Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

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.

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -Ellsworth F. Bunker cables shown to Daniel Ellsberg
- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-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 Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
 - -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -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
 - -Leonard Garment, William L. Safire, Raymond ICdrvce Jor. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

[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]

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Leaks
     -National Security Council [NSC] staff
          -Investigation
                -Haig
                     -Wiretapping
     -Issue of trust in the White House
          -Haldeman, Ehrlichman
          -Leaks
                                                          Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
     -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Leak
                -Leak by White House
                     -Conspiracy
                     -Other administration's involvement
                -Cooke
                     -Richardson's handling of case
                     -Status
                     -Leaks to press about involvement
                                                                     Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
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.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
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
                                                                Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                     -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
```

Telephone Call from William P. Rogers to Kissinger

revolutionaries

Kissinger left at 9:52 am

Conversation No. 534-3

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: 9:54 am - 10:26 am Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
Vietnam negotiations
          -Coordination with Paris
                -Ronald L. Ziegler
          -Schedule
Bull left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.
                                                                     Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
     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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-The New York Times, the Washington Post
                -Press facilities
                     -Action by the PRC
                -The press
                     -Size
                     -The New York Times, the Washington Post
                     -Limitations on White House press contact
                           -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
                                                                     Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                           -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
```

-The Soviet Union

-Tone

-Military threat

-Military threat

-Handling of information

-Vietnam war -Length

-Japan

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
[National Security]
[534-003-w002]
[Duration: <u>1m 41s</u>]
```

Foreign relations

-Henry A. Kissinger's forthcoming trip to Pakistan and Hill station

-New York Times story

-Impact

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-Possibility of Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan joining trip

-Foreign secretary joining trip

-Cover story for media

-Henry A. Kissinger illness

-Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan

-Press guidance

-The President's approval

-New York Times

-Joseph S. Farland

-Knowledge of trip

-Henry A. Kissinger's confidence

Foreign relations

-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

Conversation No. 534-4

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: Unknown between 10:26 am and 10:27 am

Location: Oval Office

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Charles W. Colson's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:27 am

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Conversation No. 534-5

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

```
-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-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
                                                                     Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
          -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
                -Balance
          -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Brookings Institution
                -Documents
                     -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
                     -Henry A. Kissinger
                -Rand Corporation
                -Ehrlichman
                -Presidents orders
                -Declassification of documents
                                                                     Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                     -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -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 Chaureas No. 534-12 (cont.)
 - -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -Carlucci
- -Compare to Donald H. Rumsfeld
- -Meeting to be scheduled with Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Colson, Buchanan, and Moore
 - -Rogers's view
 - -Buchanan's participation
 - -Memorandum
- -Administration's position
 - -Buchanan

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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 Mc.C 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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Need to uphold the law
          -Ziegler
          -Rogers
     -Dean Rusk
          -Forthcoming appearance
                -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
          -President's view
          -Sincerity, decency
                                                               Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
     -[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]
                     -Ehrlichman, Haldeman
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

-Strategy

-E. Howard Hunt, Jr.

-Outside candidate

-Friend of James L. Buckley

-CIA

-Authorship of books

-Conspiracy orientation

-Huston

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-Reaction to orders not supported by him

-Allen

-Vernon A. Walters

-Attitude

-Mitchell's attitude

-The President's expertise

-Hunt

-Declassification effort

-Separation from conspiracy investigation

-Rousselot

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.

Eighteen year-old vote -Vietnam

Haldeman and Colson left at 11:49 am

Conversation No. 534-6

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

Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

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

Conversation No. 534-7 Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

Date: July 1, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:50 am and 12:06 am

Location: Oval Office

[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]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 01/27/2020.]

[Unintelligible] [534-007-w001] [Duration: 1m 27s]

Preparation for press event

Unknown person's shyness

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

[Camera noise]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

ACTION

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

1946 reminiscence

June 30, 1971 meeting

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

-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

Conversation No. 534-8

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

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

Conversation No. 534-9 Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Conversation No. 534-10

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 534-11

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 Comband was 534p12 (weret.) 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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Athletes
                      -Carl M. Yastrzemski
                      -Bart Starr
                      -John Mackey
     -Effectiveness of arguments against drugs
           -Morality
           -Health of body and mind
           -Performers
                                                                 Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

-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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Entertainment field
-Davis
-Bob Hope
-The President's acquaintances
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Richardson, Hodgson, George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:29 pm

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Introductions
```

```
Education
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-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

```
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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Sources of support
     -Conservative, liberal reaction
          -Long
          -Reagan's preferences
          -Industry and labor reaction
          -Conservative reaction
-Waivers
     -General Accounting Office [GAO]
                                                          Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
          -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Expenditures
     -California
-Work relief
     -Massachusetts
-Unemployment rate
-California
     -Coordination of effort
           -Amount of funding
                                                           Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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
 - -I[lorwith] 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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

-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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

- -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Request for copy of 1969 remarks

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:05 pm

-Conspiracy investigation

```
Pentagon Papers case
     -Declassification project head
                                                                Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
          -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
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

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-Mitchell's views
                -Effectiveness as Attorney General
                     -Richard G. Kleindienst
     -Declassification
           -Tonkin Gulf, Dominican crisis, Cuban missile crisis, Berlin crisis of 1961, Bay
                of Pigs, U-2 shootdown, Berlin crisis of 1958, Lebanon, Korea, Berlin
                blockade, Berlin wall
                -Focus on incidents
                                                                Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)
                     -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)

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

Conversation No. 534-13

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.

Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

The President's schedule

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

Conv. No. 534-12 (cont.)