## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 521-1

Date: June 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 2:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met with an unknown person.

President's schedule

Bull and the unknown person left before 2:15 pm.

Conversation No. 521-3

Date: June 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 2:19 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

Request for Charles W. Colson

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 2:19 pm.

Conversation No. 521-4

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 2:19 pm - 2:38 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Greetings

President's letter to networks -Wedding coverage

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

## -Copy to Colson H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 2:19 pm.

#### President's desk

-Damage

-Causes

## Possible wedding rerun

- -Colson talk with National Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] executive
  - -Gulf Oil Corporation
- -Interest
- -NBC
- -Summer reruns
- -Follow-up

#### President's schedule

- -Colson's request
  - -Set up of meeting with John M. O'Neill
- -Anti-war demonstration
  - -Action of O'Neill
    - -Reaction
  - -"Dick Cavett Show"
    - -John F. Kerry, O'Neill
    - -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]

#### Pentagon Papers

- -Administration response
  - -National security
  - -Damage done
  - -Emphasis on "family quarrel" aspects
  - -Nixon administration involvement
  - -Principle of disclosure
  - -Escalation of attack
    - -Benefits
- -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
- -President's role in Vietnam
  - -Lyndon B. Johnson attack
  - -Barry M. Goldwater
    - -Attack on Johnson
    - -Disclosure of information
  - -Security of information passed to State Department and Department of Defense [DOD]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Handling of security material
```

- -New York Times
- -Freedom of press issue
- -Calls for congressional investigation
  - -Benefits
  - -Suspects
    - -Leslie H. Gelb
    - -Walter [?] Gellhorn
    - -Morton Halperin
    - -Use of oath
- -Newsweek editor's conversation with John A. Scali
  - -Knowledge of source and method of leak
    - -Use in next week's magazine

#### Mailing operation

- -Colson supervision
- -Haldeman

#### Attack on Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy

- -Hugh Scott
- -Response to Kennedy's attack on President
  - -President's use of religion
- -Reason for Kennedy's attack
  - -Presidential credibility
  - -Separation from other candidates
- -Donald H. Rumsfeld role
  - -Kennedy speech
    - -Jaycees convention in Oregon
- -Mailing of Kennedy statement and Hubert H. Humphrey answer
  - -Robert J. Dole role
  - -Effect
    - -Editorials
- -Jaycees convention
  - -Rumsfeld attack
    - -Familiarity with Vietnam war issue
  - -Protest of Kennedy statement
    - -Benefits
- -Kennedy statement
  - -Editorials

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/10/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
```

[Fersonal Keturnable

[521-004-w002]

[Duration: 6m 48s]

#### **Politics**

- -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy and Massachusetts delegation
- -Edmund S. Muskie situation
  - -Losing staff
  - -Money problems
- -Hubert H. Humphrey situation
  - -Attack on the President
  - -Attack on Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - -Attempt to back away from criticism of
  - -Focus on the President's foreign policy-domestic criticisms
  - -New York Times
    - -Effect of Pentagon Papers
      - -Hubert H. Humphrey denial of responsibility to Congress
      - -Credibility
      - -Alienation of Lyndon B. Johnson supporters
- -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson as a presidential prospect
  - -Rowland Evans-Robert D. Novak piece
  - -Support in organized labor
  - -Support in Border States
    - -Tennessee
    - -Florida
    - -Primary strategy
  - -Problems
    - -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson and a 4th party
      - -Comparison with Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - -Hubert H. Humphrey and a 4th party
    - -Edmund S. Muskie
    - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations stance
      - -Firmer than the President's
    - -Erosion of Democratic Party base
- -Effect of many Democratic contenders
  - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy prospects
    - -Effect of Chappaquiddick
      - -Television statement
        - -Grief, doubt, panic

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Prospects for campaign
     -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy-Presidential campaign
          -Potential to be a vicious campaign
-Patrick J. Buchanan
     -Edmund S. Muskie prospects
     -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy prospects
     -Hubert H. Humphrey prospects
          -Problems
                -Appearance
                     -Weight, hair, and sallowness
                -Style
                     -Overplays everything
          -Gridiron Club performance
-The President's prospects
-Public fatigue
-Democratic timetable
     -Edmund S. Muskie effort
          -November 1970
          -Effect on other candidates
```

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The President's desk
-Damage

Haldeman and Colson left at 2:38 pm.

Conversation No. 521-5

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 2:39 pm - 2:58 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin and Henry A. Kissinger.

Presentation of note
-Soviet Union proposal for Five Powers Nuclear meeting
-Soviet Union-US relations

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Relation to Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
  - -Scope of meeting
- -Preparations required
  - -Ambassadorial level
  - -Soviet Union and US leadership role
    - -Technological supremacy
  - -Consideration of proposal
  - -Most successful methods of progress
    - -Kissinger and Dobrynin
  - -Use of channels
    - -Confidentiality
  - -Dobrynin position
  - -Substance compared with cosmetics of Five Powers Meeting
    - -The President's position
  - -Kissinger and Dobrynin discussions
  - -Overall US-Soviet Union relations
  - -Disarmament compared with arms limitation
  - -Forthcoming Kissinger and Dobrynin discussions
  - -Level of discussions
  - -Continuation of other discussions
    - -Topics
      - -Berlin
      - -SALT
      - -The President's view
  - -Formal reply by the US
  - -Soviet Union rhetoric
  - -Soviet Union-US relations
    - -Potential
      - -Benefits to the world
    - -Berlin and SALT progress

Perception of other nations

- -Mutual and Balances Force Reduction [MBFR]
- -Other areas of discussion
  - -Middle East
  - -Europe
    - -MBFR
    - -President's meeting with Willy Brandt
  - -Middle East
    - -Sensitivity of other powers
    - -Fear of Soviet Union-US condominium
    - -US compared with Soviet Union interests
    - -Control of constituencies

## Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

(1ev. 2/24)

-Discussion desirability

-Gains for Soviet Union and US

The President, Dobrynin, and Henry A. Kissinger left at 2:58 pm.

Conversation No. 521-6

Date: June 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:58 pm and 3:19 pm

Location: Oval Office Unknown people met.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and cleared for release. The withdrawal is now categorized as a PRMPA Federal Statute (A) and was reviewed under deed of gift 06/10/2019.]

[Federal Statute] [521-006-w001] [Duration: 29s]

The President's status

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 3:19 pm.

Conversation No. 521-7

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:19 pm - 3:31 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

#### The President's previous meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

- -Soviet Union proposed
  - -The President's response
  - -Linkage implication
  - -Proposed conference
- -US, Soviet Union and Peoples Republic of China [PRC] relations
- -Channel for negotiations
- -Soviet Union intentions
  - -The President's assessment
  - -Summit possibilities
  - -Soviet domestic situation

#### Kissinger's schedule

-Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] meeting

## William P. Rogers

-Presentation of note

#### Foreign policy

- -President's diplomatic efficacy
  - -Communists
- -Significance of rhetoric
  - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - -Milton S. Eisenhower [?]
  - -Discussions with Nikita S. Khrushchev
  - -John Foster Dulles
  - -Dobrynin
    - -Dulles
  - -Soviet Union-US relations
- -Announcement of PRC trip
  - -Effect

#### President's schedule

-Upcoming meeting with Arthur K. Watson

#### White House administration

- -President's press and staff problems
- -Kissinger's previous meeting with John B. Connally
  - -Connally's access to information
    - -Foreign policy
  - -Leaks

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Connally's view
                -Melvin R. Laird
                -Rogers
                -Kissinger statements
           -Press coverage
                -Connally's view
                -Poor treatment of President
                     -Examples
          -Pentagon Papers
          -The Vice Presidency
                -Spiro T. Agnew
Pentagon Papers
     -Effect on Vietnam War effort
          -Medal of Honor winners
          -Veterans
     -The President's view
          -New York Times
     -Responsible parties
          -Punishment
     -Connally
          -Attack on Lyndon B. Johnson
          -Competency in government
                -Perception of public
          -John N. Mitchell action
      -New York Times
          -Access to White House personnel
          -Kissinger cancellation of editorial
     -Knowledge of implications
     -Use of leaked material
          -President's Vietnam War contingency plans
                -Kissinger's memo's to the President
                     -McGeorge Bundy
                     -Johnson
```

-Circulation

-Kissinger's view

-Kissinger -Bundy -Past leaks compared to current ones

Connally

-Role

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Department of Defense [DOD] role
- -Department of State role

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:19 pm.

President's schedule

-Meeting with Watson and Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger and Bull left at 3:31 pm.

Conversation No. 521-8

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:32 pm - 3:44 pm Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with Arthur K. Watson and Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

Greetings

Drug action

-Frank J. Shakespeare role

-Frank Stanton

Watson's schedule

-Return to France

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 06/10/2019. Archivist: MM] [National Security]

[521-008-w001]

[Duration: 8s]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

#### **FRANCE**

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Telegram from Watson

- -Leak
- -Distribution

Pentagon Papers

- -New York Times
- -The President's view
  - -Effect of leaks
  - -Administration's response

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[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] [521-008-w002] [Duration: 3m 10s]

Algerian oil

-History of purchase of raw materials

-Relation to expropriation

-Original owner of oil hasn't been compensated

-First time US approved of such action

- -Department of State [DOS] action
  - -Letter blessing loan

-Use of gas on East Coast of US

-Export-Import bank role

- -No international relations repercussions
- -Georges J. R. Pompidou statements
  - -US actions in Algeria
  - -Backing of US previously
  - -Asks for US delay
- -Effect on negotiations

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Department of State [DOS]
              -African desk's role
         -Status of deal
              -Export-Import bank's role
              -Administration didn't approve
              -Received 1/8 of what was asked
              -French
*******************************
    Algerian oil
         -Expropriation
         -Compensation
              -Instructions to African and Latin American desks
              -US policy
              -US reaction to expropriation
                  -Henry A. Kissinger
***********************************
[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]
[521-008-w006]
[Duration: 2m 56s]
    Algerian oil
         -Henry A. Kissinger's knowledge
         -Leak of problem
              -Le Monde
              -Source of leak
              -Loans to expropriator
                  -The President's refusal to authorize loan
              -Saudi Arabia precedent
                  -Arabian American Oil Company [ARAMCO]
              -African desk
                  -Socialists
              -Penalty to expropriation
```

-James Eakins's [?] role

-Role in Department of State [DOS]

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

-Concurrence with Arthur K. Watson
-Reaction to French pressure
-Georges J. R. Pompidou statements
-Expropriation and compensation
-John B. Connally

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#### Other activities

-The Ambassador's new residence

-William A.M. Burden role

- -Nancy Watson
- -Funds
- -Wine cellar
- -President's appreciation

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[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] [521-008-w004] [Duration: <u>18s</u>]

French relations with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Effect of French public statements

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Burden

-Greetings from the President

Presentation of gifts

President's foreign policy

- -Vietnam
  - -Watson's previous trip
    - -Watson's assessment
    - -Watson's support for the President

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Walter H. Annenberg views
- -Other ambassadors' views

Watson and Kennedy left at 3:44 pm.

Conversation No. 521-9

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 3:45 pm - 4:30 pm Location: Oval Office

#### The President met with John N. Mitchell and John D. Ehrlichman.

## Greetings

Appropriations
-John J. Rooney

#### Pentagon Papers

- -New York Times story
  - -Necessity of action
    - -The President's view
  - -Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, Jr.
  - -Conflict expectations
  - -Attack on Presidency
    - -Lyndon B. Johnson and Nixon
  - -Leaks
    - -Department of Defense [DOD]
    - -Department of State
  - -Morality involved
- -New York Times actions
  - -The President's view
  - -Legality
  - -Comfort to enemy
- -Punishment of Daniel Ellsberg
  - -Use of Judicial or Congressional oath
- -Department of Justice action
  - -McGovern-Hatfield decision
  - -Convening of grand jury

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Action against Times
          -Times action
                -Disclosure of sources
          -Contempt of court action
-Focus of articles
     -Johnson administration
          -"Family quarrel"
                -Ronald L. Zeigler
     -Vietnam
          -Bombing
                -Department of Defense plans
```

#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-027. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(6) on 06/19/2019. Archivist: DR [National Security]

[521-009-w001] [Duration: 13s]

**DEFENSE** 

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

```
Pentagon Papers
     -Focus of articles
          -Vietnam
                -Bombing of North Vietnam
                -Use of plans in decision making
     -Johnson administration
          -Role of staff
     -Liberals
          -Higher morality
          -Rule of law
                     -Attacks on Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
          -Leonard Garment
                -Pragmatism
```

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-How decision for action was made
           -Ehrlichman's role
                -Mitchell role
                -Possible question's for Ziegler
                -The President
                -Reaction
     -Access of Times to White House staff
          -Ziegler
     -Jack N. Anderson column leaks
           -Adm. Noel Gayler's discussion with Mitchell
                -National Security Agency [NSA]
                -Leaks to Anderson
                -Cooperation with Justice Department
                     -Need for information
                     -Federal Bureau Investigation [FBI]
                     -Clearance with Secretary of Defense
                           -Melvin R. Laird
     -Circumstances
                -DOD
                     -Control of copies
                           -Robert S. McNamara
                           -Clark M. Clifford
                           -Rand Corporation
                                -Ellsberg
                           -Brookings Institution
                                -Leslie H. Gelb
          -Neil Sheehan
                -Political views
                     -Contact with President
                -Kissinger contact with Times
     -Credibility of Times
          -Poll
     -Use of First Amendment to cover security breaches
          -Potter Stewart's opinion
                -Mary [Surname unknown] case
                -Precedents
Cyclamates and drug cases
```

- -Legal status
- -Other related legal problems
- -Legislation
- -Government role

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Error on neglect
- -Swordfish claim
  - -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW] list
- -Ehrlichman action on related cases
- -Cranberry case
- -Testing under court of claims procedure
  - -Use of norms
  - -Government action
  - -Approval of cyclamate use
    - -Effect
  - -Stoppage of cyclamate use
    - -HEW
    - -Amount of cyclamate ingested by mice
- -Origination of cyclamate complaint
  - -Manufacturer role
  - -Results
- -Effect of cyclamate complaint
  - -California constituency
  - -Congressional action
    - -Gerald R. Ford calls to Mitchell
    - -Language of bill
      - -Court of claims procedure
- -Swordfish contamination
  - -Government role
    - -Department of Commerce
    - -Department of Treasury
- -Compensation
- -Help for constituents
- -Prospects of legislation
  - -Administration reaction
  - -Letter to Judiciary committee
    - -Vic Landing (?) role
  - -Clark MacGregor role

#### Cranberry problem

- -Department of Agriculture
- -Federal money
  - -Cranberry constituency
- -Department of Agriculture
  - -Appearance in court of claims
    - -Pursuant to current legislation

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

### Pentagon Papers

- -New York Times
- -Seriousness
  - -Use of public statement
  - -Secretary of Defense role
    - -Classification problems
      - -J. Fred Buzhardt role
    - -Laird statement

#### Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:45 pm.

Request to see Ronald Ziegler

Pentagon Papers

-Effect on US policy

## Bull left at unknown time before 4:09 pm.

- -Classification problems
- -Public statement
- -Laird and Mitchell contact

## Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 4:09 pm.

- -Court decision
  - -Use of temporary injunction
    - -Cease and desist order
  - -Supreme Court judges
- -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy activities
  - -Administration use of leaks
- -Upcoming book [The Vantage Point]
  - -Authorship by Johnson
  - -Kissinger's role
  - -Revisions
  - -Content
    - -Coverage of other administrations
      - -Dwight D. Eisenhower
- -Statement regarding impact of story
  - -Ehrlichman's view
    - -Laird's role
    - -Rationale
- -Public perception

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Federal District Court role
          -Buzhardt affidavit
               -Content
                    -Damage to US policies
               -Impact of publication of classified material on troops
          -Impact on publication
               -William P. Rogers statement
                    -Handling of material
               -Ziegler's brief
               -Rogers statement
                    -Concern of foreign governments
**************************
[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]
[521-009-w002]
[Duration: 58s]
    Pentagon Papers
          -Impact on publication
               -The President's meeting with US ambassador to France
                    -Leak of document
                         -African desk at Department of State [DOS]
                    -Message Georges J. R. Pompidou to the President
                         -Content
                              -Export–Import bank
                              -Algerian oil
                              -US-French relations
                    -Leaks
                         -Consequences
               -Arthur K. Watson
                    -Relations in Paris
```

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Pentagon Papers
-Impact on publication
-Public perception

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Suppression of material
- -Press role
- -Press corps
  - -President's handling of Alger Hiss case
    - -Total disclosure
    - -Perception of press corps
      - -History of Vietnam involvement
    - -Morning briefing
      - -Effect of court order on press
  - -Access of *Times* to White House staff
  - -The President's instructions
  - -Excuses
  - -Scope of order
    - -George P. Shultz
    - -Council of Economic Advisors [CEA]
    - -Access to press pools
- -Addition of defendants
  - -James B. ("Scotty") Reston
  - -Thomas G. Wicker
- -Ziegler's briefing
  - -Use of term "harassment"
  - -George S. McGovern
  - -Impact of non-action
  - -Benjamin C. Bradlee role
  - -Dan Rather
- -McGovern-Hatfield amendment
  - -Prospects
- -Statement of impact
  - -Authorship
    - -DOD
    - -John A. Scali
    - -Richard A. Moore
  - -Content
    - -Publication of classified material
  - -Authorship
    - -Buzhardt
    - -President's contribution
      - -Hiss case precedent
        - -Aid to enemy
        - -Intent
      - -Credibility of DOD authorship
      - -Department of Justice authorship

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Impact on criminal case
          -Herbert G. Klein
                -White House involvement
          -Rogers possible statement
                -Benefits
                -Emphasis on foreign reaction
                -Robert J. McCloskey
          -Scali
     -Public relations aspects of problem
     -Possible remarks by President in Rochester, New York
     -Naming of papers
          -Possibilities
                -Johnson
                -John F. Kennedy
                -McNamara
     -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy role
          -John F. Kennedy's Vietnam policy
                -Ngo Dinm Diem revelations
                     -Henry Cabot Lodge role
-Transmission of story on wire
     -Timing
     -Timing of criminal action
          -Post-McGovern-Hatfield
     -Kissinger
     -Arrest of Ellsberg
     -Responsibility for leak
          -Ellsberg
          -Halperin
           -Gelb
-Statement of impact
     -Rogers role
          -Benefits
                -Background
                     -Associated Press [AP]
                     -Department of Justice
          -President's schedule
                -Kenneth B. Keating meeting
          -Call to Rogers
-Fighting press
```

-Perception of administration secrecy

## Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 521-10

Date: June 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:30 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

-Kenneth B. Keating meeting -Henry A. Kissinger meeting

## Bull left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:30 pm.

Pentagon Papers
-New York Times

The President and Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

Conversation No. 521-11

Date: June 15, 1971

Time: Unknown between 4:30 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

#### Unknown people met.

President's location

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 4:40 pm.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 521-12

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 4:40 pm - 5:13 pm Location: Oval Office

## The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

-Henry A. Kissinger schedule

## Bull left at an unknown time before 4:45 pm.

#### H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 4:45 pm.

#### President's schedule

- -Willy Brandt
- -Shortage of time
- -Charles H. Percy
- -John B. Connally
  - -Meeting between Connally and Brandt

#### Brandt dinner

- -Peter G. Peterson
- -John A. Scali
- -William J. Baroody
- -George Meany statement
- -Jay Lovestone
- -Eastman Kodak
- -Robert S. Oelman, National Cash Register official
- -John M. Huntsman's friend
- -Dudley Swim
  - -Friendship with Huntsman
  - -Demeanor
  - -View of Ronald W. Reagan
  - -Calls to Huntsman

## Butterfield left at 4:47 pm.

## Scheduling

-John D. Ehrlichman

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

#### -Charles Bluhdorn

- -Message to President from President of Dominican Republic
  - -Content
    - -Sugar quotas
- -President's role in meeting
- -[Unintelligible name]
- -Effect of meeting with President
- -Kissinger
  - -Time compared with money
- -Contact with John D. Ehrlichman

## Pentagon Papers

- -Handling
  - -John N. Mitchell
  - -Department of Defense [DOD]
  - -President's meeting with Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Ronald L. Ziegler
    - -Necessity of leadership
    - -John A. Scali role
  - -Collection of ideas
  - -Attorney General's role
  - -Barry M. Goldwater role
  - -Vice President's role
    - -Impact
  - -Statement by President
    - -Drawbacks
  - -Possible statements by Senators
  - -Naming of papers
    - -John F. Kennedy-Lyndon B. Johnson papers
      - -Compared with Robert S. McNamara papers
- -Administrations basic position
  - -Protection of national security
  - -Effect of publication on national security
    - -William P. Rogers
      - -Concern of foreign governments
- -Need for coordination of administration efforts
  - -William L. Safire
  - -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  - -Public relations nature of problem
  - -Involvement by staff
    - -Charles W. Colson
    - -Scali
    - -Richard A. Moore

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Safire
- -Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - -Political involvement
- -Public relations
  - -"Family quarrel" nature of problem
  - -Protection of US security
- -Impact of administrations action against New York Times
  - -Ziegler
  - -Ehrlichman
- -Access of *Times* to press pools
  - -Ziegler's role
- -Access of *Times* to airplane pools
- -Question and answers session by President
  - -Haldeman's previous conversation with Kissinger
  - -Impact on Justice Department action
  - -Mitchell
  - -Formulation of reason for avoiding comment
  - -Intent of briefing
    - -Domestic policy
      - -Drugs
      - -Revenue sharing
      - -Reorganization
- -Criminal proceedings
- -Effect of publication on President
  - -Perception of people
  - -Rogers' statement
  - -President's role in period covered by papers
    - -Ziegler
    - -Colson
    - -Emphasis on originating administrations
    - -Kennedy-Johnson papers
  - -Administration use of secrecy
    - -Ehrlichman
    - -Polls
  - -Need for statement by President

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## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
[521-012-w003]
[Duration: 1m 53s]
     1972 election
          -Democratic candidates
               -Charles W. Colson
                     -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
                          -Ties with labor
                               -Skokie
                          -John N. Mitchell
                     -Efficacy of worry
               -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
                -Democratic infighting
                     -Benefits to Republicans
                     -Scope of attacks
                          -Hubert H. Humphrey
                          -Edmund S. Muskie
                     -Lack of effective Democratic attack
                     -Republican weakness
                          -Economy
               -Effect of economic problems
```

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```
Administration policies
     -Economic problems
          -Arthur F. Burns
          -Inflation
          -Scope
          -Connally and George P. Shultz
          -Arthur F. Burns
                -Consistency
          -Paul W. McCracken
     -War issue
          -Negotiations
```

#### Pentagon Papers

-Impact of *Times* stories

- -Kennedy-Johnson papers
- -Nature of original studies
- -Extent of reading by public

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Perception by public
- -Security breech
  - -Consequences
- -Press interests compared to public interest
- -Need for Congressional speeches
- -Reasons for publication
- -Safire
- -Ultimate effect of publication
  - -Area effect
  - -Pearl Harbor
    - -Adm. Ellis M. Zacharias indictment of Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - *-US News and World Report*
    - -Long term effect
- -Possibility of successful legal action
- -Administration role
- -Development of new policy
- -Administration responsibilities

#### President's schedule

- -Meeting with Ambassador Kenneth B. Keating
  - -Keating's competence
    - -Age factor
    - -Future plans
    - -Age
      - -Ellsworth F. Bunker
      - -David K.E. Bruce
- -Other meetings
  - -Level of visitors
    - -Martin Joseph Hillenbrand
    - -[David] Kenneth Rush

#### Benefits of adversary relations

-New York Times story

#### Pentagon Papers story

- -Johnson role in fight
  - -Enlistment of other spokesman
    - -Dean G. Acheson
    - -Dean Rusk
    - -McNamara
- -Kissinger role
  - -Mobilization of "establishment" spokesmen

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Rogers press conference
          -Leaks
                -Drawbacks
                     -Effect on foreign policy
President's schedule
     -Press conference
     -Rochester, New York
     -News-making potential
           -Upcoming speech
          -American Medical Association [AMA] meeting
          -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
     -Press conference
          -Letters regarding conference
                -Timing of conference
                     -Rationale
          -Timing
                -Price
```

## Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:47 pm.

Schedule

-Kissinger and Keating

#### Bull left at an unknown time before 5:13 pm.

```
President's schedule

-Press conference

-Timing

-Audience reception

-Exposure

-Johnson

-Rose Mary Woods

-Audience reception

-Trade-offs

-Content effect

-National Security Council [NSC] meeting

-Kissinger request

-Changing in time

-Question and answer
```

#### Haldeman left at 5:13 pm.

## Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 521-13

Date: June 15, 1971 Time: 5:13 pm - 6:03 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Kenneth Keating and Henry A. Kissinger; White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]

[National Security] [521-013-w001] [Duration: 23s]

Former US ambassadors to India
-Chester Bowles
-The President's opinion
-Disposition of embassy
-Hippies

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India-US relations
-Background of situation
-Meeting with Foreign Minister

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:13 pm.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:41 pm.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
Indian and US relations
          -Status
         -Indira Gandhi election
               -Size of victory
                    -Effect on opposition
               -Effect on relations
                    -Stability
                    -Union Carbide and Remington Rand licence approval
                         -Rationale
                              -Employment
                              -Export
               -Keating's call on Minister of Industrial Development
                    -M.H. Chaudhury
**************************
[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number
LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR
[National Security]
[521-013-w012]
[Duration: 4s]
    India-US relations
          -Indira Gandhi election
               -Kenneth B. Keating's telephone call to Minister of Industrial Development
                    -Predecessor
                         -Kenneth B. Keating's opinion
    India-US relations
          -Indira Gandhi election
               -Kenneth B. Keating's telephone call to Minister of Industrial Development
                    -M. H. Chaudhury
                         -Keating's view
                    -Views of new Minister
                         -Indian resources
                              -Public and private sectors
                         -Foreign investment
```

-Keating contact with Mrs. Gandhi

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Cordiality
-Rationale
-Mahalia Jackson concert
-Keating cables to Department of State
-Keating assessment of situation
-Timing of Cables
-East Pakistan
-Keating assessment
-Indian and Pakistan stability
-Aid
-Keating's recommendation
-Staff contribution
-President's meeting with Foreign Minister
-Possible topics
```

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR]
[National Security]

[National Security] [521-013-w009]

[Duration: <u>52s</u>]

India-US relations

-President's meeting with Foreign Minister

-Possible topics

-People's Republic of China [PRC]-Pakistan relations

-Mujibur Rahman

-Pro-India and Pro-America

-Background

-Military action

-Election interference

-Bengalese

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India–US relations
-President's meeting with Foreign Minister
-Possible topics
-Aid

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Keating's conversations
     -Extent
          -Amount
          -Increases
          -C-130 aircraft
-Refugee problem
     -Need to shift them back to Pakistan
     -Effect on India
     -Number
     -Calcutta's Plight
     -Continued flight into India
          -Pakistan
                -Hindus
     -Impact on population
     -Genocide
          -Extent
     -Outlawing of Awami League
          -East Pakistan
-Political settlement in East Pakistan
     -Effect of Refugees
          -Hindus and Muslims
     -Goals
          -Peace
          -Reversal of Refugee Flow
```

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2012-001. Segment declassified on 03/19/2015. Archivist: DR] [National Security]

[521-013-w010] [Duration: <u>27s</u>]

India-US relations

-President's meeting with Foreign Minister -Possible topics

-Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan

-Needs to be pressured

-US leverage vs. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

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## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
India-US relations
     -President's meeting with Foreign Minister
           -Possible topics
                -Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
                     -International Monetary Fund [IMF] action
                           -Peter Cardell (?) role
                           -Paris meeting
                -Possibility of political settlement
                     -Agha Muhommad Yahya Khan
                     -Keating's view
                           -Yahya's role
                           -[Unintelligible] role
                     -Awami League role
                     -Keating and Joseph S. Farland (?)
                           -Changes in Pakistan
                     -President's relationship with Yahya
          -Timing
           -Topics
                -Use of aid to help resolve crisis
                     -Use of aid
                           -Rationale
                     -John B. Connally
                     -Amounts
                     -Pakistan reaction
```

## Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 5:30 pm.

-Keating schedule

-Place for Keating at dinner -Timing

Invitation of Keating to Willy Brandt dinner

-John Sherman Cooper party

## Butterfield left at 5:31 pm.

-Attire

-Timing

- -Attendance
  - -Government officials

### Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Brandt
           -Businessmen
                -Eastman Kodak president
                     -Bill Long [?]
                     -Louis Kenneth Eilers
                -Thomas Gates Jr.
                -Dow Chemical Chairman [Carl A. Gerstacker]
                -Companies
                -Monumental Properties [Joseph Meyerhoff]
                -National Cash Register [Robert S. Oelman]
                -National Airlines chairman [Dudley Swim]
                -Dell E. Webb
                -Kodak
                     -Eilers
                     -Hierarchy
Indian-US relations
     -The President's scheduled meeting with Swaran Singh [Indian Foreign Minister]
     -Kissinger
     -Indian population problems
     -Role of democracy
     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
     -The President's policies
     -Indian criticism of US
     -US policy
          -Role of stability
                -Kashmir
          -Collapse of Pakistan
          -US strategy
                -Support for India
                -Yahya Khan
           -Congress
                -Popularity of foreign aid
                -Feeling for India and Pakistan War
                -Involvement in Biafra [Nigerian Civil War]
          -US strategy
                -Rationale
     -Forthcoming meeting with Indian foreign minister
          -US policy
                -Refugees
          -Method of accomplishment
```

-Avoidance of internal involvement

-Avoidance of armed conflict

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

-Pressure on Indira Gandhi

-Indian Congress

-Refugee problem

-Danger

-The President's forthcoming meeting with India foreign minister

-Refugee Problem

## Presidential gifts

#### Political situation

- -Media attacks on President
  - -New York Times
  - -Washington Post
- -Public opinion
  - -War deaths in Asia
  - -War deaths in Europe
  - -Role of press
- -Effect of escalation on President's reelection
- -Quest for more foreign aid
  - -Yahya's role

### Keating left at 5:41 pm.

## India-US relations

- -Kissinger's schedule
  - -[David] Kenneth Rush
- -Aid to India and Pakistan
- -Farland
- -Situation in Dacca [East Pakistan]
  - -Counsel General's Rebellion
- -Kissinger's talk with Indian ambassador
  - -Lakshmi Kant Jha
  - -Contact of President and Ghandi through Indian ambassador
  - -US aid
  - -Keating
  - -Need for time for US to act
  - -President's meeting with foreign minister
    - -Contact with Keating
    - -US position
      - -Sympathy
      - -Delivery of aid
        - -Pakistan

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

-Keating contact with State Department

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[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] [521-013-w003] [Duration: 2m 5s]

India-US relations

-Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan

-Role in US-PRC relations

-Benefits of alternative channel

-Survivability

-Casualties

#### US-France relations

-The President's meeting with Arthur K. Watson

-Leaking of cable

-Role of African desk at Department of State [DOS]

-Begin investigation

-Arthur K. Watson's role

-Department of State [DOS] role

-David D. Newsom

-Consequences

-US guarantees to nations expropriating without compensation

-Leak of cable from Georges J. R. Pompidou

-Analogy with New York Times leak

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#### Pentagon Papers

-John N. Mitchell action

-Suit of New York Times

-Public right to know

-Possible Congressional action

-New York Times responsibilities

-William P. Rogers point in briefing

-Ronald L. Ziegler

### **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

- -Concern of foreign nations
- -Need to fight, New York Times
- -Naming of Pentagon Papers
  - -Robert S. McNamara and Clark M. Clifford
  - -John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson papers
  - -McNamara
- -McNamara reaction to leaks
  - -Need to react
    - -Effect of McNamara role as World Bank President
    - -Dean G. Acheson comment
- -Confusion of issue
  - -Public's right to know
  - -President's role in fight
- -Possible Rogers statement
  - -Effect on communications with foreign governments
- -Effect on President's relationship with State and Department of Defense [DOD]
- -Legal status of publication
  - -Temporary restraining order
    - -Effect
      - -New York Times reputation
- -Public right to know
  - -Franklin D. Roosevelt
  - -Pearl Harbor information
    - -Declassification
- -Procedures to declassify
  - -Permission required
    - -McGeorge Bundy
    - -Johnson
- -Effect of selective declassification
  - -Contingency planning
  - -Kissinger's circulation of memoranda
    - -Leak possibilities
- -President's role in controlling classified material
  - -Opening up of official papers
    - -Possible Presidential library
    - -President's Vice President papers
- -Press
  - -Lord Kennan (?) party
    - -Guest list
      - -Press personalities
        - -Violation of security
  - -British compared with US press

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

-New York Times view of publication

-Focus of New York Times attack

-New York Times view of publication

-Presidential responsibility

-Johnson

-Moral compared with immoral war

-Public right to know

-Retaliation by President on New York Times

-Access to White House functions

-Swedish Prime Minister's comment

-Olaf Palme

-Kissinger's conversation with Rogers

-US-Vietnam strategy

-Rogers

-Recall of ambassador

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#### BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/19/2019. Archivist: DR] [National Security]

[521-013-w006] [Duration: <u>22s</u>]

**SWEDEN** 

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

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Pentagon Papers
-Conspiracy theory

-Leaking of papers

-Leslie H. Gelb role

-Rand Corporation role

-Neil Sheehan

-Coincidence of events

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Clark M. Clifford statements
```

- -New York Times story
- -Veterans

#### Vietnam War

- -Congressional resolutions
  - -Marlow W. Cook and Ted Stevens
    - -Clark McGregor
    - -Provisions
      - -Release of Prisoners of War [POWs]
      - -US withdrawal

Kissinger's assessment

#### State dinner

- -President's meeting with Brandt
- -Kissinger attendance
  - -Rational
    - -Contact with Brandt
    - -Contact with Egon Bahr
      - -Meeting for the Record
      - -Rush, Egon Bahr, Kissinger meeting
      - -Thursday breakfast

#### International relations

- -US-PRC contacts
- -US-Soviet Union contacts
  - -Effect of New York Times story
- -Image of President's domestic strength
- -Cambodia
- -Laos operation (Lam Son)
- -North Vietnam relations
- -Possible summit with Soviet Union
- -Effect of US-Soviet Union and US-PRC contacts
- -President's meeting with Congressmen and Senators
  - -President's initiatives
    - -Berlin agreement
      - -Benefits
    - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- -US-PRC contacts
  - -Effect on Soviet Union
    - -Rationale for Meeting with Antoliy F. Dobrynin

-Rogers role

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. 2/24)

#### -SALT

New York Times story

- -Effect on intellectual establishment
  - -Cooks-Stevens legislation
  - -Calls to President
- -Joseph McCarthy analogy

#### Scheduling

- -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- -Kissinger's schedule
- -President's schedule
- -Tempo of events
- -The President schedule
  - -Forthcoming trip to Florida
    - -Kissinger

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[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] [521-013-w008] [Duration: 56s]

Compilation of People's Republic of China [PRC] material

-Henry A. Kissinger's plane ride to California

-Chou En-lai statements

-Henry A. Kissinger's opinion

-People's Republic of China [PRC] strategy

- -Concern with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- -Concern with Taiwan
- -No perceived ill intent towards US

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Message to Rush -Personnel

The President and Henry A. Kissinger left at 6:03 pm.

# Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

	Conversation No. 521-14
Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office	
<u>Unknown people talked</u> .	
******************	*****
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been released 06/11/2019.] [Unintelligible] [521-014-w001] [Duration: 12s]	n rereviewed and
[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background]	ound conversation.]
******************	*****
Unknown people left at and unknown time before 10:06 pm.	
	Conversation No. 521-15
Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office	
<u>Unknown people met</u> .	
*****************	****

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

released 06/11/2019.] [Unintelligible] [521-015-w001] [Duration: 1m 27s]
[This portion of the tape is mostly tape noise with some muffled background conversation.]
******************
The unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:06 pm.
Conversation No. 521-16
Date: June 15, 1971 Time: Unknown between 6:03 pm and 10:06 pm Location: Oval Office
Unknown people met.
*******************
[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/11/2019.] [Unintelligible] [521-016-w001] [Duration: 22s]
[This portion of the tape is mostly room noise with some muffled background conversation.]
******************
The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 10:06 pm.