



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 527-1

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:48 pm and 1:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:50 pm.

Conversation No. 527-2

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:48 pm and 1:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

- Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
- Frank J. Shakespeare meeting
- Meeting with Kissinger
- John D. Ehrlichman

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 1:50 pm.

Conversation No. 527-3

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: 1:48 pm - 1:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Request for John D. Ehrlichman

An unknown woman left at an unknown time before 1:50 pm.

Conversation No. 5274

Date: June 22, 1971

Time: 1:50 pm - 3:07 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger

Kissinger

-Conversation with Haldeman

-Haldeman conversation with William P. Rogers

Butterfield left at 1:54 pm.

Pentagon Papers

-Poll

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 1:54 pm.

Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman

-Kissinger

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 1:55 pm.

Pentagon Papers

-Poll

-Implications

-*New York Times* story as an issue

-View of printing stolen documents

-*Times'* moral position

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Haldeman spoke with an unknown person at an unknown time after 1:54 pm.

[Conversation No. 527-4B]

Scheduling

[End of conversation]

United States Information Agency [USIA]

-Chain of command

-Frank J. Shakespeare

-Kissinger contact

-Haldeman's contact

-Robert B. Anderson

-President's conversation with Shakespeare

-Shakespeare's self-image

-Support for Nixon

-Relationship with Department of State

Ehrlichman and Kissinger entered at 1:55 pm.

Kissinger's schedule

President's schedule

-Camp David visit

-Return to Washington

-Shipbuilding contract signing ceremony

-Kissinger's schedule

-Budget session

-Kissinger's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Possible short notice trip
 - Kissinger's meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Berlin negotiations
 - Linkage of administrations over Vietnam
 - Summit
 - Soviet Union decision
 - Scheduling of summit
 - Dobrynin report
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev's schedule
 - Visit to Germany
 - Timing of summit
 - US and People's Republic of China [PRC] contacts
 - Onus of cancellation
 - Brezhnev travels
 - Implications
 - Cancellation of Moscow summit
 - Role of PRC summit
- US and PRC relations
 - Message from PRC to US
 - Arrangements for upcoming trip
- US and Soviet Union relations
- Anti-war amendments
 - Marlow W. Cook-Ted Stevens amendment
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield amendment
 - Clark MacGregor and leadership group
 - Voting on Mansfield proposal
 - Status of Mansfield amendment
 - Kissinger's conversations
 - Robert W. Packwood
 - Jack R. Miller
 - Winston L. Prouty
 - William E. Brock, III
 - Howard H. Baker
 - Stevens-Cook reference
 - Discussion of administration needs
 - Effect of amendments on negotiations
 - Future events

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

Vietnam negotiations

- Le Duc Tho arrival in Paris
- Timing
- Rationale

US strategic plans

- US and PRC relations
- US domestic turmoil
- Effect on PRC
- Effect on Hanoi
- Effect on Moscow
- Published articles on Pentagon Papers
- Peking comments
- Kissinger's monitoring of the press

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Congressional activities

- Kissinger's contact with Senators
- Mansfield status
- Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty
- Legal status
- Allen J. Ellender
- Call by President to Ellender
- Ramifications
- Timing
- Talking points

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security]

[Duration: 7s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/08)*

- Prior contact with Ellender
- Support for call
 - U. Alexis Johnson
 - George P. Shultz
 - Richard M. Helms
- Other remedies
 - USIA
 - House of Representatives

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Pentagon Papers

- Stewart J.O. Alsop
 - President's status
 - Administration obstacles
 - John F. Kennedy administration
 - Times* action
 - Administration response
- Weekly news publications
 - Administration standing
 - Kissinger attendance at Department of State reception
 - John N. Hightower retirement
 - Paul W. Ward retirement
 - Chalmers Roberts
 - Demeanor of newsmen
- Press
 - Whitney North Seymour, Jr.
 - Prosecution of *Times*
 - Seymour
 - US Attorney
 - Need for public relations points
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - William P. Rogers
- Declassification action
 - Scope
 - White House and Department of Defense [DOD] procedure
 - Precedent
 - Ehrlichman's efforts

[Ehrlichman talked with Laird at an unknown time between 1:55 pm and 2:43 pm]

[Conversation No. 527-4A]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/08)*

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

Pentagon Papers

-Declassification action at DOD

-White House and DOD procedure

-Mansfield

-Carl B. Albert

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

-Associated Press [AP] story

-Public perception

-Robert McNamara's papers

-Albert

-Laird and Rogers meeting with Albert

-Mitchell

-Mansfield and President meeting

-Albert

-Laird

-Action

-Laird and Rogers action

-Laird leaks

-Scope of declassification action

-Laird meeting with Senate Foreign Relations Committee

-Effect on legal action

-Laird and Rogers action

-Ehrlichman and Laird conversation

-Albert request for documents

-President's meeting with Albert, [Thomas] Hale Boggs, and
Mansfield

-Preferred action

-Mansfield breakfast

-Clark M. MacGregor

-Mansfield's resolution

-Timing

-Mansfield's position

-Timing of other events

-Leaders meeting

-“Big Five” Committee chairman

-Pentagon Papers discussion

-Cook-Stevens amendment vote

-Mansfield amendment vote

-Benefits of changing Mansfield's breakfast

-Rogers' attendance

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Call from MacGregor to Kissinger
- Rogers
- Mitchell's knowledge
 - MacGregor conversation with Mitchell
- Source of administration decision on declassification
 - President
 - Laird
 - Rationale for action Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)
- Laird's action
- Laird and Rogers action
- Options for action by President
 - ”Big Five” Committee chairman
 - Need for proper public relations
 - Mansfield
 - Results of Laird statements
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's briefing
 - Instruction from President to the Secretary of Defense
 - Congressional access to papers
 - Leaders meeting
 - Play on evening news
 - Rogers and Laird action
 - Reflection on discipline
 - Laird and Rogers action
 - Laird's statement
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Identification of declassifiable papers
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Speech
 - Legal action
 - Focus on declassifiable papers
 - Times* view
 - Chicago Tribune* call for declassification
 - Declassification of World War II, Korean War, Bay of Pigs, Cuba documents
 - Need for experts
 - Laird and Rogers action
 - President's role in administration response
 - Laird and Mitchell's actions
 - Results
- President's role
- Statement by administration
- Mitchell's instruction to the Department of Justice

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Legal action
- Legal action
 - Supreme Court
 - District Court
 - Problems of decision
 - Mitchell's view
 - Delay of further publication
 - Public relations

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Congressional relations

- Phone call to Ellender
- Purpose

Pentagon Papers

- Administration response
 - Declassification
- Laird's action
 - Call to Ehrlichman
 - Rogers
 - Call to Ehrlichman
 - Call to Kissinger
- Declassification of World War II, Korean War, Bay of Pigs documents
 - Ehrlichman
 - Ehrlichman's conversation with Charles W. Colson
 - Tom Charles Huston
 - Haig
 - Preliminary draft report
 - Shakespeare
 - Call to Laird and Rogers

Kissinger and Ehrlichman left at 2:43 pm.

- President's handling of staff
- Administration counter
 - Focus on other wars
 - Public perception

Schedule

- Unknown person [Spiro T. Agnew ?]
- Visit to President
 - Content
- Press conference

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- President's meeting with business leaders
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Utility
 - Donald McI. Kendall
 - Size
 - Purpose
 - Format
 - Dialogue
 - Upcoming events
 - President's legislative agenda
 - Examples of welfare

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Legislation

- President's legislative program
 - President's conversation with Ehrlichman
 - House action on Social Security

Schedule

- President's dinner with business leaders
 - Other events
 - Format
 - Peterson
 - Comments by others
 - President's contact with members
 - Table configuration
 - Problems

Pentagon Papers

- Laird action
 - White House responsibility
 - Kissinger's view
- Rogers' action
 - Rationale
- Administration response
 - Supreme Court action
 - Ehrlichman
 - Need for firm action
 - Public relations
- Mansfield Amendment
- MacGregor's effort
 - Supersonic Transport [SST] problem
- Administration response

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- President's role
 - Possible meeting with Congressional leaders
 - Ziegler
 - Laird
 - Announcement of declassification
 - Play by media

Polls

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

- Use
- Focus on issues

Shakespeare meeting

- Haldeman's role

President's schedule meeting with Agnew

- Purpose
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Use of staff
 - President's conversation with John Foster Dulles
 - Pattern of meetings
 - Reports from Cabinet officers
 - Anderson report
 - Canal Treaty
 - John N. ("Jack") Irwin, II
 - Rogers
 - MacGregor
 - Request for opinion on Ellender call
- Previous meetings with Ellender

Pentagon Papers

- Ehrlichman
 - [D. Kenneth Rush ?]
 - Cabinet officers' responsibilities
 - Laird
- Declassification
- Albert
- Laird and Rogers' meeting with Congressman
- Declassification
 - Procedure

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

President's schedule

-Dinner, June 22

-Entertainment

-Possible performance by US Army Chorus

-Timing

-Eisenhower's method

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 3:05 pm.

-Meeting with Peterson [?]

Butterfield left at 3:06 pm.Haldeman left at 3:07 pm.

Conversation No. 527-5

Date: June 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 527-6

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule
-Frank J. Shakespeare meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm

Conversation No. 527-7

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Schedule
-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Frank J. Shakespeare meeting

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.

Conversation No. 527-8

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:11 pm and 3:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Frank J. Shakespeare.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Greetings

Topics for discussion

Shakespeare's visit to Southeast Asia

- US Ambassador meeting
- Shakespeare's attendance
- Attendance

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time after 3:11 pm.

- Japan
- Korea
- Taiwan
- Hong Kong
- Malaysia and Singapore
- Indonesia
- Philippines

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:11 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:41 pm.

Shakespeare's trip to Southeast Asia

- Purpose
 - Vietnamization
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Emergence of Japan
 - Nixon Doctrine
- Meeting with Ferdinand E. Marcos
- Meeting with Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto
- Meetings with prime ministers
- Meetings with others
 - Writers
 - Editors
 - Heads of television networks
 - Educators
- Chiefs of mission meeting
 - Clashes of opinion
 - Japan

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- PRC
- Recommended focus for the President
 - William J. Porter, Ambassador to Korea
 - David Osborne, Counsel General to Hong Kong
- Previous mission meeting
 - Tokyo
 - Focus on PRC
 - Interest in Japan
- Focus on Japan
 - Emergence of Japan
 - Economic strength
- Press focus
- World affairs
 - Communication centers for the “Western World”
 - Paris
 - London
 - New York
 - Tokyo
 - French communications influence
 - Link to French-speaking countries
 - Agency France press
 - Le Monde*
 - British communication influence
 - British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] external services
 - Reuters
 - English language
 - London Times*
 - Commonwealth link
 - Japanese communication influence
 - Asian dominance
 - Shakespeare’s view of Ambassadors to Japan, France and Great Britain
 - Topics at meeting
 - Vietnam
 - PRC
 - Taiwan
 - United Nations [UN]
 - Drug addiction in Vietnam
 - Walter H. Annenberg and Arthur K. Watson
 - Appointments
 - Educational benefits of meeting
 - Need for international view
 - Importance of communication revolution

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

- View of US in South Vietnam
 - Vietnamization
 - North Vietnam's strategy
 - Laos
 - Cambodia

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 39s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Japan
 - US, PRC, and Soviet Union
 - Industrial strength
 - Energy problems
 - Sources
 - Rate of spending
 - Economic sophistication
 - PRC, Soviet Union, and US
- Decreased concern over India
- Malaysia, Indonesia, and Philippines
 - Chinese minority
 - Historical problems
 - Links with PRC
 - Validity
- Nixon Doctrine
 - Diplomatic intent
 - United States Information Agency [USIA] role
 - Ambassadors' role

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security]

[Duration: 51s]

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Indonesia

-Shakespeare's visit to Suharto

-Attendance of US Ambassador

-Creation of political institutions

-Economic development

-Francis J. Galbraith's reaction

-Suharto's behavior

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 11s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

-Japanese aid

-Caution

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

- Singapore visit
 - Singapore Herald* crisis
 - Visit to Lee Kuan Yew
- Industrialization
- Shakespeare dinner with Robert Strausz-Hupe, US Ambassador to

Ceylon

- Skill
- Malaysia visit Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)
 - Southeast Asian neutrality
 - PRC, Soviet Union, and the United States
- Japan
 - Economic emergence

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m 9s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Ambassador Jack W. Lydman
 - Skill
- Public Affairs officer
 - Skill
- Hong Kong
 - Nixon Library
 - Attendance
 - Appearance
 - Size of refugee flood into Hong Kong from PRC
 - Shakespeare dinner with US and foreign press chiefs
 - Lack of press
 - Focus on PRC
 - Focus on Japan as power

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Lack of press
- Osborn
- Japanese post
- Language ability
 - Japanese
 - Mandarin Chinese

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[National Security]

[Duration: 1m 26s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

-Osborn's commitment

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[National Security]

[Duration: 18s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Taiwan
 - Taiwan trip
 - US cultural centers
- Foreign Service officers in Taiwan

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: 52s]

TAIWAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:11 pm.

Forthcoming meeting with Governors

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:41 pm.

Shakespeare's trip to Southeast Asia

Korea

- Army
- Preparedness of US Generals
- Ambassador William J. Porter
- Skill

Best Ambassadors

- Graham A. Martin in Rome
- Porter
- Henry A. Byroade
- Anticipation of Spiro T. Agnew visit

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

James A. Michener

- Wife's background
- USIA inspection team to Japan
- Length of stay
- European visit
- Japan and US relations
- Visit with President
- Mobilization of academic support for Japan and US relations Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

Radio Free Europe [RFE], Radio Liberty [RL]

- Effectiveness for communication with Eastern Europe and Soviet Union
- Voice of America [VOA]
- Shakespeare's view of handling
 - Exhibits problem
 - RFE and RL extinction
 - Reasons
 - Earlier efforts to dismantle RFE and RL
 - Cable from Munich US Consul General, [First Name Unknown] Dart
 - Meeting with Lord Mayor Hans Jochen Vogel of Munich
 - Vogel's trip to Moscow
 - Dissolution of RL-RFE
- Shakespeare's expertise
- Criticism of RFE and RL
 - Consistent with President's policy
 - Political problems
- Contact with Congressional leaders
 - Allen J. Ellender
 - Political position
 - Committee chairman
 - J. William Fulbright

Haldeman and Shakespeare left at 3:41 pm.

Conversation No. 527-9

Date: June 22, 1971

Time: 3:42 pm - 5:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/08)*The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

Pentagon Papers

- Congressional relations
 - William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird activity
 - Carl B. Albert
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Albert's role in Rogers and Laird visit
- Postponement
- Laird's press statement
 - Ronald L. Ziegler

Conv. No. 527-8 (cont.)

Schedule

- Meeting with Spiro T. Agnew
- President's meeting with governors

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:46 pm.

- Press coverage

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:16 pm.

- Louie B. Nunn

Pentagon Papers

- Ehrlichman's conversation with Laird
 - Laird's press statement
 - Transcript from Laird to Ehrlichman
- President's meeting with leaders
 - MacGregor

Ronald L. Ziegler, Gov. Linwood Holton, Gov. Arch A. Moore, Gov. Nunn, Edwin L. Harper entered at 3:44 pm.

Greetings

- Photographs

John B. Connally

Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding

- Weather
- Replay on television
 - Agnew

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Appalachian policy

- Concern of Appalachian governors
 - Widening of concerned circle
 - Bureaucratic problems
 - Social Security programs
- Support for President in Appalachian states
 - Future support
- Authorization bill
- Appropriations bill
 - Edwin L. Harper
- House and Senate tension
- Prospects
- Appalachian Regional Commission [ARC] programs
 - Feeling on Capitol Hill
- Appalachian history
- Political use
- Acceleration of public works
 - Authorization compared to appropriations
- Necessary action
 - Governors' statement on President's concern
 - Difficulty of legislative action
 - Priority of ARC activities
 - Domestic Council
 - Problems of legislation
 - Support for legislation
- Ehrlichman's view
 - Potential Presidential veto
 - Public statement
- Administration support for Appalachian legislation
 - Contribution to revenue sharing program
- Governors' role
- Work on details
- Explanation of governors
 - Legislators' stance
 - Legislative action
 - Need for successful legislation
- President's interest in program
 - Prior statements
 - Perception of people

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Political impact
 - Poll
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Appalachian political history

National issues

- President's speech to the American Medical Association [AMA] Inv. No. 527-9 (cont.)
- Conversation with unnamed doctor from Louisville, Kentucky
- Polls
 - Value
- Pentagon Papers
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Muskie
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Rhetoric
 - Barry M. Goldwater
- War in Vietnam
- Support for President
 - Future value
- Economic

Appalachian policy

- Support from President
 - Merits of legislation
 - Commitment from President to Appalachia
- Humphrey
- Muskie
- Humphrey address
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - Support for revenue sharing
- Wilbur D. Mills support
- Eventual bill

Welfare reform

- Support by legislators
- Family assistance
- Social Security
- Liberals' view
 - Rationale
- Voting schedule
- Congressional tactics

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

-Mills' efforts
Photographs

Wedding of Tricia Nixon and Edward R.F. Cox

- Lucy A. Winchester's efforts
- Women in Kentucky
- West Virginia man

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Julie and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II

- Trips to West Virginia
- Massachusetts in contrast to the South
- Schools

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

The press entered at an unknown time after 3:42 pm.

Ziegler left and Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:09 pm.

President's schedule

- Upcoming meeting with Agnew
- Agnew's upcoming trip

Press reception

- Photographs

General conversation

The press left at an unknown time before 4:16 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 4m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Pentagon Papers

- Administration response
 - Johnson's reaction
 - Robert S. McNamara's role
 - Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy
 - McNamara's conduct
- Background on executive action
- Role of Secretaries

Butterfield left and Spiro T. Agnew entered at 4:14 pm.

Greetings

Best wishes for Vice President's trip

Farewell to governors

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 4:14 pm.

Presentation of gifts

- Tie bar
- Secretaries
- Paper weights
- Gifts to Vice President

Holton. et al., left at 4:16 pm; Agnew remained.

Appalachian legislation

- Public works

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:16 pm.
Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:48 pm.

Agnew's trip

-Agenda

-Phoenix, Arizona

-Speech to the Jaycees

-Hawaii

-Guam

-Korea

-Singapore

-Indonesia

-Malaysia

-Bombay, India

-Kuwait

-Saudi Arabia

-Jaycees speech

-Patrick J. Buchanan's statement

-Edwin [Surname unknown]

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Pentagon Papers

-Public reaction

-Poll

-Publication of classified documents

-Confusion

-Selection by The *Boston Globe*

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 4:48 pm.

-John F. Kennedy's material

-Ngo Dinh Diem

-Frank S. Fitzsimmons

-Tom Flynn's effort

-Theft of information

-Walt W. Rostow speech

-Support for President

-Johnson's role in Vietnam

-Call for appearance before Senate

-Muskie

-Administration response

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Court action
- Need for proper attack
- Penalties for use of classified material
- Prosecutions
 - Daniel Ellsberg
 - Ellsberg's former wife
 - Public relations efforts
 - "Right to know" emphasis
- Injunction proceedings
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Supreme Court appeal
 - Timing of criminal proceedings
- Reproduction of papers
 - Neil Sheehan
 - Use of press pass
- Public reaction
 - Confusion with war
 - Confusion with Johnson
 - Necessity of secrecy
 - Johnson use
 - Popularity of war
- Contingency plans
 - Necessity
 - President's plan
 - Bombing
 - Haiphong
 - Dikes
 - Implementation
 - Public exposure
- Senate and House action
 - Morality
 - Reflection of voters
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield's action
 - Marlow W. Cook-Ted Stevens amendment
 - Future of Vietnam War
- Morality of *New York Times*
 - History of *Times* stance
 - Reaction to Democrat President
 - Humphrey
 - Ted Kennedy
 - John F. Kennedy's actions
 - Rationale

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's comments
- Condemnation of *Times*

National politics

- Democrat candidate for President
 - Kennedy
- Issues
 - Foreign policy
 - Upcoming successes
 - Economy
 - President's concern
 - Role of timing
 - Agnew concern
 - Interest rates
 - Confidence crisis
 - Cook's conversation with Agnew
 - Kentucky trip
 - Congressional initiative
 - MacGregor
 - Media coverage of efforts
 - Washington Post*
 - Johnson's history
 - Muskie
 - Humphrey
 - Muskie
 - Agnew's speech on Vietnam
 - Preparation
 - National Security Council [NSC] staff
 - President's role in Vietnam
 - Mansfield amendment
 - President's Vietnam efforts
 - Agnew's speech to Air Force Academy
 - Vietnam solutions
 - President's efforts in Vietnam
 - Priorities
 - Promises of action
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Coverage in airport press conference

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Agnew's trip

- Korea
- Asian stops

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Singapore
- Kuwait
- Saudi Arabia
- Zaire
- Ethiopian
 - US ambassador
 - Congressional background
 - Dr. Minasse Haile
 - E. Ross Adair
 - Haile Selassie
 - Attendance at Dwight D. Eisenhower funeral
- Kinshasa, Zaire
 - Mobutu Sese Seko
- Nairobi, Kenya
- Saudi Arabia
- Customs in Africa
- Zaire
 - African student riots
 - Reaction by Mobutu
- Spain
 - Judy, Susan, and Kim Agnew
 - Francisco Franco party
 - Franco
 - Greetings from President
- Greetings from the President
- Rabat, Morocco
 - US and Moroccan relations
 - Contact with Royal family
 - The President's previous visit
- Spain
 - Franco
 - Juan Carlos
 - Political situation
 - Luis Carrero Blanco
 - Gregorio Lopez Bravo
- Portugal
 - Lisbon
 - Beauty
- Africa
 - Problems in South Africa
 - Great Britain and France
 - South Africa

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Black population
- Selassie
 - Background
- Mobutu's Role
- Jomo Kenyatta
- Benefits of trip
 - Education
 - Feel for Nations
- Tunisia
- Vietnam Comments
- Timing of Trip

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

[The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger at an unknown time between 4:16 pm and 4:48 pm]

[Conversation No. 527-9A]

Request for Kissinger's presence

[End of telephone conversation]

Agnew's Asian trip

- Korea
- Visit to troops

Drug policy

- President's speech to the AMA
- Punishment of voluntary users
- Drug use to avoid military service
 - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe's answer
- Agnew's experience in World War II
 - Marseilles, France
- Youth
 - Difficulty
 - Blame on society

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 46s]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Kissinger entered at 4:48 pm.

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Kissinger's schedule

Agnew's trip

- Stop in Vietnam
 - Implications
 - Kissinger's trip
 - Timing
 - Benefits
 - Troop morale
 - Counter to Midway meeting cancellation
 - Deferral of decision
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - Kissinger's trip
 - Publicity
 - Thieu
 - Vietnamese elections
 - Nguyen Cao Ky
 - Duong Van Minh
 - Bunker's view

Pentagon Papers

- Immorality of publication
- Democrats' tactics
- Use of declassification procedures
- Encouragement to enemy
- Publication of irrelevant items
- Marketing of stolen goods
- Morality of Congress
 - Pandering for support
- Rostow's speech
 - Times coverage
 - Southeast Asia coverage
 - Johnson's administration in history

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Vietnam resolutions

- Kissinger's calls to Senators
 - Reason for resolution
 - Focus on President
 - Focus on Hanoi
 - Instructions to President
- Effects of resolution on negotiations
- Mansfield
- Prospects
- Cook
- Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
 - Kissinger's luncheon invitation
 - Reelection prospects
- Future events
- Johnson
 - Clark M. Clifford's statement during the war
- Rationale
 - Democrat attack on US negotiating position

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Pentagon Papers

- Court decisions on national security interest
- British formal diplomatic protest
 - Basis
 - Meeting between the Earl of Cromer and William P. Rogers
 - Exposure of classified information
- Court decisions
 - Liberal establishment
 - Murray J. Gurfein
 - Left wing Republicans
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - Thomas E. Dewey
 - Jacob K. Javits
 - Javits' comments
 - MacGregor
 - Kissinger's response
 - Protection of human rights
- Johnson

Agnew's trip

- Agenda
 - Korea

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Vietnam trip
- Schedule
- Date of NSC meeting

Agnew left at 5:03 pm.

Kissinger's schedule

- Mansfield breakfast
- Information available to Mansfield
- Kissinger's comments to Republicans
- Jack R. Miller
- President's comments to leaders
- Hugh Scott

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

President's schedule

- Mansfield breakfast
- President's comments
- Rationale
 - MacGregor
 - Historical record

Vietnam negotiations

- Status
- Indochinese ceasefire
 - Mansfield
 - US offer

Kissinger left at 5:06 pm.

Conversation No. 527-10

Date: June 22, 1971

Time: Unknown between 5:06 pm and 5:09 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

- Meeting with John N. Mitchell

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Attendance
 - H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - John D. Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:09 pm.

Conv. No. 527-9 (cont.)

Conversation No. 527-12

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: 5:09 pm - 6:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Greetings

Weather

- Miami compared to Washington, D.C.

Dinner with businessmen

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 5:10 pm.

Mitchell's meeting with businessmen

- Topics
 - Crime
 - Drugs
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Politics
- John B. Connally participation
- Henry A. Kissinger participation
- Demeanor
 - Enthusiasm
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Advocacy role

Business community

- Academic thrust
 - George P. Shultz

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
- Response to calls for advocacy
 - Arrival in Washington, D.C.
 - Howard W. Johnson of Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
 - George J. Steigler
 - Dr. Edward C. Banfield
 - Robert H. Ebert's role
 - Harvard Medical School
 - Dr. John E. Jeuck's role
 - University of Chicago
 - James R. Killian's role
 - MIT
 - Fredrick J. Geitz
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - Dr. H. Gayford Stever
 - Carnegie-Mellon University
 - W. Allen Wallis
 - Milton Friedman
 - Johnson
 - Steigler
- Response

Pentagon Papers

- Melvin R. Laird and William P. Rogers' meeting with Carl B. Albert
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Arrangement
- MacGregor
 - President's talk with Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - Breakfast
- Mansfield
 - Bipartisan committee
 - Political ramifications
 - Scope of documents
 - World War II
 - Korean War
 - Bay of Pigs
 - Talk with MacGregor
 - Executive and legislative relations
 - Make up of bipartisan group
 - Comparison with Joint Committee on the conduct of the War
 - Abraham Lincoln

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Tactics to let President release documents
 - President's cooperation with Mansfield
 - Bipartisan committee
 - Richard B. Russell [?]
 - Gen. Douglass MacArthur
- Effect on litigation of committee
 - Composition
 - Hugh Scott
 - Mansfield
 - Albert
 - Gerald R. Ford
 - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
 - Bella S. Abzug
- Bipartisan committee
 - Mansfield's role
 - Albert
 - MacGregor
- Mansfield
 - View on the war
- Press coverage of bipartisan committee
 - Robert S. McNamara's role
 - McGeorge Bundy's role
 - Clark M. Clifford's role
 - John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson circle
 - Timing
 - Dean Rusk
 - Questioning
 - Impact on Democrat party
 - Albert
 - Mansfield
 - Johnson
 - Edmund S. Muskie call for Lyndon Johnson testimony
 - Refusal
 - McNamara
 - President's opinion
- Ronald L. Ziegler's statement
 - Turning files over to Congress
 - Ehrlichman
 - President's meeting with Ziegler
 - Focus on President's initiative
 - Reference to Lyndon Johnson and Kennedy administrations
 - Mitchell's use

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/08)*

- Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration
- Washington Star* headline
- Beginning of Vietnam
- Boston Globe* story
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Attack on Kennedy
 - Ngo Dinh Diem reference
- Statement by President
- Attack on Henry Cabot Lodge
- MacGregor's contact with Albert
- Mansfield reference
- Ziegler
 - Liaison
 - Kissinger
- Statement by President
 - Ziegler
 - Effect on litigation
 - Format
 - Criticism of timing
- Problem of spill over
 - Focus on Democratic administrations
 - President visits in Vietnam
 - Support
 - Nguyen Van Thieu's election

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Ziegler entered at 5:38 pm.

- Ziegler's briefing
 - Reporters' demeanor
 - Laird's comment
 - Public's right to know
 - Declassification procedures
 - Compromise of published material
 - Court decision on Times publications
 - Level of classification
 - Department of Defense
 - Other court decisions
 - Task force study
 - Background
 - President's role in public release of information
 - NSC directive
- Administration's strategy

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Laird and Rogers action
 - Albert
 - Mansfield
- Possible meetings with President
- Laird calls to Mitchell
 - Authorization by Mitchell to Laird for statements
- Media solidarity
 - Effect on clarity of issues Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)
 - Public perception
- Volatility of information compromised
 - Judge Murray Gurfein
 - Description of administration
 - Appointment
 - Rockefeller
 - Jacob K. Javits
 - Thomas E. Dewey
 - Law partner
- Poll
 - Questions
 - William L. Calley poll
 - President's statements
 - Results
 - Awareness of *Times* controversy
 - Freedom of press question
 - Results
 - Effect of criminal actions
 - Guilt
 - Results

Ziegler left at 5:39 pm.

- Legal decisions
 - John M. Harlan
 - Warren E. Burger
 - Timing
 - Effect of forthcoming Mansfield statement
 - Public relations problems
 - Suppression of information

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 5:39 pm.

- Mechanics of court decision

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Decision related to facts
- Effect on administration appeal

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 6:16 pm.

- Decision related to law
- Effect on appeal
- Supreme Court schedule
- Effect on administration action
- Legal motivation of administration
- News revelations
- Mansfield committee revelations
- Public perception of administration legal attack
- Polls
- Perception of administration motives
- Publication of stolen documents
- Legality of *Times* publication
- Right to know versus the law
- Focus on theft of classified documents
- Focus on legal questions
- Post, Times, Washington Star* legal coverage
- Drawbacks
- Comparison with Alger Hiss case
- Grand jury
- Colson
- George T. Bell

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

International Brotherhood of Teamsters Union

- Influence
 - James R. ("Jimmy") Hoffa
 - Frank S. Fitzsimmons
 - James R. Hoffa, Jr.
- Effect of visit by President
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Cooperation of Union and administration
 - Social Security issue

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Federal Statute]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)[Duration: 12s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

- Harold J. Gibbons
- Lawyers at meeting with President
- Mitchell's action on New York grand jury
 - Union election
 - Fitzsimmons
 - Commitments
 - Indictments
- Pentagon Papers
 - Supreme Court
 - Appeal process
 - Support for administration
 - Burger
 - Harry H. Blackmun
 - Byron R. White
 - Potter Stewart
 - Harlan
 - Approach of Court
 - Stewart
 - Opposition to administration
 - Burger and Blackmun
 - Stewart opinion against newspapers
 - Unknown woman
 - Public relations problem
 - Appeal to Supreme Court from other sources
 - Public relations problems of appeals
 - Focus on facts
 - Focus on law
 - Effect of split Court
 - Need for definitive decision
 - Need for administration's decision
 - Court schedule
 - Ethnic prejudices in civil rights cases
 - Kissinger
 - Leslie H. Gelb

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Prior prosecution
 - Communists
 - Elizabeth Bentley
 - John Abt
 - Victor Perlo
 - Lee Pressman
 - Use of photographic shop
- Joseph McCarthy's efforts
- Mistakes
- Jewish predisposition
- Supreme Court decision on golf club
- Jewish protest of Soviet emigration policy

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Mansfield amendment

- Vote
- Cook-Stevens amendment
- John C. Stennis' amendment
 - Prisoner of War [POW] release
- Vote
- Reconsideration
 - Vote
 - Mansfield maneuver
- "Sense of the Senate" resolution
 - Cook-Stevens
 - Provisions
 - Proclamation of withdrawal date
 - Ceasefire negotiations
 - POW return for withdrawal
- Vote
- Impact
 - Kissinger
- Other resolutions
 - Impact
- Impact of Mansfield amendment
 - Problems
 - Lack of leverage

Pentagon Papers

- Timing of court decisions
 - President's schedule
 - Dinner for businessmen

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

President's schedule

- Dinner for businessmen
- Peter M. Flanigan's speech

Stock market

- End of trading standing
- George P. Shultz information
- Volume

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Pentagon Papers

- Need for administration attack
- Assessment of documents
 - Adm. Noel Gayler
 - National Security Agency [NSA]
 - Compromise of information collection
- "Select committee" concept
 - Structure
 - Scott
 - Ford
 - MacGregor's view
 - Mansfield
 - Albert
 - Witness selection
- MacGregor's role

[Ehrlichman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 5:38 pm and 6:16 pm]

[Conversation No. 527-12A]

[See Conversation No. 5-128]

[End of telephone conversation]

Stock market

President and Congress tension over foreign policy and defense

Stock market

- Performance
- Fluctuations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

Pentagon Papers

- Ford call to MacGregor
- Announcement by administration on document release
 - Timing
 - Mansfield
- Clark call to Albert
 - Timing

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Mansfield amendment

- Administration response
 - Ford
 - Scott
 - [Thomas] Hale Boggs
- Control of administration supporters in Congress
 - Albert
 - Scott
 - Ziegler statement
 - Issues covered by President already
 - Ceasefire
 - Withdrawal of POWs
 - Withdrawal of armed forces

Pentagon Papers

- Administration response
 - Declassification process
 - Laird's role

Schedule

- Kissinger

Mitchell and Ehrlichman left at 6:16 pm.

Butterfield entered at 6:16 pm.

Seating at upcoming stag dinner

- Flanigan's suggestions
- Robert O. Anderson
- Donald T. Regan
- Howard J. Morgens
 - Procter and Gamble
- Edward W. Carter

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Butterfield left at an unknown time after 6:16 pm.Kissinger entered at 6:16 pm.

Mansfield amendment

- Stennis
- Impact
- Contents
 - Ceasefire
 - Administration policy
- Statement by administration
 - Contents
 - Deadline drawbacks
 - Respect for Senate and House
- Rationale
 - Republicans
 - Public revelations by President
 - Tactical benefits
 - Warning of Senate
 - Mansfield
 - Effect on negotiations
- Force of amendment
 - Budget implications
- Administration statement
 - Responsibility of amendment supporters

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Vietnam Peace negotiations

- North Vietnamese reaction
 - US contact with People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - US reaction to rejection of proposals
 - Possible television appearance by President
 - Clifford's efforts
 - Times efforts
- Administration response
 - Effect on amendment's supporters
 - US contact with PRC
 - Soviet reaction
 - US position
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- administration response
 - Focus on US offers to North Vietnam
- Negotiations in Paris

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- US obligation to set withdrawal date
 - Future credit-taking
 - Lack of support for President
 - Comparison with Abraham Lincoln
- Republican support
 - Justification
 - Vote
 - Cook-Stevens amendment

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Businessmen stag dinner

- Reception format
 - Quality of group
 - Donald McI. Kendall work trip

President's meeting with Frank J. Shakespeare

- Haldeman's comment to Shakespeare
 - Efficacy of presentation
- Effective presentation
- Format
- Jack R. Miller's report
 - India-Pakistan segment

Support for administration

- American Medical Association [AMA] meeting
- Problems
 - War in Vietnam
 - Media
- Need to fight

Ziegler entered and Haldeman left at 6:36 pm.

Press briefing

- Statement on Mansfield amendment
 - Force of amendment
 - Defeat of restrictive amendments
 - Consideration of Congressional views
 - Contradictory nature of amendment
 - Objectives of administration policy
 - Inconsistencies of amendment
 - Force of amendment
 - Defeat of restrictive amendments
 - Effect of deadline

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Results of Congressional efforts
 - Wording
 - Use by others
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Stennis

Ziegler left at 6:42 pm.

Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

- Kissinger's schedule
 - Paris
 - Businessmen's dinner
 - Kissinger's contact with businessmen
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Rogers
 - Lyndon Johnson
 - Vietnam
 - Negotiations
 - US and Soviet Union relations
 - US and PRC relations
 - New basis for foreign policy
 - Domestic problems

- Administration response to critics
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Democrats
 - Republicans

The President and Kissinger left at 6:46 pm.

Conversation No. 527-17

Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 6:46 pm and 10:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Unintelligible]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:43 pm.

Conversation No. 527-13
Conv. No. 527-12 (cont.)

Date: June 23, 1971
Time: Unknown between 7:52 am and 9:10 am
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown woman.

[Unintelligible]

Bull and the unknown woman left at an unknown time before 9:10 am.

Conversation No. 527-14

Date: June 23, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:10 am and 9:14 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Rose Mary Woods' schedule
-The President's forthcoming trip to Chicago

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:14 am.

Conversation No. 527-15

Date: June 23, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:10 am and 9:14 am

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-132]

Conversation No. 527-16

Date: June 23, 1971

Time: 9:14 am - 10:12 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield breakfast

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Mansfield

-Aid to President

-Henry A. Kissinger

[The President talked with Ehrlichman at an unknown time between 9:14 am and 9:25 am]

[Conversation No. 527-16A]

Request for presence

-Ehrlichman's schedule

-Telephone call

[The President talked with Senator Mansfield's secretary between 9:22 am and 9:25 am]

[Conversation No. 527-16B]

[See Conversation No. 5-133]

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger entered at 9:25 am.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Vietnam Peace negotiations

- North Vietnamese reaction to Clark M. Clifford's statement
- National Liberation Front [NLF] statement
- Prisoners of War [POW] release

Pentagon Papers

- Ken Crawford's conversation with Lyndon B. Johnson
- Newsweek* coverage
- Johnson view of Pentagon Papers
- Robert F. Kennedy
- Robert S. McNamara
- Johnson attendance at Democratic Convention
- Convention procedures
- George S. McGovern
- Johnson efforts in 1972
- Vietnam
- President's peace program
- President and Johnson cooperation
- Clifford
- Attendance at Lyndon B. Johnson Library
- Democratic convention
- Administration tactics
- State of public morality
- Last meeting with North Vietnamese
- Kissinger's Stance
- Rationale

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

Ehrlichman entered at 9:31 am.

- US presence in Vietnam
- Johnson
- Revelation to Nguyen Van Thieu

President's conversation with Mansfield

- Tone
- Ehrlichman
- Declassification procedures
- World War II
- Korean War
- Bay of Pigs
- Cuban missile confrontation
- Political protections

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Reflection on previous administrations
- Need for continued classification
 - Relations with foreign governments
 - Romania
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Ehrlichman's role
- Joint statement
- Senate action
 - Timing
- Tone of President's delivery
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Senate actions
 - Previous administrations' behavior
 - Anti-ballistic missile [ABM] treaty
- Vietnam negotiations
 - President's discussions with North Vietnam
 - Effect of senate action
 - Phased withdrawal
 - Drawbacks of declaring a date
 - Publication of sequence of events
 - Consulation with Mansfield
 - Ceasefire objective
 - Date of ceasefire
 - Thieu
 - Imposition of communist government
 - Breakdown of negotiations
 - Administration response
 - North Vietnamese perception
 - Impact on US policy
 - Johnson
 - Options if talks break down
 - Bombing
 - Dikes
 - Haiphong
 - Rationale
 - Counter to Senate action
 - William P. Rogers
 - Other policy "cards"
 - Clifford
 - NFL comments
 - David K.E. Bruce's demeanor in Paris
 - Reaction to North Vietnamese

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Ronald L. Ziegler's briefing
- Other policy cards
 - Soviet Union reaction
 - PRC
- Chou En-lai interview with Seymour Topping of *New York Times*
 - Soviet Union compared with PRC style
 - PRC remarks concerning President
 - State Department Formosa statement Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's trip to Southeast Asia
 - Stop in Vietnam
- Focus of Agnew's remarks
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Senate action
- Administration response
 - Attack
 - Rationale
 - Mansfield's problems
 - Release of documents
 - Injunction
 - Nature of revelations
 - Jacob K. Javits' attack on John F. Kennedy
 - Ngo Dinh Diem's assassination
- President's comments to Mansfield
 - Diem's assassination
 - Henry Cabot Lodge
 - Kennedy
- Johnson's reaction
- Attacks on Johnson
 - Testimony by Johnson administration personnel
 - Johnson's files
- Chicago Sun Times* story
 - Source
 - Diem's murder
- Marguerite Higgins' book
- President's classified information
 - Laos involvement
 - Cambodia involvement
 - Peace negotiations
 - Reason for classification
 - Extent of Cambodia bombing
- Sun Times*
 - Emergence of other documents

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Sensitive periods
 - World War II
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt letters
 - Korean War
 - Bay of Pigs
 - Cuban missile confrontation
 - Fidel Castro
 - Terms of missile withdrawal
 - Adlai E. Stevenson, II
 - Robert F. Kennedy
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Roosevelt
- Johnson
- President's bureaucratic procedures
 - Option writing
- World War II
 - Willard Edwards
 - Walter Trohan
 - Emergence of stories
 - Compromise of sensitive areas
- Response in kind
 - Concern for national security

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

Vietnam Peace negotiations

- Kissinger's demeanor
- Kissinger's contact with other parties
- Use of bombing
 - Use of historical record
 - Protection of Americans
- POWs
 - President's policy
 - Use of International Red Cross

Mansfield amendment

- Ehrlichman
 - Call to Gerald R. Ford
 - Ziegler
 - Informing Mansfield
- Hugh Scott
- Administration response
 - Statement by executive
 - Effect on *Times* response

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Pentagon Papers

- Declassification action by President
 - Priority of Pentagon Papers
 - Date of orders
 - Crawford report
 - Dignity of executive
 - Opponents' strength

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

Mansfield amendment

- Reaction of other Democrats
 - F. Edward Hébert
 - Stennis
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Hébert
 - Deadline rejection
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Effect on Presidential aspirations
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - Chappaquidick
 - Edmund S. Muskie proposal
 - Use of former Presidents' testimony
 - McNamara's testimony
 - McGeorge Bundy's testimony
 - Walt W. Rostow
- Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor's article
 - Justice of war
 - Defense of administration
- Need for response
 - President's American Medical Association [AMA] comments

Drug policy

- Reaction by AMA members
 - Ehrlichman
- Drug program
 - Harold E. Hughes' request
 - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe's testimony
 - Drawbacks
 - Play on drug theme
 - President's speech to the American Association of Retired Persons [AARP]
 - Calls for support from President

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Pentagon Papers

- Profile of President's enemies
 - Strength
 - Use of slogans
 - Relation to Johnson's policies
 - Clifford's comments
- Previous evening's dinner
- William E. Timmons' poll
 - Significance
 - Changes
 - View of President's competence
 - Changes
 - Public's view of *Times*

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

Ehrlichman talked with Carl B. Albert at an unknown time between 9:31 am and 11:03 am.

[Conversation No. 527-16E]

[See Conversation No. 5-134]

- "Right to know" focus
- Wrong-doing view
- Role of former Presidents
- Scott
- Kissinger visit to Johnson City
- Punishment for release of classified material
- Preventative measures

[End of telephone conversation]

[Ehrlichman talked with the White House operator, an unknown woman and Clark MacGregor at an unknown time between 9:31 am and 11:03 am]

[Conversation No. 527-16D]

[See Conversation No. 5-135]

- Timmons' poll
 - Overall involvement of President
 - Credibility of government
 - Candor of administrations
 - Solution for Nixon administration

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Need to focus on theft of documents
- Release of information
 - President's position
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - John A. Scali
 - Congressional role
 - Ziegler
 - Kissinger
- Administration response to attacks
 - Critics
 - Respect
 - Congress

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

- Intellectuals
- Morality

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:31 am.

Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:00 am

Support for the President

- Administrations response to attacks
 - Mansfield
 - Respect for critics
 - Bureaucrats
 - Intellectuals
 - Dr. Edward C. Banfield's breakfast
 - Dean of Harvard Medical School
 - James R. Killian, Jr.
 - Depth of conversation
 - 1956 election
 - W. Averell Harriman's television appearance
 - William E. Jenner's view of Harriman appearance

Kissinger left at 10:00 am.

- Transmission of documents
 - MacGregor

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

- Vice President
- Kissinger's view of attack on President
- Release of more secret materials
- Kissinger
- Encouragement from the President

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:00 am.

Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:12 am.

Administration response to attacks

Haldeman and Ehrlichman left at 10:12 am.

Conversation No. 527-11

Date: June 23, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:12 am and 11:40 am

Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with James D. Hodgson, Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Melvin R. Laird, Maurice H. Stans, Rufus H. Wilson, John D. Harper, William Woodward, James F. Oates, John F. Evans, Jr. and Melville Stephens.

Seating arrangements

The President entered at an unknown time after 10:12 am.

Greetings and introductions

President's discussion with Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield

- Melvin R. Laird's role
- John D. Ehrlichman

Veterans affairs

- Composition of group
- Past achievements

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/08)*

- National Alliance for Businessmen [NAB]
 - Oates
 - Harper
 - Timing
 - Publicity
- Employment
 - Number of veterans in workforce
 - Number of unemployed veterans
 - Trends
 - Other efforts by business community
 - Racial breakdown of unemployed veterans
 - Employment practices
 - Voluntary
 - Contractual
 - Problems
 - Need for support from President
 - Help for veterans
 - Daniel Ellsberg
 - Earlier political views
 - Conduct in Vietnam
 - Public attacks on military
 - Military role in Vietnam
 - Reaction by American public
 - Social problems of veterans
- Groups devoted to helping veterans
 - Opportunities
 - Achievements
- Stephens
 - Warning to administration regarding veterans problems
 - Debt to veterans
- US role in postwar Vietnam
- Press
 - Economics of programs
- Problems
 - Effect on programs
 - Drug abuse
 - Racial composition of users
 - Scope of problem
 - Ralph Nader
 - Relations with the business community
- Contribution of the business community
- Idealism of American people

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Starvation in Ghana
- Indians in Guatemala
- Other calls for assistance
- Business community
 - Motivation
- Drug policy
 - President's speech to American Medical Association [AMA]
 - Doctors' role in drug culture Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)
 - Need for doctors' assistance in information dissemination
 - Results of failure of AMA
 - New AMA programs
 - Need for cooperation between medical and business communities
 - Cooperation of unions
- Comprehensive Manpower Reform Bill
 - Status
 - Reference to veterans
 - Veterans' entitlements
 - World War II
 - Vietnam War
 - Veterans preference
 - Color-blind policy
 - Emphasis on military service
 - Michael McGreevy
 - Veteran employment
 - Subtle forms of discrimination
 - Comparison with convicts
 - Veterans preference
 - Backlash
 - Comparison with racial preferences
 - McGreevy
 - Further efforts to solve problems
- Efforts by all concerned
- Publicity
 - Administration's efforts

Bull, Hodgson et al. left at 10:40 am; Laird remained.

President's schedule

- Meeting with Laird and Ehrlichman
- Mansfield breakfast

Mansfield resolution

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

[The President talked with an unknown person [H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman?] at an unknown time between 10:40 am and 10:48 am]

[Conversation No. 527-11A]

Schedule

Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)

[End of telephone conversation]

Mansfield amendment

Pentagon Papers

- Ehrlichman
- Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy
- Damage to Nixon administration
- Damage to intelligence operations
 - Collection
 - Sources
- Mansfield committee
 - Robert S. McNamara
- Administration response
 - Attack on Johnson
 - New York Times* revelations
- Johnson's possible actions
- President's conversation with Mansfield
 - US foreign relations
 - Romania
 - Canada
 - Australia
 - Others involved in US relations

Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 10:40 am.

- Haldeman recounting of Johnson telephone call
 - Source
 - Robert F. Kennedy
 - Johnson's attendance at Democrat Convention
 - George S. McGovern
 - Johnson's intentions during campaign
 - Nixon's Vietnam policy
 - Counter to *Times*

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Johnson Library opening
 - Johnson and Clark M. Clifford contact
- Gale W. McGee's report
 - McGovern, Mansfield, and J. William Fulbright
 - Two Democrat candidates
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson and Wilbur D. Mills
 - Nixon prospects in election
 - Johnson election support
- Laird call to Johnson
 - Kissinger call to Rostow
 - Times* action
 - Comments to Mansfield
 - Presidential appearances in Senate
 - Fairness of presentation
 - Control of partisans

Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)

Kissinger entered at 10:48 am.

- Kissinger's call to Johnson
- Kissinger's schedule of negotiations
- Kissinger call to Johnson
 - Johnson counter to *Times*
- Laird call to Johnson
 - Department of Defense [DOD] policy
 - Administration response to the *Times*

Kissinger left and Ehrlichman and Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 10:49 am.

Mansfield breakfast

- Laird's briefing
- Laird's testimony
- Congressional inquiry
 - Gerald R. Ford
 - Hugh Scott
 - Definition of objectives
 - Mansfield approved joint communique
 - William L. Safire's role

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security]

[Duration: 33s]

INTELLIGENCE

Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Congressional inquiry
 - Logistics
 - Mansfield's role
 - Storage of classified material
 - Carl B. Albert, Ford, and Scott role
 - Laird's role
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Laird and Albert meeting
 - Mansfield meeting with Albert
 - Ehrlichman's call to Albert
 - Logistics
 - Laird
 - Johnson material
 - Mansfield, Albert, Ford and Scott
 - Ehrlichman's call to Ford
 - Ford and Laird conversation
 - President's recommendation for chairmanship to Mansfield
 - Stennis
 - Laird phone call
 - Fulbright
 - Stennis advantages
 - Laird telephone call to Johnson
 - Administration tactics
 - Focus on responsible criticism
 - McGovern, W. Stuart Symington and Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
 - Leadership responsibilities
 - Fulbright
 - Ziegler's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- President's schedule
- Administration officials' testimony
 - Laird
 - William P. Rogers
 - Refusal
 - Opposition tactics
 - Foreshadowing of administration tactics
 - Debate on history
 - Accuracy of previous administration's document
- Shift to Nixon administration
 - Cambodia and Laos
 - Mansfield question
 - Symington subcommittee
- Symington subcommittee questions to Laird
 - Policy corrections based on documents
 - Casualty figures
 - Decreases in Nixon administration
 - Cambodia policy
- Cuban missile crisis
- Bay of Pigs
- Pearl Harbor
- Korean War documents
- Requests by reporters
- Laird handling
 - Contact with Ehrlichman
 - Department of State [DOS]
 - Hard-line play
 - Adm. Noel Gayler's comments
 - Code breaking
 - Compromise of intelligence operations
- Schedule
- Release of information to Congressional committee
- Problems of delay
 - Declassification procedure

Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:40 am.