



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

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[Conversation No. 538-004](#)
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[Conversation No. 538-015](#)

[Conversation No. 538-001](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/01/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Unintelligible]
[538-001-w001]
[Duration: 8s]

Request
-Coffee

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:10 am

[Conversation No. 538-002](#)

Date: July 6, 1971



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Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person

Schedule

-General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:10 am

[Conversation No. 538-003](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person

Unknown item

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:10 am

[Conversation No. 538-004](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: 9:10 am - 9:25 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

US foreign relations

-Possible forthcoming US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] summit

-Negotiations

-Timing

-Issues

-Agreement on Berlin



- Cable to [David] Kenneth Rush
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Anti-ballistic Missiles [ABM]
- Henry A. Kissinger's concerns
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] initiative
 - USSR reaction
- Middle East
- Relations
 - SALT
 - Berlin
- Message to Kissinger
 - Channels
 - Dr. David K. E. Bruce
- PRC
 - Forthcoming developments in relations
- Possible forthcoming US-USSR summit
 - Timing

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

[National Security]
[538-004-w001]
[Duration: 42s]

- US foreign relations
 - Message from Henry A. Kissinger
 - India
 - Announcement about discussions with People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Indian sensitivity
 - Hide role Pakistan played

- US foreign relations
 - USSR



- Pace of negotiations with the US
- Kissinger
 - Response to recent Soviet proposal
- Statement on US-USSR negotiations
 - Berlin
 - SALT
- Relations with the USSR
 - Delays in negotiations
 - Forthcoming developments in US-PRC relations
 - SALT
- Kissinger

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/01/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Unintelligible]
[538-004-w002]
[Duration: 22s]

- US foreign relations
 - The President's direction
 - Melvin R. Laird

Haig left at 9:25 am

Conversation No. 538-005

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:25 am and 9:50 am
Location: Oval Office



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

The Pentagon Papers case

- Criminal prosecutions
 - John D. Ehrlichman's recommendation of meeting with John N. Mitchell
 - J. Edgar Hoover's conversation with Haldeman
 - Mitchell's schedule

Media briefings by the President

- Purpose
 - Targeted audience
 - Editors
 - Frequency
 - Anticipation of news event
 - Vietnam negotiations
 - Comparison to background briefing
- Issues
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Vietnam negotiations
 - Domestic issues
 - Ehrlichman
 - Lack of interest as news event
 - Revenue sharing, the environment, postal service
 - Preparation of briefing
 - Analysis
 - Positive emphasis
 - World leadership role of the President
 - Counterbalance to the Vietnam issue

Poll on presidential approval

- Results

The President's image

- Televised events
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - John B. Connally
 - Cabinet meeting
 - Control



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US foreign relations

- Possible US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] summit
 - Timing
 - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Soviet perceptions
- Dr. David K. E. Bruce
- USSR Summit
 - Arrangements
 - Henry A. Kissinger
- PRC
- Haldeman's views

Poll on presidential approval

- George H. Gallup
 - Trend in past polls
- Supreme Court ruling on Pentagon Papers

Pentagon Papers

- Focus of attention on issue
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Vietnam
 - John F. Kennedy's administration
 - Release of documents
- Type of material leaked by Daniel Ellsberg
 - Comparison to type of material seen by President while Vice President
- Security clearances held by former members of the Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations
 - Haig
 - List
 - McGeorge Bundy, W[illiam] Averell Harriman, Robert S. McNamara
 - Staff
 - Loss of clearance
- The press
 - New York Post's* July 4, 1971 editorial
 - Responsibility for security
 - Colson
- White House coordinator
 - Colson



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-Ehrlichman

Issues

- Revenue sharing, reorganization
- Focus of 1970, 1971 State of the Union addresses
- Domestic council staff
 - California
- Revenue sharing, the environment

Forthcoming meeting in the Cabinet Room
-Ziegler

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 9:50 am

[Conversation No. 538-006](#)

Date: July 6, 1971

Time: Unknown between 9:25 am and 9:50 am

Location: Oval Office

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

John N. Mitchell

- Scheduled departure on trip
- Forthcoming telephone call from the President

Television coverage

- Ronald L. Ziegler's views
- Use by networks
 - Comparison to other Presidents

[Conversation No. 538-007](#)



Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 9:25 am and 9:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting
-George P. Shultz's request for a meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:50 am

[Conversation No. 538-008](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: 9:50 am - 10:00 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with George P. Shultz

Steel industry and labor leaders
-Forthcoming meeting
-Paul W. McCracken's report on Western European quotas
-James D. Hodgson's statement on mediation
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Format for the President's appearance
-Press and photo opportunity
-Desired theme of meeting
-Price and wage issues
-Industry problems
-Short term
-Negotiations
-Long term nature
-Foreign competition
-Quotas
-Productivity
-Wage increases
-Comparison to manufacturing



Unemployment statistics

- Recent statement by the Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS]
 - Accuracy of figures
 - Seasonal surges and adjustments
 - Timing
 - Improvement in employment

Retail sales figures for June, 1971

- Indicators and estimates
 - Garment industry
 - New York Times* article
 - Buyers
 - Jews

Unemployment

- Impact
 - Teenagers
 - Men

Schedule

Shultz left at 10:00 am

Conversation No. 538-009

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:00 am and 10:31 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/01/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[538-009-w001]
[Duration: 5s]

Request
-Coffee

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:31 am

[Conversation No. 538-010](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown time between 10:00 am and 10:31 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man [Stephen B. Bull?]

The President's schedule
-Presidential mementos for meeting participants

The unknown man [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 10:31 am

[Conversation No. 538-011](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:31 am and 11:12 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] entered



[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 07/01/2019.]

[Federal Statute]
[538-011-w001]
[Duration: 48s]

The President's location
-Cabinet Room

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:12 am

Conversation No. 538-012

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:26 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule
-General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-John N. Mitchell

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:26 am

Conversation No. 538-013

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:45 am



Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Pentagon Papers

- John N. Mitchell’s forthcoming meeting with the President
- White House response
 - John D. Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson, Haldeman
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Employee of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
 - United States’ Information Agency [USIA] employee
 - Unnamed man active in Vietnam prisoner of war [POW] matters
 - Richard H. Ichord’s committee
 - Job with Ichord’s committee
 - Fletcher S. Thompson
 - Leaks to the committee
- Polygraph tests
 - Haldeman’s conversation with Mitchell
 - Test on Charles M. Cooke, Jr.
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - Defense Department
 - Ehrlichman
 - Robert C. Mardian

[Previous PRMPA Federal Statute (A) withdrawal. This segment was rereviewed 07/22/2019 with new guidance. Segment cleared for release.]

[Federal Statute]
[538-013-w001]
[Duration: 2m 30s]

Pentagon Papers

- Indictments
 - Grand Jury in Boston
 - July 7, 1971
 - New York Times* Neil Sheehan, Susan (Margulies) Sheehan



- Charges
 - Xerox copies
 - Robert C. Mardian
- Reporters
 - Perception of indictments as attacks on reporters
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - New York Times*
 - Neil Sheehan, Susan (Margulies) Sheehan
 - Copying operations in Bedford and Boston, Massachusetts
 - March 21-23, 1971
 - Bill Kovach
 - Bedford
 - Carlisle
 - E. W. ("Ned") Kenworthy, Fox Butterfield, Hedrick Smith
 - Lloyd Schearer of *Parade* magazine
 - Daniel Ellsberg
 - Carol Cummings
 - Anthony J. Russo, Jr.
 - Joseph Baugh
 - John F. Kennedy's assassination investigation
 - Appeared before grand jury
 - Granted immunity

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 11:26 am

- People involved
 - Investigation
 - Cooke
 - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
 - Refusal to turn over documents
 - National Security Council (NSC)
 - State Department
 - Daniel Ellsberg
 - Laurence E. ("Larry") Lynn, Jr.
 - Morton H. Halperin, Lynn
 - Circumstantial nature of evidence



- Documents
 - Southeast Asia
 - Mathias
- Internal White House investigation
- William P. Rogers
- Mardian, William B. Macomber, Jr., Colonel Richard T. Kennedy
- J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
 - Deposition
- White House investigation
 - Former CIA employee
 - Role
- Washington Star* article
- Henry A. Kissinger
 - Staff
- Conspiracy
 - Ehrlichman's view
 - Leak stories
 - Neil Sheehan
- The President's forthcoming meeting with John N. Mitchell
 - Ehrlichman, Haldeman

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 11:45 am

Pentagon Papers case

US foreign relations

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Kissinger
 - Response to USSR postponement of summit
 - Negotiations
 - Background
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] Treaty
 - Haig's view
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], West Germany
 - [David] Kenneth Rush
- Forthcoming announcement of People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - Effect on USSR
 - Kissinger



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- Handling of developments
 - Dr. David K. E. Bruce
- PRC
- USSR
- Vietnam War
 - North Vietnam
 - Da Nang attack
 - US military plans
 - Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
 - Paris Peace Talks
 - Kissinger
 - Timing of future US action
 - Negotiating stance
 - South Vietnam
 - General Nguyen Van Thieu
 - US bombing
 - Election
 - South Vietnamese Chief of Staff
 - Visit

Haig left at 11:45 am

Conversation No. 538-014

Date: July 6, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:45 am and 11:47 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The President's schedule

-Forthcoming meeting with John N. Mitchell

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's attendance at meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:47 am



Conversation No. 538-015

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: 11:47 am - 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John N. Mitchell

American Bar Association events
-SS *Queen Elizabeth II*

John D. Ehrlichman and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 11:50 am

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 07/01/2019.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[538-015-w002]

[Duration: 1m 6s]

- American Bar Association events
- SS *Queen Elizabeth II*
- John N. Mitchell's US Navy experience
- Later experience with cruises
- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
- Mediterranean cruise
- North Africa, Greece, Italy, France
- Dining experiences
- The President's opinion
- John N. Mitchell



[A transcript of the following portion of the conversation was initially prepared for the Watergate Special Prosecution Force [WSPF] and can be found in Record Group [RG] 460. The Nixon Presidential Materials Staff has reviewed the transcript and has made changes as necessary. This transcript has been reviewed under the provisions of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974 [PRMPA]. The National Archives does not guarantee its accuracy.]

[End of transcript]

Schedule
-Mitchell

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:50 am

Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Haldeman left at 12:15 pm

The President's schedule
-Charles W. Colson
-Rose Mary Woods

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:17 pm

[Conversation No. 538-017](#)

Date: July 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:15 pm and 12:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods and unknown people

Greetings
-1968 Presidential campaign

Woods

Unknown person
-Purpose of visit
-Philippines



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-Ferdinand E. Marcos
-President's opinion

[Photographs taken]

Presidential gifts

Philippines

- Possible Presidential visit
- Domestic politics
- Republicans

Farewells

Woods, *et al.* left; Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:15 pm

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Garrett [?]
-Relationship to President
-Diplomatic reception

President's schedule
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Garrett

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:17 pm