

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 528-16/529-1

Date: June 24, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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

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

General conversation

Best wishes for the season

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

Conversation No. 529-2

Date: June 24, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

-Upcoming meeting with delegation form the Police Athletic League [PAL] of Philadelphia

-Format of presentation

Bull left at 11:36 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 529-3

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:36 am - 11:45 am Location: Oval Office

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

Greetings

Introductions

Work of Police Athletic League [PAL] -Quality

Photographs

-Posing

PAL program

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

Presentation of gifts

- -Cuff links
- -Bracelets

President's schedule

-Arrival of helicopter

Tour of White House for PAL

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

President's schedule

-Trip to Indiana and Chicago, Illinois

Petition presented to President -Number of signatures

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

Conv. No. 529-3 (cont.)

Conversation No. 529-4

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:46 am - 11:58 am Location: Oval Office

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

Schedule

Mansfield amendment

-House of Representatives vote

Personnel

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr. [?]

Presidential statements

-Wording

[Unintelligible]

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-Effect of Mansfield Amendment on negotiations

-Public relations

-Wording

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

The President's schedule

Ziegler's statement

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

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

Conversation No. 529-26

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:58 am and 12:03 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Unintelligible]

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

Conversation No. 529-5

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown man's schedule -Return of call

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 529-6

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

Camp David discussions

- -Conference on aging
 - -Budgeting
 - -Cruipshank[?]
 - -Alternatives
- -Examination of all domestic programs and budget proposals

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

Conversation No. 529-25

Date: June 27, 1971 Time: 7:52 pm - 7:53 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Delivery of papers

Butterfield left at 7:53 pm.

Conversation No. 529-7

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

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

```
Camp David discussions
```

- -Areas of political gain
- -Expenditures
 - -Effectiveness
 - -Environmental health
 - -Pressure

-Budget

- -Considerations
 - -Defense spending
 - -Economy
 - -Defense spending

-Effect on employment

- -Short term spending
 - -Effect in 1972
- -1973 budget
 - -Cuts

-Effect on planning

- -Domestic Council role
- -President's role
 - -San Clemente

Conversation No. 529-8

Conv. No. 529-7 (cont.)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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

Meeting with local broadcasters

- -President's proposals
 - -George Putnam
 - -Irv Kupcinet
 - -Attendance
 - -Purpose

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Meeting of radio talk show hosts
 - -Criteria
- -Influence of media figures
 - -Use of photographs

Camp David presentation

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

Conv. No. 529-8 (cont.)

Conversation No. 529-9

Date: June 27, 1971 Time: 8:02 pm - 8:05 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Call from William F. ("Billy") Graham

- -Butterfield's taking the call
- -Call back
- -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Return of call
 - -Butterfield's conversation with Graham
 - -Graham's schedule
 - -San Francisco trip
 - -Operator
 - -Kissinger's items

Lights

Butterfield left at 8:05 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 529-10

Date: June 27, 1971 Time: 8:06 pm - 8:11 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

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

Cabinet meeting

-Agenda

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Length

-George P. Shultz

-Agenda

-Ehrlichman

-Document security discussion

-Length

Butterfield left at 8:11 pm.

Conversation No. 529-11

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to George P. Shultz.

Arthur F. Burns letter
-Milton Friedman reaction

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Inflation

-Administration response
-Expected results
-Jawboning
-Wage and price freeze

Conv. No. 529-11 (cont.)

Conversation No. 529-12

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-162]

Conversation No. 529-13

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

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

[See Conversation No. 5-163]

Conversation No. 529-14

Date: June 27, 1971 Time: 8:18 pm - 9:14 pm Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's trip to Paris

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

Item for President

Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)

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

Vietnam peace negotiations

- -Kissinger's trip to Paris
 - -Le Duc Tho
 - -Xuan Thuy demeanor
 - -Set up of negotiating area
 - -Discussion of US proposals
 - -Le Duc Tho speech
 - -Consequences of failure
 - -North Vietnamese questions
 - -Kissinger's response
 - -North Vietnamese counter proposals
 - -Precedent
 - -Significance
 - -Details
 - -US withdrawal
 - -Time frame
 - -Prisoners of war [POW] release
 - -Time frame
 - -Political settlement
 - -Nguyen Van Thieu
 - -Nguyen Cao Ky
 - -Political settlement
 - -US response
 - -Letter from President
 - -Details
 - -Laos and Cambodia Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962
 - -Disposition
 - -Indochinese future
 - -Signing of agreement
 - -International guarantees and supervision of ceasefire
 - -Significance of counter proposals
 - -Possible overthrow of Thieu, Ky and [Duong Van Minh?]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Next meeting
 - -US changes in proposals
 - -Focus on South Vietnamese government

Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)

- -Kissinger's questions on North Vietnam counter proposal
 - -Possible Thieu, Ky and Minh overthrow
 - -South Vietnam acceptance of North Vietnam terms
 - -Assurances
 - -Coalition government
 - -International supervision
 - -Thieu and Ky status
- -Next meeting
 - -Danger of leaks
 - -Consequences
- -North Vietnam counter proposal
 - -POWs
 - -US leaks
 - -Benefits
- -Kissinger and David K.E. Bruce conversation
 - -Chance for progress on China
 - -Briefing of Bruce by Vernon A. Walters
- -Timing
 - -Prior breakthrough
 - -Significance of proposal
- -Future negotiations
 - -Next meting
 - -Secrecy
 - -Timing
 - -Bruce
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Bruce and Rogers role
 - -Further information
 - -Kissinger's conversation with Bruce

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

Refreshments

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

People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations -Significance

-Kissinger's conversation with Bruce

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Revelation of PRC contacts
                -Secrecy
                -Rogers
                -Discussion of PRC contacts with others
          -Bruce
Soviet Union summit
     -Possibilities
                                                               Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)
Vietnam negotiations
     -History of Soviet involvement
          -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
          -Le Duc Tho's role
                -Earlier proposals
          -Japanese parallel
     -Significance of Laos
          -Reports
                -I Corp Area
          -Past involvement
                -Possible impact
     -PRC
     -Thieu
     -House and Senate
          -Mansfield resolution
          -Pentagon Papers
                -Totality of story
     -North Vietnam intentions
     -US options
     -Kissinger's trip to San Clemente
     -Thieu's response
     -US options
          -East German report
                -Cambodia
                     -PRC
                     -North Vietnam activities
           -PRC announcement
                -Timing
                     -Alexander M. Haig Jr.
                     -Related to Soviet Summit announcement
          -US support for Thieu
                -Ky
```

-Critique of President's policy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)

-Lyndon B. Johnson's reaction

Pentagon Papers

- -British Press Regarding Pentagon Papers
 - -Roy H. Thompson lunch
 - -John Freeman

British government

- -Edward R.G. Heath
 - -Regards to the President
 - -Demeanor in adversity
- -Reaction to Pentagon Papers
 - -Effect on domestic politics
 - -Official secrets act
- -Need for secrecy in diplomacy

Pentagon Papers

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

Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- -Thieu's fate
 - -Impact of US Congressional action
 - -Survival potential
 - -Pentagon role

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
-Bombing
-Bruce
-Political implications
-Nature of agreement
     -Ceasefire
     -POWs
     -Compromise of US and North Vietnam proposals
                                                         Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)
          -Withdrawal offer
                -Date
          -POWs
     -Thieu and Ky
          -Thieu election strategy
                -Relationship to US presence
          -US role
                -Cambodia
                -Laos
                -Bombing of harbors
                -Size of US Army in Asia
                     -Compared to PRC Army
          -Future US role
          -US position
                -Need for withdrawal
                     -Role of bombing
                -Role of bombing
                -Effect of Senate actions
                     -Mansfield Amendment
-Kissinger's talk to Hugh Scott
-Gerald R. Ford
-John C. Stennis
-US meetings with PRC and Soviet Union
     -Kissinger's conversation with Chou En-lai
          -PRC influence
     -Further Kissinger and President Contacts
-Help for Kissinger
     -Haig
     -Security leaks
          -Winston Lord
          -Impact of announcement of PRC trip
```

PRC

-Announcement of President's trip

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Timing
           -Impact
                -Effect on Paris talks
          -Contact with Soviet Union
                -Bruce's mission
     -Kissinger trip to San Clemente
          -Informing William P. Rogers
           -Other travels
                                                               Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)
                -Camouflage for PRC trip
                     -Prevention of leaks
                          -Dobrynin's contacts with Kissinger and Rogers
                                -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
                                -Mutual and Balances Force Reduction [MBFR]
                          -Bruce
                     -Rogers and Congressional committees
                     -Dean Rusk
Foreign Policy initiatives
     -Announcements
          -President's visit to PRC
          -Bruce's mission
          -Soviet move
          -Presidential visit to the Soviet Union
          -Timing
          -[Richard A. Moore ?]
Vietnam negotiations
     -Support for Thieu
          -Effect of other as President
                -Humphrey
                -Muskie
                -Edward Kennedy
           -Need to prevent Communist takeover
                -Risk of settlement
           -Communist takeover
                -Timing
                     -Effect on US policy
                          -POWs
                          -Congressional pressure
     -Length
          -Effect of PRC announcement
```

-North Vietnamese flexibility

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)

```
-Soviet Pressure
                -Berlin talks
                     -D. Kenneth Rush
                     -Dobrynin
                     -SALT
                -North Vietnamese flexibility
PRC initiative
     -PRC cooperation
          -Possible price
                -Taiwan
                     -US support
          -Announcement
          -Timing
                -Coverage
     -Impact of PRC and US talks
          -Substance
          -Nature of US and PRC relations
                -Taiwan
          -Japanese and US long term relationship
                -Expansion
                     -Reasons
          -PRC expansion
                -Reasons
          -PRC image in other Asian nations
                -Thailand
                -Burma
                -Indonesia
               -Philippines
          -US and PRC detente
                -Impact on Asia
                     -Balance of power
          -Soviet desire for summit
          -Timing of summits
               -Soviet Union compared with PRC
                -Bruce
     -Rogers
          -Middle East negotiations
                -Kissinger's view
                     -Conduct of negotiations
     -Bruce
```

-Bruce's ability

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Rejection of publicity
-Use of Two-man team
-Soviet Union
-PRC

General foreign policy performance
-Melvin R. Laird
-Rogers

Conv. No. 529-14 (cont.)

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

-Letter to Kissinger from Harvard "dove"

President's schedule

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

-President's role in history -Kissinger's view

The President and Kissinger left at 9:14 pm.

Conversation No. 529-15

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:12 am and 9:21 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 529-16

Date: June 28, 1971 Time: 9:21 am - 10:04 am Location: Oval Office

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

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:22 am.

Briefing

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

Ziegler left at 9:24 am.

Pentagon Papers

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)

```
-Impact
                -Clark MacGregor
                     -Fixed date fund cutoff in both houses
                -Henry A. Kissinger information
                -Fixed date fund cutoff
                     -Impact on negotiations
     -Statement by President
          -George P. Shultz
          -John D. Ehrlichman
          -Charles W. Colson
          -Upcoming decision
          -Albert
          -F. Edward Hebert
President's schedule
     -New Hampshire and Maine
          -Visit by President
                -Timing
                -Ship conversion
                     -ACTION Project
                     -Portsmouth Navy Yard
     -Haldeman forthcoming conversation with William P. Rogers
     -Camp David trip
Pentagon Papers
     -Question and answer session
          -Ehrlichman
          -Timing
          -Value
          -Hostility of audience
```

-Haldeman and Richard A. Moore preparations

-George H. Mahon mailing
-Attendance
-Calls to Congressmen
-Norris Cotton
-Gerald R. Ford
-Hugh Scott

-MacGregor's expertise -Responsibility

-Longevity of Congressmen

-Duane J. Matthies [?]

-Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Preparation for Richard H. Ichord
 - -Bryce N. Harlow
 - -Whalen
- -Congressional tactics
- -Calls to Congressmen
 - -Albert
 - -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
 - -Other Congressmen

Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)

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

Request for Kissinger

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

President's schedule

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

Kissinger entered at 9:39 am.

Casualties

- -Number
- -Trends
- -Play by media
 - -National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
 - -Washington Post/New York Times
 - -Pentagon Papers
 - -Offensive in Vietnam

President's talk with Albert

- -Effect of Congressional action
 - -Negotiations with the Soviet Union
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations
 - -Vietnam
 - -Bruce

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Recall
           -MacGregor's report
          -Filibuster in Senate
                -Benefit to administration
                     -PRC and Soviet Union trip announcements
     -Albert
          -Stand on Congressional action
          -Weekend schedule
                                                                Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)
          -Health
Congressional action on Vietnam
     -Cutoff of funds
          -MacGregor's report
                -Accuracy
          -Effect on US strategy
                -Kissinger's conversation with Nguyen Van Thieu
                     -Perception of President's action
                     -Strategy
                          -Timing
                          -PRC visit announcement
                          -End of combat announcement
                          -Soviet Union visit announcement
          -MacGregor's report
                -Accuracy
          -Albert
          -Administration opponents
          -Albert
                -Contact with John C. Watts
          -Congress
                -Effect of other accomplishments
                     -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
                     -PRC initiative
                           -Ping-pong diplomacy
                -Vietnam
                -Robert J. Dole
                -Two schools of thought
                     -President's success
                     -Dole
Vietnam
     -Vietnam strategy
          -"Lifeboat" concept
```

-Need for strong front

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Vietnam agreement
          -Terms
                -Ceasefire
                -Prisoners of War [POWs]
          -President's comments to Albert
          -President's comments to Mansfield
     -Support for President
          -Compared to support for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967 Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)
     -Vietnam agreement
          -Nine points
                -Supervision
                     -Changes
                -Ceasefire
                     -Use as bargaining chip
                -Support for Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky, and Duong Van Minh
                -Support by South Vietnamese
     -Timing
          -Effect on US strategy
                -SALT
                -President's appearance on television
                     -Timing
                          -Effect on Audiences
     -News summaries
          -Length
                -Compared to foreign service reporting
                     -Good ambassadorial reports
                          -William C. Bullitt
                          -Joseph C. Grew
Pentagon Papers
     -Media coverage
          -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
          -Peter Arnett of Associate Press
          -Arnett's view of administration
          -Rationale for Arnett story
                -Defense of Daniel Ellsberg
     -Ellsberg criminal prosecution
          -Counterattack after PRC announcement
          -Administration response
```

-Albert breakfast

-Bruce

-President's contact with Mansfield

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Albert
         -Bruce's efforts in PRC
              -Chou En-lai
    Foreign Policy
         -Triumphs
             -SALT
             -PRC
                                                           Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)
         -Bruce's efforts in PRC
         -Soviet summit
              -Effect on Bruce's efforts in PRC
         -PRC strategy
             -Timing
         -Reaction of free Chinese to President's announcement
         -Soviet summit
             -Double play
             -Bruce
             -President's visit
                  -Compared with Bruce's visit
              -Prospects
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[National Security]
[Duration: 36s]
    SOVIET UNION
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
***********************************
         -Obsession with Vietnam
```

-Effect of other events -Congressional action

-Cut-off of funds

-Effect of PRC announcement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Effective date
          -Watershed of US policy
                -End of World War II
               -Civil War
          -PRC announcement
               -Length
               -Content
                     -"Peace" focus
                                                                    Conv. No. 529-16 (cont.)
                          -Pacific region
                          -World
          -PRC trip
                -Attendance
                     -Rogers
                     -Democrats
                          -Mansfield
                     -Scott
                -Necessity of first visit by President
                     -Chou En-lai
                     -Handling by PRC
                          -Mansfield's letter to Norodom Sihanonk
                               -Invitation by Chou to Mansfield
                -United Nations [UN] debate
                     -Rogers
                     -Timing
                     -PRC
                     -Chou En-lai
                     -Taiwan
                          -Reaction
Stephen B. Bull entered at 10:02 am.
     Schedule
          -Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP]
          -Days engagements
Bull left at 10:03 am.
     Foreign policy
          -PRC trip
                -Attendance
                     -Richard A. Moore [?]
                          -Other Democrats
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Press conferences

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

Conversation No. 529-17

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

Ronald L. Ziegler met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's location

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

Schedule

-Briefing

-Defense budget

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

Conversation No. 529-18

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Non-historical Returnable]

[Duration: 7m 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:21 am.
Conversation No. 529-19
Date: June 28, 1971 Time: 10:22 am Location: Oval Office
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal Returnable] [Duration: 3s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at 10:22 am.
Conversation No. 529-20
Date: June 28, 1971

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

Time: 10:23 am - 10:51 am Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP] meeting

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

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:24 am.

Conv. No. 529-20 (cont.)

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

Criticism of President

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

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

- -Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- -President's visit
- -Mansfield
- -Hugh Scott
- -Protocol problems
 - -Press conferences

PRC visit announcement

- -Consulation with Congressional leaders
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] consultation
 - -Benefits from consultation
- -Location of announcement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-20 (cont.)

```
-Consultation with staff
```

- -Staff work with Congress
- -Television timing
 - -Time differences
- -Television build-up

Pentagon Papers

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
Domestic policy
     -Burns
           -Background
                -Dwight D. Eisenhower era
                -Nelson A. Rockefeller support
                -European trip
                -Federal Reserve appointment
                                                                Conv. No. 529-20 (cont.)
                     -Age
           -Debt to President
           -Respect among economists
           -Foreign travels
                -Israel
                -Korea
                -Japan
                -Future plans
     -President's Domestic Policy Council comments
     -Morality of administration
          -Maurice H. Stans
     -Plugging of leaks
Foreign Policy
     -Attacks on President's critics
     -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
     -Attack on President
           -Timing
                -US openings to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
                     -President's comments to Mansfield
           -Carl B. Albert
     -July 15th annoncement
           -Prospect for PRC visit
                -Position of Taiwan
                -Robert Bruce Atwood
     -William P. Rogers
           -Revelation of Kissinger's efforts
                -Timing
                     -President's knowledge
                -Story presented
                     -Retrieval of message
                     -Knowledge of destination
                     -Final Ok for trip
```

-President's involvement

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-20 (cont.)

```
-Kissinger's report
                -Camouflage for trip
                     -Rogers
                     -Yahya Khan's role
     -Publicity benefits
     -Charges of deception
     -Leaks
     -David K.E. Bruce
           -Rogers' negotiating ability
                -Congressional questions
     -Rogers
-Bruce
-Bruce's view of PRC initiative
-Bruce's attendance on PRC trip
-Attendance on PRC trip
     -President
     -Rogers
     -Kissinger
     -Bruce
-Bruce's view on Vietnam negotiations
     -Need for toughness
     -Bruce
```

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

-Future negotiations

Meeting with Vernon E. Jordan

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

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- -July 15th announcement
 - -Le Duc Tho's probable response
- -Negotiations
 - -Le Duc Tho social contact
 - -Le Duc Tho visits to Peking
 - -Vernon A. Walters
 - -Comment to Kissinger
 - -Precedent
 - -Le Duc Tho visit to Peking
 - -Peking support for North Vietnam
- -Vietnam negotiations
 - -South Vietnamese election
 - -Incentive to settle
 - -Impact of November 1 settlement
- -MacGregor
 - -Work with Senate
 - -Mansfield

Kissinger and Haldeman left at 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 529-21

Conv. No. 529-20 (cont.)

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 10:54 am - 11:38 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Greetings

General conversation

Jordan's position -Activity

National Urban League

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Upcoming convention
```

-Attendance

-Personnel

-Harold R. Sims

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

Refreshments

Conv. No. 529-21 (cont.)

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

Jordan's background

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

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

```
Presentation to President
```

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

National Urban League

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

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

```
-Youth
     -Death
-Jordan's leadership
     -Youth
          -Benefits
                -Youth
                                                         Conv. No. 529-21 (cont.)
                -Courage
-Relationship with administration
     -Shultz and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
     -Young
     -Administration commitment
          -Calls to Ehrlichman and Shultz
          -Cooperation
                -Contact with President
          -Disagreements
     -Jordan's address to unknown college
          -Money available
     -Money cuts for schools
-Programs
     -Funds for the Urban League
          -Department of Labor
          -Other agencies
                -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
                -Office of Economic Policy
                -Department of Defense [DOD]
          -Office of Management and Budget [OMB] coordination
                -Sims
     -Credit to administration
     -Movement from House of Representatives and Senate
          -President's experience
-Jordan's residence
     -Funds for Urban League
          -Source
                -Drug program
                     -Effect of drug problem
                          -Veterans
                          -Youth
                          -Racial distinction
                     -Education money
```

-Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Education programs of Urban League
-Atlanta
-Need for drug program
-Scope of problem
-Public relations
-Achievements of Urban League
-Need to provide service
-Jaffe
```

- -Urban League role in drug programs
- -Public relations
- -Urban League mission
- -President's suggestions
- -Black Caucus
 - -Charles B. Rangel
 - -Domestic problems
 - -Supply
 - -Turkey
 - -France
 - -Vietnam
- -Drug programs
 - -Appeal to various groups
 - -Rangel
- -President's suggestions
- -Need to broaden scope
 - -Donald McI. Kendall
 - -Competition for money
 - -Urban coalitions
 - -Obscure sources
 - -National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]

Conv. No. 529-21 (cont.)

- -Unknown Atlanta girl
 - -School paper
 - -Drug knowledge
 - -Background
- -Drug programs
 - -Teacher training
 - -Need for current knowledge
 - -John Mackey visit
 - -Responsibility of athletes in education
 - -Carl M. Yastrzemski
 - -Jordan's press conference
 - -Revenue sharing discussion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Clarence Coleman
- -Edwin L. Harper
- -Information session
- -Welfare reform
 - -Administration efforts
 - -Drawbacks
 - -Change in approach
 - -Urban League position
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -Expertise
 - -Urban League approach
 - -Goals
 - -Effect on worker
 - -Manpower and revenue sharing
 - -Training benefits
 - -Link to welfare
- -Administration's overall approach to welfare and revenue sharing

Conv. No. 529-21 (cont.)

- -Objectives
 - -Rise of self-respect
 - -Incentives
 - -Sensitivity to citizens
- -Urban League
 - -President's visit to New York offices
 - -Emphasis on dignity and self-respect
 - -Benefits to all races
 - -Chicanos
 - -Whites
 - -Blacks
 - -Focus on social problems
 - -Task force approval
 - -West Virginia
 - -Mississippi
 - -Alabama
 - -Illinois
 - -Aid to poor -Message from Washington
 - -George Bartlett
- -Welfare and revenue sharing
 - -Senate action
 - -Senate sentiment
 - -Opposition to social programs
 - -Need for support in Senate

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Alternative Senate plans
 - -New York problems
 - -Inadequacy of present system
- -Administration efforts
 - -Drug, welfare and revenue sharing programs
 - -Richardson
 - -James D. Hodgson
 - -Arthur A. Fletcher

Conv. No. 529-21 (cont.)

- -Philadelphia program
- -Need for specifics
- -Ronald L. Ziegler
- -Urban League opportunities
 - -New leadership
 - -Jordan
 - -Opportunity
 - -Need for initiatives
 - -Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt
 - -Jordan
 - -Responsibilities to constituents
 - -Extremes of behavior
 - -Administration efforts
 - -Welfare
 - -Urban problem
 - -Desegregation
 - -Basis for relations with Urban League
 - -Cooperation on drug and revenue sharing

Shultz and Garment left at 11:35 am.

Autograph

Gift presentation

- -Jordan
- -Martha's Vineyard
- -Golf balls
 - -Kendall
- -Paperweight
- -Pens
 - -Jordan's daughter
 - -Jordan's secretary
 - -Jordan's wife

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Football

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

Jordan and Brown left at 11:38 am.

Language of press statement

Ehrlichman left at 11:38 am.

Conversation No. 529-24

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 529-22

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-164]

Conversation No. 529-23

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 11:39 pm - 1:40 pm Location: Oval Office

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

New York Times story of Ambassadorial transfers

- -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Terance F. Smith
- -Peoples Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Reference to Kissinger's trip
 - -Photograph
 - -Story
 - -Chou En-lai
 - -William P. Rogers
 - -Kissinger
 - -Haldeman meeting with Kissinger
 - -Further stories
 - -Rogers' Role
 - -Rogers' information
 - -Alexander M. Haig, Jr. role
 - -National Security Council [NSC] staff leaks
 - -Race to visit PRC
 - -George S. McGovern's Ottawa trip
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy contact with Chou En-lai
 - -White House denial of Kissinger trip
 - -Possibility of Rogers' leak

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

```
-Chinese leak
-Arthur W. Galston
     -Meeting with Chou En-lai
          -John Foster Dulles demeanor
               -1954 Geneva conference
          -McGovern political prospects
          -Nixon stand on Communism
               -Nixon PRC visit
               -Galston
-PRC leaks
-Rogers' knowledge of PRC trip
-PRC leaks
-Kissinger
     -Accuracy of Ambassadorial transfers
          -David K.E. Bruce
-State Department release of information
     -Propriety
```

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

[Conversation No. 529-23A]

[See Conversation No. 5-165]

[End of Telephone Conversation]

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23B]

Request for meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

Times story on Ambassadors
-Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

-State Department transfers

- -Philip C. Habib
- -William J. Porter
 - -Korea
- -Marshall Green
- -Armin H. Meyer
 - -Japan
- -William H. Sullivan
- -Leonard Unger
 - -Thailand
- -Charles Whitehouse
- -Sullivan
- -Accuracy
 - -Change in Assignments

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

[Conversation No. 529-23C]

[See Conversation No. 5-166]

[End of telephone conversation]

Times story on Ambassadors

- -Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
 - -Leaks
 - -State Department transfers
 - -John S.D. Eisenhower
 - -Walworth Barbour
 - -Tel Aviv

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

[Conversation No. 529-23D]

[See Conversation No. 5-167]

[End of telephone conversation]

Times Story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Ambassadorial appointments

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Haldeman's call to Rogers

-Revocation of decision on assignments

-Lyndon B. Johnson

-Habib

-Korea

-Porter

-Southeast Asia

-Green

-Japan

-Sullivan

-Thailand

-Unger

-Sullivan

-Whitehouse
```

Kissinger entered at 11:51 am.

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23E]

[See Conversation No. 5-168]

[End of telephone conversation]

Times story on Ambassadors

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Reference to Kissinger trip to Peking -Rogers

- -Richard F. Pederson
- -Haldeman contact with Rogers
- -Packaging of story -Benefit to Rogers

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

[National Security] [Duration: 3s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 12

- -Kissinger standing with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- -Precedent of Chinese leak
- -Chinese leak
- -Chinese interests
 - -Recent Chinese note
- -Kissinger trip to Rawalpindi

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

[Conversation No. 529-23F]

[See Conversation No. 5-169]

Times story on Ambassadors -Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip -Rogers

- -State Department leak
- -Galston interview

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Chou En-lai

-Rationale from PRC point

-PRC

-Meeting in Norway

- -Ambassadorial leaks
 - -Revocation of appointments
 - -Announcement of appointments
 - -Effect on Kissinger

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Haldeman's contact with Rogers
              -Focus on appointment leaks
         -Revocation of appointments
              -Habib
                   -Debt of administration
              -Sullivan
              -Porter
                   -Asian post
                                                             Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
              -Green
              -Announcement timing
                   -August 1 date
                   -July 15 announcement
                   -Need for discipline
                       -Johnson precedent
                   -Revocation of appointments
                   -Effect on USSR summit
         -Rogers' role
              -Source of information
                   -Haig
         -Chinese
         -USSR
         -Rogers' knowledge of PRC initiative
              -White House contact
              -Discrepancy in Kissinger schedule
***********************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15
[National Security]
[Duration: 32s]
    FOREIGN AFFAIRS
```

-Testing of diplomatic waters

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Rogers
               -PRC revelation
              -Ambassadorial appointments
              -Discipline of State Department
          -Revocation of Ambassadorial appointments
               -Sullivan utility
                    -Paris
          -Speculation regarding PRC
                                                                Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
          -Complaint regarding Ambassador schedule
          -Smith
               -Source of PRC speculation
              -Text of story
          -Rebuttal of PRC story
          -Rogers' role
               -Rationale for leak
                    -Clues to Kissinger's intentions
                         -Timing of PRC trip
                         -Haig's role
          -Haldeman and Rogers contact
               -Reason for Kissinger's India and Pakistan trip
          -Rogers' role
              -Clues to Kissinger's mission
                    -Letter pick up
                         -Haig role
                         -Kissinger role
                              -Appropriateness
               -Rationale
************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16
[National Security]
[Duration: 42s ]
    FOREIGN AFFAIRS
```

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Separation of stories
 - -Ambassador's article
 - -Yitzhak Rabin article
 - -PRC article
 - -"Washington Notes" compared with Newsweek "Periscope"
 - -Ellsworth F. Bunker and Bruce article
 - -Haig Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
- -Effect on US and USSR relations
 - -Kissinger contact with Anatoliy Dobrynin
 - -Summit delays
 - -Us options

-Leaks

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17

[National Security] [Duration: 35s]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17

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

Tape Subject Log (rev. 10/08)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 18 [Privacy] [Duration: 5s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 18 Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

-Saigon press corps -Evasion of questions -Photographs of Kissinger and Nguyen Van Thieu meeting

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20 [National Security] [Duration: 28s]
INDIA AND PAKISTAN
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

-Informing Rogers -Departure -Dobrynin -Contact with President
Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.
-Rogers -Results

-Kissinger

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Rogers' demeanor
          -Play to John D. Ehrlichman
                -Pentagon Papers
          -Haldeman call to Rogers
                -Kissinger visit
                     -Pederson
                     -Details of call
                     -Conference with an unknown person Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
                     -Pederson
                     -Haldeman's instructions to Rogers
          -Rogers' call to Haldeman
                -Conference with an unknown person
                     -Pederson
                     -U. Alexis Johnson
                -Haig's suggestion
                     -Source
          -Haldeman call to Rogers
                -Result
-Ambassadorial appointments
     -Announcement
          -Kissinger's concern
     -Rogers
     -President's tactics
          -Delay
                -Peter M. Flanigan
                -Rogers' reaction
          -Senate action
     -Ziegler comment
     -State Department concern
          -U. Alexis Johnson call
     -Green
          -Japan appointment
                -Alternative
     -Japan
          -Prospects
                -Businessman
-Haig
     -Kissinger's demeanor
-Source of story
     -State Department
          -Pederson
```

-Ziegler

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Knowledge of PRC deal
          -Comments
                -Interpretation
     -President's comments
          -Visit to PRC
     -Wording
          -Kissinger
               -Source
                                                               Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
                     -State Department
     -Rogers
          -Knowledge of PRC deal
                -Results
                -Rogers' position
                     -Need for knowledge
Cabinet meeting, June 29
     -President's comments
          -Agenda
               -Economic situation
          -Foreign policy
                -Melvin R. Laird
                -Rogers
          -Memos concerning policy
                -Publication
          -Pentagon Papers
          -John B. Connally
          -Precedent
     -Attendance
          -Haig
          -Ehrlichman
          -Peterson
     -President's comments
          -Need for discipline
                -Haldeman
                     -Staff discipline
                -Foreign policy
                -Domestic policy
Times story on Ambassadors
     -Rogers
```

-Leaks of information

-State Department

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Pederson
- -Impact on Terance Smith
- -Rogers' interest

Cabinet meeting, June 29

- -Precedent of economic group meeting
- -Haldeman possible conversation with Connally
- -Effect of remarks on economic groups

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

- -Effect of State Department and Defense Department presence
- -Economic decisions

Rogers' travels

- -California
- -Maine

Times story on Ambassadors

- -State Department
- -Rogers
 - -Rationale
 - -Pederson
 - -Kissinger's PRC efforts
 - -Use of knowledge
- -PRC view of emissaries
 - -Rogers
 - -Kissinger
 - -Timing
 - -1972
 - -1971
- -Timing
 - -Speculation of visit by President
 - -Election
- -Speculation
- -Impact
 - -Knowledge of facts
 - -Contact with US
- -Announcement of PRC trip
 - -Announcement of USSR summit
 - -Kissinger efforts
 - -Impact on role with USSR
 - -Kissinger stature
 - -Dobrynin
- -Administration's options

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Connally

-Haldeman and Connally

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

Request for Rose Mary Woods

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:43 pm. Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23G]

[See Conversation No. 5-170; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]

Woods entered at 12:43 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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

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

[End of telephone conversation]

Speech writing

- -Spacing of text
- -Binding of speeches

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Safety factor
                 -West Point example
                 -Precedent
             -Usual impression
             -Past success
    Schedule
        -Marine trip
                                                        Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
        -Kansas City trip for Kissinger[?]
             -Relation to Florida trip
*************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 44s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
*************************
John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:52 pm.
    Political discussion
        -John N. Mitchell
        -Lyndon B. Johnson
    Drugs
        -Turkey
             -Opium deal
                 -Release
                      -Timing
                 -Scope
        -Mitchell and Connally debate
             -Customs Agents
                 -Egil G ("Bud") Krogh role
                 -President's decision
                     -Timing
```

-Connally request

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Mitchell -Rationale	
-Contact with Connally	
-Outcome of Krogh mission	
-Ehrlichman	
-Krogh mission	
-Departure	
-Friction between agencies	Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
Crime	
-Mitchell announcement	
-Crime statistics	
-Washington, DC figures	
-Timing	
-Federal Bureau Investigation [FBI] graduation	n
-Pentagon Papers	
-Court decision	
-Term extension	
Cabinet meeting	
-President's comments	
-Effect on State Department and Department of	of Defense [DOD]
-Results	
****************	******
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7	
[Personal Returnable]	
[Duration: 25s]	
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7	

Conference on Aging
-Arthur S. Fleming role
-Administration strategy
-George Wiley

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
Turkey
        -Opium agreement
             -Public relations
                 -Statement by President
                 -Praising Turkish Prime Minister
                 -Charles B. Rangel
                 -Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
                 -Scope of agreement
                                                         Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 11m 27s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
*************************
Woods left at 1:11 pm.
    Cabinet meeting
        -President's comments
             -Connally
                 -Need for control of leaks
             -Rogers
                 -Leak problems
             -White House leak problems
                 -Robert H. Finch
                 -Lower staff levels
                      -Newspaper story
                          -Handling of Pentagon Papers
                 -Kissinger
```

-Disagreement with policy -Public criticism

-Haldeman comments

-Staff meeting

-Use of judgement

-Public statements

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
Haldeman's conversation with Connally
     -Leadership
           -President's efforts
                -Orientation to domestic questions
                      -Projection next year
                      -Connally memoranda
                      -International trade
                           -Restriction on imports
                                                                 Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
                           -George P. Shultz
                      -Economy
                      -Unemployment
                      -Fiscal responsibility
                      -Inflation
                      -Labor vote
                           -Foreign trade protection of jobs
                      -Solution of problems
                      -Concern of President
                           -Steel problems
                           -Peterson
                -Type of President
                      -Public vs. private
                -President's attributes
                      -Statement of President's views
                           -DOD reorganization
                           -Fiscal responsibility
                           -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] dispersal
                           -Defense spending
                           -Belief in free enterprise
                      -Contribution to reelection
                      -Public mood
                           -OEO
                           -Model cities
                -End of Great Society programs
                -Relation to Barry M. Goldwater
                -Role of President's aides
                      -Business perception
                           -Inflation
```

-Meetings with smaller groups

-Ability of speechwriters -Strength of Cabinet officers

-Appeal to nation

-August trip

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

-Africa and Europe trip compared with US trip

-President's analysis of US mood

-Use of statistics

-Personal contact

-Indianapolis trip

-Maine trip

-Less focus on organization

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

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

[Item for Haldeman]

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

Agnew

-As an issue

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

[Fifty second pause]

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

-Problems

-Posture

-Attitude

-Capabilities

-Office of Intergovernmental Relations

-Use of Vice President

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[Personal Returnable] [Duration: 5m 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

```
-Leadership
          -Mistakes
                -Press handling
          -Need for firmness
                -Foreign policy
                -Domestic policy
                     -President's interest
                                                               Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)
          -Radio speech
          -Connally view
          -Raymond K. Price, Jr. view
          -Previous administration's programs
                -Medicare
                -Head Start
                -Upward Bound
          -Nixon administration's programs
                -ACTION
          -Ehrlichman
                -Attributes
                -President's memo to Haldeman
                     -Goals
                          -Leadership
                          -Issues
     -Talks usefulness
     -Use of statistics
August trip
     -Timing
          -Congressional recess
     -Public relations
          -Press
Connally comments
     -Ehrlichman
     -Shultz
     -Finch
     -Press handling
     -Purpose
Schedule
     -NSC meeting on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
```

-Laird

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- -Kissinger
 -Time change
- -FBI graduation
- -Free time
- -President's meeting with Kissinger

Kissinger's Trip to Asia

- -Positions assumed
 - -Results

Conv. No. 529-23 (cont.)

Times story on Ambassadors

- -Rogers
- -State Department
 - -Lower level leak
 - -Possible goal

-Reduce Kissinger's effectiveness with Dobrynin

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

[Privacy]

[Duration: 15s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

The President and Haldeman left at 1:40 pm.