



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.

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



[Duration: 15s]

Watch

-Dead battery

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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

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*[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

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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 [?]

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

[Privacy]

[264-005-w009]



[Duration: 3s]

The President's schedule

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

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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

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*[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

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- 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.

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

[Personal Returnable]

[264-005-w002]

[Duration: 19s]

The President's schedule

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

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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

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[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

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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

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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

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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

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Ambassadorial appointments

-Japan

-Rogers

The President's military aides

-Kissinger

-Appearance

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

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[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

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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

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*[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

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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

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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

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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.