



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 523-001](#)
[Conversation No. 523-004](#)
[Conversation No. 523-006](#)

[Conversation No. 523-002](#)
[Conversation No. 523-008](#)
[Conversation No. 523-007](#)

[Conversation No. 523-003](#)
[Conversation No. 523-005](#)

[Conversation No. 523-001](#)

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]
[Personal Returnable]
[523-001-w001]
[Duration: 3s]

[*This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.*]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:58 pm.

[Conversation No. 523-002](#)

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: 2:58 pm - 3:41 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.



Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins tribute
-Attendance

Ziegler left and Rose Mary Woods entered at 2:59 pm.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[523-002-w001]
[Duration: 31s]

Jack Drown and Helene (Colesie) Drown
-Conversation between Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon and Rose Mary Woods
-Ushers office
-June 17, 1971
-Helene (Colesie) Drown departure
-Rex W. Scouten

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:59 pm.

Schedule
-Henry A. Kissinger

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[523-002-w002]
[Duration: 1m 27s]



The President's dinner

Henry A. Kissinger

- Meeting
- Cutoff time

The President's dinner

- Location
- Porch
- Timing

Kissinger entered at 3:02 pm.

Bull and Woods left at 3:03 pm.

Pentagon Papers

- Kissinger call from Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
 - Califano's support for President over Pentagon Papers
- Concern over precedent
- Focus on real issue
 - Support for Lyndon B. Johnson's policies
 - John K. Kennedy's policy on Vietnam
 - Commitment of troops
 - Number of troops
 - Use in Rochester speech

Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh

- Sympathy
- Firmness
- Report to Indira Gandhi

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]



[National Security]
[523-002-w003]
[Duration: 15s]

- Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh
 - US policy in India–Pakistan problems
 - Joseph J. Sisco role
 - Henry A. Kissinger’s conversation with Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
 - Private channel to the President
 - Attempt to prevent Pakistani attack

- Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh
 - Refugee support for India
 - The President’s comments
 - Joseph J. Sisco knowledge
 - Source of recommendation
 - Amount of funds
 - Source of money
 - Pakistan
 - Indonesia
 - Turkey
 - Repayments
 - Credit for aid

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[523-002-w004]
[Duration: 18s]

- Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh
 - President’s opinion of effect of overt pressure on Pakistan
 - The President’s efforts with Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan



-Truthfulness

Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh
-Kenneth B. Keating efforts
-Media attention

Pandering to left wing press
-Willy Brandt toast
-Vietnam reference
-Reference by "other German" to US Vietnam policy
-Brandt
-Comparison with other German leaders

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:03 pm.

Schedule
-Length of upcoming meeting
-Other appointments

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]
[National Security]
[523-002-w005]
[Duration: 5s]

Upcoming meeting with Swaran Singh
-US interest in preventing an attack

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:08 pm.



Swaran Singh, Lakshmi Kant Jha, Kenneth B. Keating, and Joseph J. Sisco entered at 3:08 pm the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Quality of Singh's trip

Greeting from Mrs. Gandhi

Gandhi's recent political victory

- Stability of government
- Effects of election on government
 - Keating reports
 - Opportunities
 - Economic programs

US-India relations

- Current situation in India
- Refugee problems

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:41 pm.

US-India relations

- Economic needs of India
 - Refugee problems
 - Socio-economic tension
- Refugees
 - Indian concerns
 - Problems
 - Possible political settlement
 - Negotiations
- Indian objectives in subcontinent
 - Mrs. Gandhi
- Bangladesh (East Pakistan)
 - Chances of Independence



- Historical background
- Resolution of conflict
- India's interests
 - Position of neutrality
- Indian Ambassador to US
 - Skill
 - Effect on US
 - Role of Keating
 - Contact with President
 - Keating's concern
 - President's awareness of problem
 - Poverty
 - Instability
 - India's concerns
 - Population problems

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[523-002-w006]

[Duration: 3m 15s]

US-India relations

- Indian Ambassador to US
 - US course of action
 - Contact with Pakistan
 - Efficacy
 - Problem of leaks
 - Need for Indian confidence
 - The President's knowledge and concern
 - Humanitarian assistance
 - Prevent armed conflict
 - Relay of the President's message to Indira Gandhi
 - The President's assurance to use his influence
 - Further discussions



US-India relations

- Indian Ambassador to US
 - US course of action
 - Financial assistance for India
 - US problems
 - Legal problems
 - Other needs
 - US commitment
 - Supplemental money
 - Long range money
 - Return of refugees
 - Seriousness of problem
 - Keating role
 - Indian Ambassador's role
 - Need for effective US action
 - US involvement in "internal" problems
 - Methods of diplomacy
 - Reduction of rhetoric
 - Financial assistance
 - Practical US action
 - Appreciation of US support
 - Immediacy of problem
 - International responsibilities
 - Use of financial assistance
 - Effect of "buying" a solution
 - Return to "old" problem

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:08 pm.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:41 pm.

US-India relations

- Bangladesh
 - Refugees



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[523-002-w007]

[Duration: 2m 13s]

US-India relations

-Bangladesh

-Public US pressure on Pakistan

-Efficacy of quiet diplomacy

-Financial contributions of German and French

-The President's opinion

-Rhetoric vs action

-German contributions

-Target amount

US-India relations

-President's previous visits to Delhi

-Problem solving in India

-Drought possibility

-Keating reportage

-Past droughts

-Secretary of Agriculture Comments

-Effect of rain

Political Stability

Singh, et al. left at 3:41 pm.



Conversation No. 523-003

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:41 pm and 3:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Return of Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:43 pm.

Conversation No. 523-004

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 3:41 pm and 4:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:43 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 3:43 pm.

President's previous meeting with Indian Foreign Minister

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[523-004-w001]

[Duration: 10s]

President's previous meeting with Swaran Singh
-Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
-The President's opinion of Indians



-Four months to deal with situation

President's previous meeting with Swaran Singh

- Financial assistance
 - Embassy recommendations
 - Timing
 - French and German aid
 - Willy Brandt comments
 - Soviet Union contribution
 - Criteria for aid
 - Money compared with statements

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]
[523-004-w004]
[Duration: 21s]

President's previous meeting with Swaran Singh

- Financial assistance
 - Independence
 - Indian pursuit of Willy Brandt statement
 - India–Pakistan

President's previous meeting with Swaran Singh

- Left wing conspiracy
 - Greece
 - Pakistan
 - Scope
 - Russia and Czechoslovakia



-Effect

Nixon image among international leaders

Willy Brandt

- Concern with India-Pakistan problem
 - Brandt remarks on US role
- Hypothetical statements by the President
 - Mexico
 - Nicaragua
 - Poland
 - Czechoslovakia
 - Inappropriateness
- Kissinger's meeting with Egon Bahr
 - Registration of complaints
 - Bahr reaction
- Contact with opposition political figures
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Left wingers
 - Socialists
- D. Kenneth Rush

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:43 pm.

- President's schedule
 - Upcoming meeting with Charles Bluhdorn

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:51 pm.

Brandt

- Rush's view
- Role in social Democratic Party
- Christian Democratic Party status
- Berlin agreement
 - Effect on Brandt political prospects
 - Nature of agreement
 - US interests

Financial arrangement to help India

- Question put by President to Indian Foreign Minister



- Aid from Germany and France
 - Joseph J. Sisco comment
- Worldwide perception of US

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-002. Segment declassified on 06/22/2016. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[523-004-w005]

[Duration: 22s]

- Financial arrangement to help India
 - Worldwide perception of US
 - French concern
 - Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
 - Germans
 - The President's opinion

- German politics
 - 1969 Election
 - Free Democrats

- Diplomatic meetings
 - Kenneth B. Keating
 - Joseph J. Sisco

Charles Bluhdorn, John D. Ehrlichman, Peter G. Peterson and Bull entered and Kissinger left at 3:51 pm; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Bull left at an unknown time after 3:51 pm.



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019. 1m 39s segment cleared for release. 11s remain closed as 523-004-w002.]

[Personal Returnable]

[523-004-w002]

[Duration: 1m 39s]

Charles G. Bluhdorn's living arrangements

-Apartments

- Franklin B. Lincoln Jr. conversation with the President
- The President's and Nelson A. Rockefeller's role
- Bill Hill

-Past experiences

- Unknown elevator operator
 - Comments regarding the President
- [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Attendance at school with John S. D. Eisenhower
 - West Point
 - Barbara J. (Thompson) Eisenhower

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal Returnable]

[523-004-w002]

[Duration: 11s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Peterson and Bluhdorn introduction



Joaquin Balaguer letter

- Receipt by Bluhdorn
- Translation
- Request for delivery to President

Dominican Republic

- Gulf and western interest
 - Sugar company acquisition
 - Dominican Republic turmoil in early period
 - Cuba involvement
 - Fidel Castro
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Losses
 - Changes in Dominican operations
 - Progress
 - Bluhdorn meeting with Balaguer
 - Defense of free enterprise system
 - Balaguer
 - Castro
 - John Yanyelli [?] visit to Dominican Republic
- Transformation of Dominican Republic
 - Cigar Output
 - Compared to Cuba
 - Soviet Union
 - Gulf and Western involvements
 - Cigar manufacturing
 - Automotive parts plant
 - General Motors [GM] role
 - Ford role
 - Henry Ford II
 - Hotel construction
 - Railroads
 - Airport
 - Automotive line
 - James M. Roche
 - Ford
 - Yanyelli [?]
- Balaguer support for US and Nixon
 - Comparison with support of Castro for Leonid I. Brezhnev



Latin America

- Chile
- Peru
- Bolivia
- Gulf and Western concerns
 - Sugar situation
 - Expropriation
- Expropriation act
 - Compensation
 - US competition with Germany and Japan
 - Japanese government and industry cooperation
 - Richard W. McLaren
 - Dominican Republic
 - Effect of drop in US competitiveness
 - Dominican Republic situation
 - Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Julius L. Katz
 - Comments to House of Representatives
 - Retaliation against expropriation
 - Neville Chamberlain
 - Katz
 - Need for respect for US abroad
 - Destruction of Monroe Doctrine
 - Soviet Union
 - Subversive elements
 - Reason for Balaguer letter
 - Sugar quotas
 - Latin America countries
 - African quotas
 - Possible effect
- Pride in America
 - Bluhdorn Harvard speech
 - Pete Williams
 - Logic of retaliation
 - US achievement in Caribbean
 - Fidel Castro
 - Bluhdorn travels in Ukraine
 - Bluhdorn talk with Soviet Union Generals
 - Johnson



- Aleksei N. Kosygin comments
- Czechoslovakia
- Poverty in Ukraine
- Motion picture production
 - Sergei Bondarchuk, Director of Film
 - Background
- Situation in Ukraine
- Achievements in Dominican Republic

Expropriations

- Expropriation Bill in House of Representatives
 - Punishment of friends
 - Peru expropriation actions
 - Need for US competitiveness
 - Opening of Japanese markets
 - Business perspective
 - Balaguer
 - Effect of bill on other countries
 - Nature of House's action
 - Katz
 - Response to State Department pressure
 - President's recommendations
 - Foreign lobbyists actions

Sugar

- Reduction of sugar quotas
- Sugar cuts on other countries
 - Effect on domestic manufacturers
 - Questionable increases
 - Administration view

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:51 pm.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:28 pm.

Sugar

- Reduction of quotas



- Mexico
- Brazil
- President's view
 - Support for the Dominican Republic
 - State Department's view
 - Position towards other countries
 - Peru
 - Bolivia
 - Chile
 - Mexico
 - Brazil
 - African countries
- Sugar lobby
 - Effect
- Brazil and the Dominican Republic
 - State Department position
 - The President's view
- Treatment of expropriating countries
 - Peru
 - Bolivia
 - Chile
- African countries' role
 - Sugar production
 - Problems
 - European concern
 - David D. Newsom

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/03/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[523-004-w006]

[Duration: 8s]

Sugar

- African countries' role
 - French embarrassment



- Algerian problem
- The President's position

Sugar

- Expropriation and relationship to Export-Import Bank loans
- Senate and House efforts
 - Executive leverage
 - Effect of lobbyists
- "Handling" of State Department
- Appreciation of President's help
- State Department compared with Congress
- Expropriation problems
 - John B. Connally
 - Peterson and Connally efforts
 - Other countries and expropriation
 - Compensation problem
 - Effect on investment
 - Connally
 - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] and US liability
- Message from President to Dominican Republic President Balaguer
 - US position
 - Congressional activities

Peterson left at 4:28 pm.

Presentation of gifts

- Cuff links
- Gifts for wife
- Wedding of Edward R.F. Cox and Tricia Nixon Cox

Bluhdorn and John D. Ehrlichman left at 4:29 pm.

Conversation No. 523-008

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 4:29 pm - 4:30 pm



Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

The President and Alexander P. Butterfield left before 4:30 pm.

Item for President

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 4:30 pm.

Conversation No. 523-005

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 4:30 pm - 5:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield, John M. O'Neill, Melville Stephens and Charles W. Colson met.

The President entered at an unknown time after 4:30 pm.

Introductions

-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

-John F. Kerry

Attendance at meeting

-Henry A. Kissinger

Stephen B. Bull and Butterfield left at 4:31 pm.

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:31 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.



Vietnam

- Polls on peace terms
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Characteristics of Americans
- Nature of war in Vietnam
- Media created attitudes
 - Condition of soldiers
 - Morality of government
 - Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy
 - Fashionable attitudes
- Result of war's end
- Reasons for criticism
- Result of support for administration
 - US record in Vietnam
 - Presentation of Medals of Honor
 - Background
 - Treatment on talk shows
 - Dick Cavett
 - Scope of service
 - Kerry
 - Military
- O'Neill's educational background
 - US Naval Academy, Annapolis
 - Time frame
- Vietnam Veterans for a Just Peace
 - Membership
 - Reasons for criticism
 - "War crimes" talk
- Possibility of negotiated settlement
 - Prospects
 - Reasons
 - Congressional role
 - Effect on talk prospects
 - Anti-war votes
 - David K.E. Bruce
- Confidence of American people
 - O'Neill's appraisal of President's standing
 - O'Neill's family
 - Background



- Role of the President
 - Constraints
 - Critics of President
 - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - George S. McGovern
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Constraints
 - Nixon’s criticism of earlier policy
 - Use of air power
 - Overall implication of Vietnam
 - Effect on superpower relations
 - US and Europe
 - US and Soviet Union
 - US and Peoples Republic of China [PRC]
 - US prestige
- O’Neill schedule
 - Speech to anti-war rally
 - Kerry
 - Effect
 - Passage of resolution
 - Margin
- Public mood
 - Need for truth
 - Washington news
 - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
 - Lack of consistency
 - Need for balance
 - Reception for O’Neill speech
- Mayors of major cities
 - Results of ending war
 - Increase in funds for cities
- Geopolitics
 - Kerry
 - Facing of problem
 - Regarding problem solving
 - Geopolitical problems
 - Problems of cities
 - Looking inward



- Effect
- Spokesmen for America
 - President's appreciation for O'Neill's efforts
 - Media
 - Eastern establishment
 - Yale
 - Kingman Brewster, Jr.
- Kissinger analysis of political climate
- Neville Chamberlain and Munich Agreement
 - Public perception of Chamberlain
 - Reflection in polls
 - Change
 - Replacement by Winston S. Churchill
- Presidential leadership
 - Necessity
 - Polls
- Cambodia
 - Comparison with Laos
 - Rationale
 - Press reaction
 - Military results
 - Casualty comparisons
 - Rationale
 - Presence in Cambodia
 - O'Neill's experiences
 - Impressions at the time
 - Military rationale
 - Effect on North Vietnamese
 - Scope of operations
 - Bombing
 - Background
 - Effect
 - Attacks on Haiphong
 - Attacks on dikes
 - Effect
 - POW's
 - O'Neil recollections
 - Object of attack
 - Enemy jungle "Pentagon"



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- Objective
 - Use of "Pentagon" term in briefing
 - Supply caches
 - Casualty reduction
- Laos operation
- Results of US actions
 - Deterrence of North Vietnamese offensive

Kissinger entered at 4:58 pm.

Introductions

Vietnam

- O'Neill's efforts
 - Appearance on the "Dick Cavett Show"
 - Psychological analysis
 - Kerry
 - Audience response
 - Editing from tape
 - O'Neill's comments
- O'Neill's demeanor
- Survival of America
 - Kissinger's view
- Need for truth
- National reaction
 - O'Neill
 - Travels around US
 - Popular opinion
 - Exit from Vietnam
 - Demonstrators
 - Kerry
 - US history
 - Last election
 - Vietnamization
 - Vietnam veterans
 - Class reactions

Pentagon Papers

- New York Times*



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- Perception of average man
- Necessity of confidentiality
- Effect on foreign affairs
- Necessity of prosecution
- Impact on government

President's appreciation of O'Neill's efforts

- Morality of critics
- [Unintelligible names]
- New York City
- Future
- Attitude

President's handling of press conferences

- Use of laughter

Presentation of gifts

- Cuff links
- Tie bar
- Golf ball

[The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:30 pm and 5:10 pm]

[Conversation No. 523-5A]

[See Conversation No. 5-93]

Expressions of appreciation

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 4:30 pm.

Request for copy of Whitaker Chambers's book Witness

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 5:10 pm.

Call from Egon Bahr to Kissinger

- Nature of relations



[Rose Mary Woods talked with the President at 5:10 pm]

[Conversation No. 523-5B]

[See Conversation No. 5-94]

Alger Hiss case

- Chambers's testimony
- Hiss/Chambers friendship
 - Effect on "duty"
- Hiss communist affiliation
- Application to O'Neill efforts
 - North Vietnamese
 - Domestic critics
 - Support for war
 - Need for maximum effort
 - "Play to win" attitude
- Pandering to the crowd
 - Eastern establishment
 - Media
- Media composition
 - Education
 - Morality

O'Neill, Stephen, and Colson left at an unknown time before 5:15 pm.

West German and US relations

- German comments to press
 - Willy Brandt
- US role in German defense
 - Berlin
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield Amendment
 - Muskie
 - Humphrey
- Margin of Kurt Kiesinger loss in German election

O'Neill meeting

- John F. Kerry
- O'Neill age



-O'Neill qualifications

Mood of nation

- End of war
- Strength of US

Kissinger left at 5:15 pm.

Conversation No. 523-006

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 5:16 pm - 6:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

Drug policy

- TV message
 - Timing
- Radio message
- Ronald L. Ziegler
- Content
 - Focus on President's action
- Need for drug message
 - Format
- Ziegler's role

Pentagon Papers

- Patrick J. Buchanan

[The President talked to an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:16 pm and 5:23 pm]

[Conversation No. 523-6A]

- Request for Ziegler



[End of telephone conversation]

Pentagon Papers

- New York Times*
- Buchanan statement
- Domestic Council
- Presidential statement
 - Henry A. Kissinger's role
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - Conversation with Egon Bahr

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:16 pm and 5:23 pm]

[Conversation No. 523-6B]

Status of Kissinger and John D. Ehrlichman statement

[End of telephone conversation]

Charles Bluhdorn

- Meeting with President
- Ehrlichman
- Need for meeting
- Bluhdorn objective
 - Dominican Republic sugar quota
- Campaign contributions
 - President's role
 - Basis

Anti-war votes in Congress

- George S. McGovern-Mark O. Hatfield Amendment
 - Terms
 - McGovern and Hatfield strategy
 - Results
 - Vote
 - Preliminary

Ziegler entered at 5:23 pm.

-Final vote from William E. Timmons



-Vote breakdown

Pentagon Papers

- Statement
- Possibilities
- Necessity
- Relation to McGovern-Hatfield Amendment
 - Press release
 - Content
 - Wind down of war
 - Alexander P. Butterfield

Drug speech

- Expectations
- Format
- Content
- Timing

Kissinger entered at 5:24 pm.

Outcome of McGovern-Hatfield Amendment

Pentagon Papers

- Necessity of statement
- Press reaction
- Henry Brandon call to Kissinger
- Press reaction to handling of classified data
- Stewart J.O. Alsop story in *Newsweek*
 - Cuban missile crisis
 - Use of Cabinet Room quote
 - New York Times* reaction
 - President's use of quote
 - Timing
 - Effectiveness
 - Alsop's reaction
- Buchanan statement
- John F. Kennedy material publication
 - Administration leak
 - Alexander M. Haig Jr.



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- Rowland Evans column
- Brandon
- Alsop
- James B. ("Scotty") Reston responsibility

Kissinger meeting with Bahr

- Willy Brandt Remarks
 - Perception
 - Vietnam
 - Pakistan
 - Comparison to Mexican President's remarks
 - Background

Kissinger left at 5:30 pm.

Pentagon Papers

- Statement by President
- Ziegler's view

Drug statement

- Television appearance
- Background
 - Domestic Council
 - Supporters for statement
 - Content of statement
 - Timing

Larry Higby entered at an unknown time after 5:30 pm.

Schedule

Higby left at an unknown time before 5:46 pm.

Drug Statement

- Television appearance
- Radio message
- Location of delivery
 - Energy message
- Content



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- Personal statement
 - Format
- Length
- Content
 - President's role
 - Appointment
 - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
 - Office increase
 - Spending
 - Enforcement
 - Rehabilitation
- Buchanan effort
- Content

Pentagon Papers

- Statement by President
 - Assessment of evening news
 - Roger E. Johnson
 - Charles W. Colson's office
- William P. Rogers' statement
 - Robert C. Mardian
 - Rogers
 - Ehrlichman and Attorney General preparation
- Statement by President
 - Content
- President's statement
 - Format
 - Timing
- Benefits of delay
- Congress
 - Effectiveness of attack
- Lyndon B. Johnson's supporters
 - Kissinger's role
 - Call from Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
 - Clark M. Clifford statement
 - William H. Sullivan
- Mood of public
 - Mishandling of classified data
- Publication of verbatim text



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- June 16 story in *New York Times*
 - El Paso gas
 - Algeria problem
 - Peter G. Peterson order from President
 - African desk at Department of State
 - The French
- Publication of verbatim text
 - Story of breaking Japanese code
 - Chicago *Sun Times* publication
 - Precedent
 - Robert T. Mardian
- Pearl Harbor precedent
 - Department of Defense [DOD]
 - Jewish reporters
 - Feeling for Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Times*
- Necessity for action
 - Mardian

Ziegler left at 5:46 pm.

Terry McGinnity
-Forthcoming visit to Washington

Pentagon Papers
-Administration action

West Point news story
-Move of former office to Sweden
-Background

President's meeting with John M. O'Neill and Melville Stephens
-Age of participants
-O'Neill background

- Naval Academy

- Colson role
- Qualifications

Agricultural problems



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- Drought
- Programs

Domestic Council

- Drugs

Pentagon Papers

- Ehrlichman efforts
- Need for coordination
 - Staff competence
 - Institutional framework
- Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz focus
 - Issue importance
 - Florida barge canal
 - Ehrlichman's role

President's schedule

- Shultz
- Congressional leaders meeting, June 17
 - Timing
 - Bipartisan nature
 - Kennedy
 - Edmund S. Muskie

Domestic issues

- Environment
- Health
- Poll results
 - Health as an issue
 - Other issues
 - Vietnam
 - Economics
 - Drug addiction
 - Race relations
 - Crime and lawlessness
 - International problems
 - Youth protest and unrest
 - Poverty and welfare
- Methodology
 - Other issues



- Pollution and ecology
- Religion and moral delay
- Education

Rose Mary Woods entered at an unknown time after 5:46 pm.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/24/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[523-006-w004]
[Duration: 57s]

The President's schedule

- Dinner
 - Timing
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
 - Porch
 - Attendance

Rose Mary Woods left at an unknown time before 6:05 pm.

Drug statement

- Length
- Content
 - Suggestions
 - Necessity of statement
- Content
 - Penalties to drug producers
 - Death penalty
 - Suspension of aid to producing countries
 - Emphasis on enforcement
 - Need for emphasis on treatment and rehabilitation
 - Jaffe's role



- Recent statements
 - Ties to future statements
 - American Medical Association [AMA] speech
- AMA speech
 - Preparation
 - President's schedule
 - Length
 - Noel C. Koch material
 - Education emphasis
 - Challenge to AMA
 - Blue ribbon panel
 - Contact with Jaffe

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:46 pm.

Item for President

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:05 pm.

AMA speech

- Health comments versus drug comments
- Other comments by President
 - Jaycees
 - Youth communication and education
- Role of doctors
 - Education

President's schedule

- Visit to small farm town
- Junior Historical Society (?)

The President and Haldeman left at 6:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 523-007](#)

Date: Unknown between June 16 and June 17, 1971



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

Time: Unknown between 6:05 pm, June 16 and 7:55 am, June 17, 1971
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met at an unknown time after 6:05 pm.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/24/2019.]

[Unintelligible]

[523-007-w001]

[Duration: 1m 44s]

[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 7:55 am on June 17, 1971.