Approval of Henry A. Kissinger trip
 - Kenneth B. Keating's opinion



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New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Testing of diplomatic waters
- Rogers
 - PRC revelation
 - Ambassadorial appointments
 - Discipline of State Department
- Revocation of Ambassadorial appointments
 - Sullivan utility
 - Paris
- Speculation regarding PRC
- Complaint regarding Ambassador schedule
- Smith
 - Source of PRC speculation
 - Text of story
- Rebuttal of PRC story
- Rogers' role
 - Rationale for leak
 - Clues to Kissinger's intentions
 - Timing of PRC trip
 - Haig's role
- Haldeman and Rogers contact
 - Reason for Kissinger's India and Pakistan trip
- Rogers' role
 - Clues to Kissinger's mission
 - Letter pick up
 - Haig role
 - Kissinger role
 - Appropriateness
 - Rationale

[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]
[529-023-w016]



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[Duration: 42s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-William P. Rogers' role

-Rationale

-Effect on Indians

-Indian relationship with People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Potential cancellation of Henry A. Kissinger visit

-The President's assessment

-Lakshmi Kant Jha's remark to Henry A. Kissinger

-US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relationship

-Possibility of telephone taps

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-Separation of stories

-Ambassador's article

-Yitzhak Rabin article

-PRC article

-"Washington Notes" compared with Newsweek "Periscope"

-Ellsworth F. Bunker and Bruce article

-Haig

-Effect on US and USSR relations

-Kissinger contact with Anatoliy Dobrynin

-Summit delays

-Us options

-Leaks

[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]

[529-023-w017]

[Duration: 35s]



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New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Leaks
 - Possible telephone tap
 - Agha Hilaly’s potential responsibility
 - Pakistani reliance on US
 - Pakistani knowledge
 - Importance of US trip to Pakistan

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Kissinger’s Asia trip
 - Publication of arrival times
 - Official greetings
 - Nixon trips as former Vice President
 - Agenda questions
 - Visits to Prime Minister and Cabinet
 - Saigon visit
 - Public Information Officer [PIO]
 - Bruce
 - Bunker
 - Press contacts
 - [Forename unknown] Thurman
 - Robert Elliott

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[529-023-w018]
[Duration: 5s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger’s Asia trip
 - Henry A. Kissinger compared to William P. Rogers
 - The President’s opinion



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New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- Saigon press corps
- Evasion of questions
- Photographs of Kissinger and Nguyen Van Thieu meeting

[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]

[529-023-w020]

[Duration: 28s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- India-Pakistan
- Henry A. Kissinger's role
- Potential photograph with Indira Gandhi
- The President's opinion
- Low-key visit
- US involvement

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- Informing Rogers
- Departure
- Dobrynin
- Contact with President

Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Rogers
 - Results
 - Kissinger
 - Rogers' demeanor
 - Play to John D. Ehrlichman
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Haldeman call to Rogers
 - Kissinger visit
 - Pederson
 - Details of call
 - Conference with an unknown person
 - Pederson
 - Haldeman's instructions to Rogers
 - Rogers' call to Haldeman
 - Conference with an unknown person
 - Pederson
 - U. Alexis Johnson
 - Haig's suggestion
 - Source
 - Haldeman call to Rogers
 - Result
- Ambassadorial appointments
 - Announcement
 - Kissinger's concern
 - Rogers
 - President's tactics
 - Delay
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Rogers' reaction
 - Senate action
 - Ziegler comment
 - State Department concern
 - U. Alexis Johnson call
 - Green
 - Japan appointment
 - Alternative
 - Japan
 - Prospects



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Businessman
- Haig
 - Kissinger's demeanor
- Source of story
 - State Department
 - Pederson
- Ziegler
 - Knowledge of PRC deal
 - Comments
 - Interpretation
- President's comments
 - Visit to PRC
- Wording
 - Kissinger
 - Source
 - State Department
- Rogers
 - Knowledge of PRC deal
 - Results
 - Rogers' position
 - Need for knowledge

Cabinet meeting, June 29

- President's comments
 - Agenda
 - Economic situation
 - Foreign policy
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Rogers
 - Memos concerning policy
 - Publication
 - Pentagon Papers
 - John B. Connally
 - Precedent
- Attendance
 - Haig
 - Ehrlichman
 - Peterson
- President's comments



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Need for discipline
 - Haldeman
 - Staff discipline
 - Foreign policy
 - Domestic policy

Times story on Ambassadors

- Rogers
- Leaks of information
 - State Department
 - Pederson
 - Impact on Terance Smith
- Rogers' interest

Cabinet meeting, June 29

- Precedent of economic group meeting
- Haldeman possible conversation with Connally
- Effect of remarks on economic groups
- Effect of State Department and Defense Department presence
- Economic decisions

Rogers' travels

- California
- Maine

Times story on Ambassadors

- State Department
- Rogers
 - Rationale
 - Pederson
 - Kissinger's PRC efforts
 - Use of knowledge
- PRC view of emissaries
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger
 - Timing
 - 1972
 - 1971
- Timing



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Speculation of visit by President
- Election
- Speculation
- Impact
 - Knowledge of facts
 - Contact with US
- Announcement of PRC trip
 - Announcement of USSR summit
 - Kissinger efforts
 - Impact on role with USSR
 - Kissinger stature
 - Dobrynin
- Administration's options
 - Connally
 - Haldeman and Connally

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:20 pm.

Request for Rose Mary Woods

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.

The President left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm.

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:20 pm and 1:40 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-23G]

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w004]

[Duration: 27s]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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[See Conversation No. 005-170]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:43 pm.

Haldeman talked with John B. Connally at an unknown time before 12:52 pm.

The President entered at an unknown time after 12:43 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

Speech writing

- Spacing of text
- Binding of speeches
 - Safety factor
 - West Point example
 - Precedent
- Usual impression
- Past success

Schedule

- Marine trip
- Kansas City trip for Kissinger[?]
- Relation to Florida trip

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/10/2019. 1m 31s segment cleared for release. 13s remain closed as 529-023-w005.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w005]

[Duration: 1m 31s]

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown schedule
 - Desire of the President to take some days off



- Jack Drown
 - The President's concern
- Rose Mary Woods advice

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w005]

[Duration: 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown schedule
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach role
 - Handling of Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
 - Message to F. Donald Nixon

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:52 pm.

Political discussion

- John N. Mitchell
- Lyndon B. Johnson

Drugs

- Turkey
 - Opium deal
 - Release
 - Timing
 - Scope



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- Mitchell and Connally debate
 - Customs Agents
 - Egil G (“Bud”) Krogh role
 - President's decision
 - Timing
 - Connally request
 - Mitchell
 - Rationale
 - Contact with Connally
 - Outcome of Krogh mission
 - Ehrlichman
 - Krogh mission
 - Departure
 - Friction between agencies

Crime

- Mitchell announcement
 - Crime statistics
 - Washington, DC figures
- Timing
 - Federal Bureau Investigation [FBI] graduation
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Court decision
 - Term extension

Cabinet meeting

- President's comments
 - Effect on State Department and Department of Defense [DOD]
- Results

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w007]

[Duration: 25s]



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Politics

- Memorandums from the President to John D. Ehrlichman
 - Nelson H. Cruikshank
 - The President's opinion
 - Arthur S. Fleming's role
 - Spending habits
 - Importance of older Americans as constituents

Conference on Aging

- Arthur S. Fleming role
- Administration strategy
 - George Wiley

Turkey

- Opium agreement
 - Public relations
 - Statement by President
 - Praising Turkish Prime Minister
 - Charles B. Rangel
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
 - Scope of agreement

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/17/2019. 10m 34s segment cleared for release with two segments of 37s and 16s remaining closed as 529-023-w009 and 529-023-w021 respectively. Additionally, 529-023-w021 has been reclassified as a PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal and will remain closed.]

[Personal Returnable]
[529-023-w009]
[Duration: 10m 34s]

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower-Tricia Nixon Cox role



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- Buffer for the President
- Herbert W. Kalmbach role
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w009]

[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon–Helene (Colesie) Drown meeting
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo schedule
 - The President's avoidance
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach's role
 - F. Donald Nixon
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's brothers
 - Comments
 - Visits to the President
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
 - Robert H. Abplanalp
 - Prior invitations
 - California
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach's role
 - The President's need for rest
 - Upcoming presidential election
 - Effect on country and world
 - No more overnight guests at White House
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
 - Need to get away



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- Marjorie P. Acker and Rose Mary Woods
 - Viewing of wedding gifts
- The President's needs
 - Rest
 - Study of briefing books
 - Federal budget
 - Privacy
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon schedule
 - Visits to brothers and sisters
 - Need for seclusion
 - Card playing
- Dinner invitations
- The President's needs
 - Swimming
- Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo role
 - Jack Drown
 - Tact

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[Federal Statute]

[529-023-w021]

[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
 - The President's need for good appearance
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon-Helene (Colesie) Drown
 - Cottage
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
- The President's days off



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- Possible banishment from White House guest quarters
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach’s comments
 - Extent of visits
 - End to overnight stays
 - Dinner invitations
 - Other activities
- Attendance of the President's birthday party
 - Departure time of Rose Mary Woods and Raymond J. Arbuthnot
- Overnight stays
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Importance of 1972 election
- Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
 - Stays at White House
 - Compared to Robert H. Abplanalp
 - Compared to Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
 - Demeanor
 - Benefits to the President
 - United States Secret Service [USSS]

Rose Mary Woods's health

- Back problems

Woods left at 1:11 pm.

Cabinet meeting

- President's comments
 - Connally
 - Need for control of leaks
- Rogers
 - Leak problems
- White House leak problems
 - Robert H. Finch
 - Lower staff levels
 - Newspaper story
 - Handling of Pentagon Papers
- Kissinger



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- Disagreement with policy
 - Public criticism
- Staff meeting
 - Haldeman comments
- Public statements
 - Use of judgment
- Haldeman's conversation with Connally
 - Leadership
 - President's efforts
 - Orientation to domestic questions
 - Projection next year
 - Connally memoranda
 - International trade
 - Restriction on imports
 - George P. Shultz
 - Economy
 - Unemployment
 - Fiscal responsibility
 - Inflation
 - Labor vote
 - Foreign trade protection of jobs
 - Solution of problems
 - Concern of President
 - Steel problems
 - Peterson
 - Type of President
 - Public vs. private
 - President's attributes
 - Statement of President's views
 - DOD reorganization
 - Fiscal responsibility
 - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] dispersal
 - Defense spending
 - Belief in free enterprise
 - Contribution to reelection
 - Public mood
 - OEO
 - Model cities
 - End of Great Society programs



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- Relation to Barry M. Goldwater
- Role of President's aides
 - Business perception
 - Inflation
- Meetings with smaller groups
- Appeal to nation
- Ability of speechwriters
- Strength of Cabinet officers
- August trip
 - Africa and Europe trip compared with US trip
- President's analysis of US mood
 - Use of statistics
 - Personal contact
 - Indianapolis trip
 - Maine trip
 - Less focus on organization
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:11 am.

[Item for Haldeman]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:40 pm.

Agnew

- As an issue

The President left at an unknown time after 1:11 pm.

[Fifty second pause]

The President entered at an unknown time before 1:40 pm.

- Problems
 - Posture
 - Attitude
 - Capabilities
 - Office of Intergovernmental Relations
 - Use of Vice President



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w010]

[Duration: 5m 27s]

Spiro T. Agnew

-Problems

-Retention of Spiro T. Agnew

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's conversation with John B. Connally

-Impact of vice presidential selection on President's re-election

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion

-Possible damage to President's re-election

-Mechanics of replacing the Spiro T. Agnew

-Need for positive atmosphere

-Effect on 1972 Republican convention

-Death-resignation possibility

-Appointment of new Vice President

-Timing

-Fall of 1971

-Prior to 1972 Republican convention

-Spiro T. Agnew resignation

-Purpose

-Attacks the press for the President

-Benefits of civilian Spiro T. Agnew

-Appointment of successor to Spiro T. Agnew

-Political outlook

-Moving left compared to moving right

-Possibilities

-Need for a Vice President that is similar to the President

-Campaign skill

-Need for backup

-John B. Connally role

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman intimations of Vice Presidency

-John B. Connally attributes



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Alternatives to Spiro T. Agnew
 - Ronald W. Reagan
 - Prospects
 - Role as governor
 - Used to being chief executive
 - John B. Connally
 - Loyalty
 - Effectiveness
 - Attributes

Spiro T. Agnew

- Leadership
 - Mistakes
 - Press handling
 - Need for firmness
 - Foreign policy
 - Domestic policy
 - President's interest
 - Radio speech
 - Connally view
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr. view
 - Previous administration's programs
 - Medicare
 - Head Start
 - Upward Bound
 - Nixon administration's programs
 - ACTION
 - Ehrlichman
 - Attributes
 - President's memo to Haldeman
 - Goals
 - Leadership
 - Issues
- Talks usefulness
- Use of statistics



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August trip

- Timing
 - Congressional recess
- Public relations
- Press

Connally comments

- Ehrlichman
- Shultz
- Finch
- Press handling
- Purpose

Schedule

- NSC meeting on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
 - Laird
 - Kissinger
 - Time change
- FBI graduation
- Free time
- President's meeting with Kissinger

Kissinger's Trip to Asia

- Positions assumed
- Results

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Rogers
- State Department
 - Lower level leak
 - Possible goal
 - Reduce Kissinger's effectiveness with Dobrynin

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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[529-023-w011]

[Duration: 15s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-Department of State [DOS]

-Richard F. Pedersen

-The President's opinion

-Question why William P. Rogers trust him

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's lack of trust in him

The President and Haldeman left at 1:40 pm.