



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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

[Conversation No. 264-001](#)
[Conversation No. 264-004](#)
[Conversation No. 264-007](#)
[Conversation No. 264-010](#)
[Conversation No. 264-013](#)

[Conversation No. 264-002](#)
[Conversation No. 264-005](#)
[Conversation No. 264-008](#)
[Conversation No. 264-011](#)
[Conversation No. 264-014](#)

[Conversation No. 264-003](#)
[Conversation No. 264-006](#)
[Conversation No. 264-009](#)
[Conversation No. 264-012](#)

[Conversation No. 264-001](#)

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:21 am
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Schedule

[Conversation No. 264-002](#)

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:05 am and 10:21 am
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]*
[Personal Returnable]
[264-002-w001]



[Duration: 15s]

Watch

-Dead battery

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:21 am.

[Conversation No. 264-003](#)

Date: July 21, 1971

Time: 10:21 am - 11:01 am

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's schedule

- Breakfast meeting with Max Frankel
- Office of Management and Budget [OMB] briefing
 - George P. Shultz
 - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Economy
- New York City
 - Kissinger's dinner
 - Comments
 - The US initiative towards the PRC

Foreign relations

- The PRC initiative
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Frankel
- The war in Vietnam
- Dobrynin
- The PRC initiative



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- Reaction
- Forthcoming US - PRC Summit
 - Trip preparation
 - Advance work
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Importance
 - The Chinese
 - Reaction to preparations
 - Chinese people outside the PRC
 - Details
 - Logistics
 - Ehrlichman
 - Experience in trip advance work
 - Sites for Presidential visits
 - White House Communications Agency [WHCA]
 - Kissinger's role
 - Negotiations

The Pentagon Papers case

- Frankel
- The Administration's reaction
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's administration
- The *New York Times*
 - Approach to foreign policy
 - Possible re-election of the President
 - Kissinger's conversation with John Kenneth Galbraith
 - Edmund S. Muskie

Foreign policy developments

- PRC Summit
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] Summit
- Vietnam negotiations
- Berlin
 - [David] Kenneth Rush
- Middle East
- The PRC initiative
 - The *New York Times*
 - Reaction



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- Frankel
 - Attitude towards Israel
 - Attitude towards USSR
- The USSR
 - Dobrynin
 - Reaction to US-PRC initiative
- Chou En-lai's interview with US students
 - State Department message
 - Taiwan, Republic of China
 - Vietnam War
 - Le Duc Tho
 - Settlement
 - The Left
 - Congress
 - Chou's comments
- Frankel's position
- US public opinion
 - Possible statement by Chou
- Kissinger's schedule
 - Forthcoming meeting with the President
 - Trip to PRC
 - Announcement of trip
 - Timing
 - Purpose
 - Arrangements
 - Agenda
 - Communique

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-016. Segment declassified on 12/20/2017. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[264-003-w003]

[Duration: 12s]

Foreign policy developments

- Henry A. Kissinger's schedule



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- Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Necessity

Foreign policy developments

- Henry A. Kissinger's schedule
 - Trip to PRC
 - Kissinger's role
 - William P. Rogers
 - The State Department
- Cyrus R. Vance
 - Letter to the President
- Historical record on the PRC initiative
 - Rogers
 - The President's conversations with Kissinger
 - Responsibility for the Initiative
 - The State Department
 - Experts on the PRC
 - Hugh S. Sidey
 - Meeting in the White House Lincoln Sitting Room
 - The President
 - Rogers
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
- US-PRC relations
 - Handling of negotiations
 - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with the PRC Ambassador
 - Terms
 - Role of the President
 - Conditions of PRC contact with other American visitors
 - Democrats, Republicans
 - Peter H. Dominick
 - John G. Tower
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
 - George Meany
 - Visits by other US officials
 - Effect on Presidential visit
 - Appearances



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- Bi-partisan
- Chou En-lai
- Senators
- Timing
- President's forthcoming visit to PRC
 - Compared to USSR relations
 - SALT
 - Dobrynin
 - Laos
 - Vietnam settlement
 - Timing of announcement
 - Congress' role
 - Compared to SALT, bombing of North Vietnam
 - Presidential leadership
 - Press, Congress' reaction
 - July 20, 1971 baseball game
 - Child's request for President's autograph
- The US position in the world
 - USSR
 - Japan
 - Europe
- Origin of US-PRC initiative
 - Kissinger's role
 - Rogers
 - State Department
- Kissinger's forthcoming telephone call to Sidey
- Henry A. Grunwald
- Sidey

Kissinger left at 11:01 am.

[Conversation No. 264-004](#)

Date: July 21, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:01 am and 11:05 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building



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

Meeting request

Conversation No. 264-005

Date: July 21, 1971

Time: Unknown between 11:05 am and 1:14 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

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

The President's schedule

- Meeting with John B. Connally
- Meeting regarding labor
- Meeting with Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Meeting with Melvin R. Laird
 - Trip
 - Possible meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
 - National Security Council [NSC] briefing
- Diplomatic credentials ceremony
- Peter G. Peterson
 - Foreign trade meeting
- Kissinger's congressional meeting
- Congressman
 - Clark MacGregor's view about leadership meeting
 - John J. McCloy [?]

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[264-005-w009]



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[Duration: 3s]

The President's schedule

- Congressman
 - Robert J. Dole
 - President's opinion

The President's schedule

- Congressman
 - Future leadership meetings
 - Frequency
 - Connally's view
 - MacGregor
- Budget meetings
 - Location, time, frequency, duration
 - Participants
 - Kissinger
 - Duration
- Future Farmers of America
 - President's participation
 - Oval Office tour
 - Other farm-related meetings
- [Dwight D.] Eisenhower silver dollar
 - Connally
 - Mamie G.D. Eisenhower
 - Congressional Cabinet participation
 - Mary T. Brooks
- Meeting with Alfred P. Chamie
 - Trip to Vietnam
- Indonesian Ambassador to the US
 - Return to Indonesia
 - Request for meeting
- Otto E. Passman
 - Request for presidential phone call
 - Monroe, LA drug conference
- John S. Davies



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- Departure from Washington
- Possible dinner in the White House Residence
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Patrick J. and Shelley S. Buchanan
- Arrangements
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[264-005-w010]
[Duration: 9s]

- The President's schedule
 - John S. Davies
 - The President's opinion

- The President's schedule
 - John S. Davies
 - Meeting option

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[264-005-w011]
[Duration: 11s]

- The President's schedule
 - John S. Davies
 - Dinner



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The President's schedule

- Olin E. ("Tiger") Teague
 - Request for meeting to discuss legislation
 - Donald E. Johnson, Charles M. Teague, George P. Shultz
- Congressional staff reception on White House South Lawn
 - Congressional recess
 - Previous event
- Air Force One
 - Naming of plane "Spirit of '76"
 - Announcement
 - David J. Mahoney, Jr.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[264-005-w002]

[Duration: 19s]

The President's schedule

- Kenneth Milhous
 - White House tour on July 21, 1971
 - President's office

The President's schedule

- Dr. Stanley H. Bear (?)
 - Departure from the White House staff
 - Meeting with the President
- Presidential trip
 - Rathbun Dam, Ottumwa, Iowa



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- Presidential appearance at dedication ceremony
 - Conservation issue
 - Previous water project dedications
 - Arkansas
 - Mobile, Alabama
- Canton, Ohio
 - Professional Football Hall of Fame
 - Parade, induction ceremony
 - Wellington T. Mara
 - Vincent T. ("Vince") Lombardi
 - The President's speech
- Logistics
- The Bohemian Grove

[Pause]

- Order of events
- The President's meetings with Republican Congressmen
 - Sessions
 - MacGregor
 - Frequency
 - Attendance
 - Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[264-005-w012]

[Duration: 9s]

The President's schedule

- The President's meetings with Republican Congressmen
 - Robert P. Griffin
 - President's opinion



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The President's schedule

- The President's meetings with Republican Congressmen
 - Compared to Eisenhower administration
 - Bryce Harlow
- Cabinet meeting
- Congress
 - MacGregor
 - Schedule
- Presidential trips
 - Bohemian Grove
 - California
 - Canton, Ohio
 - Dayton, Ohio
- Republican women's federation
 - October trip to Washington
 - Trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Congressional recess
- President Josip Broz Tito's state visit in October, 1971
- Florida
- Trip to Maine
 - Timing

[Pause]

- Cancellation of event in Hawaii
 - Cost
 - Asian trip
- Maine
 - Timing
 - Congress
- Dallas
 - Timing
- New York
 - Knights of Columbus event
- New England trip
 - Maine
 - New Hampshire



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- Shipyard event
 - Portsmouth
- Apollo 15 spacecraft splashdown
- New England states
- Mid-Atlantic, western states
- Trip to the PRC
 - Departure from California
 - ”Gateway to the Orient”
 - Return stops in Hawaii, Alaska
 - Advance
 - Kissinger
 - Separation from other staff members
 - Kissinger's role
 - Press contingent
 - Television networks, wire services
 - Newspapers, magazines, radio
 - The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*
 - Henry A. Grunwald
- Stopover in Hawaii
 - Advantages
- California departure
 - San Francisco
- The President's role in trip arrangements
- Secret Service

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[*Previous PRMPA Statute (A) withdrawal reviewed 04/30/2019. Segment will remain closed.*]

[Federal Statute]

[264-005-w004]

[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4



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The President's schedule
Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Routine preparations

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
[Previous PRMPA Statute (A) withdrawal reviewed 04/30/2019. Segment will remain closed.]
[Federal Statute]
[264-005-w013]
[Duration: 9s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

The President's schedule
Trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Security arrangements

Ambassadorial appointments
-Japan
-The President's conversation with David M. Kennedy
-Peterson
-Connally
-Kennedy
-William P. Rogers
-Age
-The State Department
-Channels of communication
-Leaks
-Kennedy's view of State Department



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[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[264-005-w014]

[Duration: 26s]

Ambassadorial appointments

-Japan

- David M. Kennedy's recommendation
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
- Gerald R. Ford [?]
- The President's opinion
- Peter G. Peterson's opinion

Ambassadorial appointments

-Japan

-Rogers

The President's military aides

-Kissinger

-Appearance

- Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes
- Ceremonial visits contrasted with routine duty

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[264-005-w015]

[Duration: 1m 56s]

The President's military aides

-Glen [?] Wheeler



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- Rose Mary Woods' assessment
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's assessment
- Director of public affairs at Agency for International Development [AID]
- Money
- Robert H. Abplanalp
- The President's opinion
- Robert H. Abplanalp's phone call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Previous White House job offer
 - African embassy
- Loyalty
- Demeanor needed for the job

Article about the President

- Richard ("Dick") Wilson
 - Look*
 - Reprint in the *Reader's Digest*
 - Amount of time needed for meeting with the President
 - Contact with others on the White House staff
 - Kissinger, John D. Ehrlichman, Haldeman
 - Contact with Rose Mary Woods, other White House staff

Voluntary action centers

- Progress report
- Staff
- Locations
- Funding
- Lenore L. Romney
- "Right to Read" program
- Youth
 - Senators

The Bicentennial

- David J. Mahoney, Jr.
- Pennsylvania
- Washington, DC
- Boston, Massachusetts



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- Virginia
- Miami, Florida
- Mahoney

Efforts to appeal to youth

- Finch
- Charles W. Colson
- The PRC
- Vietnam

Personnel

- Rogers
 - John Richardson, Jr.
 - Educational and Cultural Affairs post
 - Previous job with Radio Free Europe
 - Political work
 - Youth focus
 - Public affairs position
 - Political orientation
- Possible task force
 - Youth, PRC

Conservatives

- Young Americans for Freedom [YAF]
- John Birch Society
 - Current status compared to California, 1962
 - PRC
- Laos, Cambodia actions in the Vietnam war
- Reaction of the right

Congressional leaders

- Centrists
- Colson
- John B. Connally
- MacGregor
 - Role
- William E. Timmons

President's schedule



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- Breakfasts
- Chowder and Marching Society
- Supporters

Youth issue

- YAF

Economic issues

- John Kenneth Galbraith
- Wage-price controls
 - Keynsian economic theory
 - Public opinion
 - Labor unions, business
 - Socialists, Communists
 - Galbraith, Walter W. Heller
 - George P. Shultz
 - Democrats
 - Economic spokesman
- Speech
 - William L. Safire's recommendations
 - The President's Kansas City speech
 - Peterson
 - Radio speech
 - Steel strike
 - Effect as example of public leadership
 - Connally
 - David Lawrence's column
 - Chou En-lai
 - PRC initiative
- Radio

Foreign relations

- Vietnam War
 - Kissinger
 - Hanoi
 - South Vietnam
- The PRC initiative
 - Roles, responsibilities
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger, the President



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- Agnew
- Laird
- Rogers, Laird, Kissinger

The President's schedule

- Finch, Rumsfeld
- Finch
 - Job offers
 - Mexico [Ambassadorship]
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Office of Emergency Preparedness [OEP]
 - Rumsfeld
 - Finch
 - California
 - Reagan
- Rumsfeld
 - Counsellor position
 - Arthur F. Burns, [Surname unintelligible], Finch, Rumsfeld
- Frequency of staff and Cabinet meetings
- Paul W. McCracken
 - Shultz
- Burns' request for a meeting
 - Ehrlichman
 - Connally
 - Loyalty to administration

Presidential leadership

- Public relations
 - PRC initiative compared to other foreign travel
 - Family Assistance Program
 - Eisenhower's statement on trip to Korea

Kissinger entered at 12:40 pm.

- The President's current conversation with Haldeman
- The PRC initiative
 - Roles
 - Rogers, Kissinger, the President
 - Hugh S. Sidey



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- President's request for Kissinger to talk to Sidey
- Press
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger compared to Rogers
 - [Forename not given] Alsop's article
- The President's 1969 trip to Romania, European countries
- The myth of leadership
 - Eisenhower's trip to Korea
 - John F. Kennedy and Cuba
 - PRC initiative
- Domestic policy
- Foreign policy

Foreign relations

- State Department
- US-USSR summit
 - Timing of announcement
- Vietnam War
 - Settlement
 - US troop withdrawal
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Dobrynin's meeting with Maurice H. Stans personal assistant
 - Invitation to Stans to visit USSR
 - Dobrynin's conversation with Kissinger

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]

[264-005-w016]

[Duration: 12s]

Foreign relations

- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Invitation to visit United Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - No reason to be first cabinet member to visit



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- Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
- The President's opinion
 - Willing to follow orders

Foreign relations

- Stans possible visit to USSR
 - Staff assistance
 - Winston Lord
 - Tone of trip
 - Establishment of precedent
 - Finch
 - Rumsfeld
 - Instructions to Cabinet
- Trips by others
 - PRC
 - USSR
- Announcement of US-USSR summit
 - Timing
 - US-PRC summit
 - Economic matters
 - Dobrynin
 - Stans
 - Kissinger's conversations with Dobrynin
 - The President
 - Ford's inquiry
 - Mack truck deal
 - Size
 - Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania
 - Negotiations
 - President's request for Kissinger to call Ford
 - Policy on trips by Cabinet members
 - Stans
 - Rogers
- Request for Kissinger to call Howard Stein
 - Economic developments
 - US dollar



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- Roles and responsibilities
 - Stans
 - The President, Kissinger
 - The PRC initiative, Vietnam negotiations
 - Kissinger's conversation with Sidey
 - Comparison to Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Kissinger
 - Dealings with the press
 - The *New York Times*
 - Attitude
 - Max Frankel
 - Henry A. Grunwald
 - Hedley W. Donovan
 - [First name not given] [Thomas?] Griffith
 - John W. Gardner, John V. Lindsay, Edmund S. Muskie
 - Sidey
 - Role of writer vis-a-vis editor
 - Griffith
 - Grunwald
 - Newsweek*, the *Washington Post*
 - Grunwald
 - Cyrus R. Vance, W. Averell Harriman
- George H.W. Bush
 - Newsweek*
- Stans proposed trip to USSR
 - Dobrynin
 - Stans' possible statements
- Robert J. Dole
 - Proposed trip to Vietnam
 - Senator
 - The PRC
 - Conservatives
 - Role as Republican National Committee Chairman as compared to role as US Senator
 - Comparison to Ronald W. Reagan's proposed trip to Taiwan
- The South Korean government
 - [Forename unknown] Gallagher
- Taiwan
 - George A. Murphy



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- Kissinger's dinner in New York City
 - Comments about the PRC initiative
- The Vietnam war
 - Frankel
 - Perception of issue
- Vietnam negotiations
 - Forthcoming meeting
 - Issues
 - Coalition government in South Vietnam
 - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
 - Options
 - Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Ford
 - President's forthcoming conversation with Dole

Kissinger left at 1:05 pm.

- Kissinger's role
- Coordination of public relations effort
 - "Nixon initiative"
- Colson

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming meeting at 3:00 pm

Connally

- Haldeman's conversation with Harlow
- Agnew
 - Role of Vice President
 - Possible resignation
 - Travel, speaking engagements
 - Compared to Johnson
 - Harlow
 - Possible future
- Kissinger
- Agnew

Haldeman left at 1:14 pm.



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Conversation No. 264-006

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[264-006-w001]
[Duration: 9s]

President's inquiry concerning the phone ringing

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:39 pm.

Conversation No. 264-007

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.



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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[264-007-w001]
[Duration: 6s]

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:39 pm.

Conversation No. 264-008

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019. Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[264-008-w001]
[Duration: 3s]

Request

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:39 pm.



Conversation No. 264-009

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 6-171]

Conversation No. 264-010

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 2:39 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 04/30/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[264-010-w001]

[Duration: 5s]

Request
-Coffee



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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:39 pm.

[Conversation No. 264-011](#)

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: 2:39 pm - 2:42 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with John B. Connally.

[See Conversation No. 6-172]

[Conversation No. 264-012](#)

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: 2:43 pm - 2:47 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with Haakon I. Romnes.

[See Conversation No. 6-173]

[Conversation No. 264-013](#)

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:47 pm and 2:51 pm
Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.



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[See Conversation No. 6-174]

[Conversation No. 264-014](#)

Date: July 21, 1971

Time: Unknown between 2:47 pm and 2:51 pm

Location: Old Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's Oval Office schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:51 pm.