

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-1

Date: March 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:22 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-151]

Conversation No. 883-2

Date: March 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:22 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:22 am.

Conversation No. 883-3

Date: March 19, 1973 Time: 10:22 am - 10:23 am Location: Oval Office

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Conversation No. 883-3 (cont'd)

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 37-152]

Conversation No. 883-4

Date: March 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:23 am and 10:30 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

President's meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman [?]

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:30 am.

Conversation No. 883-5

Date: March 19, 1973 Time: 10:30 am - 12:34 pm Location: Oval Office

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

Weather

-Snow

-Cherry blossoms

President's schedule

-Willy Brandt's visit

-Confirmation of date

-Kakuei Tanaka's visit

-Confirmation of date

-May 1, 1973 date for Brandt visit

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Possible trip to Africa
-Dates
-Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
-Problem of scheduling
-Congressional fundraising dinner
-Mid-week departure
-Press coverage
-Meeting with Brandt
-Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft's participation
```

-Advice from Henry A. Kissinger

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:30 am and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 883-5A]

```
Brandt visit
```

-Scowcroft

-Date

-Status report

[End of telephone conversation]

President's schedule

- -Meetings with foreign heads of state
 - -Brandt
 - -Guilio Andreotti
 - -Paris visit
 - -Georges J. R. Pompidou
 - -Kissinger's recommendations
 - -Visit by Pompidou to US
 - -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] country objections -President's concerns
 - -US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] summit
 - -Brandt's trip to US
 - -Public relations trip
 - -Paris
 - -Haldeman's meeting with Kissinger
 - -Pompidou's visit
- -President's meetings with European leaders

Tape Subject Log

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```
-Kissinger's recommendation
                      -Location of meetings in Europe
                           -Azores
                           -Paris
                           -President's concern
                                -Kissinger
                                      -State Department
           -President's trip to Africa
                 -Two country visit
                      -Favors
           -NATO
           -President's security during visits
                 -Europe
                      -Netherlands
                      -Denmark
                      -Belgium
                           -NATO base
                      -Luxembourg
                      -Spain
                      -Portugal
                           -Azores
                      -Frequency of visits
      Julie L. Pineau
           -Departure from National Security Council [NSC] job
                 -Reasons
                      -Kissinger
                      -Abilities
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      John B. Connally
           -Party switch
                 -Arrangements
                      -George Christian
                 -Announcement
                      -Paul Latt [?]
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Follow-up
                -Delays
                -Timing
                      Christian
                -Democratic Party
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
**********************
      Gen. John P. Flynn
           -Health
           -Announcement
                -Telephone call to Flynn
                -Timing
                -Senior officer status
      Pineau
           -Competence
           -Dealings with Kissinger
      Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
           -White House weekend events
                -Church services
                -Evenings at the White House
                -Rigor of schedule
                      -Rex W. Scouten
                      -Lucy A. Winchester
      President's schedule
           -Head of state Visits
           -Number of Evenings at the White House
                -Lists of invitees
                      -Rose Mary Woods and William E. Timmons
                           -Individuals sought by President
                      -Completion
                           -Maurice H. Stans
           -Worship services
```

-Local guests

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

- -Purpose of events
 - -Compared with purpose of audience
- -Evenings at the White House
 - -Political figures
 - -Stans's group
 - -Campaign contributors
- -Frequency of Evenings at the White House
 - -Limitations
 - -Rest
- -Press conference
 - -Congressional relations
- -Trip to west coast
 - -Nguyen Van Thieu
- -Lee Kuan Yew's dinner
- -Andreotti's visit
- -Florida trip
 - -Easter holiday
- -Brandt's visit
- -Evening at the White House
- -Finance dinner
- -USSR visit
 - -Dates
 - -Evening at the White House
- -Visit by African head of state
 - -President's trip to Africa
- -[Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's visit
- -Dinners
 - -Entertainment
 - -Gifts for attendees
 - -Foreign visitors
 - -Congress members
 - -Congressional assistants
 - -Length of time

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

- -Meetings with young people
 - -Value to administration
 - -Symbolism
 - -Committee to Re-Elect the President [CRP]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Party at White House
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-Church service

-Oswald Hoffman [?]

President's schedule

- -Church services
 - -Monthly schedule
 - -White House correspondents dinner
 - -Palm Sunday [?]
- -May schedule
 - -Brandt's visit
 - -President's trip to Africa
 - -Mother's Day
- -President's revisions
 - -White House correspondents dinner
 - -Saturday events
- -Use of White House
 - -Effectiveness
 - -Summer schedule
 - -California
 - -Frequency
 - -Difficulty of scheduling
 - -International monetary situation
 - -Speeches
- -Evenings at White House
 - -Preparations
 - -Early scheduling
 - -Arrangements
 - -Quality of show
 - -Audience
 - -Congress member
 - -Kentucky
 - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's birthday
 - -Personal touch
 - -Green bow tie
 - -Entertainment
 - -Poem
 - -Bonnie Owens of Merle Haggard's group
 - -Birthday poem

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Merle Haggard
           -Personality
     -Guests
           -Visits upstairs
                -Value
                      -Flowers
                      -Dining room
           -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II's comparison of President, Dwight D.
           Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy
                -Availability
                -Rose Mary Woods
                      -Attendance of White House dinner
                -Spiro T. Agnew
                      -Secretary's attendance
                      -[First name unknown] Summers
-Camp David and Sequoia
     -Cabinet
     -Use
           -David Eisenhower's observations
-Social events
     -Frequency
           -First term
                -Psychology
                -Pressures of election
                      -Congressional relations
-Camp David and Sequoia
     -Cabinet
-Upstairs of White House
     -Use by outsiders
           -Mrs. Nixon's birthday
           -POWs
           -Evening at the White House
-Stag dinners
     -Campaign contributors
           -Compared with state dinner
           -Dwight D. Eisenhower's approach
           -Number attending
```

-Conversation with White House staff

-Cabinet

Tape Subject Log

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- -Governors
- -Value and format
 - -William T. Cahill
- -Foreign visitors
 - -Length of dinner
- -Chief of protocol
- -Identification of campaign contributors
 - -Foreign visitors
 - -Congress members
- -Church services
 - -Invitees
 - -William F. ("Billy") Graham's recommendation of minister
 - -Reasons for having services
 - -Religious observance
 - -Church in Florida
 - -Compared with White House for holidays
 - -Assistant secretary invitees
 - -Evening at the White House
 - -Campaign contributors
- -Social events
 - -Types
 - -Church services
 - -Evening at the White House
 - -State dinner
- -Youth events
 - -Frequency
- -Brandt's visit
- -Lee Kuan Yew's visit
 - -Stag dinner
 - -Woods, Charles W. Colson and Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -Invitees
 - -New establishment compared with New Majority
 - -Educators
 - -Columnists
 - -Broadcasters
 - -Editors
 - -Publishers
 - -Government managers
 - -Foundations

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

-Labor unionists

-George Meany

-Jay Lovestone

-Blacks and Mexican-Americans

-Quota basis

-New Majority

-Italian-Americans

-Brandt dinner

-Invitees

-Campaign contributors

-Pahlavi [Shah of Iran] dinner

-Invitees

-Campaign contributors

-Haldeman's conference with Kissinger and Agnew

Nguyen Van Thieu's visit

-Visit to Washington, DC

-California

-Isolation

-Demonstrators

-Impact

-Possible cancellation by Thieu

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:06 am.

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s advice

Watergate

-News report on Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.

-Image

-Partisanship

-Gerald L. Warren's briefing

-Arrests of potential witnesses

-Administration response

-Approaches

-John D. Ehrlichman, Richard A. Moore, and John W. Dean, III

-President's statement

-Comments on Ervin's comments

-Ehrlichman

-President's response to Ervin's threats

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

- -White House cooperation on information
- -Separation of powers
- -Supreme Court test
- -White House cooperation
 - -Ziegler's statement for press
- -Ervin's partisanship
 - -Confrontation with administration
 - -"Face the Nation" appearance
- -Emphasis on administration's cooperation
 - -Ehrlichman
- -News media
 - -Congress
 - -Reporting on Watergate
- -Peter M. Flanigan's testimony
 - -Ziegler's response on question
- -Sherman Adams testimony
 - -Ziegler's statement
 - -Charge of crime
- -Flanigan's testimony
 - -Precedent
 - -Written statement in Sansinena oil tanker case [1970]
 - -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
 - -Circumstances
 - -Parallels with Watergate
- -White House aides
 - -Testimony
 - -Court case
 - -Delays
- -Ervin Committee
 - -Ehrlichman's advice
 - -Threats of imprisonment
 - -President's reply
 - -Separation of power
 - -Cooperation
 - -Justice Department
 - -Sensationalism
 - -Central issues
 - -White House cooperation
 - -Separation of powers

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Examination of Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] raw files
     -White House staff morale
     -Ervin Committee
           -Sensationalism
           -Dean
     -ITT case
           -Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC] investigation
                 -Justice Department
                 -Ziegler's comments
           -Files on case
                 -SEC subpoena
                       -William J. Casey
                       -Summary of contents
                            -Agnew, Connally, and Peter G. Peterson
                            -Leaks from committee
                 -Comments
Press relations
     -Proper length of briefing
           -Ziegler's judgment
     -Ehrlichman's briefings
           -Compared with Kissinger's briefings
     -Length
           -Limits
           -Earl L. Butz
           -Department briefings
           -Press objective
           -Cut-off point
     -Press hostility
           -Clark R. Mollenhoff
           -Biases of reporters
```

Watergate

-Press briefings

-Announcements of positive stories

-Food White Paper

-[First name unknown] Alexander

-Herbert G. Stein

-Warren

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Briefings
             -Administration's cooperation
                  -William J. Baroody's office
                        -Publicity
                   -Jeremiah O'Leary story in Washington Star
                        -Raw files
                              -Alger Hiss analogy
                        -Cooperation
Ziegler left at 11:26 am.
             -Public relations efforts
                  -Someone to direct
             -White House staff
                  -Public relations sense and coordination of efforts
       Public relations
             -POW story
       President's schedule
             -POW party
                  -Press presence
                        -Risk
                        -Coverage
                        -Restrictions on behavior
                              -Ziegler
                   -Entertainment
                        -Response by women attendees
                        -Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
                   -Format
                        -President's toast and Flynn's response
                              -Press coverage
                   -Entertainment
                        -Hope
                              -Personality
                              -Gags
                        -Haggard
                              -Straight lines
```

-Welfare recipients

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

-Patriotism -Bumper stickers

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am.

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President's schedule
-President's meeting with Theodore H. ("Teddy") White
-White's notebook
-Memorandums on Brandt
```

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

POWs

```
-Reception
           -State Department
           -Defense Department
     -Briefing
           -Value
                 -Flynn's opinion
     -Wives
           -Activities
                 -Tea at State Department
President's schedule
     -Social events
           -Amount of effort
           -Range of invitees
           -Value
                 -President's popularity
                 -Job responsibility of President
                       -Renewal of country's faith
           -Event in Topeka
                 -Value
                 -Motorcade
           -Chicago trip
                 -Format
                       -Walk
     -Thieu's visit
           -President's trip to California
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Florida
                 -President's visit
                      -Weather compared to California
           -Location
                 -Washington, DC
                 -California
                 -Demonstration
                      -Jane Fonda
           -Beaches in California
                 -Camp Pendleton
                 -Capistrano State Park
           -Protesters
                 -Fonda's presence
                      -POWs
     -North Vietnam
     -Viet Cong
     -Absent without leave [AWOL]
     -Public relations
           -Determination
     -Confinement
           -Prayers
           -Patriotism
Vietnam War
     -Definitive history
           -Sir Robert Thompson
                 -Kissinger
           -Joseph W. Alsop
     -Thompson's book
           -President's impressions
                 -Sequel
                      -President's support and collaboration
           -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
     -Kissinger
```

-Sensitivity to left-wing criticism

-Conflicts with Haig

-December 1972 bombing

POWs

Tape Subject Log

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- -Success
- -Behavior
- -December 1972 bombing
 - -POW reaction
 - -Support for President's decision
 - -Release from captivity
 - -Decision
 - -Haldeman's conversation with William L. Safire
 - -Relation to May 8, 1972 decision
 - -Use of B-52's
 - -President's decision
 - -Carpet bombing
 - -Terror bombing
 - -Military targets
 - -Stewart J. O. Alsop's column
 - -Criticism of President
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson and Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 - -Reasons
 - -Defending troops and POWs
 - -Grounds to resume bombing
 - -Bombing of military targets
 - -Hanoi
 - -Future US bombing
 - -Dikes
 - -Civilian targets
 - -Previous accusations
 - -Cease fire
 - -Sources
 - -Herman Kahn
 - -Abandonment of settlement effort
 - -POWs
 - -Cease-fire
 - -Limited scope
 - -Press reports
 - -Stories of massive destruction
 - -Earlier bombing
 - -Dikes
 - -Prison camps
 - -Hospitals

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Reaction of POWs
           -Kissinger's ambivalence
                 -Appearance of objections
                 -Safire
                 -May 8, 1972 decision
     -Safire's writing on President's and Kissinger's behavior
           -Cambodia
                 -Role of Kissinger in decision
                      -Inaccuracies
                            -Demeanor of Kissinger compared with President
                                  -Dr. G[eorge] Alexander Heard
                                        -College students
                                  -Association with protester
                      -Safire
                            -Rebuttals to Kissinger's accounts
                                  -Role as Jew
Kissinger
     -Cambodia
     -India-Pakistan War of 1971
     -Laos
     -Anxieties
     -Vietnam War
           -Bombings
           -TV
     -Safire
           -December 1972 bombing
                 -Paris messages
                 -Proposed TV appearance by President
     -Henry Brandon
     -Conflicts with William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird
           -Disruption
           -Safire
           -Brandon
     -Comments on Rogers
           -Safire's opinion
     -Role in Cambodia invasion
           -Self-delusion
     -Talks with James B. ("Scotty") Reston
```

-Haldeman's comments

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

```
-Kissinger's reactions to Reston's column
                 -State Department
     -Meeting with Reston
     -Personality
           -Integrity
     -Self-delusion
           -Oriana Fallacci interview
                 -Haig
                 -Tape recording
     -Safire
     -Haig
     -Cambodia
           -Kissinger's conversations with Haldeman
     -May 8, 1972 decision
           -Military's role
           -Kissinger's role
           -1972 Moscow summit
                 -Cancellation
                      -December 1972 bombing
                      -Responsibility
           -Connally's role
           -Kissinger's approach
                 -Mining
                 -Bombing
                      -Surgical bombing
                            -Ports
                                  -Ship withdrawal
                      -Menu strikes
                      -Johnson
Vietnam War
     -Gradual escalation
     -Vietnam settlement
           -Military fears of losing B-52's
                 -Kissinger
     -Bombing
           -Use of B-52's
                 -Kissinger's reaction
                 -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's conversation with the President
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-President's responsibility for decision
     -Expansion of strikes
           -Kissinger's opinion
           -Publicity
                 -President's record of conversations with Kissinger
                       -President's memory
                       -Revisionism
-Cambodian invasion
     -President's role in decision
           -Heard
           -Determination
           -Military advice
     -Public relations
           -Kissinger on offensive
           -Ehrlichman's public appearances
           -Connally [?]
           -Herbert G. Klein, Bryce N. Harlow and Haldeman's role
           -Arms capture
                 -Compared with heroin seizure
                 -Significance
                       -Talking points
     -Press coverage
           -Ziegler, Moore, David R. Gergen, Buchanan and Ehrlichman
                 -Domestic side
                       -Ehrlichman compared with Kissinger
```

Kissinger

- -TV briefings
 - -Popularity
- -Integrity
 - -Accounts of personal involvement in decisions
 - -Self-delusion
- -Cambodia decision
 - -Sunday Supplement magazine excerpt
 - -Brandon's book on Kissinger
 - -Leaks on Cambodia
 - -Kent State University
 - -Speech
 - -Heard

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

-Meeting with Ivy League presidents

Book by Safire

```
-Potential controversy
                -View of Kissinger
           -Haig's role on Vietnam
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 campaign
           -Surplus finds
                -Disposal
                      -George H.W. Bush
                      -State committees
                           -Candidate selection
                           -Bills
                      -Apportionment around states
                           -California
                           -New York
                           -Advertising
                      -Stans
                      -Republic National Committee [RNC] plans
                           -Announcement
                      -Bush
                           -Role of RNC
                                -Candidate selection
                                     -President's concern
           -RNC
                -Press coverage
                      -Washington Post
                -Limits of role
                      -Grassroots organization
                      -Candidate selection
                      -Committees
                           -Ethnics
```

-Women -Youth

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-National and county organization
-Campaign
-Candidates for House of Representatives
-Senate

1974 election in Illinois
-Senate race
-John B. Anderson
-Donald H. Rumsfeld
-Delay of decision
-President's non-involvement in primary
-Pre-emption of primaries
-Candidate selection
-Bush
```

-Indecision on race in California

-Senate -Governor

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Robert H. Finch

Agnew

- -David Eisenhower
- -Statements
 - -Quotations from liberals
 - -Intellectual pretensions
 - John K. Galbraith and Plato
- -Press relations
 - -Gridiron comments
 - -Texas
 - -Credibility
- -Comments on Southern Republicans
 - -Harry S. Dent's support for Connally
 - -Compared with support for Agnew
 - -Colson

Speech to Congress

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Delays
-C
```

-Cooperation with Congress

-Conditions

-TV coverage

-Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy and Roman L. Hruska

-Contents

-Domestic concerns

-Responsibility of Congress

Press conference

-Watergate questions

-Public interest

-Media interest

-Testimony before Congress

-Cooperation

-Press reports

-Stories of confrontation

-Scheduling

-Last troop withdrawal from Vietnam

-Return of POWs

President's speech

-TV speech

-Reading

-White House

-Congress

-Personal role

-Dwight Eisenhower

-Tone

-Microphone technique

-Franklin D. Roosevelt and President

-Speech before Congress

-Advantages

-Congressional relations

-Willingness to cooperate

-Public perception of conflict

-Reassurance of cooperation

-Reception of President by Congress

-Press conference

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

```
-Disadvantages
                 -Attention on Watergate
     -Scheduling
           -Watergate hearings
     -Options
           -Press conference
                 -TV coverage
                 -Timing
                 -East Room
                      -Advantages to President
                 -TV coverage
                      -Timing
                            -Advantages to press
     -Speech to Congress
           -Haldeman's preference
Book by Safire
     -Deadline
     -Interview of President
           -President's schedule
                 -California
     -Biases
           -Jew
     -Analysis of Kissinger
           -Critique of book by Brandon
                 -Rogers, Laird
                 -Impression of President
                      -Treatment
                 -Brandon's background
                      -Jew
```

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am.

Items for Old Executive Office Building [EOB] office -Dictabelts for private file

-Czech

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

State dinners -Lists of guests -Preparation by President -Staff member's aid at receiving line -African dinner -Brandt dinner -Guests -Selection and announcement -Arthur F. Burns and Hugh Scott -Guests -Invitation Weather Speech -Work by President Haldeman left at 12:34 pm. Conversation No. 883-6 Date: March 19, 1973 Time: Unknown between 12:34 pm and 11:59 pm Location: Oval Office Unknown men met. ************************ [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] President's schedule [End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ******************

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 883-5 (cont'd)

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.