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
    -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
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]
[Unintelligible]

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

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

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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

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[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 03/07/2018. Segment cleared for release.]
Certification ceremony for the Twenty-sixth Amendment
- The President’s birthday call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower in Athens, Greece
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower

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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

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[ 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

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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
-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
- 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

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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: 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

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

Unknown men entered

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[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

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