



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

[Conversation No. 537-001](#)
[Conversation No. 537-004](#)

[Conversation No. 537-002](#)
[Conversation No. 537-005](#)

[Conversation No. 537-003](#)

[Conversation No. 537-001](#)

Date: July 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 2:50 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and an unknown person

The President's schedule

Sanchez and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:50 pm

[Conversation No. 537-002](#)

Date: July 2, 1971
Time: 2:50 pm - 4:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

White House social events
-Luncheon for Consuelo Velasco Alvarado
-Dinners for state guests

The President's schedule
-William H. Carruthers

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:50 pm



Meeting Carruthers and Mark I. Goode

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:37 pm

Schedule

Carruthers and Goode entered at an unknown time after 2:50 pm

National Archives speech, July 3, 1971

- Arrangements
 - Seating, podium, camera set-up
- Timing
 - The President's arrival
 - Audience
 - Holding room
- Makeup
- Speaker Carl B. Albert, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger
- Camera set-up
 - Off-camera announcers
- Introduction of the President
- Army Chorus
- The President's closing remarks
- Army Chorus rendition of the National Anthem
 - The President's location during anthem
 - Use of anthem
- Timing cues for the President
- Length of remarks by others
- Applause
 - Size of audience
- Camera angles
- Need for holding room
- The President's method of presentation
 - Use of text
- Closing remarks
 - Playing of national anthem
- Timing

Carruthers and Goode left at 3:06 pm



National Archives speech

- Arrangements

Certification of the Twenty-sixth Amendment

- Procedures
 - Administrator of General Services
- "Young Americans in Concert" group
 - Honor America Day
 - Audience for ceremony
 - Witnesses to ceremony
 - Male, female
 - Race
- Timing of ceremony
- Effect
 - Support for the eighteen-year-old vote
- California
- Concert group tour of Europe
- The President's schedule
 - California
 - Ohio
 - Oklahoma
- Location, timing
 - The President's departure for Camp David

National Archives speech

- Elements
 - Patriotism
 - Public reaction to negativism
 - Use of John Brown anecdote
- Raymond K. Price, Jr., John K. Andrews, Jr.
 - Thomas Jefferson theme in William L. Safire's draft
 - George Washington, John Adams
 - Appeal to Democrats
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Jefferson
- [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson, [John] Calvin Coolidge
- Deaths of Jefferson and Adams
- Youth of Revolutionary War figures



- Comparison to Napoleon Bonaparte, Alexander III [the Great]
- Timing
- Compared to the Cambodia speech
- Length and pace
- Theme
- Use of television
- Joint appearance by leaders of executive, judicial, legislative branches
 - Pentagon Papers case
 - Burger
 - Albert
 - Contrast to John W. McCormack, Samuel Rayburn
 - Gerald R. Ford, Hugh Scott, John Sherman Cooper

Effectiveness of speakers

- William P. Rogers
- Melvin R. Laird, Elliot L. Richardson
- George W. Romney
- John A. Volpe

Ambassadorial appointments

- Robert H. Finch
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Japan
 - Business interests
 - Peter M. Flanigan
- Henry Cabot Lodge
 - Argentina
 - Finland
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Financial status
 - Assignment

National Archives event

- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon's schedule

Latin America

- Mrs. Velasco's visit
- Economic conditions
 - United States



-Family assistance program

Unnamed child

Unemployment statistics

-*Washington Star*

News events

-Economy

-Kissinger

-Concerns

-1969 October anti-Vietnam War demonstrations

-Letter to Georgetown student

-General Lewis B. Hershey

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Le Duc Tho, Xuan Thuy

-Hershey

-Flanigan

-The draft

-Popularity

-As symbol of the draft

-Forthcoming statement

-Kissinger

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:37 pm

News coverage

-Unemployment

-James D. Hodgson

-Statistical aberration

-Decrease

-Vietnam casualties

-Monthly figures

-Charles W. Colson

-Reporting

-John A. Scali, Colson

-Pentagon Papers case

-Rogers' comments

-Laird

-Research and Development [RAND] Corporation



-Declassification of documents

Pentagon Papers

- Public reaction
- Brookings Institute
 - Acceptance of classified documents
 - RAND Corporation
- Reaction to case
 - Tom C. Huston
- Daniel Ellsberg
 - Status of case
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - Conspiracy investigation
- Richardson
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Action on Defense Department employee [Surname unknown Cooke]
 - Polygraph examinations
 - Ehrlichman
 - Laurence E. ("Larry") Lynn, Jr.
- Richard V. ("Dick") Allen
 - Comments about Lynn
- Laird
 - Comments
- Declassification investigation
 - Laird
- Congressional investigation
 - Frank Stanton
- Television program about the "Selling of the Pentagon"
- Congress, television
 - Confidential sources
- Colson
- Potter Stewart
 - Question to *Washington Post* reporter about publishing information
 - Delay or prevention of prisoner of war [POW] release in Vietnam
 - First Amendment rights
 - Alexander M. Bickel
- Limitation of White House access by *Washington Post*, *New York Times*
 - National security stories
 - Background briefings



-Off-the-record, political stories

Kissinger's trip

- Press
 - Ziegler
- General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Discussion of Pentagon Papers case with ambassadors
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - Kenneth B. Keating
 - Leonard Unger
- Press interest
 - Paris
 - Albert
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
- Rogers, Laird

Asia

- Agnew, Kissinger, Laird
- Focus
 - Vietnam
 - Israel
 - Richard M. Helms
- Lyndon B. Johnson comparison

Unemployment statistics

- Decrease
 - Handling of news story
 - Statistical aberrations
 - Hodgson
 - Comparison to George P. Shultz
 - John B. Connally

The President, Haldeman, and Ziegler left at 4:02 pm

Conversation No. 537-003



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Date: July 2, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:02 pm and 4:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men entered [US Secret Service Agents ?].

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 09/30/2019.]

[Unintelligible]
[537-003-w001]
[Duration: 1m 18s]

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

[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 09/30/2019.]

[Federal Statute]
[537-003-w002]
[Duration: 26s]

The President's location
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 09/30/2019.]



[Unintelligible]
[537-003-w003]
[Duration: 13s]

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

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 4:08 pm

Conversation No. 537-004

Date: July 5, 1971
Time: Unknown between 4:03 pm and 6:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Certification of the Twenty-sixth Amendment

- Ceremony
 - “Young Americans in Concert”
 - The press
 - Photo and film shots
 - Race
- Young Americans group
 - Reaction to the White House and to the presidency
 - The President’s arrival from Camp David by helicopter
 - Photographs
 - Refreshments
 - Accommodations
 - Washington Hotel
 - Reaction of young people to staying in hotels
 - Group’s forthcoming trip to Europe
 - Concert
 - Possible public performance in Washington, DC after trip



- Constitution Hall
- John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts opening
- Inaugural concert
- Young people
- Dwight L. Chapin
- Significance of ceremony
 - Compared to formal signing ceremonies
 - Public service jobs bill
 - Ceremonial events
- Compared to Eagle Scouts
 - William H. Carruthers
 - Effectiveness
 - Unnamed person's reaction
 - Robert L. Kunzig
- Procedures for the Twenty-sixth Amendment
 - Kunzig
 - John J. Gilligan
 - Ohio ratification
 - Delivery of certification document to the General Services Administration [GSA]
 - Pick-up by unnamed GSA clerk
 - Credit, press coverage
- Ceremony
 - Press coverage
 - Television networks
 - Witnesses
 - Race
 - The President's meeting with Sammy Davis, Jr.
 - Black constituents
 - Youth group
 - Signing ceremony pens
 - Parker brand

[The President talked to the White House operator at 4:28 pm]

[Conversation No. 537-4A]

[See Conversation No. 6-139]



[End of telephone conversation]

[Pause]

Young people

- Visibility
- Media coverage
- President's Commission on Campus Unrest
 - Establishment in June 1970
 - Dr. G. Alexander Heard
- Changes since 1970
 - 1970 statement about crisis in the university system
 - Commencement addresses
 - Anti-Vietnam War protests
 - Decline
 - Attention paid by students, press

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 4:29 pm

Certification ceremony for the Twenty-sixth Amendment

- Press coverage
 - Robert Pierpoint
- Mexican girl
 - Reaction
- Spirit of event
- Eighteen-year-olds
 - Attitude towards presidency
- The President's remarks
- Distribution of signing ceremony pens
 - J. Bruce Whelihan
- East Room setting
 - Press room
- The President's birthday call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower in Athens, Greece

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2018.
Segment cleared for release.]



[Personal Returnable]
[537-004-w005]
[Duration: 9s]

Certification ceremony for the Twenty-sixth Amendment
-The President's birthday call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower in Athens, Greece
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Certification ceremony for the Twenty-sixth Amendment
-“Young Americans in Concert”
-Black youth
-Singing
-Comparison to Mormon Tabernacle Choir
-National Archives event, July 3, 1971
-Army Chorus
-Youths
-Television networks
-Coverage of event
-Herbert E. Kaplow
-Attitude towards children
-Jewish families
-Bar Mitzvahs

Jews

-Daniel Ellsberg
-Henry A. Kissinger, Leonard Garment
-Reaction to case
-Compared to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg espionage case
-Morton H. Halperin
-Alger Hiss

Blacks

-Espionage
-Activism compared to Communism
-Angela Y. Davis



Jews
-Espionage

National Broadcasting Company [NBC] special on the Pentagon Papers
-Max Frankel and news panel
-James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
-Questioning
-Frankel's performance
-Benjamin C. Bradlee
-Ken Crawford [?]
-Kilpatrick

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 11/29/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[537-004-w001]
[Duration: 11s]

National Broadcasting Company [NBC] special on the Pentagon Papers
-James J. Kilpatrick, Jr.
-Drinking

National Broadcasting Company [NBC] special on the Pentagon Papers
-Kilpatrick

Values
-The President's remarks at certification ceremony
-Strength, wealth
-Idealism
-Practical application
-Youths
-Haynes B. Johnson
-*Washington Post* article



- Basic needs
- Discretionary needs
- Higher, spiritual needs
- Path for the future

Pentagon Papers case

- The President's July 6, 1971 Kansas City appearance
 - Possible statement
 - William P. Rogers' role
- Polls
 - Public opinion
 - Ellsberg's revelation of the documents
 - Public exposure to issue
 - Supreme Court decision

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:28 pm

President's schedule

- The barber
- Forthcoming trip

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:15 pm

Pentagon Papers case

- Melvin R. Laird

Vietnam War

- Opponents of the President's policies
 - The war as issue during 1972 campaign
 - Gerald R. Ford's reaction
 - Democratic candidates
- Effectiveness as issue
 - Scripps Howard News Service
 - The President and Republicans
 - Opponents
 - Kansas City appearance by the President
 - Press conference
 - Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - Lives compared to First Amendment rights



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- Charles W. Colson
- Congress
- Press attitude
 - Martin S. Hayden's editorial
 - Television appearance
- Presentation of issue
 - The President's efforts to end the war
 - Necessity of secrecy
 - Cambodia, Laos
 - Decrease in US casualty figures
 - Forthcoming Kansas City appearance
 - Hayden's attendance
 - Allusion to channels of foreign policy
 - The People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - Kissinger
 - Rogers
 - Europe, Middle East
 - Number of the President's meetings with heads of state
 - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Confidential nature
 - Josip Broz Tito
 - Record
 - State Department
 - Head of state dinners
 - France, Germany, England
 - Italy
 - Romania
 - Thailand, Belgium
 - The Pope
 - Confidentiality of meetings
 - Warren E. Burger's recounting of anecdote about Benjamin Franklin
 - Sealing of the minutes of the Constitutional Convention for forty years
 - John Adams, Thomas Jefferson

Pentagon Papers case

- New York Times*
- Editorial
 - Stewart J. O. Alsop



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- Frankel's veracity
 - Neil Sheehan's involvement
 - Kilpatrick's questions
 - Sheehan's involvement
 - Leak of information
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Colson
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - Request for private report
 - Laird
 - Public opinion
 - Delays
- Limitation of access by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*
 - Rich Smith [?]
- Access preference to the *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*
 - Don Ervin, Aldo B. ("Elbow") Beckman
 - Beckman's father-in-law
- Release of information
 - World War II
 - Chicago Tribune*
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Kennedy's administration
 - Los Angeles Times*
 - Laos
 - 1962 accords
 - Ho Chi Minh Trail
- Timing
- The President's conversation with Haig
 - Security clearances
 - Limitations on non-governmental contractor personnel clearances
 - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] briefings for President in 1961-68 period out of office
 - Denial by Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
 - McGeorge Bundy, Research and Development [RAND] Corporation
 - Haldeman's need for clearance while handling Fairchild account for the J. Walter Thompson Agency
 - Limitation of outsider clearances in the future
 - Benefits
- Need for confidentiality



-Effect on Rogers

Schedule

-Reverend John J. McLaughlin

The President's July 6, 1971 Kansas City speech

-Topics to be covered

-Comparison to Rochester, New York and Birmingham, Alabama remarks

-Foreign policy

-Confidentiality of meetings with foreign leaders

-Helsinki

-Allusion to ongoing negotiations

-SALT

-Television coverage

-Filming of Kansas City appearance

-Camera set-up, lighting

-Timing in relation to availability of film to networks

-Topics

-Foreign policy emphasis

-Kissinger

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 6:15 pm

-News summary

-Television commentary on the President's July 3, 1971 National Archives speech

-Dan Rather

-NBC

-Kaplow

-Bicentennial

-Bicentennial Commission

-Need to strengthen membership

-Staff

-Distribution of film of event

Speeches

-The President compared to Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower

-Public perceptions

-Frequency of radio talks



The President's television appearances

- Certification ceremony's effectiveness
 - Other events
- Decision to forgo July 1 press conference
 - Pentagon Papers as focus
 - Louis Harris poll, George H. Gallup poll
 - Foreign policy
 - Kissinger
 - Domestic policy issues
 - John B. Connally

Connally

- Possible effectiveness as Secretary of State
- Haldeman's conversation with Connally
 - Connally's morale

Economic policy

- Hobart Rowen and other columnists
 - Commentary about possible changes
- Arthur F. Burns
- Connally
- Albert E. Sindlinger's comments about effect on the stock market

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

[National Security]

[537-004-w004]

[Duration: 2m 44s]

Foreign relations

- Henry A. Kissinger
 - Alexander M. Haig
 - Pakistani ambassador
 - Communications with the President
- Press coverage



- Negotiations
- State Department
 - Alexander M. Haig
 - William P. Rogers
- Focus on Vietnam War
 - Paris talks
- India-Pakistan
 - Public coverage
 - State Department
 - New York Times*
 - Refugees
 - Public perceptions

An unknown person [Bull?] entered at an unknown time after 4:28 pm

President's schedule

The unknown person [Bull?] left at an unknown time before 6:15 pm

Items requested by the President

Pentagon Papers

- Statements feasibility

Presidential approval poll

- Effect of Pentagon Papers case and recent events
- Gallup poll
 - Chapin
- White House poll
- Gallup poll
- Harris poll
 - Colson
- Press conference
- Patrick J. Buchanan's analysis
- Impact of Pentagon Papers case



Vietnam veterans' demonstration
-John F. Kerry

The President and Haldeman left at an unknown time before 6:15 pm

Conversation No. 537-005

Date: July 5, 1971
Time: Unknown between 6:15 pm and 6:27 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men entered

[Previous non-historical (H) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 11/30/2017. Segment cleared for release.]

[Non-Historical]
[537-005-w001]
[Duration: 1m]

Lights

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 6:27 pm