Date: July 19, 1971
Time: 10:00 am - 10:11 am
Location: Oval Office


[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

US foreign policy
- The People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Congressional action
  - Perception of restriction of the President

Vietnam War
- Cease fire, troop withdrawal
- Prisoner of war [POW] issue
- Effect of Congressional action
  - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
    - Stance
- US goals
  - Number of US military casualties
  - POW return
- Effect of Congressional action
  - On the President
  - On a possible settlement
  - House, Senate votes
- Mansfield
  - Possible effect of PRC trip on attitude
- Strategy
  - Limitation on the President’s freedom of action

General conversation

The President, et al. left at 10:11 am
Conversation No. 539-2

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:11 am and 10:13 am
Location: Oval Office

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman [?] met with Alexander P. Butterfield [?]

[Unintelligible]

The President entered at an unknown time after 10:11 am

White House furnishings

The President, et al. left at an unknown time before 10:13 am

Conversation No. 539-3

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 11:12 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] met

The President
-Location
  -Cabinet Room
-Schedule
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Agency Policy]
[Duration: 47m 55s]

[An unknown person talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:14 am and 11:12 am]

[Conversation No. 539-3A]

[End of telephone conversation]

[An unknown person talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:14 am and 11:12 am]

[Conversation No. 539-3B]

[End of telephone conversation]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

******************************************************************************

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:12 am

Conversation No. 539-4

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:18 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person

Schedule
Conversation No. 539-5

Date: July 19, 1971  
Time: Unknown between 11:12 am and 11:18 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person  
Item for the President’s Old Executive Office Building office

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:18 am

Conversation No. 539-6

Date: July 19, 1971  
Time: 11:18 am - 11:37 am  
Location: Oval Office

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

Meeting  
- Rogers C. B. Morton

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 55s ]

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:19 am

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
The US initiative towards the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- William P. Rogers’ role
  - Media coverage
  - Briefing book
- Media coverage
  - The President’s role
  - Kissinger’s role
  - Rogers
    - The State Department
- Public perceptions
  - *Newsweek* article, *Time* article
  - Tone
    - Presidential role
    - Covers of magazines
      - The President, Chou En-lai, Kissinger
- Columnists
  - Hugh S. Sidey
- Public statement by the Soviet ambassador to Indonesia
- Briefing for White House staff
  - President’s role
  - Request for meeting
  - Kissinger’s role
  - Secrecy in negotiation
  - President’s role

Schedule
- Kissinger

White House staff briefing
- Leak of story
  - James B. (“Scotty”) Reston story

Meeting with Congressional leaders
- J. William Fulbright
  - Rogers’ role
- John C. Stennis’ comment to Kissinger
  - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
    - Mansfield Amendment
  - Rogers
  - Vietnam War settlement
    - Release of prisoners of war [POWs], cease fire
    - Self-determination
Schedule
  - Kissinger

Kissinger left at 11:29 am

David M. Kennedy
  - Use of airplane
    - Payment
      - Rogers
      - State Department
    - Comparison with the President’s 1967 world travel

John B. Connally
  - Schedule

The President’s schedule
  - The Bohemian Grove
    - Possible visit

Polls
  - George H. Gallup
    - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
      - Comparison to Louis Harris’ poll
  - Presidential approval poll
    - Effect of Pentagon Papers case
  - Gallup
    - Poll results
      - Potomac Associates
        - John W. Gardner comparison
        - Vietnam War settlement issue
  - Timing of polls
    - News impact
      - The President’s television appearance

Cabinet
  - Support for administration
    - John A. Volpe
    - George W. Romney
    - Walter J. Hickel
Congress
   - Appropriations Committee
     - Scheduling

Schedule
   - Clark R. Mollenhoff
     - Bureau Chief
     - Richard (“Dick”) Wilson

The PRC initiative
   - Kissinger
     - Rogers’ role
     - Media coverage
       - The President
       - Kissinger
         - Newsweek

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 32s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 11:29 am

   Schedule
     - Kissinger’s briefing in the Roosevelt Room

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:37 am

[Haldeman talked to an unknown person at an unknown time between 11:29 am and 11:37 am]

[Conversation No. 539-6A]

Instructions for Kissinger
[End of telephone conversation]

The President and Haldeman left at 11:37 am

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: 11:58 am - 12:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler

The People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
  - Briefing of Congressional leaders and Cabinet
    - President’s role
    - Henry A. Kissinger’s role
  - Reaction by other countries
    - William P. Rogers
  - Briefings
    - Speculation
    - Expression of views
    - Taiwan issue
    - Vietnam War
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Knowledge
      - Wire service report
    - Kissinger

Agnew
  - Statements made in Madrid, Spain
  - Comments about African Blacks
    - Slavery
      - US Black leaders
    - Domestic, foreign impact
      - Ralph Abernathy
US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
   -General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Kissinger
   -Summit possibility
     -The President’s stance

Taiwan issue
   -Perceptions

Cover photographs
   -Use by magazines
   -The President

Foreign relations
   -The PRC, Vietnam
     -Democratic response
       -J. William Fulbright
       -Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield

Congressional leaders meeting

Ziegler left at 12:08 pm

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:08 pm and 12:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

   Staff meeting
     -Schedule
       -Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:48 pm
Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:08 pm and 12:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

[Music box plays “Hail to the Chief”]

Staff meeting
- Schedule
  - John D. Ehrlichman

Children
- John [Surname unknown]
  - Music box
  - Visits to the Oval Office
  - Gifts

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:48 pm

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:08 pm and 12:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

Copies of *Time, Newsweek*
  - Thelma C. (Ryan) (“Pat”) Nixon

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:48 pm
Conversation No. 539-11

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:08 pm and 12:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull

The barber’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time after 12:48 pm

Conversation No. 539-12

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:08 pm and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to Henry A. Kissinger

The US-People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
   -Kissinger’s press briefing
   -Content

[End of dictation]

Kissinger entered at 12:48 pm

Kissinger’s schedule
   -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
   -John B. Connally
   -The press
   -July 20, 1971
   -Meeting with conservatives

The PRC initiative
   -Staff meeting
   -Patrick J. Buchanan
-Press story
  -The PRC’s stance
-News magazines
  -Coverage
-Knowledge
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, William P. Rogers
-Call from Joseph W. Alsop
  -State Department knowledge
  -Comparison to Cambodian action
  -Future handling of announcements
  -Possible Soviet summit
-The President’s visit to Perino’s Restaurant
  -Press coverage
-Effect of announcement
-Memorandum for Kissinger’s briefing
  -The President
  -Meeting in Lincoln Sitting Room
  -The President, Kissinger

Kissinger left at 12:55 pm

The President dictated a memorandum to Kissinger at an unknown time between 12:55 pm and 1:08 pm

The PRC initiative
  -Kissinger’s press briefing
  -Content

[The President played back a portion of the dictation]

[End of dictation]

[This dictation continues on Conversation No. 539-13]
Conversation No. 539-13

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:55 pm and 1:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to Henry A. Kissinger

[This is a continuation of Conversation No. 539-12]

The People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
   -Kissinger’s press briefing
   -Content

Conversation No. 539-14

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: 1:08 pm - 1:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
   -Henry A. Kissinger
   -Briefing
      -Cabinet
   -Memorandum
      -Kissinger
      -John A. Scali
         -Chou En-lai
   -Cabinet
   -Staff briefing
      -Confidentiality
         -The press
      -Reason for briefing
         -Kissinger
         -Comparison to Cambodia, Laos
      -Rogers C. B. Morton
      -Leaks
-News magazines
  -Coverage
    -Kissinger
    -State Department, William P. Rogers
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, Melvin R. Laird
    -Marshall Green
    -President’s role

John B. Connally
- Forthcoming meeting with the President
  - Previous meeting with Haldeman
- Schedule
  - July 19, 1971 meeting
  - Forthcoming Congressional testimony
  - Kissinger’s briefing
- Perceptions on Cabinet role
- Possible departure from the Cabinet
- Management style
  - State Department
  - Council [of Economic Advisors?]
  - George P. Shultz
- Compared to David M. Kennedy

Cabinet members
- Relations with the President
  - John A. Volpe
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - George W. Romney

Connally
- Schedule
  - Forthcoming Congressional testimony
  - Time of meeting with the President

Schedule
- Ehrlichman’s request to see the President
- Appropriations Committee
- Domestic issues
  - Ehrlichman’s perception of meetings
- Congressional leaders meeting
  - Peter H. Dominick
  - Clark MacGregor
  - Connally

The President and Haldeman left at 1:21 pm

Conv. No. 539-14 (cont.)

Conversation No. 539-15

Date: July 19, 1971
Time: 1:21 pm - 1:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

An unknown man [Secret Service] entered

The President’s location
- Executive Office Building

Recording was cut off at 1:22 pm