



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 529-001](#)  
[Conversation No. 529-004](#)  
[Conversation No. 529-006](#)  
[Conversation No. 529-008](#)  
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[Conversation No. 529-014](#)  
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[Conversation No. 529-002](#)  
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[Conversation No. 529-003](#)  
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[Conversation No. 529-019](#)  
[Conversation No. 529-024](#)

[Conversation No. 528-016/529-001](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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

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

General conversation

Best wishes for the season

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

[Conversation No. 529-002](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

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



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Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Schedule

- Upcoming meeting with delegation from the Police Athletic League [PAL] of Philadelphia
- Format of presentation

Bull left at 11:36 am.

[Conversation No. 529-003](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:36 am - 11:45 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Greetings

Introductions

Work of Police Athletic League [PAL]

-Quality

Photographs

-Posing

PAL program

-Benefits

-Importance



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

Presentation of gifts

- Cuff links
- Bracelets

President's schedule

- Arrival of helicopter

Tour of White House for PAL

President's schedule

- Trip to Indiana and Chicago, Illinois

Petition presented to President

- Number of signatures

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

[Conversation No. 529-004](#)

Date: June 24, 1971

Time: 11:46 am - 11:58 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Schedule

Mansfield amendment



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-House of Representatives vote

Personnel

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr. [?]

Presidential statements

-Wording

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/08/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]

[529-004-w001]

[Duration: 2m 34s]

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

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Presidential statements

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-Effect of Mansfield Amendment on negotiations

-Public relations

-Wording

The President's schedule

Ziegler's statement

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

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

Conversation No. 529-026



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Date: June 24, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 11:58 am and 12:03 pm  
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 07/09/2019.]*

[Unintelligible]  
[529-026-w001]  
[Duration: 1m 39s]

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-005](#)

Date: June 27, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 7:44 pm and 7:52 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown man's schedule  
-Return of call



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[Conversation No. 529-006](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

Camp David discussions

-Conference on aging

-Budgeting

-Cruipshank[?]

-Alternatives

-Examination of all domestic programs and budget proposals

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

[Conversation No. 529-025](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 7:52 pm - 7:53 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Delivery of papers

Butterfield left at 7:53 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-007](#)

Date: June 27, 1971



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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to John D. Ehrlichman.

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

Camp David discussions

- Areas of political gain
- Expenditures
  - Effectiveness
  - Environmental health
    - Pressure
- Budget
  - Considerations
    - Defense spending
    - Economy
    - Defense spending
      - Effect on employment
  - Short term spending
    - Effect in 1972
  - 1973 budget
    - Cuts
      - Effect on planning
- Domestic Council role
- President's role
  - San Clemente

[Conversation No. 529-008](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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



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Meeting with local broadcasters

- President's proposals
  - George Putnam
  - Irv Kupcinec
  - Attendance
  - Purpose
  - Meeting of radio talk show hosts
    - Criteria
  - Influence of media figures
    - Use of photographs

Camp David presentation

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

[Conversation No. 529-009](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:02 pm - 8:05 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Call from William F. ("Billy") Graham

- Butterfield's taking the call
- Call back
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Return of call





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- Butterfield's conversation with Graham
- Graham's schedule
  - San Francisco trip
- Operator
- Kissinger's items

Lights

Butterfield left at 8:05 pm.

Conversation No. 529-010

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:06 pm - 8:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

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

- Cabinet meeting
- Agenda
    - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Length
    - George P. Shultz
  - Agenda
    - Ehrlichman
      - Document security discussion
  - Length

Butterfield left at 8:11 pm.



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[Conversation No. 529-011](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to George P. Shultz.

Arthur F. Burns letter

-Milton Friedman reaction

Inflation

-Administration response

-Expected results

-Jawboning

-Wage and price freeze

[Conversation No. 529-012](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-162]

[Conversation No. 529-013](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office



The President talked with the White House operator.

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

[See Conversation No. 5-163]

[Conversation No. 529-014](#)

Date: June 27, 1971

Time: 8:18 pm - 9:14 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's trip to Paris

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

Item for President

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

Vietnam peace negotiations

- Kissinger's trip to Paris
  - Le Duc Tho
  - Xuan Thuy demeanor
  - Set up of negotiating area
  - Discussion of US proposals
    - Le Duc Tho speech
  - Consequences of failure
  - North Vietnamese questions
    - Kissinger's response
  - North Vietnamese counter proposals
    - Precedent
      - Significance
    - Details



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- US withdrawal
  - Time frame
- Prisoners of war [POW] release
  - Time frame
- Political settlement
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Nguyen Cao Ky
- Political settlement
  - US response
    - Letter from President
- Details
  - Laos and Cambodia Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962
    - Disposition
  - Indochinese future
  - Signing of agreement
  - International guarantees and supervision of ceasefire
- Significance of counter proposals
- Possible overthrow of Thieu, Ky and [Duong Van Minh ?]
- Next meeting
  - US changes in proposals
    - Focus on South Vietnamese government
- Kissinger's questions on North Vietnam counter proposal
  - Possible Thieu, Ky and Minh overthrow
  - South Vietnam acceptance of North Vietnam terms
    - Assurances
  - Coalition government
  - International supervision
  - Thieu and Ky status
- Next meeting
  - Danger of leaks
    - Consequences
- North Vietnam counter proposal
  - POWs
  - US leaks
    - Benefits
- Kissinger and David K.E. Bruce conversation
  - Chance for progress on China
  - Briefing of Bruce by Vernon A. Walters
- Timing



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- Prior breakthrough
- Significance of proposal
- Future negotiations
  - Next meeting
    - Secrecy
    - Timing
    - Bruce
    - William P. Rogers
  - Bruce and Rogers role
    - Further information
- Kissinger's conversation with Bruce

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

Refreshments

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

People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations

- Significance
  - Kissinger's conversation with Bruce
  - Revelation of PRC contacts
  - Secrecy
  - Rogers
  - Discussion of PRC contacts with others
- Bruce

Soviet Union summit

- Possibilities

Vietnam negotiations

- History of Soviet involvement
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  - Le Duc Tho's role
    - Earlier proposals
  - Japanese parallel
- Significance of Laos
  - Reports
    - I Corp Area



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- Past involvement
    - Possible impact
  - PRC
  - Thieu
  - House and Senate
    - Mansfield resolution
    - Pentagon Papers
      - Totality of story
  - North Vietnam intentions
  - US options
  - Kissinger's trip to San Clemente
  - Thieu's response
  - US options
    - East German report
      - Cambodia
        - PRC
        - North Vietnam activities
    - PRC announcement
      - Timing
        - Alexander M. Haig Jr.
        - Related to Soviet Summit announcement
  - US support for Thieu
    - Ky
      - Critique of President's policy
      - Lyndon B. Johnson's reaction
- Pentagon Papers
- British Press Regarding Pentagon Papers
    - Roy H. Thompson lunch
    - John Freeman
- British government
- Edward R.G. Heath
    - Regards to the President
    - Demeanor in adversity
  - Reaction to Pentagon Papers
    - Effect on domestic politics
      - Official secrets act
  - Need for secrecy in diplomacy



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### Pentagon Papers

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

### Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- Thieu's fate
  - Impact of US Congressional action
  - Survival potential
  - Pentagon role
    - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- Bombing
- Bruce
- Political implications
- Nature of agreement
  - Ceasefire
  - POWs
  - Compromise of US and North Vietnam proposals
    - Withdrawal offer
      - Date
    - POWs
- Thieu and Ky



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- Thieu election strategy
  - Relationship to US presence
- US role
  - Cambodia
  - Laos
  - Bombing of harbors
  - Size of US Army in Asia
    - Compared to PRC Army
- Future US role
- US position
  - Need for withdrawal
    - Role of bombing
  - Role of bombing
  - Effect of Senate actions
    - Mansfield Amendment
- Kissinger's talk to Hugh Scott
- Gerald R. Ford
- John C. Stennis
- US meetings with PRC and Soviet Union
  - Kissinger's conversation with Chou En-lai
    - PRC influence
  - Further Kissinger and President Contacts
- Help for Kissinger
  - Haig
  - Security leaks
    - Winston Lord
  - Impact of announcement of PRC trip

### PRC

- Announcement of President's trip
  - Timing
  - Impact
    - Effect on Paris talks
  - Contact with Soviet Union
    - Bruce's mission
- Kissinger trip to San Clemente
  - Informing William P. Rogers
  - Other travels
    - Camouflage for PRC trip





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- Prevention of leaks
  - Dobrynin's contacts with Kissinger and Rogers
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Mutual and Balances Force Reduction [MBFR]
  - Bruce
- Rogers and Congressional committees
- Dean Rusk

### Foreign Policy initiatives

- Announcements
  - President's visit to PRC
  - Bruce's mission
  - Soviet move
  - Presidential visit to the Soviet Union
  - Timing
  - [Richard A. Moore ?]

### Vietnam negotiations

- Support for Thieu
  - Effect of other as President
    - Humphrey
    - Muskie
    - Edward Kennedy
  - Need to prevent Communist takeover
    - Risk of settlement
  - Communist takeover
    - Timing
      - Effect on US policy
      - POWs
      - Congressional pressure
- Length
  - Effect of PRC announcement
    - North Vietnamese flexibility
  - Soviet Pressure
    - Berlin talks
      - D. Kenneth Rush
      - Dobrynin
      - SALT
    - North Vietnamese flexibility



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### PRC initiative

- PRC cooperation
  - Possible price
    - Taiwan
    - US support
  - Announcement
  - Timing
    - Coverage
- Impact of PRC and US talks
  - Substance
  - Nature of US and PRC relations
    - Taiwan
  - Japanese and US long term relationship
    - Expansion
      - Reasons
  - PRC expansion
    - Reasons
  - PRC image in other Asian nations
    - Thailand
    - Burma
    - Indonesia
    - Philippines
  - US and PRC detente
    - Impact on Asia
      - Balance of power
  - Soviet desire for summit
  - Timing of summits
    - Soviet Union compared with PRC
    - Bruce
- Rogers
  - Middle East negotiations
    - Kissinger's view
    - Conduct of negotiations
- Bruce
  - Bruce's ability
  - Rejection of publicity
- Use of Two-man team
  - Soviet Union



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-PRC

General foreign policy performance

- Melvin R. Laird
- Rogers
- President's role in history
  - Kissinger's view
- Letter to Kissinger from Harvard "dove"

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

President's schedule

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

The President and Kissinger left at 9:14 pm.

[Conversation No. 529-015](#)

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019.*

*Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[529-015-w001]

[Duration: 1s]

Request

-Tea

\*\*\*\*\*



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

Conversation No. 529-016

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 9:21 am - 10:04 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:22 am.

Briefing

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

Ziegler left at 9:24 am.

Pentagon Papers

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



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- Impact
- House prospects
  - Timing of introduction
- Conference tactics
- Senate filibuster on draft bill
  - Impact
- Clark MacGregor
  - Fixed date fund cutoff in both houses
- Henry A. Kissinger information
- Fixed date fund cutoff
  - Impact on negotiations
- Statement by President
  - George P. Shultz
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Charles W. Colson
  - Upcoming decision
  - Albert
  - F. Edward Hebert

### President's schedule

- New Hampshire and Maine
  - Visit by President
    - Timing
  - Ship conversion
    - ACTION Project
    - Portsmouth Navy Yard
- Haldeman forthcoming conversation with William P. Rogers
- Camp David trip

### Pentagon Papers

- Question and answer session
  - Ehrlichman
  - Timing
  - Value
  - Hostility of audience
  - Haldeman and Richard A. Moore preparations
- George H. Mahon mailing
  - Attendance
- Calls to Congressmen



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- Norris Cotton
- Gerald R. Ford
- Hugh Scott
- Longevity of Congressmen
  - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Duane J. Matthies [?]
- MacGregor's expertise
  - Responsibility
  - Preparation for Richard H. Ichord
    - Bryce N. Harlow
    - Whalen
  - Congressional tactics
- Calls to Congressmen
  - Albert
  - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
  - Other Congressmen

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

Request for Kissinger

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

President's schedule

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

Kissinger entered at 9:39 am.

Casualties

- Number
- Trends
- Play by media
  - National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]



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- Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Washington Post/New York Times*
- Pentagon Papers
- Offensive in Vietnam

President's talk with Albert

- Effect of Congressional action
  - Negotiations with the Soviet Union
  - People's Republic of China [PRC] negotiations
  - Vietnam
    - Bruce
      - Recall
  - MacGregor's report
  - Filibuster in Senate
    - Benefit to administration
    - PRC and Soviet Union trip announcements
- Albert
  - Stand on Congressional action
  - Weekend schedule
  - Health

Congressional action on Vietnam

- Cutoff of funds
  - MacGregor's report
    - Accuracy
  - Effect on US strategy
    - Kissinger's conversation with Nguyen Van Thieu
      - Perception of President's action
      - Strategy
        - Timing
        - PRC visit announcement
        - End of combat announcement
        - Soviet Union visit announcement
- MacGregor's report
  - Accuracy
- Albert
- Administration opponents
- Albert
  - Contact with John C. Watts



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- Congress
  - Effect of other accomplishments
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - PRC initiative
      - Ping-pong diplomacy
  - Vietnam
    - Robert J. Dole
    - Two schools of thought
      - President's success
      - Dole

### Vietnam

- Vietnam strategy
  - "Lifeboat" concept
  - Need for strong front
- Vietnam agreement
  - Terms
    - Ceasefire
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - President's comments to Albert
  - President's comments to Mansfield
- Support for President
  - Compared to support for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967
- Vietnam agreement
  - Nine points
    - Supervision
      - Changes
    - Ceasefire
      - Use as bargaining chip
    - Support for Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky, and Duong Van Minh
    - Support by South Vietnamese
- Timing
  - Effect on US strategy
    - SALT
    - President's appearance on television
      - Timing
        - Effect on Audiences
- News summaries
  - Length
    - Compared to foreign service reporting





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-Good ambassadorial reports

-William C. Bullitt

-Joseph C. Grew

### Pentagon Papers

-Media coverage

-Richard ("Dick") Wilson

-Peter Arnett of Associate Press

-Arnett's view of administration

-Rationale for Arnett story

-Defense of Daniel Ellsberg

-Ellsberg criminal prosecution

-Counterattack after PRC announcement

-Administration response

-Albert breakfast

-President's contact with Mansfield

-Bruce

-Albert

-Bruce's efforts in PRC

-Chou En-lai

### Foreign Policy

-Triumphs

-SALT

-PRC

-Bruce's efforts in PRC

-Soviet summit

-Effect on Bruce's efforts in PRC

-PRC strategy

-Timing

-Reaction of free Chinese to President's announcement

-Soviet summit

-Double play

-Bruce

-President's visit

-Compared with Bruce's visit

-Prospects



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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 10/24/2019. Archivist:MAS]

[National Security]

[529-016-w010]

[Duration: 36s]

SOVIET UNION

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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Foreign Policy

- Obsession with Vietnam
  - Effect of other events
  - Congressional action
    - Effect of PRC announcement
    - Cut-off of funds
      - Effective date
- Watershed of US policy
  - End of World War II
  - Civil War
- PRC announcement
  - Length
  - Content
    - "Peace" focus
      - Pacific region
      - World
- PRC trip
  - Attendance
    - Rogers
    - Democrats
      - Mansfield



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- Scott
- Necessity of first visit by President
  - Chou En-lai
  - Handling by PRC
    - Mansfield's letter to Norodom Sihanonk
    - Invitation by Chou to Mansfield
- United Nations [UN] debate
  - Rogers
  - Timing
  - PRC
  - Chou En-lai
  - Taiwan
  - Reaction

Stephen B. Bull entered at 10:02 am.

Schedule

- Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP]
- Days engagements

Bull left at 10:03 am.

Foreign policy

- PRC trip
  - Attendance
    - Richard A. Moore [?]
    - Other Democrats
    - Press conferences

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

[Conversation No. 529-017](#)

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office



Ronald L. Ziegler met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's location

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

Schedule

- Briefing
- Defense budget

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

[Conversation No. 529-018](#)

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

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

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*[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/11/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Non-Historical]

[529-018-w001]

[Duration: 7m 6s]

The President's location

Outside conditions

- Darkness

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

Weather

- Rain
- Tornado



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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-South Grounds

General conversation

\*\*\*\*\*

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:21 am.

Conversation No. 529-019

Date: June 28, 1971  
Time: 10:22 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[529-019-w001]  
[Duration: 3s]

Request  
-Tea

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at 10:22 am.

Conversation No. 529-020



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Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 10:23 am - 10:51 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy [CCEP] meeting

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

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:24 am.

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

Criticism of President

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

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

- Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- President's visit



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Mansfield
- Hugh Scott
- Protocol problems
  - Press conferences

### PRC visit announcement

- Consultation with Congressional leaders
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] consultation
  - Benefits from consultation
- Location of announcement
- Consultation with staff
- Staff work with Congress
- Television timing
  - Time differences
- Television build-up

### Pentagon Papers

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



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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-Korean War and World War II document release

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-020-w002]

[Duration: 26s]

Pentagon Papers

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr. dinner with Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
- Democratic Party problems
- Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
  - Inability to be nominated
- Democrats' strategy for their 1972 convention
- Hold early to avoid possible riots

\*\*\*\*\*

Domestic policy

- Burns
  - Background
    - Dwight D. Eisenhower era
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller support
    - European trip
    - Federal Reserve appointment
  - Age
  - Debt to President
  - Respect among economists
  - Foreign travels
    - Israel
    - Korea
    - Japan
    - Future plans
- President's Domestic Policy Council comments
- Morality of administration





White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

- Maurice H. Stans
- Plugging of leaks

Foreign Policy

- Attacks on President's critics
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Attack on President
  - Timing
    - US openings to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - President's comments to Mansfield
  - Carl B. Albert
- July 15th announcement
  - Prospect for PRC visit
    - Position of Taiwan
    - Robert Bruce Atwood
- William P. Rogers
  - Revelation of Kissinger's efforts
    - Timing
      - President's knowledge
    - Story presented
      - Retrieval of message
      - Knowledge of destination
      - Final Ok for trip
      - President's involvement
      - Kissinger's report
      - Camouflage for trip
        - Rogers
        - Yahya Khan's role
  - Publicity benefits
  - Charges of deception
  - Leaks
  - David K.E. Bruce
    - Rogers' negotiating ability
    - Congressional questions
  - Rogers
- Bruce
- Bruce's view of PRC initiative
- Bruce's attendance on PRC trip
- Attendance on PRC trip



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- President
- Rogers
- Kissinger
- Bruce
- Bruce's view on Vietnam negotiations
  - Need for toughness
  - Bruce
    - Future negotiations

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

Meeting with Vernon E. Jordan

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

Foreign policy

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

Vietnam Peace Negotiations

- July 15th announcement
  - Le Duc Tho's probable response
- Negotiations
  - Le Duc Tho social contact
    - Le Duc Tho visits to Peking
    - Vernon A. Walters
    - Comment to Kissinger
    - Precedent
    - Le Duc Tho visit to Peking
    - Peking support for North Vietnam
- Vietnam negotiations



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- South Vietnamese election
  - Incentive to settle
  - Impact of November 1 settlement
- MacGregor
  - Work with Senate
  - Mansfield

Kissinger and Haldeman left at 10:51 am.

Conversation No. 529-021

Date: June 28, 1971

Time: 10:54 am - 11:38 am

Location: Oval Office

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

Greetings

General conversation

Jordan's position

-Activity

National Urban League

-Upcoming convention

-Attendance

-Personnel

-Harold R. Sims

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

Refreshments



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

Jordan's background

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

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

Presentation to President

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

National Urban League

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

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

National Urban League

- Youth
  - Death
- Jordan's leadership



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Youth
  - Benefits
    - Youth
    - Courage
- Relationship with administration
  - Shultz and H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Young
  - Administration commitment
    - Calls to Ehrlichman and Shultz
    - Cooperation
      - Contact with President
    - Disagreements
  - Jordan's address to unknown college
    - Money available
  - Money cuts for schools
- Programs
  - Funds for the Urban League
    - Department of Labor
    - Other agencies
      - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
      - Office of Economic Policy
      - Department of Defense [DOD]
    - Office of Management and Budget [OMB] coordination
      - Sims
  - Credit to administration
  - Movement from House of Representatives and Senate
    - President's experience
- Jordan's residence
  - Funds for Urban League
    - Source
      - Drug program
        - Effect of drug problem
          - Veterans
          - Youth
          - Racial distinction
        - Education money
          - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
      - Education programs of Urban League
        - Atlanta



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Need for drug program
  - Scope of problem
- Public relations
  - Achievements of Urban League
- Need to provide service
  - Jaffe
- Urban League role in drug programs
- Public relations
- Urban League mission
- President's suggestions
- Black Caucus
  - Charles B. Rangel
    - Domestic problems
    - Supply
      - Turkey
      - France
      - Vietnam
- Drug programs
  - Appeal to various groups
  - Rangel
- President's suggestions
- Need to broaden scope
  - Donald McI. Kendall
  - Competition for money
    - Urban coalitions
    - Obscure sources
    - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
[NAACP]
- Unknown Atlanta girl
  - School paper
    - Drug knowledge
    - Background
- Drug programs
  - Teacher training
    - Need for current knowledge
  - John Mackey visit
    - Responsibility of athletes in education
    - Carl M. Yastrzemski
  - Jordan's press conference



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Revenue sharing discussion
  - Clarence Coleman
  - Edwin L. Harper
  - Information session
- Welfare reform
  - Administration efforts
  - Drawbacks
  - Change in approach
  - Urban League position
  - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Expertise
  - Urban League approach
  - Goals
    - Effect on worker
  - Manpower and revenue sharing
    - Training benefits
    - Link to welfare
- Administration's overall approach to welfare and revenue sharing
  - Objectives
    - Rise of self-respect
    - Incentives
    - Sensitivity to citizens
- Urban League
  - President's visit to New York offices
  - Emphasis on dignity and self-respect
  - Benefits to all races
    - Chicanos
    - Whites
    - Blacks
  - Focus on social problems
  - Task force approval
    - West Virginia
    - Mississippi
    - Alabama
    - Illinois
    - Aid to poor
      - Message from Washington
      - George Bartlett
- Welfare and revenue sharing



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Senate action
- Senate sentiment
  - Opposition to social programs
- Need for support in Senate
- Alternative Senate plans
  - New York problems
  - Inadequacy of present system
- Administration efforts
  - Drug, welfare and revenue sharing programs
  - Richardson
  - James D. Hodgson
  - Arthur A. Fletcher
    - Philadelphia program
  - Need for specifics
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Urban League opportunities
  - New leadership
    - Jordan
      - Opportunity
  - Need for initiatives
    - Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt
  - Jordan
    - Responsibilities to constituents
    - Extremes of behavior
- Administration efforts
  - Welfare
  - Urban problem
  - Desegregation
  - Basis for relations with Urban League
  - Cooperation on drug and revenue sharing

Shultz and Garment left at 11:35 am.

Autograph

Gift presentation

- Jordan
- Martha's Vineyard
- Golf balls





White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Kendall
- Paperweight
- Pens
  - Jordan's daughter
  - Jordan's secretary
  - Jordan's wife

Football

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

Jordan and Brown left at 11:38 am.

Language of press statement

Ehrlichman left at 11:38 am.

Conversation No. 529-024

Date: June 28, 1971

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

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/08/2019.*

*Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[529-024-w001]



[Duration: 1s]

Request  
-Tea [?]

\*\*\*\*\*

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

[Conversation No. 529-022](#)

Date: June 28, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 11:38 am and 11:46 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 5-164]

[Conversation No. 529-023](#)

Date: June 28, 1971  
Time: 11:39 pm - 1:40 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

*New York Times* story of Ambassadorial transfers  
-Henry A. Kissinger  
-Terance F. Smith  
-Peoples Republic of China [PRC]  
-Reference to Kissinger's trip  
-Photograph  
-Story



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Chou En-lai
- William P. Rogers
  - Kissinger
- Haldeman meeting with Kissinger
- Further stories
  - Rogers' Role
- Rogers' information
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr. role
- National Security Council [NSC] staff leaks
- Race to visit PRC
  - George S. McGovern's Ottawa trip
  - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy contact with Chou En-lai
- White House denial of Kissinger trip
  - Possibility of Rogers' leak
  - Chinese leak
- Arthur W. Galston
  - Meeting with Chou En-lai
    - John Foster Dulles demeanor
      - 1954 Geneva conference
    - McGovern political prospects
    - Nixon stand on Communism
      - Nixon PRC visit
      - Galston
- PRC leaks
- Rogers' knowledge of PRC trip
- PRC leaks
- Kissinger
  - Accuracy of Ambassadorial transfers
    - David K.E. Bruce
- State Department release of information
  - Propriety

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

[Conversation No. 529-23A]

[See Conversation No. 5-165]

[End of Telephone Conversation]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23B]

Request for meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

- Times* story on Ambassadors
- Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
  - State Department transfers
  - Philip C. Habib
  - William J. Porter
  - Korea
  - Marshall Green
  - Armin H. Meyer
  - Japan
  - William H. Sullivan
  - Leonard Unger
  - Thailand
  - Charles Whitehouse
  - Sullivan
  - Accuracy
  - Change in Assignments

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

[Conversation No. 529-23C]

[See Conversation No. 5-166]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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[End of telephone conversation]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip

-Leaks

-State Department transfers

-John S.D. Eisenhower

-Walworth Barbour

-Tel Aviv

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

[Conversation No. 529-23D]

[See Conversation No. 5-167]

[End of telephone conversation]

*New York Times* Story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Ambassadorial appointments

-Haldeman's call to Rogers

-Revocation of decision on assignments

-Lyndon B. Johnson

-Habib

-Korea

-Porter

-Southeast Asia

-Green

-Japan

-Sullivan

-Thailand

-Unger

-Sullivan

-Whitehouse

Kissinger entered at 11:51 am.

*New York Times* Story on Ambassadors

-Reference to Ambassadorial appointments



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23E]

[See Conversation No. 5-168]

[End of telephone conversation]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Kissinger trip to Peking
  - Rogers
    - Richard F. Pederson
    - Haldeman contact with Rogers
    - Packaging of story
      - Benefit to Rogers

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment declassified on 05/08/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[529-023-w012]



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[Duration: 3s]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Henry A. Kissinger trip to Peking
- William P. Rogers
- Packaging of story
- Indian hatred of People's Republic of China [PRC]

\*\*\*\*\*

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Henry A. Kissinger trip to Peking
- William P. Rogers
- Kissinger standing with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Precedent of Chinese leak
- Chinese leak
- Chinese interests
- Recent Chinese note
- Kissinger trip to Rawalpindi

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

[Conversation No. 529-23F]

[See Conversation No. 5-169]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Reference to Kissinger's Peking trip
- Rogers
- State Department leak
- Galston interview
- Chou En-lai
- Rationale from PRC point
- PRC
- Meeting in Norway
- Ambassadorial leaks
- Revocation of appointments



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

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





White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Habib
  - Debt of administration
- Sullivan
- Porter
  - Asian post
- Green
- Announcement timing
  - August 1 date
  - July 15 announcement
  - Need for discipline
    - Johnson precedent
  - Revocation of appointments
  - Effect on USSR summit
- Rogers' role
  - Source of information
    - Haig
- Chinese
- USSR
- Rogers' knowledge of PRC initiative
  - White House contact
  - Discrepancy in Kissinger schedule

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-029. Segment declassified on 05/08/2019. Archivist: MAS]

[National Security]

[529-023-w015]

[Duration: 32s]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- William P. Rogers' knowledge of People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
  - Discrepancy in Kissinger schedule
    - Henry A. Kissinger previous lunch with Lakshmi Kant Jha
    - Approval of Henry A. Kissinger trip
    - Kenneth B. Keating's opinion

\*\*\*\*\*



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Testing of diplomatic waters
- Rogers
  - PRC revelation
  - Ambassadorial appointments
  - Discipline of State Department
- Revocation of Ambassadorial appointments
  - Sullivan utility
    - Paris
- Speculation regarding PRC
- Complaint regarding Ambassador schedule
- Smith
  - Source of PRC speculation
  - Text of story
- Rebuttal of PRC story
- Rogers' role
  - Rationale for leak
    - Clues to Kissinger's intentions
      - Timing of PRC trip
      - Haig's role
- Haldeman and Rogers contact
  - Reason for Kissinger's India and Pakistan trip
- Rogers' role
  - Clues to Kissinger's mission
    - Letter pick up
      - Haig role
      - Kissinger role
      - Appropriateness
  - Rationale

\*\*\*\*\*

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

[National Security]

[529-023-w016]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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[Duration: 42s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-William P. Rogers' role

-Rationale

-Effect on Indians

-Indian relationship with People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Potential cancellation of Henry A. Kissinger visit

-The President's assessment

-Lakshmi Kant Jha's remark to Henry A. Kissinger

-US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relationship

-Possibility of telephone taps

\*\*\*\*\*

New York Times story on Ambassadors

-Separation of stories

-Ambassador's article

-Yitzhak Rabin article

-PRC article

-"Washington Notes" compared with Newsweek "Periscope"

-Ellsworth F. Bunker and Bruce article

-Haig

-Effect on US and USSR relations

-Kissinger contact with Anatoliy Dobrynin

-Summit delays

-Us options

-Leaks

\*\*\*\*\*

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

[National Security]

[529-023-w017]

[Duration: 35s]



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Leaks
  - Possible telephone tap
    - Agha Hilaly’s potential responsibility
      - Pakistani reliance on US
      - Pakistani knowledge
      - Importance of US trip to Pakistan

\*\*\*\*\*

New York Times story on Ambassadors

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

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]  
[529-023-w018]  
[Duration: 5s]

New York Times story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger’s Asia trip
  - Henry A. Kissinger compared to William P. Rogers
  - The President’s opinion



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- Saigon press corps
- Evasion of questions
- Photographs of Kissinger and Nguyen Van Thieu meeting

\*\*\*\*\*

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

[National Security]

[529-023-w020]

[Duration: 28s]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- India-Pakistan
- Henry A. Kissinger's role
- Potential photograph with Indira Gandhi
- The President's opinion
- Low-key visit
- US involvement

\*\*\*\*\*

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Henry A. Kissinger's Asia trip
- Informing Rogers
- Departure
- Dobrynin
- Contact with President

Kissinger left at 12:20 pm.



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Rogers
  - Results
  - Kissinger
  - Rogers' demeanor
    - Play to John D. Ehrlichman
      - Pentagon Papers
    - Haldeman call to Rogers
      - Kissinger visit
        - Pederson
        - Details of call
        - Conference with an unknown person
        - Pederson
        - Haldeman's instructions to Rogers
    - Rogers' call to Haldeman
      - Conference with an unknown person
        - Pederson
        - U. Alexis Johnson
      - Haig's suggestion
        - Source
    - Haldeman call to Rogers
      - Result
- Ambassadorial appointments
  - Announcement
    - Kissinger's concern
  - Rogers
  - President's tactics
    - Delay
      - Peter M. Flanigan
      - Rogers' reaction
    - Senate action
  - Ziegler comment
  - State Department concern
    - U. Alexis Johnson call
  - Green
    - Japan appointment
      - Alternative
  - Japan
    - Prospects



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Businessman
- Haig
  - Kissinger's demeanor
- Source of story
  - State Department
  - Pederson
- Ziegler
  - Knowledge of PRC deal
  - Comments
    - Interpretation
- President's comments
  - Visit to PRC
- Wording
  - Kissinger
  - Source
    - State Department
- Rogers
  - Knowledge of PRC deal
  - Results
  - Rogers' position
  - Need for knowledge

Cabinet meeting, June 29

- President's comments
  - Agenda
    - Economic situation
  - Foreign policy
    - Melvin R. Laird
    - Rogers
  - Memos concerning policy
    - Publication
  - Pentagon Papers
  - John B. Connally
  - Precedent
- Attendance
  - Haig
  - Ehrlichman
  - Peterson
- President's comments



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- Need for discipline
  - Haldeman
    - Staff discipline
  - Foreign policy
  - Domestic policy

*Times* story on Ambassadors

- Rogers
- Leaks of information
  - State Department
    - Pederson
  - Impact on Terance Smith
- Rogers' interest

Cabinet meeting, June 29

- Precedent of economic group meeting
- Haldeman possible conversation with Connally
- Effect of remarks on economic groups
- Effect of State Department and Defense Department presence
- Economic decisions

Rogers' travels

- California
- Maine

*Times* story on Ambassadors

- State Department
- Rogers
  - Rationale
  - Pederson
  - Kissinger's PRC efforts
    - Use of knowledge
- PRC view of emissaries
  - Rogers
  - Kissinger
  - Timing
    - 1972
    - 1971
- Timing





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- Speculation of visit by President
- Election
- Speculation
- Impact
  - Knowledge of facts
  - Contact with US
- Announcement of PRC trip
  - Announcement of USSR summit
  - Kissinger efforts
    - Impact on role with USSR
  - Kissinger stature
    - Dobrynin
- Administration's options
  - Connally
  - Haldeman and Connally

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

Request for Rose Mary Woods

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

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

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

[Conversation No. 529-23G]

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w004]

[Duration: 27s]



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[See Conversation No. 005-170]

Rose Mary Woods entered at 12:43 pm.

\*\*\*\*\*

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

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

[End of telephone conversation]

Speech writing

- Spacing of text
- Binding of speeches
  - Safety factor
    - West Point example
    - Precedent
- Usual impression
- Past success

Schedule

- Marine trip
- Kansas City trip for Kissinger[?]
- Relation to Florida trip

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 08/10/2019. 1m 31s segment cleared for release. 13s remain closed as 529-023-w005.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w005]

[Duration: 1m 31s]

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown schedule
  - Desire of the President to take some days off



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- Jack Drown
  - The President's concern
- Rose Mary Woods advice

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w005]

[Duration: 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown schedule
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach role
    - Handling of Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
    - Message to F. Donald Nixon

\*\*\*\*\*

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 12:52 pm.

Political discussion

- John N. Mitchell
- Lyndon B. Johnson

Drugs

- Turkey
  - Opium deal
    - Release
      - Timing
    - Scope



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- Mitchell and Connally debate
  - Customs Agents
    - Egil G (“Bud”) Krogh role
    - President's decision
      - Timing
    - Connally request
    - Mitchell
      - Rationale
    - Contact with Connally
      - Outcome of Krogh mission
        - Ehrlichman
    - Krogh mission
      - Departure
    - Friction between agencies

Crime

- Mitchell announcement
  - Crime statistics
    - Washington, DC figures
- Timing
  - Federal Bureau Investigation [FBI] graduation
  - Pentagon Papers
    - Court decision
    - Term extension

Cabinet meeting

- President's comments
  - Effect on State Department and Department of Defense [DOD]
- Results

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w007]

[Duration: 25s]



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Politics

- Memorandums from the President to John D. Ehrlichman
  - Nelson H. Cruikshank
    - The President's opinion
  - Arthur S. Fleming's role
    - Spending habits
    - Importance of older Americans as constituents

\*\*\*\*\*

Conference on Aging

- Arthur S. Fleming role
- Administration strategy
  - George Wiley

Turkey

- Opium agreement
  - Public relations
    - Statement by President
    - Praising Turkish Prime Minister
    - Charles B. Rangel
    - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
    - Scope of agreement

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/17/2019. 10m 34s segment cleared for release with two segments of 37s and 16s remaining closed as 529-023-w009 and 529-023-w021 respectively. Additionally, 529-023-w021 has been reclassified as a PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal and will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]  
[529-023-w009]  
[Duration: 10m 34s]

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower-Tricia Nixon Cox role



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- Buffer for the President
- Herbert W. Kalmbach role
- Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w009]

[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

\*\*\*\*\*

The President’s schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon–Helene (Colesie) Drown meeting
  - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo schedule
  - The President’s avoidance
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach’s role
  - F. Donald Nixon
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon’s brothers
  - Comments
    - Visits to the President
      - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
      - Robert H. Abplanalp
  - Prior invitations
    - California
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach’s role
  - The President’s need for rest
    - Upcoming presidential election
    - Effect on country and world
      - No more overnight guests at White House
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon
    - Need to get away



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- Marjorie P. Acker and Rose Mary Woods
  - Viewing of wedding gifts
- The President's needs
  - Rest
  - Study of briefing books
  - Federal budget
  - Privacy
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon schedule
  - Visits to brothers and sisters
  - Need for seclusion
  - Card playing
- Dinner invitations
- The President's needs
  - Swimming
- Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo role
  - Jack Drown
  - Tact

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

[Federal Statute]

[529-023-w021]

[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 21

\*\*\*\*\*

The President's schedule

- Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
  - The President's need for good appearance
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon-Helene (Colesie) Drown
  - Cottage
    - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
- The President's days off



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- Possible banishment from White House guest quarters
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach’s comments
    - Extent of visits
    - End to overnight stays
    - Dinner invitations
    - Other activities
- Attendance of the President's birthday party
  - Departure time of Rose Mary Woods and Raymond J. Arbuthnot
- Overnight stays
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach
  - Importance of 1972 election
- Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
  - Stays at White House
  - Compared to Robert H. Abplanalp
  - Compared to Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
  - Demeanor
    - Benefits to the President
    - United States Secret Service [USSS]

Rose Mary Woods's health

- Back problems

\*\*\*\*\*

Woods left at 1:11 pm.

Cabinet meeting

- President's comments
  - Connally
    - Need for control of leaks
- Rogers
  - Leak problems
- White House leak problems
  - Robert H. Finch
  - Lower staff levels
    - Newspaper story
      - Handling of Pentagon Papers
- Kissinger





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- Disagreement with policy
  - Public criticism
- Staff meeting
  - Haldeman comments
- Public statements
  - Use of judgment
- Haldeman's conversation with Connally
  - Leadership
    - President's efforts
      - Orientation to domestic questions
        - Projection next year
        - Connally memoranda
        - International trade
          - Restriction on imports
          - George P. Shultz
        - Economy
        - Unemployment
        - Fiscal responsibility
        - Inflation
        - Labor vote
          - Foreign trade protection of jobs
        - Solution of problems
        - Concern of President
          - Steel problems
          - Peterson
- Type of President
  - Public vs. private
- President's attributes
  - Statement of President's views
    - DOD reorganization
    - Fiscal responsibility
    - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] dispersal
    - Defense spending
    - Belief in free enterprise
  - Contribution to reelection
  - Public mood
    - OEO
    - Model cities
- End of Great Society programs



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- Relation to Barry M. Goldwater
- Role of President's aides
  - Business perception
  - Inflation
- Meetings with smaller groups
- Appeal to nation
- Ability of speechwriters
- Strength of Cabinet officers
- August trip
  - Africa and Europe trip compared with US trip
- President's analysis of US mood
  - Use of statistics
  - Personal contact
    - Indianapolis trip
    - Maine trip
    - Less focus on organization
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

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

[Item for Haldeman]

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

Agnew

- As an issue

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

[Fifty second pause]

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

- Problems
  - Posture
  - Attitude
  - Capabilities
    - Office of Intergovernmental Relations
    - Use of Vice President



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/09/2019.  
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[529-023-w010]

[Duration: 5m 27s]

Spiro T. Agnew

-Problems

-Retention of Spiro T. Agnew

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's conversation with John B. Connally

-Impact of vice presidential selection on President's re-election

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion

-Possible damage to President's re-election

-Mechanics of replacing the Spiro T. Agnew

-Need for positive atmosphere

-Effect on 1972 Republican convention

-Death-resignation possibility

-Appointment of new Vice President

-Timing

-Fall of 1971

-Prior to 1972 Republican convention

-Spiro T. Agnew resignation

-Purpose

-Attacks the press for the President

-Benefits of civilian Spiro T. Agnew

-Appointment of successor to Spiro T. Agnew

-Political outlook

-Moving left compared to moving right

-Possibilities

-Need for a Vice President that is similar to the President

-Campaign skill

-Need for backup

-John B. Connally role

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman intimations of Vice Presidency

-John B. Connally attributes



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Alternatives to Spiro T. Agnew
  - Ronald W. Reagan
    - Prospects
    - Role as governor
    - Used to being chief executive
  - John B. Connally
    - Loyalty
    - Effectiveness
    - Attributes

\*\*\*\*\*

Spiro T. Agnew

- Leadership
  - Mistakes
    - Press handling
  - Need for firmness
    - Foreign policy
    - Domestic policy
      - President's interest
  - Radio speech
  - Connally view
  - Raymond K. Price, Jr. view
  - Previous administration's programs
    - Medicare
    - Head Start
    - Upward Bound
  - Nixon administration's programs
    - ACTION
  - Ehrlichman
    - Attributes
    - President's memo to Haldeman
      - Goals
        - Leadership
        - Issues
- Talks usefulness
- Use of statistics



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August trip

- Timing
  - Congressional recess
- Public relations
- Press

Connally comments

- Ehrlichman
- Shultz
- Finch
- Press handling
- Purpose

Schedule

- NSC meeting on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
  - Laird
  - Kissinger
  - Time change
- FBI graduation
- Free time
- President's meeting with Kissinger

Kissinger's Trip to Asia

- Positions assumed
- Results

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

- Rogers
- State Department
  - Lower level leak
  - Possible goal
    - Reduce Kissinger's effectiveness with Dobrynin

\*\*\*\*\*

*[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 07/09/2019. Segment cleared for release.]*

[Privacy]



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[529-023-w011]

[Duration: 15s]

*New York Times* story on Ambassadors

-Department of State [DOS]

-Richard F. Pedersen

-The President's opinion

-Question why William P. Rogers trust him

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's lack of trust in him

\*\*\*\*\*

The President and Haldeman left at 1:40 pm.