Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 521-1

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 2:15 pm Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown person.

President's schedule

Bull and the unknown person left before 2:15 pm.

Conversation No. 521-3

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:19 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Request for Charles W. Colson

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 2:19 pm.

Conversation No. 521-4

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 2:19 pm - 2:38 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Greetings

President's letter to networks -Wedding coverage



Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Copy to Colson H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 2:19 pm.

President's desk -Damage -Causes Possible wedding rerun -Colson talk with National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] executive -Gulf Oil Corporation -Interest -NBC -Summer reruns -Follow-up President's schedule -Colson's request -Set up of meeting with John M. O'Neill -Anti-war demonstration -Action of O'Neill -Reaction -"Dick Cavett Show" -John F. Kerry, O'Neill -American Broadcasting Company [ABC] **Pentagon Papers** -Administration response -National security -Damage done -Emphasis on "family quarrel" aspects -Nixon administration involvement -Principle of disclosure -Escalation of attack -Benefits -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. -President's role in Vietnam -Lyndon B. Johnson attack -Barry M. Goldwater -Attack on Johnson -Disclosure of information -Security of information passed to State Department and Department of Defense [DOD]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Handling of security material -New York Times -Freedom of press issue -Calls for congressional investigation -Benefits -Suspects -Leslie H. Gelb -Walter [?] Gellhorn Conv. No. 521-4 (cont.) -Morton Halperin -Use of oath -Newsweek editor's conversation with John A. Scali -Knowledge of source and method of leak -Use in next week's magazine Mailing operation -Colson supervision -Haldeman Attack on Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy -Hugh Scott -Response to Kennedy's attack on President -President's use of religion -Reason for Kennedy's attack -Presidential credibility -Separation from other candidates -Donald H. Rumsfeld role -Kennedy speech -Jaycees convention in Oregon -Mailing of Kennedy statement and Hubert H. Humphrey answer -Robert J. Dole role -Effect -Editorials -Jaycees convention -Rumsfeld attack -Familiarity with Vietnam war issue -Protest of Kennedy statement -Benefits -Kennedy statement -Editorials

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 6m 47s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Conv. No. 521-4 (cont.)

President's desk -Damage

Haldeman and Colson left at 2:38 pm.

Conversation No. 521-5

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 2:39 pm - 2:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin and Henry A. Kissinger.

Presentation of note -Soviet Union proposal for Five Powers Nuclear meeting -Soviet Union-US relations -Relation to Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] -Scope of meeting -Preparations required -Ambassadorial level -Soviet Union and US leadership role -Technological supremacy -Consideration of proposal -Most successful methods of progress -Kissinger and Dobrynin -Use of channels -Confidentiality

Tape Subject Log

(*rev.* 10/08)

-Dobrynin position -Substance compared with cosmetics of Five Powers Meeting -The President's position -Kissinger and Dobrynin discussions -Overall US-Soviet Union relations -Disarmament compared with arms limitation -Forthcoming Kissinger and Dobrynin discussions -Level of discussions Conv. No. 521-4 (cont.) -Continuation of other discussions -Topics -Berlin -SALT -The President's view -Formal reply by the US -Soviet Union rhetoric -Soviet Union-US relations -Potential -Benefits to the world -Berlin and SALT progress Perception of other nations -Mutual and Balances Force Reduction [MBFR] -Other areas of discussion -Middle East -Europe -MBFR -President's meeting with Willy Brandt -Middle East -Sensitivity of other powers -Fear of Soviet Union-US condominium -US compared with Soviet Union interests -Control of constituencies -Discussion desirability -Gains for Soviet Union and US

The President, Dobrynin, and Henry A. Kissinger left at 2:58 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Time: Unknown between 2:58 pm and 3:19 pm Location: Oval Office <u>Unknown people met</u>.

[Unintelligible]

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 3:19 pm.

Conv. No. 521-5 (cont.)

Conversation No. 521-7

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:19 pm - 3:31 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President's previous meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Soviet Union proposed -The President's response -Linkage implication -Proposed conference -US, Soviet Union and Peoples Republic of China [PRC] relations -Channel for negotiations -Soviet Union intentions -The President's assessment -Summit possibilities -Soviet domestic situation

Kissinger's schedule -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] meeting

William P. Rogers -Presentation of note

Foreign policy -President's diplomatic efficacy -Communists -Significance of rhetoric -Dwight D. Eisenhower

7

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Milton S. Eisenhower [?] -Discussions with Nikita S. Khrushchev -John Foster Dulles -Dobrynin -Dulles -Soviet Union-US relations -Announcement of PRC trip -Effect Conv. No. 521-6 (cont.) President's schedule -Upcoming meeting with Arthur K. Watson White House administration -President's press and staff problems -Kissinger's previous meeting with John B. Connally -Connally's access to information -Foreign policy -Leaks -Connally's view -Melvin R. Laird -Rogers -Kissinger statements -Press coverage -Connally's view -Poor treatment of President -Examples -Pentagon Papers Connally -Role -The Vice Presidency -Spiro T. Agnew **Pentagon Papers** -Effect on Vietnam War effort -Medal of Honor winners -Veterans -The President's view -New York Times -Responsible parties -Punishment

-Connally

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Attack on Lyndon B. Johnson -Competency in government -Perception of public -John N. Mitchell action -New York Times -Access to White House personnel -Kissinger cancellation of editorial -Knowledge of implications -Use of leaked material -President's Vietnam War contingency plans -Kissinger's memo's to the President -McGeorge Bundy -Johnson -Circulation -Kissinger -Bundy -Past leaks compared to current ones -Kissinger's view -Department of Defense [DOD] role -Department of State role

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:19 pm.

President's schedule -Meeting with Watson and Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger and Bull left at 3:31 pm.

Conv. No. 521-7 (cont.)

Conversation No. 521-8

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:32 pm - 3:44 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Arthur K. Watson and Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

Greetings

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Drug action -Frank J. Shakespeare role -Frank Stanton

Watson's schedule -Return to France

Conv. No. 521-7 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration:<u>8s</u>]

FRANCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Telegram from Watson -Leak -Distribution

Pentagon Papers -New York Times -The President's view -Effect of leaks -Administration's response

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [National Security] [Duration: <u>3m 9s</u>]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

ALGERIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [National Security] [Duration: 2m 57s]

ALGERIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Other activities -The Ambassador's new residence -William A.M. Burden role -Nancy Watson -Funds -Wine cellar -President's appreciation

Tape Subject Log

(*rev.* 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [National Security] [Duration:_17s_]

FRANCE

Conv. No. 521-8 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Burden -Greetings from the President

Presentation of gifts

President's foreign policy -Vietnam -Watson's previous trip -Watson's assessment -Watson's support for the President -Walter H. Annenberg views -Other ambassadors' views

Watson and Kennedy left at 3:44 pm.

Conversation No. 521-9

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:45 pm - 4:30 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell and John D. Ehrlichman.

Greetings

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Appropriations -John J. Rooney **Pentagon Papers** -New York Times story -Necessity of action -The President's view -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr. -Conflict expectations -Attack on Presidency -Lyndon B. Johnson and Nixon -Leaks -Department of Defense [DOD] -Department of State -Morality involved -New York Times actions -The President's view -Legality -Comfort to enemy -Punishment of Daniel Ellsberg -Use of Judicial or Congressional oath -Department of Justice action -McGovern-Hatfield decision -Convening of grand jury -Action against Times -*Times* action -Disclosure of sources -Contempt of court action -Focus of articles -Johnson administration -"Family quarrel" -Ronald L. Zeigler -Vietnam -Bombing -Department of Defense plans

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration: 14s]

DEFENSE

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Bombing of North Vietnam -Use of plans in decision making -Johnson administration -Role of staff -Liberals -Higher morality -Rule of law -Attacks on Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan -Leonard Garment -Pragmatism -How decision for action was made -Ehrlichman's role -Mitchell role -Possible question's for Ziegler -The President -Reaction -Access of *Times* to White House staff -Ziegler -Jack N. Anderson column leaks -Adm. Noel Gayler's discussion with Mitchell -National Security Agency [NSA] -Leaks to Anderson -Cooperation with Justice Department -Need for information -Federal Bureau Investigation [FBI] -Clearance with Secretary of Defense -Melvin R. Laird

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Circumstances -DOD -Control of copies -Robert S. McNamara -Clark M. Clifford -Rand Corporation -Ellsberg -Brookings Institution Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.) -Leslie H. Gelb -Neil Sheehan -Political views -Contact with President -Kissinger contact with Times -Credibility of *Times* -Poll -Use of First Amendment to cover security breaches -Potter Stewart's opinion -Mary [Surname unknown] case -Precedents Cyclamates and drug cases -Legal status -Other related legal problems -Legislation -Government role -Error on neglect -Swordfish claim -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] list -Ehrlichman action on related cases -Cranberry case -Testing under court of claims procedure -Use of norms -Government action -Approval of cyclamate use -Effect -Stoppage of cyclamate use -HEW -Amount of cyclamate ingested by mice -Origination of cyclamate complaint -Manufacturer role -Results -Effect of cyclamate complaint

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-California constituency -Congressional action -Gerald R. Ford calls to Mitchell -Language of bill -Court of claims procedure -Swordfish contamination -Government role -Department of Commerce -Department of Treasury -Compensation -Help for constituents -Prospects of legislation -Administration reaction -Letter to Judiciary committee -Vic Landing (?) role -Clark MacGregor role

Cranberry problem -Department of Agriculture -Federal money -Cranberry constituency -Department of Agriculture -Appearance in court of claims -Pursuant to current legislation

Pentagon Papers -New York Times -Seriousness -Use of public statement -Secretary of Defense role -Classification problems -J. Fred Buzhardt role -Laird statement

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:45 pm.

Request to see Ronald Ziegler

Pentagon Papers -Effect on US policy

Bull left at unknown time before 4:09 pm.

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Classification problems -Public statement -Laird and Mitchell contact

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 4:09 pm.

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

-Court decision -Use of temporary injunction -Cease and desist order -Supreme Court judges -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy activities -Administration use of leaks -Upcoming book [The Vantage Point] -Authorship by Johnson -Kissinger's role -Revisions -Content -Coverage of other administrations -Dwight D. Eisenhower -Statement regarding impact of story -Ehrlichman's view -Laird's role -Rationale -Public perception -Federal District Court role -Buzhardt affidavit -Content -Damage to US policies -Impact of publication of classified material on troops -Impact on publication -William P. Rogers statement -Handling of material -Ziegler's brief -Rogers statement -Concern of foreign governments

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [National Security] [Duration: 58s]

FRANCE

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Public perception -Suppression of material -Press role -Press corps -President's handling of Alger Hiss case -Total disclosure -Perception of press corps -History of Vietnam involvement -Morning briefing -Effect of court order on press -Access of Times to White House staff -The President's instructions -Excuses -Scope of order -George P. Shultz -Council of Economic Advisors [CEA] -Access to press pools -Addition of defendants -James B. ("Scotty") Reston -Thomas G. Wicker -Ziegler's briefing -Use of term "harassment" -George S. McGovern -Impact of non-action -Benjamin C. Bradlee role -Dan Rather -McGovern-Hatfield amendment

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Prospects -Statement of impact -Authorship -DOD -John A. Scali -Richard A. Moore -Content -Publication of classified material Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.) -Authorship -Buzhardt -President's contribution -Hiss case precedent -Aid to enemy -Intent -Credibility of DOD authorship -Department of Justice authorship -Impact on criminal case -Herbert G. Klein -White House involvement -Rogers possible statement -Benefits -Emphasis on foreign reaction -Robert J. McCloskey -Scali -Public relations aspects of problem -Possible remarks by President in Rochester, New York -Naming of papers -Possibilities -Johnson -John F. Kennedy -McNamara -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy role -John F. Kennedy's Vietnam policy -Ngo Dinm Diem revelations -Henry Cabot Lodge role -Transmission of story on wire -Timing -Timing of criminal action -Post-McGovern-Hatfield -Kissinger -Arrest of Ellsberg -Responsibility for leak

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Ellsberg -Halperin -Gelb -Statement of impact -Rogers role -Benefits -Background -Associated Press [AP] -Department of Justice -President's schedule -Kenneth B. Keating meeting -Call to Rogers -Fighting press -Perception of administration secrecy

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

Mitchell et. al. left at 4:30 pm.

Conversation No. 521-10

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 4:30 pm and 4:40 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule -Kenneth B. Keating meeting -Henry A. Kissinger meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:30 pm.

Pentagon Papers -New York Times

The President and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 521-11

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 4:30 pm and 4:40 pm Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 521-9 (cont.)

Unknown people met.

President's location

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Conversation No. 521-12

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 4:40 pm - 5:13 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule -Henry A. Kissinger schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:45 pm.

H.R. ("Bob') Haldeman entered at 4:45 pm.

President's schedule -Willy Brandt -Shortage of time -Charles H. Percy -John B. Connally -Meeting between Connally and Brandt

Brandt dinner -Peter G. Peterson -John A. Scali

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-William J. Baroody -George Meany statement -Jay Lovestone -Eastman Kodak -Robert S. Oelman, National Cash Register official -John M. Huntsman's friend -Dudley Swim -Friendship with Huntsman -Demeanor -View of Ronald W. Reagan -Calls to Huntsman

Butterfield left at 4:47 pm.

Scheduling -John D. Ehrlichman -Charles Bluhdorn -Message to President from President of Dominican Republic -Content -Sugar quotas -President's role in meeting -[Unintelligible name] -Effect of meeting with President -Kissinger -Time compared with money -Contact with John D. Ehrlichman **Pentagon Papers**

-Handling

-John N. Mitchell -Department of Defense [DOD] -President's meeting with Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Ronald L. Ziegler -Necessity of leadership -John A. Scali role -Collection of ideas -Attorney General's role -Barry M. Goldwater role -Vice President's role -Impact -Statement by President -Drawbacks -Possible statements by Senators

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Naming of papers -John F. Kennedy-Lyndon B. Johnson papers -Compared with Robert S. McNamara papers -Administrations basic position -Protection of national security -Effect of publication on national security -William P. Rogers -Concern of foreign governments Conv. No. 521-12 (cont.) -Need for coordination of administration efforts -William L. Safire -Raymond K. Price, Jr. -Public relations nature of problem -Involvement by staff -Charles W. Colson -Scali -Richard A. Moore -Safire -Donald H. Rumsfeld -Political involvement -Public relations -"Family quarrel" nature of problem -Protection of US security -Impact of administrations action against New York Times -Ziegler -Ehrlichman -Access of *Times* to press pools -Ziegler's role -Access of *Times* to airplane pools -Question and answers session by President -Haldeman's previous conversation with Kissinger -Impact on Justice Department action -Mitchell -Formulation of reason for avoiding comment -Intent of briefing -Domestic policy -Drugs -Revenue sharing -Reorganization -Criminal proceedings -Effect of publication on President -Perception of people -Rogers' statement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-President's role in period covered by papers

-Ziegler
-Colson
-Emphasis on originating administrations
-Kennedy-Johnson papers

-Administration use of secrecy

-Ehrlichman
-Polls

-Need for statement by President

Conv. No. 521-12 (cont.)

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

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Administration policies -Economic problems -Arthur F. Burns -Inflation -Scope -Connally and George P. Shultz -Arthur F. Burns -Consistency -Paul W. McCracken -War issue -Negotiations

Pentagon Papers -Impact of *Times* stories -Kennedy-Johnson papers -Nature of original studies -Extent of reading by public -Perception by public -Security breech

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Consequences -Press interests compared to public interest -Need for Congressional speeches -Reasons for publication -Safire -Ultimate effect of publication -Area effect -Pearl Harbor Conv. No. 521-12 (cont.) -Adm. Ellis M. Zacharias indictment of Franklin D. Roosevelt -US News and World Report -Long term effect -Possibility of successful legal action -Administration role -Development of new policy -Administration responsibilities President's schedule -Meeting with Ambassador Kenneth B. Keating -Keating's competence -Age factor -Future plans -Age -Ellsworth F. Bunker -David K.E. Bruce -Other meetings -Level of visitors -Martin Joseph Hillenbrand -[David] Kenneth Rush Benefits of adversary relations -New York Times story Pentagon Papers story -Johnson role in fight -Enlistment of other spokesman -Dean G. Acheson -Dean Rusk -McNamara -Kissinger role -Mobilization of "establishment" spokesmen -Rogers press conference -Leaks

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Drawbacks -Effect on foreign policy

President's schedule -Press conference -Rochester, New York -News-making potential -Upcoming speech -American Medical Association [AMA] meeting -Raymond K. Price, Jr. -Press conference -Letters regarding conference -Timing of conference -Rationale -Timing -Price

Conv. No. 521-12 (cont.)

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:47 pm.

Schedule -Kissinger and Keating

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

President's schedule -Press conference -Timing -Audience reception -Exposure -Johnson -Rose Mary Woods -Audience reception -Trade-offs -Content effect -National Security Council [NSC] meeting -Kissinger request -Changing in time -Question and answer

Haldeman left at 5:13 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 521-13

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 5:13 pm - 6:03 pm Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 521-12 (cont.) <u>The President met with Kenneth Keating and Henry A. Kissinger; White House photographer</u> was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National Security] [Duration: 23s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

India-US relations -Background of situation -Meeting with Foreign Minister

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:13 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:41 pm.

Indian and US relations -Status -Indira Gandhi election

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Size of victory -Effect on opposition -Effect on relations -Stability -Union Carbide and Remington Rand licence approval -Rationale -Employment -Export -Keating's call on Minister of Industrial Development -M.H. Chaudhury

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12 [National Security] [Duration: 4s]

INDIA

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

-Keating's view -Views of new Minister -Indian resources -Public and private sectors -Foreign investment -Keating contact with Mrs. Gandhi -Cordiality -Rationale -Mahalia Jackson concert -Keating cables to Department of State -Keating assessment of situation -Timing of Cables -East Pakistan -Keating assessment -Indian and Pakistan stability

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Aid -Keating's recommendation -Staff contribution -President's meeting with Foreign Minister -Possible topics

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9 [National Security] [Duration: 52s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

-Aid

-Keating's conversations -Etxent -Amount -Increases -C-130 aircraft -Refugee problem -Need to shift them back to Pakistan -Effect on India -Number -Calcutta's Plight -Continued flight into India -Pakistan -Hindus -Impact on population -Genocide -Extent -Outlawing of Awami League -East Pakistan -Political settlement in East Pakistan

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Effect of Refugees -Hindus and Muslims -Goals -Peace -Reversal of Refugee Flow

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10 [National Security] [Duration: 26s]

PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

-International Monetary Fund [IMF] action -Peter Cardell (?) role -Paris meeting -Possibility of political settlement -Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan -Keating's view -Yahya's role -[Unintelligible] role -Awami League role -Keating and Joseph S. Farland (?) -Changes in Pakistan -President's relationship with Yahya -Timing -Topics -Use of aid to help resolve crisis -Use of aid -Rationale -John B. Connally -Amounts -Pakistan reaction

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Invitation of Keating to Willy Brandt dinner -Keating schedule -John Sherman Cooper party -Timing

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:30 pm.

Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.)

-Place for Keating at dinner -Timing

-Kashmir

Butterfield left at 5:31 pm.

-Attire -Attendance -Government officials -Brandt -Businessmen -Eastman Kodak president -Bill Long [?] -Louis Kenneth Eilers -Thomas Gates Jr. -Dow Chemical Chairman [Carl A. Gerstacker] -Companies -Monumental Properties [Joseph Meyerhoff] -National Cash Register [Robert S. Oelman] -National Airlines chairman [Dudley Swim] -Dell E. Webb -Kodak -Eilers -Hierarchy **Indian-US** relations -The President's scheduled meeting with Swaran Singh [Indian Foreign Minister] -Kissinger -Indian population problems -Role of democracy -People's Republic of China [PRC] -The President's policies -Indian criticism of US -US policy -Role of stability

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Collapse of Pakistan -US strategy -Support for India -Yahya Khan -Congress -Popularity of foreign aid -Feeling for India and Pakistan War -Involvement in Biafra [Nigerian Civil War] Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.) -US strategy -Rationale -Forthcoming meeting with Indian foreign minister -US policy -Refugees -Method of accomplishment -Avoidance of internal involvement -Avoidance of armed conflict -Pressure on Indira Gandhi -Indian Congress -Refugee problem -Danger -The President's forthcoming meeting with India foreign minister -Refugee Problem

Presidential gifts

Political situation -Media attacks on President -New York Times -Washington Post -Public opinion -War deaths in Asia -War deaths in Europe -Role of press -Effect of escalation on President's reelection -Quest for more foreign aid -Yahya's role

Keating left at 5:41 pm.

India-US relations -Kissinger's schedule -[David] Kenneth Rush

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Aid to India and Pakistan -Farland -Situation in Dacca [East Pakistan] -Counsel General's Rebellion -Kissinger's talk with Indian ambassador -Lakshmi Kant Jha -Contact of President and Ghandi through Indian ambassador -US aid Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.) -Keating -Need for time for US to act -President's meeting with foreign minister -Contact with Keating -US position -Sympathy -Delivery of aid -Pakistan -Keating contact with State Department

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [National Security] [Duration: <u>2m 6s</u>]

PAKISTAN

FRANCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Pentagon Papers -John N. Mitchell action -Suite of *New York Times* -Public right to know -Possible Congressional action *-New York Times* responsibilities -William P. Rogers point in briefing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Ronald L. Ziegler -Concern of foreign nations -Need to fight, New York Times -Naming of Pentagon Papers -Robert S. McNamara and Clark M. Clifford -John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson papers -McNamara -McNamara reaction to leaks Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.) -Need to react -Effect of McNamara role as World Bank President -Dean G. Acheson comment -Confusion of issue -Public's right to know -President's role in fight -Possible Rogers statement -Effect on communications with foreign governments -Effect on President's relationship with State and Department of Defense [DOD] -Legal status of publication -Temporary restraining order -Effect -New York Times reputation -Public right to know -Franklin D. Roosevelt -Pearl Harbor information -Declassification -Procedures to declassify -Permission required -McGeorge Bundy -Johnson -Effect of selective declassification -Contingency planning -Kissinger's circulation of memoranda -Leak possibilities -President's role in controlling classified material -Opening up of official papers -Possible Presidential library -President's Vice President papers -Press -Lord Kennan (?) party -Guest list -Press personalities -Violation of security

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-British compared with US press -New York Times view of publication -Focus of New York Times attack -New York Times view of publication -Presidential responsibility -Johnson -Moral compared with immoral war -Public right to know -Retaliation by President on New York Times -Access to White House functions -Swedish Prime Minister's comment -Olaf Palme -Kissinger's conversation with Rogers -US-Vietnam strategy -Rogers -Recall of ambassador

Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6 [National Security] [Duration: 22s]

SWEDEN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

-Conspiracy theory -Leaking of papers -Leslie H. Gelb role -Rand Corporation role -Neil Sheehan -Coincidence of events -Clark M. Clifford statements -New York Times story -Veterans

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Vietnam War -Congressional resolutions -Marlow W. Cook and Ted Stevens -Clark McGregor -Provisions -Release of Prisoners of War [POWs] -US withdrawal Kissinger's assessment

Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.)

State dinner

-President's meeting with Brandt -Kissinger attendance -Rational -Contact with Brandt -Contact with Egon Bahr -Meeting for the Record -Rush, Egon Bahr, Kissinger meeting -Thursday breakfast

International relations

-US-PRC contacts -US-Soviet Union contacts -Effect of New York Times story -Image of President's domestic strength -Cambodia -Laos operation (Lam Son) -North Vietnam relations -Possible summit with Soviet Union -Effect of US-Soviet Union and US-PRC contacts -President's meeting with Congressmen and Senators -President's initiatives -Berlin agreement -Benefits -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] -US-PRC contacts -Effect on Soviet Union -Rationale for Meeting with Antoliy F. Dobrynin -Rogers role -SALT

New York Times story

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Effect on intellectual establishment -Cooks-Stevens legislation -Calls to President -Joseph McCarthy analogy

Scheduling

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Kissinger's schedule -President's schedule -Tempo of events -The President schedule -Forthcoming trip to Florida -Kissinger

Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8 [National Security] [Duration: <u>56s</u>]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

Message to Rush -Personnel

The President and Henry A. Kissinger left at 6:03 pm.

Conversation No. 521-14

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Unknown people talked.

[Unintelligible]

[End of conversation]

Conversation No. 521-15 Conv. No. 521-13 (cont.)

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Unintelligible]

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:06 pm.

Conversation No. 521-16

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Unintelligible]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 10:06 pm.