

## Richard Nixon Presidential Library Resources for the Pentagon Papers

### Textual

#### WHITE HOUSE CENTRAL FILES (WHCF): SUBJECT FILES

- **FG (Federal Government-Organizations)**
  - FG 51 Supreme Court of the United States  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/fg-51-supreme-court-united-states-white-house-central-files-subject-files>
- **ND (National Security-Defense)**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/nd-national-security-defense-white-house-central-files-subject-files>
  - Boxes 98-100 - ND 13-3 Classified Information [10 folders]

#### WHCF: STAFF MEMBER AND OFFICE FILES (SMOF)

- **Buzhardt, Joseph Fred, Jr.**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/joseph-fred-buzhardt-jr-white-house-central-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 70 - Plumbers
- **Garment, Leonard**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/leonard-garment-white-house-central-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 162 - [Watergate] Plumbers
- **Gergen, David**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/david-gergen-white-house-central-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 110 - Plumbers
  - Box 158 - Pentagon Papers 1971 [CFOA 1313] [2 folders]

#### WHITE HOUSE SPECIAL FILES (WHSF): SMOF

- **Buchanan, Patrick J.**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/patrick-j-buchanan-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 15 - Pentagon Papers
- **Dean, John W., III**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/john-w-dean-iii-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 58 - [Pentagon Papers] McNamara Papers (New York Times) [5 folders]
  - Box 58 - [Pentagon Papers] U.S. v Russo/Ellsberg

- Boxes 58-59 - 160W Times/Post Correspondence on Pentagon Papers [5 folders]
- Box 92 - Disclosure of Information (Unauthorized) Re Pentagon Papers [2 folders]
- **Ehrlichman, John D.**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/john-d-ehrllichman-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 25 - New York Times File [June 1971] [I] [4 folders]
  - Box 25 - New York Times File [June 1971] [II] [4 folders]
  - Box 26 - New York Times File #2 [June 1971] [3 folders]
  - Box 26 - New York Times -- Pentagon Study [I] [2 folders]
  - Box 26 - New York Times -- Pentagon Study [II] [6 folders]
  - Box 33 - [Watergate, Ellsberg Break-in, and Miscellaneous Material] 134 [Western White House] [I] [3 folders]
  - Box 33 - [Watergate, Ellsberg Break-in, and Miscellaneous Material] 134 [Western White House] [II] [3 folders]
- **Haldeman, H.R.**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/harry-r-haldeman-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - NEW box 147 - Pentagon Papers
  - OLD box 283 - [Leakage of Classified Defense Document]
- **President's Personal File (PPF)**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/presidents-personal-file-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 67 - Speech File - June 24, 1971, Pentagon Papers
  - Box 88 - Speech File - Wednesday, August 22, 1973, Press Conference
- **Special Staff Files**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/special-staff-files-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 3 - All folders
  - Box 5 - [Richard Moore] New York Times Case [Folder 1 of 2] [May, June & July 1971] [ND 13-3]
  - Box 5 - [Richard Moore] New York Times Case [Folder 2 of 2] [May, June & July 1971] [ND 13-3]
- **Welihan, J. Bruce**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/index.php/finding-aids/j-bruce-whelihan-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 1 - Plumbers Chronology
  - Box 1 - [Plumbers, Domestic Violence]
  - Box 1 - Misuse - Natl. Security/Plumbers [3 folders]
  - Box 1 - Ellsburg/Plumbers

- Box 1 - Ellsberg/Plumbers--Charles Colson
- Box 1 - Ellsberg/Plumbers--David Young
- **Young, David R., Jr.**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/david-r-young-jr-white-house-special-files-staff-member-and-office-files>
  - Box 8 - United States vs. The New York Times Company, et. al.
  - Box 8 - U.S. vs The Washington Post Company, et. al.
  - Box 8 - Defense Department Investigation: Volume I
  - Box 9 - Defense Department Investigation: Volume II
  - Box 12 - What Ellsberg Knows
  - Box 12 - Ellsberg-Miscellaneous
  - Box 13 - Ellsberg Behavioral
  - Box 13 - Memos to Ehrlichman--General
  - Box 13 - Ellsberg Financial [Reports]
  - Box 14 - J. Edgar Hoover's Reports to the President
  - Box 15 - Ellsberg Financial [Reports]
  - Box 16 - [Chronology of Daniel Ellsberg--From Birth to August 20, 1971]

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC) FILES

- **Name Files**  
[https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/forresearchers/find/textual/files/name\\_files.pdf](https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/forresearchers/find/textual/files/name_files.pdf)
  - Box 813 - Ellsberg, Daniel [October 1973]
- **Pentagon Papers**  
[https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/forresearchers/find/textual/files/pentagon\\_papers.pdf](https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/forresearchers/find/textual/files/pentagon_papers.pdf)
  - Boxes 892-902 - All folders

#### KISSINGER TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS (HAK TELECONS) TRANSCRIPTS

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/finding-aids/kissinger-telephone-conversation-transcripts>

- Box 10 - June 8-12, 1971
- Box 10 - June 14-18, 1971
- Box 10 - June 21-22, 1971
- Box 10 - June 23-30, 1971
- Box 10 - July 1-20, 1971

#### RICHARD NIXON RETURNED MATERIALS COLLECTIONS

- **White House Special Files: Contested Files**  
[https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/virtuallibrary/documents/contested/Contested\\_Index.pdf](https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/virtuallibrary/documents/contested/Contested_Index.pdf)

- Box 48 - folder 1
  - To: Patrick J. Buchanan From: Kenneth L. Khachigian RE: Gallup Poll released on 07/05 with interview dates prior to Supreme Court ruling showing that 45% of the American public had not heard or read about the Pentagon papers. 4pgs [7/9/71]

## GOVERNED BY DEED OF GIFT: GENERAL DONATIONS

- **Oral Histories**

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/oral-histories>

- Banchemo, Jeffrey
- Califano, Joseph A., Jr.
- Chapin, Dwight
- Chester, John J.
- Colson, Charles
- Davis, Evan
- Dean, John W., III
- Ellsberg, Daniel
- Garment, Leonard
- Gill, Richard
- Haldeman, H.R.
- Harper, Ed
- Huntsman, Jon
- Huston, Tom Charles
- Klein, Herbert
- Krogh, Egil "Bud"
- Ruckelshaus, William

- **H.R. Haldeman Diaries**

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/h-r-haldeman-diaries>

- June 20, 1971
- June 29, 1971
- June 30, 1971
- July 1, 1971
- July 2, 1971
- July 4, 1971
- July 6, 1971
- July 8, 1971
- July 9, 1971
- July 10, 1971
- July 26, 1971
- August 17, 1971

- August 19, 1971
- September 18, 1971
- January 13, 1972
- March 14, 1972
- March 20, 1972
- April 25, 1973
- April 26, 1973
- April 27, 1973

## White House Tapes

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/white-house-tapes>

- Conversation Number: OVAL 519 (519-1, 519-7)  
Conversation Date: June 14, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, William Rogers, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Conversation Number: EOB 258-10  
Conversation Date: June 14, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John N. Mitchell
- Conversation Number: OVAL 520 (520-3, 520-10)  
Conversation Date: June 15, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 521 (521-4, 521-7, 521-9, 521-12, 521-13)  
Conversation Date: June 15, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson, H.R. Haldeman, Arthur K. Watson, Col. Richard T. Kennedy, John N. Mitchell, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: EOB 261-1  
Conversation Date: June 15, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 523 (523-2, 523-5, 523-6)  
Conversation Date: June 16, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger, John M. O'Neill, Melville Stephens, Charles W. Colson, H.R. Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
- Conversation Number: OVAL 524 (524-1, 524-6, 524-8, 524-15, 524-19, 524-27)  
Conversation Date: June 17, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler, Henry A. Kissinger, Donald Kendall, John L. McClellan, Clark MacGregor
- Conversation Number: OVAL 525-1  
Conversation Date: June 17, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman, Henry A. Kissinger
- Conversation Number: OVAL 526-2  
Conversation Date: June 18, 1971

- Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 527 (527-4, 527-9, 527-11, 527-16)  
Conversation Date: June 22-23, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Henry A. Kissinger, John D. Ehrlichman, Ronald L. Ziegler, Gov. Linwood Holton, Gov. Arch A. Moore, Gov. Nunn, Edwin L. Harper, Spiro Agnew, John N. Mitchell, James D. Hodgson
  - Conversation Number: EOB 258-27  
Conversation Date: June 23, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Bryce N. Harlow, and Harry S. Dent
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 528 (528-1, 528-4)  
Conversation Date: June 23-24, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Charles W. Colson, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 529 (529-14, 529-16, 529-20)  
Conversation Date: June 27-28, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger, H.R. Haldeman
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 531-24  
Conversation Date: June 28, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson
  - Conversation Number: WHT 6 (6-21, 6-36)  
Conversation Date: June 29, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John N. Mitchell
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 533-1  
Conversation Date: June 30, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Mel Laird, Henry A. Kissinger, John N. Mitchell, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 532-23  
Conversation Date: June 30, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger, John N. Mitchell
  - Conversation Number: WHT 6-59  
Conversation Date: June 30, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson
  - Conversation Number: WHT 6-62  
Conversation Date: June 30, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman
  - Conversation Number: WHT 6-84  
Conversation Date: July 1, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover
  - Conversation Number: WHT 6-86  
Conversation Date: July 1, 1971

- Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson
- Conversation Number: EOB 261-49  
Conversation Date: July 1, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 535 (535-4, 535-5)  
Conversation Date: July 2, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Charles W. Colson, Peter Flanigan, Peter J. Brennan
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 537-2  
Conversation Date: July 2, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Conversation Number: EOB 260-21  
Conversation Date: July 2, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 536 (536-10, 536-16)  
Conversation Date: July 3, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson, H.R. Haldeman
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 537-4  
Conversation Date: July 5, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 538 (538-5, 538-13)  
Conversation Date: July 6, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 542 (542-1, 542-3, 542-5)  
Conversation Date: July 22, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 549-12  
Conversation Date: July 28, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman
  - Conversation Number: EOB 269-25  
Conversation Date: August 3, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 554-6  
Conversation Date: August 4, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Charles W. Colson
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 561-8  
Conversation Date: August 11, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman
  - Conversation Number: OVAL 562-2  
Conversation Date: August 12, 1971

Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, Henry A. Kissinger, Ronald L. Ziegler

- Conversation Number: EOB 274-44  
Conversation Date: September 8, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: EOB 276-4  
Conversation Date: September 10, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 575-7  
Conversation Date: September 17, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, Henry A. Kissinger
- Conversation Number: OVAL 576 (576-5, 576-6)  
Conversation Date: September 18, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, John N. Mitchell, Henry A. Kissinger
- Conversation Number: OVAL 449 (449-1, 449-12)  
Conversation Date: September 21, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 613-5  
Conversation Date: November 2, 1971  
Participants: Richard Nixon, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: EOB 332-22  
Conversation Date: April 25, 1972  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., H.R. Haldeman, Winston Lord
- Conversation Number: OVAL 909 (909-2, 909-6, 909-15, 909-27, 909-29)  
Conversation Date: May 2, 1973  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Ronald L. Ziegler, Henry A. Kissinger, John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation Number: OVAL 911-2  
Conversation Date: May 3, 1973  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Richard G. Kleindienst
- Conversation Number: OVAL 914-8  
Conversation Date: May 9, 1973  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Ronald L. Ziegler, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Conversation Number: OVAL 916-11  
Conversation Date: May 11, 1973  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Conversation Number: OVAL 918-14  
Conversation Date: May 15, 1973  
Participants: Richard Nixon, Henry E. Petersen



## Audiovisual

### AUDIO COLLECTIONS

- **White House Communications Agency Sound Recordings Collection**

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/2018-08/whca-sr-complete-20180806.pdf>

- File/ID: I-078  
Date: 6/15/71  
Event: Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's reaction to the Pentagon Papers

### VIDEO COLLECTIONS

- **White House Communications Agency Videotape Collection**

<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/2020-02/nixon-library-whca-video-complete-20200211.pdf>

- File/ID: WHCA-4465  
Date: 6/21/71  
Event: "The Pentagon Papers"
- File/ID: WHCA-4472  
Date: 6/23/71  
Event: "The Pentagon Papers" - An Interview With Daniel Ellsberg"
- File/ID: WHCA-4478  
Date: 6/26/71  
Event: "The Supreme Court and The Pentagon Papers"
- File/ID: WHCA-4488  
Date: 6/30/71  
Event: "The Supreme Court and The Pentagon Papers"
- File/ID: WHCA-4493  
Date: 7/2/71  
Event: "The Court and a Free Press" AND "Newsmakers"
- File/ID: WHCA-4494  
Date: 7/2/71  
Event: Dean Rusk Discusses The Pentagon Papers
- File/ID: WHCA-4519  
Date: 7/13/71  
Event: "The Pentagon Papers: What Do They Mean"
- File/ID: WHCA-5320  
Date: 5/1/72  
Event: "Martin Agronsky: Evening Edition"
- **Main Video File**  
<https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/2018-08/mvf-complete-20180806.pdf>
  - File/ID: MVF-097

- Date: 5/19/77  
 Title: Third Nixon-Frost Interview, Part I of II (3 copies)
- File/ID: MVF-143  
 Date: no date  
 Title: NEWSLEADERS with guest Katherine Graham, publisher of the WASHINGTON POST
  - File/ID: MVF-158  
 Date: 1/1/87  
 Title: "Secrecy, the Government, and the Media" and "Evolution of the Nixon Legacy"
  - File/ID: MVF-203  
 Date: 4/7/2011  
 Title: Works in Progress Pentagon Papers Series with screening of "The Most Dangerous Man in America" (In association with the "Works in Progress Pentagon Papers Series of staged readings.)
  - File/ID: MVF-204  
 Date: 1/2010  
 Event: "The Most Dangerous Man in America: Daniel Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers"

## Additional Resources

### PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENCY

- **American Presidency Project**  
<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>
  - Statements About the Watergate Investigations, May 22, 1973
  - The President's News Conference, August 22, 1973

### PUBLISHED WORKS

- Ehrlichman, John D. *Witness to Power: The Nixon Years*. New York: Pocket Books, 1982.
- Ellsberg, Daniel. *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*. New York: Viking Press, 2002.
- Haldeman, H.R. *The Ends of Power*. New York: Times Books, 1978.
- Kissinger, Henry. *White House Years*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1979
- Nixon, Richard M. *RN: The Memoirs of Richard M. Nixon*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978
- Sheehan, Neil. *The Pentagon Papers*. New York: Bantam Books, 1971.

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- **The Ellsberg Archive Project, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries**  
<https://www.ellsbergpapers.org/>

- **The Pentagon Papers, National Archives**  
<https://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers>