Conversation No. 534-1

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:35 am and 8:41 am
Location: Oval Office

An unknown person met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

The President entered at 8:41 am

Unknown item

Sanchez and the unknown man left at 8:41 am

Conversation No. 534-14

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Between 8:41 am and 8:45 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Schedule

Butterfield left at 8:45 am.

Conversation No. 534-2

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: 8:45 am - 9:52 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

The Pentagon Papers case
  - Haldeman's conversation with Elliot L. Richardson
  - The Eastern “establishment”
    - The President's experiences with the Alger Hiss case
      - Contrast between Hiss' and Whitaker Chambers' background
    - Richardson conversation about Charles M. Cooke, Jr. (?)
      - Melvin R. Laird
      - Ellsworth F. Bunker cables shown to Daniel Ellsberg Conv. No. 534-2 (cont.)
    - Jimmy Doyle of the Washington Star
    - William P. Rogers
      - Investigation of cable leak
        - Cooke's admission of showing cable to Ellsberg
      - Ellsberg's departure from the Rand Corporation
        - Cooke
        - Access to cable from unnamed woman in the State Department
    - Richardson's June 30, 1971 conversation with Cooke
      - Perception of Cooke's role
      - Cooke's position with the federal government
        - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Frank [Surname unintelligible]
      - Conversation overheard at Los Angeles Rams football game in October 1970
        - Plans to leak documents via unnamed persons from Kissinger's staff at the White House

News story about the Turkish opium ban

The President's appearance at the Federal Bureau of Investigation's [FBI] academy
  - Defense of J. Edgar Hoover

Howard K. Smith
  - Commentary on "The Establishment"
    - New York Times
    - The President as anti-establishment figure

Pentagon Papers case
  - Action against anti-administration conspiracy
    - John D. Ehrlichman
      - Charles W. Colson
    - The President's schedule
    - Leaking of stories about opponents
    - The New York Times
      - John F. Kennedy
- Feasibility and timing of statement by the President
  - President’s view
  - Suppression
  - Possible action
  - Ehrlichman's recommendation
  - Ellsberg's legal status
  - Ehrlichman’s forthcoming conversation with Colson
  - Kissinger
  - Ehrlichman’s views
  - Haldeman’s forthcoming meeting with Ehrlichman, Colson, Richard A. Moore, John A. Scali, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Kissinger
  - Declassification of government documents
    - Kissinger
    - Ehrlichman
    - Laird
    - John N. Mitchell
    - Laird
    - FBI
- Handling of case by someone for the White House
  - Tom C. Huston
  - Richard V. Allen
    - Henry E. Peterson
  - Comparison to the President's involvement in the Hiss case
  - Leaks
  - Hoover
  - Mitchell
  - Ehrlichman
  - Orchestration of effort to leak information
    - Purposes
      - Declassification
      - Political benefits
      - Vietnam
- Distraction from current issues
  - Focus on previous administrations
- Type of person needed to handle the case
  - John C. Whitaker
  - Qualities required
  - Huston
  - Presidential involvement
  - Cooke
  - Tran Ngoc Chau
- Future White House contact
- Freeze against the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*
  - Continuation
  - Backgrounders, off-the-record, personal
    - George P. Shultz
  - Access restriction to on-the-record appearances in presence of other reporters

**Unemployment statistics**
- The President's conversation with Colson
- Adjustments
  - Shultz
- Seasonal adjustments
- June statistics
- Colson
  - The President's instructions on handling story
    - ABC news
    - Scali

**Opium agreement with Turkey, June 30, 1971**

**The FBI**
- The President's appearance at academy
  - Hoover
- Repression issue
  - Mitchell's attitude
  - Passing nature of issue

**The Supreme Court**
- Justices
- Need to change
  - Hugo L. Black, Thurgood Marshall, William J. Brennan, Byron R. White

**Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am**

**The President's schedule**
- Request
  - Kissinger

**Bull left at an unknown time before 9:18 am**

[The President talked with an unknown person (Kissinger?) at an unknown time between 8:45
am and 9:18 am]

[Conversation No. 534-2A]

Schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
- Meeting request by Ehrlichman

Bicentennial speech
- John K. Andrews, Jr.
  - Use of the President's previous statement
  - Speech language
  - Number of television networks scheduled to broadcast speech

Kissinger entered at 9:18 am.

The Vietnam war
- Vietnamese
- Negotiations
  - Press report
  - May 31, 1971 proposal

The Pentagon Papers case
- California
  - Incident at October 1970 Los Angeles Rams game
    - Member of Business Executives for Peace
    - Plans by unknown member of Kissinger's staff
      - Alleged plan to quit staff and leak information about the war

Haldeman left at 9:18 am

- Release of classified information
  - NSC control
  - Contingency plans
    - Laos-Cambodia contingency plans
    - Haiphong Harbor

- Cooke
  - Richardson
  - Comparison to the Hiss case
  - Relations with Ellsberg
- Rand Corporation
- Case of Chau in South Vietnam
  - Secret cables
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- Publication of cables by Doyle
  - *Washington Star*
- Rogers
  - Concern
- Investigation of Rand Corporation
  - Ellsberg
- Richardson's defense of Cooke
- Security-clearances
- Need-to-know rule
- Kissinger's staff
  - [First name not known] Davis
  - May 14, 1969 incident

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am

Accidental summons
  - Haldeman

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 9:23 am

The Pentagon Papers case
  - Davis
  - Alleged leak of embargoed speech to journalist
  - Ellsberg

Haldeman entered at 9:23 am

The Pentagon Papers case
  - Ellsberg
  - Distinction between holding security clearance and need-to-know principle
  - Chau case
  - Cooke, Ellsberg, Bunker
  - Handling of classified information
  - Richardson
  - Need for individual to be assigned to work with the President on the case
  - Ehrlichman
  - Ehrlichman, John W. Dean, III
  - Comparison to Hiss case
- Ethics and lawyers
  - The Manson case
  - Mitchell
  - *New York Times*
- White House publications efforts
- Brookings Institute safe
  - Break-in
  - Blame
- Cooke
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Bunker
  - Chau case
    - Cables from Bunker
    - The President’s message to Ambassador Bunker
    - *Washington Star* story

Brookings Institution
  - Break-in

Vietnam war
  - Negotiations
    - Public reaction
    - Press
    - Conditions
      - Prisoners of War [POWs]
      - Ceasefire
    - Possible public statement
    - Bunker’s knowledge of negotiations
      - David K.E. Bruce
    - Timing
    - Kissinger’s schedule
- Proposal
  - POWs
  - POW wives
- Report from Bruce
- Possible public release of proposal
  - Release of POWs
  - Ceasefire
  - Conditions

The Pentagon papers case
  - Leaks
- National Security Council [NSC] staff
  - Investigation
  - Haig
    - Wiretapping
- Issue of trust in the White House
  - Haldeman, Ehrlichman
  - Leaks
- NSC staff
  - Liberals
  - Theft of classified documents
- Mitchell
  - Reaction
  - Repression
- The Hiss case comparison
  - Tom Clark
  - Justice Department
  - Nixon’s efforts
  - Use of leaks to get Hiss
    - Newspaper stories contrasted with legal action in court
    - Grand jury
    - [Forename unknown] Murphy
    - Hoover
- Ellsberg case
  - Declassification
    - Ehrlichman
  - Opposition to Laird plan
  - President’s role
    - White House efforts
    - Cuban missile crisis
    - Conspiracy
    - Leaking of information
- Cooke
  - Role
- Rand Corporation
  - Ellsberg
- Chau case
  - Bunker
  - Cables
- Cooke
  - Ellsberg
  - Leak
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

-Leak by White House
-Conspiracy
-Other administration’s involvement
-Cooke
-Richardson’s handling of case
-Status
-Leaks to press about involvement

The President talked to Haldeman at unknown time between 9:28 am and 9:52 am.

Cooke
-Removal
-Richardson
-Leaks to the press
-Colson

[End of telephone conversation]

Haig entered at 9:39 am.

-NSC staff
-Allegations about two unknown staff members
-Leaking of documents against the Vietnam War
-Security of materials
-Kissinger and the NSC staff
-Executive Office Building [EOB]
-Intellectuals
-Eastern schools
-University of California, Berkeley

Vietnam War
-Negotiations
-Ziegler
-POWs
-Haig's conversation with William C. Sullivan
-North Vietnamese conditions
-Thieu's Regime
-Handling
-Sullivan
-Ziegler

Haig left at 9:45 am.
Foreign relations
- Briefing book
  - Public information
  - Changes in section about negotiations
  - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - The President's conversations with Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrei Gromyko
      - Tone and style
      - Stance
      - Philosophical angle
    - Chou En-lai's statements
      - Analysis
      - Kissinger’s future conversation with Chou En-lai
      - The President's perceptions of the world
      - The President's conversations with communist leaders
        - Unnamed Greek revolutionary
          - 1947 Meeting
        - Nikita Khrushchev
        - Anastas Mikoyan
        - Frol Koslov
        - Fidel Castro
        - Nature of conversations
      - Opening Statement
      - Flexibility
      - Thought processes of foreign communists compared to current US revolutionaries

Telephone Call from William P. Rogers to Kissinger

Kissinger left at 9:52 am

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: 9:54 am - 10:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull, Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Henry A. Kissinger.
Vietnam negotiations
  -Coordination with Paris
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
  -Schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

William P. Rogers
  -Telephone Call to Kissinger
  -Forthcoming Testimony
    -William C. Sullivan
    -Pentagon Papers
    -Vietnam negotiations

Vietnam negotiations
  -Current North Vietnamese proposals
    -Sullivan
    -Nguyen Van Thieu's government
    -US stance
      -Public statement

Haig left at 9:57 am.

Foreign relations
  -Forthcoming summit
    -The United States [US] and the People's Republic of China [PRC]
      -Communications
      -US delegation
        -The President, Rogers, Kissinger
        -State Department
          -Marshall Green
    -Japan
      -Green, Peter G. Peterson
    -Ambassadorial appointments
      -William J. Porter
        -Paris Peace Talks
  -PRC trip
    -Size of the President's entourage
    -Size of press contingent
      -Three networks, two wire services
    -Pool reporter
      -The New York Times, the Washington Post
-Press facilities
  -Action by the PRC
-Press
  -Size
  -The New York Times, the Washington Post
  -Limitations on White House press contact
    -H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  -Background briefings

-Size of delegation
-Handling by the President and the Chinese

-Itinerary
  -Peking, Shanghai
  -Nature of visit

-Briefing book
  -Work by National Security Council [NSC] Staff
  -Tone
  -The President's foreign policy record
  -Vietnam war action by the US
    -Status of attempts at settlement
    -Cambodia, Laos
  -US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
    -Detente
    -Geographical interests
  -Possible agreements with the PRC
  -Nuclear weapons

Haig entered at 10:08 am.

-Communique
-Taiwan
  -Tone
    -Spiro T. Agnew, Melvin R. Laird
    -United Nations
-Tone
-Vietnam war
  -Length
-Japan
  -Tone
  -Military threat
-The Soviet Union
  -Military threat
-Handling of information
-The Soviet Union
-Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
  -Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
- USSR, Japan, Vietnam
- Negotiations prior to China summit
  - Prisoners of War [Pows]
  - Grain deal
  - Vietnam war settlement
- Possible agreements with the PRC
  - Arms control
    - Hotline, accidental war
    - Nuclear weapons
- Political visitors to the PRC prior to the President's trip
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
- The USSR
  - Timing of summit
  - Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy Dobrynin
  - Timing of summit in comparison to the PRC summit
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - SALT
  - Middle East
  - Caribbean
  - Berlin agreement
- Taiwan
  - Laird, Agnew
  - Nixon doctrine's aims
  - Policy during the Harry S. Truman administration
  - Owen Lattimore
- London, Paris, Warsaw
- Canada
  - Pierre Trudeau
- Taiwan
- Vietnam
- Korea

*******************************************************************************

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 1m 41s]
PRC TRIP

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- George H.W. Bush
  - July 15, 1971 announcement
  - Paris stop on Kissinger's itinerary
    - Le Duc Tho
    - Handling of proposals

Schedules of the President and Kissinger

Kissinger and Haig left at 10:26 am

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:26 am and 10:27 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:27 am

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: 10:27 am - 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office
The President met with H. R. (‘Bob”) Haldeman.

The President’s schedule
  - ACTION event
  - Issues
    - Vietnam, the Pentagon Papers
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Ongoing meeting

Charles W. Colson entered at 10:28 am

-Ehrlichman's meeting

The President’s schedule
  - The President's Kansas City appearance July 6, 1971
    - Nature of statement
      - Pentagon Papers case
      - Recommendations
        - John A. Scali, Richard A. Moore, Ronald L. Ziegler
        - Effect of locale
      - Prime time television coverage
    - Daniel Ellsberg
    - Forum, timing
      - Ehrlichman
    - Draft of statement about the Pentagon Papers
      - Issue of repression of the press
        - John N. Mitchell
        - Patrick J. Buchanan

The Pentagon Papers case
  - Coordination of investigation
    - Officer in charge [OIC] of handling case
      - Haldeman’s conversation with Ehrlichman
        - Congress
          - John J. Sparkman
          - James D. McKevitt
          - John H. Rousselot
    - White House staff
      - Need for full-time handling
        - Tom C. Huston
        - Haldeman
        - Ehrlichman
-Colson
-Moore, Ehrlichman
-Legal handling
-Mitchell
-Ellsberg
-Leaks to press
-Court case
-Colson
-Facts

-The Hiss case
-Six Crises
-Nixon’s role
-Harry S. Truman
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
-J. Edgar Hoover
-Comparison
-Press
-Colson

-White House staff oversight
-Brookings Institute break-in
-Melvin R. Laird

-Investigation of past administrations
-Cuban Missile Crisis
-Bay of Pigs
-World War II
-Korean War
-Embarrassing documents

-Rousselot
-Need full-time assistance
-Initiative
-Ehrlichman
-Other duties
-Colson

-Congressional support
-Rousselot
-McKevitt
-Philip M. Crane
-John M. Ashbrook
-Robert J. Dole
-William E. Brock, III

-Press coverage
-Colson’s views
- John F. Kennedy
- Death of Ngo Dinh Diem
-Kennedy
- Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
- Need for coordinator
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman
  - Richard V. Allen
  - Huston
    - Knowledge
    - Problems with Department of Defense
    - Work with Allen
    - White House Support
- Huston and Allen
- Need for coordinator
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman
    - Richard V. Allen
  - Need for trustworthy individual
    - Tom C. Huston
  - Possibility of Huston and Allen working together
- The President's Kansas City speech
  - Haldeman
  - Press
  - Public perceptions of issue
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - William S. White
  - Possible statement after Supreme Court decision
- Dean Rusk's television appearance
- Maxwell Taylor's television appearance
- William B. Macomber, Jr's television appearance
  - William P. Rogers
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Martin S. Hayden
  - Classification
  - Telephone call to Macomber
    - Flag incident
- Call to Rogers
  - Forthcoming testimony
- Rusk, Taylor
- Rogers
- Legal obligations of the government
  - Court case
  - Supreme Court decision
- Court clerks
- Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's decision
- Newspaper obligations
- Irreparable damage to the nation
- Press attitude
  - Damaging effect of stories contrasted with First Amendment rights
  - Delay in Prisoners of War [POWs] return as price of publication
  - Hayden's comments
  - Quote about Stewart J. Alsop from past editorial in *New York Times*
    - Max Frankel's response
- Possible meeting with Ehrlichman
- The President's schedule
  - Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman

[Haldeman talked with Ehrlichman at an unknown time between 10:28 am and 10:58 am]

[Conversation No. 534-5A]

Meeting in the President's office

[End of telephone conversation]

The Vietnam War
  - Television debate between John O'Neill and John F. Kerry on the "Dick Cavett Show"
  - Jack F. Kemp
  - Buchanan
  - Kemp
    - Vietnam, fact finding trip
    - [Forename unknown] Kramer [NSC], William H. Sullivan [State Department], [Unintelligible name]
  - White House speeches
  - Focus of material provided
    - Buchanan
  - Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
    - Response by Kemp

Ehrlichman entered at 10:58 am

- James L. Buckley's New York effort with Vietnam veterans
  - Cambodia, Vietnam
- Kemp's possible trip to Vietnam
-Charles B. Rangel
-Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe's trip to Vietnam
-Drug use among US soldiers in Vietnam
-Kemp, Rangel
-Pentagon Papers
-Declassification response
  -Laird
  -Mitchell
  -Supreme Court decision
  -Repression argument
  -Damaging effect of publication
  -First Amendment rights
    -Effect of publication
    -Placing lives of US soldiers in jeopardy
    -Response to arguments
      -Letter to the editor
-Richardson
  -Charles M. Cooke, Jr. (?)
    -Retention in job
    -Cables leaked to press via Ellsberg
      -Ellsworth F. Bunker's cables
      -Tran Ngoc Chau Case
    -Ellsberg's security clearances
      -Rand Corporation
      -Revocation of clearances
-Brookings Institution
-Documents
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Henry A. Kissinger
-Rand Corporation
-Ehrlichman
-Presidents orders
-Declassification of documents
  -Laird
  -Supreme Court
    -The New York Times
  -Laird
    -Coordination with Congress

Manolo Sanchez (?) entered at an unknown time after 10:58 am.
Refreshments

Sanchez (?) left an an unknown time before 11:22 am.

- Declassification
  - Documents published
  - Withholding of classified information by newspapers
    - John W. Dean, III's report
    - Mitchell
- Declassification
  - January 15 National Security Study Memorandum [NSSM], Declassification group
    - Korea, World War II, Cuban crisis
    - Haig
    - Kennedy Presidential Library
    - Hyde Park (Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)
      - Possible meeting with the President
      - The President's schedule
      - Timing of meeting
      - Publicity
- Six Crises
  - Chapter on the Hiss case
    - The President's speech in Congress
    - Harry S. Truman
      - Tom Clark
      - Alexander Campbell
      - J. Edgar Hoover
    - Leak of story by Justice Department
      - Bert Andrews
      - Whitaker Chambers's revelation of the Pumpkin Papers
- Cooke
  - Richardson’s view
  - Background
  - Views on the Vietnam War, ceasefire, and the Chau case
    - Ellsberg's status on "need to know"
      - Classified cables
      - Rand Corporation
      - Publication of cable information in the Washington Star
    - Possible future response
- Declassification review group
  - NSSM
  - Staff director job
- Administration’s response
- Hoover, Laird
- Cooke
  - Leak of story
  - Richardson
- Kissinger
- Laird
  - Instructions
- Draft statement
  - Buchanan's work on draft
  - Timing
  - Perceptions of issue
- Role of Department of Justice
- Moore, Kissinger
- Television show
  - Macomber and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's appearances
  - Max Frankel, Benjamin C. Bradlee
- Timing of possible statement by the President
- Buchanan video
- Presidential statement
  - Content
  - Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin, Buchanan
    - Work
- Rogers
  - Forthcoming testimony
  - View
- Issue of press repression
- Conduct of the war
  - Dean Rusk, Lyndon B. Johnson
- Need for Congressional statements
  - Dole, Gordon L. Allott, Paul J. Fannin
    - Statements

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:22 am

Anatoliy Dobrynin
- Death of Soviet cosmonauts
- The President’s message
- Telephone call
  - The President's schedule

Vietnam War
- Rogers' statement
  - Negotiations
    - Nguyen Van Thieu's government
  - Tone of comments
    - Congress
    - South Vietnamese government

Kissinger left at 11:24 am

Pentagon Papers case
- Coordination of effort
- Recommendations on presidential statement
  - Buchanan, Rogers, Mitchell, Laird, Moore, Scali
  - Timing, forum
- The President's Kansas City appearance
- The President’s San Clemente appearance
- Press conference

Ehrlichman's schedule
- Senators
  - California Rural Legal Assistance [CRLA]
    - Ronald W. Reagan
      - Frank C. Carlucci

Pentagon Papers Case
- Declassification job
  - Carlucci
  - Compare to Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Meeting to be scheduled with Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Colson, Buchanan, and Moore
  - Rogers' view
  - Buchanan's participation
  - Memorandum
- Administration’s position
  - Buchanan
  - Perceptions in the press of no White House comment
  - Rogers' role
    - Former Attorney General
- Buchanan
- Macomber
  - Written version of television comments
  - Scali's role
- Administration position
- Wording of possible speech by the President
  - Effect
  - Alternatives
- Perception of covering leak
- Revelation of Kennedy-Diem information
- Vietnam war
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Rusk, Taylor
- Rogers as spokesperson
- Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
  - National Security Council [NSC] documents
- Laird

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

- Buchanan
  - Views on momentum and speaking out
- Perception of Democrats in government
  - McGeorge Bundy
  - Howard K. Smith
  - Representatives of the “establishment”
- Hiss case analogy
  - The “establishment”
  - The President's role
  - Joseph McCarthy
- Administration’s position
  - Need to uphold the law
  - Ziegler
  - Rogers
- Dean Rusk
  - Forthcoming appearance
    - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
- President’s view
- Sincerity, decency
- [Name unintelligible]
  - Possession of documents
- Hubert H. Humphrey's statement
  - Support of release
    - Johnson administration's credibility
    - Memorandums
      - Comparison to Arthur F. Burns
    - White
- Era of permissiveness
  - Possible speech by Buchanan
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Unemployment statistics
  - Scali
  - Adjustments
    - Left-wing columnists
    - Wall Street
    - Stock market trends
    - John B. Connally

Pentagon Papers
  - Need for White House coordinator
    - Ehrlichman
    - Importance
    - Colson
    - Huston
    - The Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] investigation
    - Defense intelligence
      - Laird
    - Huston
      - Defense Intelligence Agency [DIA]
      - Colson
        - Ehrlichman, Haldeman
      - Strategy
    - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
      - Outside candidate
        - Friend of James L. Buckley
          - CIA
        - Authorship of books
          - Conspiracy orientation
        - Reaction to orders not supported by him
    - Allen
    - Vernon A. Walters
      - Attitude
    - Mitchell's attitude
    - The President's expertise
    - Hunt
    - Declassification effort
An unknown person [Stephen B. Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 11:24 am.

President’s schedule

The unknown person [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 11:49 am. Conv. No. 534-5 (cont.)

Eighteen year-old vote
-Vietnam

Haldeman and Colson left at 11:49 am

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield [Stephen B. Bull?].

The President's schedule

The President and Butterfield [Bull?] left at 11:49 am

[Stephen B. Bull] met with Joseph H. Blatchford, Thomas R. Donnelly, Jr., Charles H. Percy, Chet Holifield, Frank J. Horton, Clark MacGregor, and Arnold R. Weber; the White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.]
The President’s location and schedule

[General conversation/unintelligible]

The President entered at an unknown time after 11:50 am. Bull [?] left at 11:51 am.

[Camera noise]

ACTION
- Program and voluntary work
- ACTION card #1 presentation
- Future plans, Congressional action

1946 reminiscence

June 30, 1971 meeting
- Nick Carr’s father's World War II experience
  - Medal of Honor

ACTION and volunteer work
- Congressional support
  - Legislation

Presentation of gifts by the President

Anti-drug abuse action
- Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe

White House Conference on Aging

University Program

Blatchford et al. left at 12:06 pm

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man [Alexander P. Butterfield?].

The President's schedule
-Sammy Davis, Jr.
-Membership commission on the National Advisory Board of Office of Economic Opportunity
-Arrangements for meeting

[Butterfield] left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Sammy Davis, Jr.
-Photograph of meeting by Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
-James D. Hodgson-Elliot L. Richardson meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:09 pm

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown time between 12:06 pm and 12:09 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

Welfare regulation waivers
-Forthcoming meeting with James D. Hodgson and Elliot L. Richardson
  -Purpose of meeting
    -Federal regulations
    -Ehrlichman's presence at meeting
    -Strict regulation

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: 12:09 pm - 1:38 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Sammy Davis, Jr., Robert J. Brown, Henry C. Cashen, and Jeffrey Donfeld; the White House photographer, members of the press and other unknown people were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Arrangements for photograph

Anecdote

Presentation of gifts by the President
  -Gifts for men, women
  -Golf balls
    -Dean Martin
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -Golf

National Advisory Board of the Office of Economic Opportunity
  -Commissioning ceremony
    -Certificate

Photograph

Anecdote

Refreshment

Davis
  -Purpose of meeting
- Celebrity status
  - Credibility
    - Leonard Garment
    - Drug abuse issue

Drug abuse and youth
  - Effectiveness of a celebrity as spokesman
  - Comparison to ministers, teachers, judges
  - Celebrities as spokespersons
    - Athletes
      - Carl M. Yastrzemski
      - Bart Starr
      - John Mackey
    - Effectiveness of arguments against drugs
      - Morality
      - Health of body and mind
      - Performers
        - John Barrymore

Youth
  - Need for inspiration and leadership
  - Self-help
  - Opportunity

Charles B. Rangel
  - The President's June 30, 1971 telephone call
  - U.S.-Turkish opium agreement
    - Rangel's recommendation
    - Black Caucus
    - Grandfather’s possible reaction
      - The President's grandfather

Opportunity in the United States
  - Leadership in the U.S.
    - Middle and upper classes
    - Sources of strength in the U.S.
  - Strength through adversity
    - Leo Tolstoy
      - War and Peace, Anna Karenina
      - Philosophy
        - Destructive and creative instincts with each individual
        - Sublimation of destructive instincts
-Use of creative instincts
  -Youth
    -Use of energy
      -Need to sublimate negative instincts
    -Davis' discussions with youth

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:09 pm

The President's schedule
  -James D. Hodgson, Elliot L. Richardson

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:29 pm

Youth
  -Davis' conversations
    -Use of energy
    -Idealism

Education
  -Black colleges
    -Financial support
      -The federal government
      -Richardson

Entertainment field
  -Davis
  -Bob Hope
  -The President's acquaintances

Richardson, Hodgson, George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:29 pm

Introductions

Education
  -Black colleges
    -United Negro College Fund
      -Funding performance

Willie Mays

Davis left at 12:31 pm
Davis
- 1954 meeting

Ribbon Cutting

Davis
- Membership in the "rat pack"
  - Copacabana
  - Performance with father and uncle

National Urban League
- Nixon as Vice President
  - Picture with waiter
- DePaul University

Davis
- Background
- Effectiveness of anti-drug message
  - "David Frost Show"
  - Mai Britt

Welfare
- Federal assistance funds
- Follow-up to San Clemente meeting with Governor Ronald W. Reagan
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- California
  - Welfare laws
  - Social Security Act
  - Waiver requests
  - Medicaid
  - Payments for prescription drugs
- Work relief
  - Able-bodied welfare recipients
    - Work incentives
      - Welfare reform bill
- H.R. 1 [Welfare Reform Bill]
  - Implications of possible action
  - Effect of refusal to work by welfare recipients
  - Alternative proposals
    - Russell B. Long
- Wage system
  - Equal pay for equal work
-Long's proposal
  -Private sector
-Work relief
  -California
  -Equal pay for equal work
  -Impact of concept
-Conditions
-Public opinion
-Reagan's reaction
-Sources of support
-Conservative, liberal reaction
  -Long
  -Reagan's preferences
  -Industry and labor reaction
  -Conservative reaction
-Waivers
  -General Accounting Office [GAO]
  -California waiver requests
    -George Meany
  -Political perceptions
    -Reagan's position in California
      -Referendum
      -California budget
      -Revenue sharing
      -Possible referendum
    -Effect of H.R.1 enactment
-Social Security Act
  -Section 1115 authority for waivers
    -Medicaid payments for drugs
  -New York
    -Rockefeller's proposed point system
      -Job system
-GAO
-California
  -Work relief
  -Experimental programs
  -Reagan
  -Frank C. Carlucci
-Payment restrictions
  -Family income levels
  -Retention of money
-Encouragement of working
Funding
- Public service
- Appropriations
- Provision of jobs
  - Purpose
    - Unemployment, welfare rolls
      - Veteran’s preference

New York
- Experimental areas
- Expenditures
  - California
- Work relief
  - Massachusetts
- Unemployment rate
  - California
- Coordination of effort
  - Amount of funding
    - Federal matching of funds to state expenditure
  - Reagan
    - Possible meeting to brief governor
      - Richardson
      - Ehrlichman
      - The President's trip to San Clemente
      - Discussion with Edwin Meese, III

State Supreme Court
- Effect on compliance problems
- Correlation of cost-of-living increases to benefit increases
- Enjoinder against enactment of provision

Richardson

President’s schedule
- Steel strike

Ehrlichman and Richardson left at 1:12 pm.

Unemployment rate
- Pattern
  - Milton Friedman's theory
    - Arthur F. Burns' memorandum
  - Beginning of recovery period
    - Gross National Product [GNP]
- Leading indicators
- Drop
  - Prediction of timing
- Nationwide trends
- Total rate versus insured rate
- Breakdown
  - Youth
  - Married men
  - Decrease in teenage rates
- Seasonal adjustments
- Factors
  - Number of men called into military service
- Rate of decrease
- Effect of Defense Department cutbacks
- Seasonality
- Private sector expansion
  - Statistics
  - Youth entry into market
- Burns

Labor issues in the steel industry
- Talking paper
  - Forthcoming meeting
- Focus of White House effort
  - Industry, labor
  - Activist role
    - Avoid strike
- Steel industry’s hard-line stance
  - National interest argument
- Collective bargaining
- Unions
  - [illegible] W. Abel
- Economic impact
  - Recovery
    - Non-inflationary settlement
- Pension issue
- Impact of meetings, negotiations
  - Recognition of problems
    - Import controls
- Long-term and short-term effects
- Format of possible meeting
  - The President's role
-Schedule
  - Shultz’s conversation with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Paul W. McCracken, Herbert Stein
  - Nathaniel Samuels
  - J. Curtis Counts, Willie J. Usery
  - Compartmented format
  - The President's role
    - Emphasis on the national interest
    - Importance of settlement
      - Effect of lengthy strike
        - James M. Roche
  - Constructive approach
    - Contrasted with John F. Kennedy
    - Steel crisis of 1961
    - Shultz's recent meeting with Jack Greenberg
      - Education meeting
      - Approach
  - Style of leadership
  - Preparation of briefing paper by Shultz

Shultz and Hodgson left at 1:38 pm

Conversation No. 534-12

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:38 pm and 2:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

The President's schedule
  - Camp David meeting
  - John K. Andrews, Jr. speech draft for July 3, 1971

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm; Butterfield left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm

Declassification project in response to Pentagon Papers case
  - Haldeman’s conversation with Richard V. Allen
-Recommendations

July 3, 1971 speech draft
- Sentiments
- Andrews
  - Draft compared to William L. Safire's effort
  - 1969 Bicentennial Commission remarks

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

Request for copy of 1969 remarks

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm

Pentagon Papers case
- Declassification project head
  - Allen's recommendations
    - United States Information Agency [USIA] deputy general counsel
    - Background
  - Charles W. Colson's recommendation
    - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
      - Allen's lack of knowledge
      - Knowledge within intelligence community
    - Possibility of assignment of head of project to work under Colson
      - Tom C. Huston
        - Approach to work
        - Scope of project
          - Need for commander
            - Allen
            - Colson

  - Hunt
    - Outside consultancy
    - USIA employee

  - Conspiracy orientation in outlook
    - Dual nature of project

  - Resistance by Departments of State and Defense to declassification effort
    - Joint Chiefs of Staff opposition
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - World War II, Korea, Cuban missile crisis documents

  - Alternatives
  - Steering committee
- Allen’s suggestions
- Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
- John N. Mitchell
- John G. Tower
- Other roles
- Frank H. Ichord’s possible role
  - Congressional Committee hearings on conspiracy
    - Hiss case
- Conspiracy investigation
  - Mitchell’s views
    - Effectiveness as Attorney General
    - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Declassification
  - Focus on incidents
    - Results and benefits
    - Public announcement
    - Ehrlichman
    - Hunt

Unemployment
- George P. Shultz’s analysis of drop
  - James D. Hodgson
  - Effect of technical factors
- Public perceptions of economic conditions
  - Attempts to keep below six per cent
- Statistics
  - Arthur F. Burns’ memorandum
    - Recommendation of new economic policy
    - Burns

Pentagon Papers case
- Leaks
  - Efforts to combat links
    - Allen’s perceptions
    - Fred J. Russell
    - Congress
      - John E. Hunt
        - Background
        - Samuel L. Devine
-Russell
  -Controllability
-Further consideration of Hunt
  -Colson
  -Haldeman’s meeting
-Possible Presidential statement
  -John D. Ehrlichman’s conversation with William P. Rogers
  -Patrick Buchanan's recommendations
-Call to John B. Connally

The President's schedule
-Departure for Executive Office Building office
  -Drop-by in Roosevelt Room
    -Property Review Board meeting
      -F. Edward Hebert, Leslie C. Arends, Kenneth J. Gray, Samuel S. Stratton

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 1:38 pm

Gift presentation items for Congressmen, wives

Arrangements

The President and Haldeman left at 2:05 pm

Date: July 1, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:05 pm and 2:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm

Schedule

Oval Office
  -The President
    -Old Executive Office Building Office
Meeting
   -People’s Republic of China [PRC]

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

The President's location

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:11 pm.

The President's schedule

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 2:11 pm]