



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/08)

Conversation No. 541-1

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: 2:53 pm - 2:54 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Miss Lund, secretary to J. Curtis Counts.

J. Curtis Counts

- Efforts to settle telephone strike
- George P. Shultz and James D. Hodgson

Baseball

- Counts' background as All-American baseball player at the University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]

Conversation No. 541-2

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown after 2:52 pm until 5:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman at an unknown time after 2:52 pm.

J. Curtis Counts

- Secretary
- Background
 - All-American baseball player at University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]

[The President talked with Willie J. Usery between 2:54 pm and 2:56 pm]

[Conversation No. 541-2A]

[See Conversation No. 6-175]

[End of telephone conversation]

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Tape Subject Log
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Usery

- Character of people
- Effects of wealth and education
- Beliefs
- Causes of war

The President's schedule

- Forthcoming trip to California
- Use of time
- Use of time

Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 38s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Attendance at Washington Senators baseball game
- Compared to attendance at All-Stars game
- Newspaper coverage

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:55 pm.

Meeting with John B. Connally

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:01 pm.

Alternatives of economic action

The President's schedule

Connally, George P. Shultz, John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson entered at 3:01 pm.

[General Conversation]

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The economy

- Possible action
 - Issuance of Treasury bonds
 - Interest rate
 - Income
 - Public perceptions
 - Savings bonds

-Bonds

Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

- New York
- Purchase of bonds in support of causes
 - Israel
 - Environment
 - Science exploration, cancer research
 - Effect on money markets
 - Appeal for investment in the United States
 - Number of people involved in savings bond drive
 - Effect on budget
- Methods of setting up new program
 - Funding for future programs
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Applied research efforts
 - Inspiration of the public
 - Contrast to taxation
 - Spirit
- Interest subsidies
 - Direct subsidies
 - Maritime industry
 - Differences in approach between the US and foreign countries
- Bond sales as fundraising alternative
 - Comparison to school and other local bonds
- Domestic programs
 - Expenditure
 - Public opinion
 - Environment
- Market tests
 - Comparison to automobile tests
- Conservative approach
- John Kenneth Galbraith
 - Connally's "enemy" principle
 - Issue of economic control
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edmund S. Muskie
 - Attitude toward wage and price control

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- Connally's testimony
 - Response to Galbraith
- Spokesperson for the left wing of the Democratic party
- Permanent wage and price controls
- Arthur F. Burns
- British approach contrasted with the US
- Wage-price controls
 - Response to Galbraith, Democrats Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
 - Attempts to force repudiation by Democratic candidates
 - Effects of 1953 agricultural action
 - Secretary of Agriculture
 - Brandon Marme plan
 - Controlled economy
 - Totalitarian economies
 - Office of Price Administration [OPA]
- Productivity Commission meeting
 - George Meany's cooperation
 - Tenure
 - Relationship to administration
 - Executive Council, trade council, Teamsters
- Popularity of unions
 - Union leaders opposition to administration
 - Administration's courting of rank-and-file
- Productivity Commission meeting
 - September, 1971
 - Planned issues
 - Meany's role
- Shultz's proposed meeting with Meany
 - Job conference
 - Partisan attack
 - Support for Muskie, Humphrey, Carl B. Albert
 - Opposition to the President
- Meany's speech
 - Support for administration's foreign policy
 - Opposition to administration's economic policy
- Productivity Commission
 - Perceptions
 - Press

Labor issues

- Union members
 - Appeal to the rank and file rather than the leaders

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- US position in the world
- Rank and file
 - Practical concerns
 - Jobs
 - Educational level
 - Contributions
 - Compared to the US leader class
 - Patriotism Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
 - H. G. Wells' view of history
 - Effects of higher education
 - Attitude toward issues
 - Drugs, crime, national defense, US supremacy
 - Compared to Britain, France, Germany
 - Japan
 - Comparison to the President's generation
 - Attitude towards the People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - initiative
 - Reasons
- Labor leaders
 - Meany, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Peter J. Brennan
 - Background
 - Comparison with farmers
 - Need for support in maintaining US supremacy
 - Communist countries
 - Compared to university president
 - Kent State
 - Compared to science advisors groups
 - Compared to businessmen
 - New managerial class
 - Compared to religious leaders
 - William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - Compared to journalists
- Rank and file attitude towards the US, the President
- Labor leaders
 - Meany
 - Fitzsimmons
 - Brennan
- Need to fight labor perceptions on economic issues
- Union members
 - US moral crisis
 - The President's view
 - Sources of support for the President

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Tape Subject Log

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- International issues
 - The Vietnam war
 - Demonstrators in Washington
- Working class people
 - Cambodia
 - John V. Lindsay
 - Hard hat demonstrations in support of the President in
New York City Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
- Handling of economic opposition
- Strike settlements
 - The President's calls to Usery, Counts
- Counts' meeting with longshoremen
- Usery
 - Jobs conference
 - Rank and file support for the administration
 - Concern for jobs
 - Administration's position on unions
- International issue
 - Trade
 - European community
 - Meany
 - Protectionist rhetoric
 - US jobs
 - Exports
 - The automobile industry
 - Peterson
- Connally's speaking engagement, July 20, 1971
 - Sift in job market
 - Importance of private sector
 - Role of unions
 - Sources of capital
 - Labor force
 - Increased number of women
 - Conflict between educated and uneducated workers
 - Competition with other countries
 - Japan
- Administration's position
 - James D. Hodgson
 - Education
 - Colt Industries
 - Meany
 - Possible stance

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Tape Subject Log
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- Muskie
 - Peterson
 - Appeal to the rank and file
 - The President's image
 - Compared to Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey
 - Comparison to Franklin D. Roosevelt's unique image
 - Upper class background
 - Appeal to the common man
- Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

- Perceptions of blue collar taxpayers
 - Welfare issue
 - William L. Safire, Raymond K. Price, Jr.
 - The President's image
 - Differences from new leader class
- Meany's comments
- Connally's press conference
 - Response
 - Lockheed
 - Projections on 1972 labor vote

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 2m 43s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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Tape Subject Log

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Special interest groups

- The administration's relations with labor
- Blacks
 - Meetings with the President in the White House Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
 - Opposition to Barry M. Goldwater
- Jews
- The President's schedule
- Labor
- Blacks, Jews
 - Contrast in effectiveness of meetings
- Political action committees [PAC]
 - California's 1950 senatorial election
 - Taft-Hartley
 - Helen Gahagan Douglas compared with Richard M. Nixon
 - Effect on labor vote
- Connally's "enemy" principle
- Labor
 - Rank and file reactions compared to labor leaders
 - Support for the President in foreign policy and national security issues
 - The economy
 - Connally's "enemy" principle
 - Comparison of Roosevelt and John L. Lewis; John F. Kennedy, Jr. and James R. Hoffa
 - Administration's strategy
 - Galbraith
 - Relations with labor
 - Wage and price controls
 - Meany

Wage and price controls

- Administration's strategy
 - Government role
 - The President's view
- OPA
- Examples of socialized economies in other countries

Labor

- [Unintelligible name] as target

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Tape Subject Log

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- Labor relations in the past
 - Lewis, Harry Bridges
 - The President's meetings with Brennan and others
 - Teamsters Union official from California
 - Anecdote from the 1950's
 - California
 - Example of [unintelligible name]
 - Undersecretary of Labor Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
 - James P. Mitchell
 - [First name not known] Peterson of construction and builders union
 - Painters Union
 - Longshoremen
 - Electrical union
 - (Albert J.)? Fitzgerald
 - Internal Revenue Service investigation
 - Union practices in the past
 - Mineworkers
 - California
 - Democratic registration efforts
 - Blacks, Hispanics
 - Focus on minorities
 - Comparison to Connally's experiences
 - Possible successors to Meany
 - [Joseph] Lane Kirkland, Joe Baron
 - I.[Iworth] W. Abel
 - Settlement of labor disputes
 - The President's conversation with Uesry
 - Effectiveness of the President's meetings
 - Productivity and wage issues
 - Settlement of the postal strike
 - Winton M. ("Red") Blount
 - Signal to other unions

Privatization

- Manpower program
- Daycare centers
- Private industry compared to Federal government

The aged

- Concerns
- White House conference
- Social security

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- Arthur F. Burns
- Presentation

Labor

- Communication
- The President's meeting with Teamsters officials, Brennan
- Support for president's foreign policy
- The Teamsters

Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

The PRC initiative

- Connally's conversation with Hamilton Fish, Sr.
 - Connally's conversation with Hamilton Fish, Jr.
 - Praise for the President's action
 - Anecdote about Roosevelt
 - Anecdote about Alexander Hamilton
 - Forthcoming book
 - George Washington's farewell address

Ehrlichman, Shultz, and Colson left at 4:35 pm.

Labor

- Economic issues
 - Approach to handling labor leaders, rank and file
 - Number of new jobs
 - The President's foreign policy accomplishments
 - Quotas
 - Lockheed
 - Tax reform
 - Alleviation of burden on the working man

The President's conversation with Ehrlichman, July 20, 1971

Spiro T. Agnew

- Bryce N. Harlow's analysis
- Possibility of resignation from office
 - January 1972
 - Nomination of successor by the President with confirmation by the Senate

[The President talked with George H. Mahon between 4:40 pm and 4:46 pm]

[Conversation No. 541-2B]

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[See Conversation No. 6-177]

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with the White House Operator at an unknown time between 4:46 pm and 5:04 pm.]

[Conversation No. 541-2C]

Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

[See Conversation No. 6-178]

[End of telephone conversation]

[The President talked with an unknown person [Ehrlichman?] at an unknown time between 4:46 pm and 5:04 pm.]

[Conversation No. 541-2D]

Request for conversation with Paul Wilson

- Mahon's staff
- Testimony of appropriations bill
- Hodgson

[End of telephone conversation]

Appropriations

- Public service funding

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 4m 8s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

US foreign policy

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/08)

- Changes in climate
- The PRC initiative
 - Support by people like Galbraith
- The Vietnam war
 - Decline in prominence of issue
- Possible US-Soviet Union [USSR] summit in May 1972
- Liberal perceptions
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 heart attack Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)
 - Adlai E. Stevenson
 - Nixon's vice presidency compared to Agnew
- The PRC initiative
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Unexpected nature of July 15, 1971 announcement by the President
 - Speculation as to focus prior to speech delivery

Vice Presidency

- Connally
 - Goals
 - Role and duties of Vice President
 - Connally's view
 - The President's view
 - Unprecedented nature of the President's relations with Connally
- Comparisons with previous administrations
 - Eisenhower-Nixon
 - John F. Kennedy-Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Johnson-Humphrey
- The Vice President as the President's alter ego
- Connally
 - Election and political aspects
 - Handling of duties while in office
 - Comparison with Eisenhower's second term
 - Agnew
 - Relations with the Cabinet
- Successor
- Cabinet members
- Congress
 - Gerald R. Ford
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- Ronald W. Reagan
- Requirements
- Agnew

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Tape Subject Log
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Haldeman and Connally left at 5:04 pm.

Conversation No. 541-3

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 541-2 (cont.)

The President met with an unknown person.

Instructions

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:07 pm.

Conversation No. 541-4

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:04 pm and 5:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 6-179]

Conversation No. 541-5

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: 5:07 pm - 5:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

The President's telephone call to John W. Rollins

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-Rollins' location

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:07 pm.

Stanley H. Bear
-Departure from service at the White House
-The President's schedule
-Bear's schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 18s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Rose Mary Woods left at 5:15 pm.

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Conversation No. 541-6

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: 5:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

Schedule for meeting

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:15 pm.

Request

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:21 pm.

Conversation No. 541-7

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:15 pm and 5:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 8s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:21 pm.

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Conversation No. 541-8

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 5:15 pm and 6:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Items for the President's signature

Schedule

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Agency Policy
[Duration: 6s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

-July 22, 1971
-The President's meetings

Butterfield left at 5:28 pm.

- John B. Connally
 - Reaction to Vice Presidency possibility
 - Comparison to Treasury Department situation
 - White House staff structure
 - National Security Council [NSC], Secret Service, Domestic Council
 - Haldeman's view
 - Donald W. Riegle, Jr.'s comments
 - Harper's magazine article by Richard Whelan
 - Connally's handling of job
 - Vice Presidency

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Vice Presidency

- Speculation in the press
 - Cabinet members
 - Melvin R. Laird, William P. Rogers
- Spiro T. Agnew's possible resignation
 - Perceptions
 - Connally's view
 - Newsweek* article

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

[An unknown person talked with the President at an unknown time between 5:22 pm and 6:19 pm]

[Conversation No. 451-8A]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- November 9, 1971 dinner
 - Agnew
 - Birthday

Agnew

- Possible resignation
 - Haldeman's view
 - Bryce N. Harlow's view
- Possible job
 - Level of income
 - General Motors
 - Public relations
 - Real estate
 - Leslie Townes ("Bob") Hope, Art Linkletter

Foreign relations

- The People Republic of China [PRC] initiative
 - Hamilton Fish, Sr.
 - Conservatives
 - Broad support for the President
 - John Birch Society
 - William F. Knowland
 - Taiwan

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- The President's schedule
- Robert H. Finch
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Paul W. McCracken

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
 [Personal Returnable]
 [Duration: 1m 22s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Element of surprise in scheduling
 - Baseball game
 - Escort, transportation
 - Press
 - Trips to Florida
 - Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Preparations, arrangements
 - Amount of prior notice
 - Timing
 - Compared to Camp David
- The President's trip to California
 - News summary
 - Perusal
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Haldeman's responsibility
 - Types of news events
 - John V. Lindsay's possible switch of party affiliation
- Possible press conference
 - Briefing books
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Kissinger
 - Possible questions on Vietnam, PRC

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- California trip
 - Staff traveling with the President
 - Kissinger
 - Rose Mary Woods

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
 [Personal Returnable]
 [Duration: 2m 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Press release of meeting with Connally July 21, 1971
 - Topics of conversation

The PRC initiative

- Reaction
 - John Kenneth Galbraith
 - John W. Gardner (?)
 - Cyrus R. Vance
 - Kissinger
- The President's role
 - Perceptions
 - Leadership
 - Compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower

Schedule

- Trip to California

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Personal Returnable]

[Duration: 1m 17s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

-Staff

-Butterfield, Stephen B. Bull

-Baseball game

-The President's signing of autographs for children

-Young boy's comment

-The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

PRC initiative

-Public knowledge of the PRC initiative

-News coverage

-Compared to Pentagon Papers

-Compared to trout fishing

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:22 pm.

Charles W. Colson to join meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

White House office space

The PRC initiative

-Impact on the public

-Comparison to Pentagon Papers as topic

-PRC isolation

-Public fascination

-Revolution

-Appeal to youth

-Handling

-Colson

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Personnel

- William P. Rogers' conversation with Haldeman
- Frank Collins
- Robert White
 - Herald-Tribune*
 - Work
 - State Department

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

Kissinger and Colson entered at 5:50 pm.

Kissinger's meeting with Connally

- The PRC Initiative
 - Vietnam war
 - Memoranda
 - Senior Review Group
 - Staff member's attendance
 - Charles E. Walker
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Minutes of meeting

PRC initiative

- Appeal to youth
 - Colson and Finch's work
 - Melville Stephens
 - Previous meeting with the President and John M. O'Neill
 - Assignment to deal with youth
 - Youth reaction to the PRC initiative
 - Probable settlement of the Vietnam war
- Appeal of innovation in foreign policy
- Responsibility for coordination of effort
 - Finch
 - Focus on other responsibilities
 - Stephens
- Appeal to students
 - High school, college levels
- Youths who are not in college
- Regions
- Appeal of issue
 - Haldeman's daughter (Susan Haldeman)
 - Stanford University
 - London

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- Professor Gordon Craig
- Student reaction
- Craig's reaction
- Importance of the re-election of the President
- Henry Brandon's column in the Sunday *Times* of London
- Reaction
 - Boldness of move, secrecy
 - Leadership Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Dean G. Acheson's view
 - Cuban missile crisis
 - Compared to the President's handling of Cienfuegos
 - Settlement
 - Robert F. Kennedy, Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's
 - Italy, Turkey
 - Cuba
- Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - Delay in issuing statement in support of initiative
 - Acheson's letter to John F. Kennedy
 - Effect of youth reaction
- Republicans
 - Lack of reaction
 - The President's meetings with Congressional leaders
 - Focus on complaints about the economy
- Youth reaction
 - Forthcoming election, 1972
- PRC initiative compared to the Glassboro Summit
 - Aleksandr N. Kosygin's visit to the the United Nations [UN]
 - Nikita Khrushchev's previous visit
 - The President's leadership
- Reaction
 - Louis Harris
 - Presidential leadership
 - The President's image as the man of peace
 - Strength of image
 - Galbraith
 - Democrats
 - Focus on domestic issues
 - Galbraith
 - Cambodia, Laos
 - Focus on Agnew

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Youth

- Focus of effort
 - The President's leadership
 - The PRC initiative
- Press reaction
 - PRC
- Forthcoming meetings
 - Kissinger
 - Chou En-lai

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

Haldeman and Colson left at 6:13 pm.

PRC initiative

- Connally
 - Reaction

The Vietnam war

- Connally's comments
- The North Vietnamese
 - The PRC initiative
 - Reaction
 - The President's image
 - Cambodia, Laos
 - July 26, 1971 meeting in Paris
 - Prospects
 - Timing
 - The President's schedule
 - California
 - Timing of possible announcement
- Settlement
 - Alternatives
 - Paris Peace talks
 - Forthcoming PRC trip by Kissinger
 - October 1971 action
 - The PRC
 - Pham Van Dong
 - Transcript of previous meeting
 - Trend
 - The PRC initiative
- US-Soviet Union [USSR] Summit

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Kissinger's Conversation with Dobrynin
-Visits by Cabinet members to USSR
-Maurice H. Stans
-[Forename unknown] Peterson

The President's action on the PRC

The President and Kissinger left at 6:19 pm.

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

Conversation No. 541-9

Date: July 21, 1971
Time: Unknown between 6:19 pm and 6:23 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons talked to an unknown person.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Agency Policy]
[Duration: 5s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Pause]

The President's location

An unknown person talked to an unknown person at an unknown time after 6:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 541-9A]

Instructions

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[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown person talked to an unknown person at an unknown time after 6:19 pm.

[Conversation No. 541-9B]

The President's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Conv. No. 541-8 (cont.)

[Pause]

[Unintelligible]

This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 6:23 pm.