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.
Request for John D. Ehrlichman

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

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
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
- 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
      - 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
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

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

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 newsman
- 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]
[Unintelligible]
[End of telephone conversation]

Pentagon Papers
- Declassification action at DOD
  - White House and DOD procedure
    - Mansfield
      - Carl B. Albert
        - 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
- Call from MacGregor to Kissinger
  - Rogers
  - Mitchell's knowledge
  - MacGregor conversation with Mitchell
- Source of administration decision on declassification
  - President
  - Laird
  - Rationale for action
- 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
Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

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

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
-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

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

Polls
  -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
President's schedule
- Dinner, June 22
  - Entertainment
  - Possible performance by US Army Chorus
  - Timing
  - Eisenhower's method

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 3:05 pm.

- Meeting with Peterson [?]

Butterfield left at 3:06 pm.

Haldeman left at 3:07 pm.

Conv. No. 527-4 (cont.)

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

The President met with an unknown man.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm.
Date: June 22, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:07 pm and 3:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule
- Frank J. Shakespeare meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:11 pm

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.

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

The President met with Frank J. Shakespeare.
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
-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
-View of US in South Vietnam
  -Vietnamization
  -North Vietnam’s strategy
    -Laos
    -Cambodia

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
-Japan
  -Malaysia, Indonesia, and Philippines
    -Chinese minority
      -Historical problems
      -Links with PRC
      -Validity
-Japan
  -Nixon Doctrine
    -Diplomatic intent
      -United Stated Information Agency [USIA] role
      -Ambassadors' role
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 51s ]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 11s ]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

-Indonesia
  -Shakespeare's visit to Suharto
    -Attendance of US Ambassador
    -Creation of political institutions
    -Economic development
    -Francis J. Galbraith's reaction
      -Suharto's behavior

-Japanese aid
  -Caution
- Singapore visit
  - *Singapore Herald* crisis
  - Visit to Lee Kuan Yew
  - Industrialization
  - Shakespeare dinner with Robert Strausz-Hupe, US Ambassador to Ceylon
    - Skill
  - Malaysia visit
    - 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
-Lack of press
-Osborn
 -Japanese post
 -Language ability
  -Japanese
  -Mandarin Chinese

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[National Security]
[Duration: _52s_]
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
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

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


Greetings
- Photographs

John B. Connally

Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding
- Weather
  - Replay on television
    - Agnew
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
-Political impact
  -Poll
  -Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  -Edmund S. Muskie
  -Appalachian political history

National issues
- President’s speech to the American Medical Association [AMA] v. 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
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.
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
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]

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
- 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
-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

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

[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]
Kissinger entered at 4:48 pm.

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
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

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
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

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.

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

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

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
-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
-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
-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

*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
- 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
  - 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
- 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

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]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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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
- 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

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

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

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

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
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

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
- 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

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
Ziegler left at 6:42 pm.

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.

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

Unknown people met.

[Unintelligible]
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
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-132]

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.
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

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

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
      - Chappaquiddick
  - 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
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*

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
-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

[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
Conv. No. 527-16 (cont.)

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.

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


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
-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
- 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
    - 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
[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

[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
Conv No. 527-11 (cont.)

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

**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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 33s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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-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
  -Leadership responsibilities
  -Fulbright
  -Ziegler’s schedule
-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

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