Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 9:42 am - 10:00 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.
[The conversation was in progress when the recording began]

Vietnam negotiations
   -Possible publicity
   -Possible settlement
      -Condition
      -North Vietnam
         -Acceptance of Nguyen Van Thieu
      -Timing
      -Vietnamese election
   -Possible publicity
      -Philip C. Habib
      -Xuan Thuy
   -David K.E. Bruce
   -Channels
      -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

Pakistan
   -Frank F. Church statement
   -Massacre
   -Public opinion

Vietnam negotiations
   -Prisoners of War [POWs]
      -Possible release
         -Timing
   -Relationship to possible settlement

US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations
   -Unknown person
   -Totalitarianism
      -Adolf Hitler
      -Benito Mussolini
   -Communists
   -Pragmatism
- Francisco Franco
- Greece
- Philosophical opposition compared to diplomatic relations
- PRC
- Barry M. Goldwater

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- Summit
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - Letter
      - Possible publication
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev
    - Channel
  - Aleksei N. Kosygin

PRC
- Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R.F. Cox
  - Possible trip to Peking
  - Possible commerce with US
    - Boeing Corporation

USSR
- Kissinger's call to Gerard C. Smith
  - [Kama River truck plant contract with Mack Trucks, Inc]
  - Summit

[Pause]

Busing
- President's position
  - Liberal’s
  - Mood of country
    - Increasing conservatism

President's popularity
- Visit to New York
  - Reception
  - Forthcoming presidential election
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller's assessment
US foreign relations
- Kissinger’s forthcoming briefing
  - Five power concept
    - Hugh S. Sidey
- Asia
  - Reassessment of policy
- Combat [French journal]
- Foreign commentary
  - US-Soviet relations
  - Peking

National defense
- Budget
- Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] limitations
  - Smith's proposal
    - USSR reaction
    - Domestic political reaction
      - Conservatives
    - Possible impact on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 59s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

The President talked with an unknown person [H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman?] at an unknown time between 9:42 am and 10:00 am.

[Conversation No. 556-1A]
President's schedule  
- Girls Nation meeting  
  - Press coverage  
- News focus  
  - New Hampshire

[End of telephone conversation]

**********************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4  
[Personal Returnable]  
[Duration: 28s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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[Pause]

Vietnam negotiations  
- Habib  
  - Leaks  
    - Bureaucracy  
- William P. Rogers  
  - Habib  
- Possible publicity  
  - Compared to PRC trip announcement  
  - Effect on PRC

President's schedule  
- Trip to Maine

Kissinger left at 10:00 am.
Conversation No. 556-2

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 10:00 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President's schedule

The unknown man left at 10:00 am.

Conversation No. 556-3

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 10:00 am - 10:03 am
Location: Oval Office

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

President's schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with John B. Connally
  - Rudolph A. Peterson meeting
  - Congressional leadership meeting

The President and Haldeman left at 10:03 am.

Conversation No. 556-20

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 10:03 am and 10:54 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.
Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 10:34 am - 11:38 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.
[The conversation was in progress when the recording began]

- President's appearance before Girls Nation
  - Photograph session
  - President’s comments
  - President’s comments
  - Editing
  - Role of women
    - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
    - Women's liberation

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:34 am.

Signature

Maurice H. Stans

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:37 am.

President's schedule
  - Meetings

John B. Connally entered at 10:37 am.
Connally’s schedule
- Johnnie M. Walters
  - Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
  - Forthcoming meeting with Rudolph A. Peterson

President's schedule
- Peterson’s meeting

US economy
- Proposed actions
  - Strategy
  - Possible involvement of Arthur F. Burns, Paul W. McCracken, Peter G. Peterson
  - Secrecy
  - President’s recent conversation with Burns
    - Burns’ salary
    - President’s instructions
      - Burns as administration spokesman
        - Forthcoming Time magazine story
  - Timing
    - Congressional recess
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC] announcement
- Letter
- Task force
  - Timing
  - Announcement
    - Connally’s recent statement
      - Wage and price board
        - Polls
        - Recommendation
          - Timing
    - Need to show action
- State Department appointees briefing
  - Comments by Connally and George P. Shultz
    - Inflation
  - Connally’s discussion with Time reporter [Larry Malkin]
    - Policy change
- Objectives
  - Inflation
  - Employment
  - Policy change
- Malkin
  - *Time* story

- Possible problem
  - Anticipation of Administration action

- Tax measures
  - Budget
    - Shultz
  - Recommendations
    - Connally’s possible comments
    - Timing
    - San Clemente

- *New York Times* article
  - Compared to PRC announcement
    - Pentagon Papers
    - Lt. William L. Calley
    - Vietnam
    - Michael J. Mansfield
    - Criticism

- Effect of crisis
  - Public concern

- *New York Times* article
  - Quoted
  - Timing
    - Effect of international monetary situation

- Wage and price freeze
  - Wage Price Board
    - Name
    - Burns
    - Forthcoming meeting
    - Prices
    - Credit
    - Timing of action

- Import tax
  - Possibility of Congressional approval
    - Wilbur D. Mills
  - Burns’s conversation with the President
    - Burns's conversation with the Japanese ambassador
    - Yen
  - Flexibility
    - Possible removal
  - Scope
- Compared to Payne-Aldrich Tariff
- Psychological impact
- Pierre Rinfret's recommendation
  - Speech
- Need for action
  - President's position as leader
- Wage and price freeze
  - Message to people
  - Work and competitiveness
  - Responsibility of labor and management
  - Studies
- Timing
  - Congressional recess
  - Public move
- Economic indicators
  - Unemployment rate
  - Retail sales
- International situation
  - Effect on timing
  - Connally and Shultz meeting
- Connally's schedule
  - Texas
  - Contact with the President
- President's schedule
  - California
- Shultz
- Risk-taking
- Possible international reaction
- Package
  - Import tax
  - Jobs
  - Investment tax credit
  - Budget constraints
  - Wage and price freeze
- Effect on US public
  - Republican goals
    - Fiscal responsibility
  - Determination to take action
  - Protection of US economy
  - Inflation
  - Unemployment
- International economic relations
  - President’s recent message to business

State Department
- Possible administrative change
  - US embassies
  - Economic ministers
- President's conversation with William P. Rogers
  - Connally's talk with Rogers
  - Peter M. Flanigan
- Peter Peterson
- Economic minister
  - Treasury Department
  - Commerce Department
  - State Department
- Foreign service officials
  - Economic views
- Economic minister
  - Presidential appointment
  - Rank
  - Connally’s talk with Rogers
- Foreign service
  - Compared to British
  - Compared to Japanese
  - Training

US economy
- Proposed action
  - Automobile tax
    - Effect of timing
      - Fall new model season
      - Television advertisement
      - New model season
  - Tax credit
    - Railroad industry
    - Need to help business
    - Tax bill
      - Veto
      - Poor
  - Football metaphor
President’s schedule
- Rudolph Peterson

Haldeman left at 11:06 am.

Rudolph Peterson, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and George H.W. Bush entered at 11:06 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Photograph session

United Nations [UN] Development Program
- Peterson's appointment
  - Timing
    - Paul Hoffman
  - Acquaintance with post
- International organizations
  - Bush
  - Connally
    - Discussions with the President
- Multilateral compared to bilateral aid programs
  - Political effect of multilateral action
    - Congress
    - Representation
    - Foreign governments
- Hoffman's orientation
  - Compared to Peterson
    - The President, Connally, Bush
  - Congress
- US public's view
  - US interests
- President’s forthcoming meeting with Connally
- Views
  - The President, Connally, Robert S. McNamara
- US diplomacy
  - Compared to Japanese, Western Europe
  - Economics
- Coordination in US government
  - Department of the Treasury
    - Connally
    - National Security Council [NSC]
- Multilateral aid programs
- Treasury Department
  - Funding
    - World Bank
    - Inter-American Development Bank
      - Lack of US leverage
      - US contribution
      - President of Peru
        - Position
  - Possible change in US policy
    - Treasury Department
      - Bilateral relationships
    - Inter-American Development Bank
      - Brazil and unknown country
    - Treasury Department
      - Export-Import [Ex-IM] Bank
  - Peterson
    - Hoffman
    - Coordination with Connally
      - Inter-American Development Bank
  - Coordination of international aid efforts
    - Informal meetings
      - McNamara, development banks
    - State Department
    - Board of Directors
    - Ex-Im Bank
    - Burns
    - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Exchange of views
    - Agency for International Development [AID]
      - John A. Hannah
    - Dinner
      - Timing
        - State Department
        - Kissinger
        - McNamara
        - Pierre-Paul Schweitzer
          - International Monetary Fund [IMF]
    - Meeting
      - Timing
        - IMF meeting
        - McNamara
[General conversation]

The President's schedule
   - Nashua, New Hampshire

Peterson, et al. left at 11:38 am.
Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 11:39 am - 12:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Leslie C. Arends, Gerald R. Ford, Robert P. Griffin, Hugh Scott, and William E. Timmons; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

[Rudolph A. Peterson]
- United Nations [UN]

Press

Congressional session
- President’s appreciation

John B. Connally
- Recent press conference
- Comments
  - President’s opening to People’s Republic of China [PRC]

Instructions for Griffin
- Automobile industry
- Prices
- Taxes
  - Need for Congressional cooperation
    - Wilbur D. Mills
  - Discussion with the President and Connally
    - Foreign competition
    - Budget
    - Charles E. Chamberlain

[Photograph session]
- Unknown person’s trip to New Orleans

Economy
- Possible actions
  - Political effect
    - Republican National Committee [RNC]
- Meeting with Senators
- President’s press conference
- Possible action
  - Effect
    - Business and labor
  - Enforcement
    - Analogy to Office of Price Administration [OPA]
- Arthur F. Burns
- Retail sales figures
- Home sales
- Unemployment rate
  - Full-time workers
  - Part-time workers
- Michigan, California, Illinois, Ohio
- Gordon L. Allott
  - Draft
    - Time limitation
    - Bill
    - Cloture
    - Timing

Congressional action
- Michael J. Mansfield
- Appropriation bill
  - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
  - Employment
- House Resolution [H R] 1
  - Family assistance
- Campaign spending bill
  - Jurisdictional dispute
    - Interstate Commerce, House Administration, Ways and Means Committees
    - Carl B. Albert, Harley O. Staggers, Mills, Wayne L. Hays
    - Bill
    - Interstate

US concerns
- President’s trip throughout country
  - Ohio and New York
  - Generation of peace theme
    - Public reception
    - Vietnam
Casualties
- Current figure compared to previous one

President’s recent press conference
- Unemployment
  - Relationship to Vietnam War

Economy

Foreign policy
- Pentagon Papers
  - Effect on PRC trip
    - Henry A. Kissinger's role
    - Need to maintain secrecy
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Great Britain
  - France
  - Japan
    - Okinawa

Negotiations
- Confidentiality
- Foreign visitors
- Senate
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
- Berlin
- Vietnam
- PRC
- Press
  - PRC
  - Lawyer-client privilege

Scott’s forthcoming trip to USSR
- Possible meeting with Aleksei N. Kosygin
  - President’s recommendations
    - PRC
    - Confidentiality of channels
      - State Department
      - SALT
      - Berlin
      - Mutual and balanced force reductions
  - President’s possible visit to USSR
    - PRC

Foreign policy
THE PRESIDENT’S RECORD COMPARED TO PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS
- Franklin D. Roosevelt

GOALS
- Timing
  - Griffin’s campaign
  - Vietnam
  - Economy
  - Employment

ECONOMY
- Employment
- Survey
- Public opinion
  - Foreign policy compared to domestic policy

FOREIGN POLICY
- Vietnam war policy
  - Public support
- PRC
  - Public support
  - Recommendations for Congressional speeches
  - Vietnam
  - PRC
  - Taiwan
  - United Nations [UN]
  - US goal
  - Averting threat to peace
  - Long-term benefit

ECONOMY
- Inflation
- Unemployment
- Administration’s intention to act
- President’s recent press conference
- Connally
  - Contact with Congressmen
- Automobile sales
- Trade
  - Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
    - Romania and Bulgaria
    - Vietnam War
    - Romania
-Nicolae Ceausescu
-Bulgaria
-East-West trade
-Vietnam War
  Kama River truck plan contract with Mack Trucks, Inc.
  -Kissinger
  -President’s approval
  -Peters G. Peterson
  -USSR
  -Middle East
-Kissinger’s briefing
  -Griffin, Ford, and Arends

Gift
  -Golf balls

Arends and Timmons left at 11:59 am.

HEW appropriation bill

Busing
  -Administration's position
  -Blacks

Lockheed vote
  -William V. Roth, Jr. and J. Caleb Boggs
  -Connally
  -President's call to Boggs
  -Clark MacGregor
  -Peter M. Flanigan
  -Dow chemical

Ford, Griffin, and Scott left at 12:02 pm.

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:02 pm and 12:06 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting
  - [Signing ceremony of the report of the Council on Environment Quality]
    - Attendees
      - Number
      - John C. Whitaker
      - Press

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:06 pm.

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:02 pm and 12:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 7-64]
Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 12:06 pm - 12:13 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John C. Whitaker, Russell E. Train, Robert Cahn, Gordon J. F. MacDonald, and Alexander P. Butterfield; press photographers were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Washington Post

President's visit to New York
- "No, No, Nanette"
- Ruby Keeler
- Bobby Van

[Photograph session]
- General conversation
  - Environmentalism
    - Clean air and water
      - San Clemente

Rose Mary Woods [?] entered at an unknown time after 12:06 pm.

- Texas, Oklahoma, Massachusetts

Wood [?] left at an unknown time before 12:13 pm.

Report

Anecdote
- Bert Andrews
  - New York Herald-Tribune
- State Department coverage
  - John Foster Dulles
- Illustration of environmentalism
Dinner
- Unknown person's wife

Unknown person

President's schedule
- California

Council on Environmental Quality staff
- President's appreciation for work

Presentation of gifts by President
- Paperweights

Whitaker, et al. left at 12:13 pm.

Conversation No. 556-10

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:13 pm and 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Signing documents
- Pens
  - Michael J. Mansfield

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:15 pm.

Conversation No. 556-11

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:13 pm and 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 7-65]

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Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 12:15 pm - 12:16 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

- The President's schedule
  - Memorandum
  - Unknown secretary

Woods left at 12:16 pm.

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Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 12:16 pm - 12:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Wright Patman.

[See Conversation No. 7-66]
Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- *Sequoia*
- Menu selection

Instructions to Charles W. Colson

Henry A. Kissinger

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

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Conversations No. 556-15
Conversations No. 556-16

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 7-67]

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 7-68]
Conversation No. 556-17

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:17 pm and 12:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 7-69]

Conversation No. 556-18

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 12:20 pm - 12:21 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Linda Davis.

[See Conversation No. 7-70]

Conversation No. 556-19

Date: August 6, 1971
Time: 12:21 pm - 12:37 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

George H.W. Bush

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:21 pm and
12:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 556-19A]

[See Conversation No. 7-71]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bush
-Schedule
-Trip to New Hampshire
-Barbara Bush

President's schedule
-Trip to New Hampshire
-Nursing home
-Governor of New Hampshire
-Louis C. Wyman
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Other guests

The President talked with Louise H. Dagney between 12:23 pm and 12:24 pm.

[Conversation No. 556-19B]

[See Conversation No. 7-72]

[End of telephone conversation]

President's schedule

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:24 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
-James B. (“Scotty”) Reston's article
-North Vietnam objections
-George P. Shultz
-Background briefing
-Geneva Accords
-Paris
-US withdrawal
- Nguyen Van Thieu
- Shultz
- Xuan Thuy
  - US withdrawal
  - Timing

People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - New York Times article
  - Xuan’s comment
    - Red China compared to PRC

Orval H. Hansen

Marvin L. Esch

PRC
  - Comments about Kissinger
  - Admiration for intelligence
  - Comments about the President

Vietnam negotiations
  - Reston article
    - Economic assistance
    - Xuan’s comments
      - Seven points
      - US withdrawal
      - Economic assistance
  - Kissinger’s meeting
    - North Vietnam line to USSR
      - US advisors
      - Aid
      - Xuan
        - US withdrawal
        - Timing
  - Le Duc Tho
    - Return
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Election
      - Possible action by North Vietnam
        - Xuan
  - Statement of principles
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
The President, Kissinger, and Haldeman left at 12:37 pm.