

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:09 pm and 5:39 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman. This recording began while the conversation was in progress.

# Watergate

- -White House statement
- -Judiciary Committee
  - -L. Patrick Gray, III
    - -Charges
- -White House statement
  - -Treatment before Congress
    - -Double standard
- -John W. Dean, III
- -Republican Congressmen
  - -Edward J. Gurney
  - -Hugh Scott
  - -Gerald R. Ford
  - -Defense of administration
- -Leadership meetings
  - -Discussion of Watergate
    - -Ronald L. Ziegler's view
    - -Dangers
    - -Advantages
  - -Dwight L. Chapin
  - -Gordon C. Strachan
  - -Charles W. Colson
  - -Ehrlichman
    - -Relationship with E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
  - -Revelations
  - -Claims
  - -Ehrlichman
    - -Dealings of Hunt
      - -Edward M. Kennedy
- -Campaign funds

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
-Allegations of misuse
           -Maurice H. Stans
                 -Statement
           -Herbert W. Kalmbach
           -Statement
                 -Use of funds
                 -Accountability
                 -Existing laws
     -Kalmbach
           -Use
                 -Polls, hiring of personnel
-Kalmbach
     -Testimony
           -Immunity
-Future problems
     -Subpoenas of White House staff by Ervin Committee
           -Confrontation
                 -Contempt citation
                 -Court fight
                       -Constitutional issues
           -Administration's strategy
                 -Justification for immunity
                       -Research on legalities
                 -Court case
                       -Need to provide a record
                       -Status of advisors
           -Formulation of administration's position
                 -Richard G. Kleindienst
                       -Preparation of administration's case
                             -Joseph T. Sneed
           -Senate committee
           -Scott's opinion
-Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
     -Criticism of colleagues
     -Interview by Roger Mudd
           -Questions
           -Television [TV] appearances
```

-National Broadcasting Company [NBC]'s "Today Show",

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
Columbia Broadcast System [CBS] news
```

- -"Meet the Press"
- -Number
- -Publicity
  - -Impact on Senate colleagues
- -Colson's operation
  - -Effectiveness
    - -George S. McGovern's campaign
- -Administration strategy
  - -Counterattack
    - -Effectiveness
  - -A statement from President
    - -White House investigation
      - -Results
    - -Show of concern for issue
    - -Dean's efforts
  - -Public relations exercise
  - -Written interrogatories
    - -Release of information
      - -Deficiencies of approach
  - -Disclosure of information
    - -Benefits
    - -Disadvantages
    - -White House statement
      - -Separation of power
      - -Ehrlichman's opinion
  - -Reasons for involvement by participants
    - -John N. Mitchell and Martha Mitchell
  - -Weak points
    - -Jeb Stuart Magruder
    - -Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
    - -Defendants
      - -Hunt
      - -Knowledge of Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]'s

## activities

- -CRP
  - -Stans
  - -President's knowledge of activities

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
-Hunt, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Colson
```

- -G. Gordon Liddy
- -James W. McCord, Jr.
  - -Reliability
- -Magruder
  - -Reliability
- -Strachan
  - -Future job
    - -Chapin
- -Effect on White House
  - -Dean
    - -Quality of work
    - -President's support
    - -Relationship with President
    - -Confidentiality of contacts and amount of information provided the

## President

- -President's involvement in case
- -Ehrlichman's views on strategy
  - -Richard A. Moore's analysis
  - -Full disclosure
  - -Statement by President
    - -Other possibilities
  - -Reasons for withholding information
    - -1972 election
  - -Counterattack
    - -Problems
  - -Public concern about Watergate
    - -Growth
      - -Role of media
- -Administration strategy
  - -Staff testimony before Ervin Committee
    - -Problems
      - -Ehrlichman's opposition
    - -Executive session testimony
  - -Press conference
    - -Dean
- -Watergate as an issue
  - -Tenacity

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
-Effect on Presidency
     -Staff testimony
           -Mitchell
-Grand jury on Robert L. Vesco
     -Mitchell's testimony
     -Vesco campaign contributions
           -New direction for investigation
           -Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC]
           -Involvement of Mitchell
     -Allegations
           -Culpable intent of contribution
           -Intervention with SEC and Justice Department
     -Administration handling of case
           -Dean
           -Public statements
     -SEC investigation
           -Ehrlichman's meeting with G. Bradford Cook, March 20
           -Civil action
           -Referral to Justice Department
     -Vesco
           -Costa Rica
                 -Extradition
```

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
[Dwight] David Eisenhower, III
-Law school
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-Other career opportunities

-Possible Congressional race

-Law school

-Age

-Possible Congressional race

-Qualifications

-Pennsylvania

-York

-Republicans

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
**********************************
      President's schedule
           -Meeting of counselors
                -Cabinet
                      -Domestic Council
                      -Therapy
                      -John A. Volpe, Walter J. Hickel, George W. Romney
                      -Loyalty.
                      -Periodic meetings
                           -Value
           -Congressional leadership meetings
                -Value
                      -Ford, J. Burt L. Talcott [?]
           -Cabinet meetings
                -Groups of officers
                      -Value
                           -Topics of common interest
                                -James T. Lynn
                                -Community development
                                -Natural resources
                           -Meetings with agency heads
                                -Donald E. Johnson
                -Lynn
                      -Community development
                      -Under Secretaries
                           -Floyd H. Hyde
                      -Claude S. Brinegar
                      -Peter J. Brennen
                      -John Pierce [?]
                           -Community Development Committee
                 -Support for counselors
                 -Value
                      -Scheduling
                 -Domestic topics
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

- -Cost of living
- -Lynn
- -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
- -Earl L. Butz

## Watergate

- -Members of Cabinet Secretary's staff
  - -Boost for morale
    - -Watergate statement
- -White House staff
  - -Involvement
  - -Ehrlichman
  - -Haldeman
  - -Magruder
  - -Dismissal of guilty
- -Magruder
  - -Involvement in Watergate
  - -McCord's accusations
    - -Perjury
    - -Need to refute charge
- -Colson
  - -Culpability
- -Ehrlichman
- -Targets
  - -Haldeman, Mitchell, Colson
- -Chapin, Strachan
  - -Position in hierarchy
  - -St. Louis Post-Dispatch story
  - -Chapin's ties to Haldeman
- -Haldeman
  - -Newsweek article
    - -Human interest element
    - -Neutral opinion
- -Attacks on President
  - -Old establishment
    - -Harvard, Yale
    - -Motives
- -Impact of Watergate on administration

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
-Briefing of Cabinet
```

- -Spiro T. Agnew
- -Dean briefing
- -White House staff
  - -Need for assurance
    - -Skittishness
      - -George H. W. Bush
- -A briefing on Watergate
  - -Dean
  - -Value, disadvantages
  - -Briefing of Cabinet, leaders
    - -Reassurance
  - -Problem of separation of powers
    - -Use of Patrick J. Buchanan
    - -Willingness to testify before Congressional committee
      - -Peter M. Flanigan
- -Executive privilege
  - -Sherman Adams case
  - -Chapin
    - -Possible charges
  - -Haldeman
    - -Magruder charges
    - -Problems
      - -Accessory to case
      - -Possible sources of problems
  - -Flanigan's Congressional testimony in International Telephone and

## Telegraph [ITT] case

- -Attempt to differentiate between Watergate and ITT case
- -George P. Shultz
- -Role in White House
  - -Status
- -Claim to executive privilege
  - -Kleindienst
- -ITT case
  - -Charges against
- -Colson
- -Vesco case
- -Executive privilege

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

```
-Adams
     -Shield laws
           -Precedents
           -Testimony of journalists
     -Adams case
           -Charge of criminal actions
     -Alger Hiss case
     -"Five percenter" case
           -Harry S Truman
-Administration's strategy
     -Public statements
     -Public denials
           -Bush's concerns
                 -Contributors' responses
                 -Need for an explanation
           -Past statements
                 -Ziegler
     -Statements
           -Timing
                 -Watergate sentencing
                       -Weaknesses
-Watergate burglars
     -Sentences
           -Anticipation of harshness
     -John J. Sirica
           -Sentences
                 -McCord
                 -Harshness
                       -Reaction of McCord
     -McCord
           -Dislike of jail
           -Bail revocation
           -Danger of statements
```

# President's schedule

-Ehrlichman's schedule

-Work with CRP

-Trip to West

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

- -Ehrlichman's plans
  - -Veto message
  - -President's speech
- -President's plans
- -Andrews Air force Base
- -Meeting with Shultz
  - -Arrangements
  - -Congressional relations
  - -Time, Length
  - -William Simon

## Shultz

- -Meeting with Ehrlichman
- -Meeting with President
  - -Labor Management Advisory Board
- -Meeting with Ehrlichman
  - -Phase III
  - -Taxes
  - -Trade
- -Report for President
  - -Deadline
- -Meeting with President
  - -Camp David
  - -Preparation
  - -Henry A. Kissinger's return from trip
    - -Georges J. R. Pompidou, Leonid I. Brezhnev

## Watergate

- -Dean
  - -Encouragement
  - -Recommendation of L. Patrick Gray, III
    - -Mitchell
    - -Kleindienst
- -Kleindienst and Gray
  - -Problems
- -Targets of attack
  - -Dean
  - -Haldeman, Colson

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-1 (cont'd)

# -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] directorship -Nominees

## Ehrlichman left at 5:39 p.m.

Conversation No. 885-2

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: 5:39 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-171]

Conversation No. 885-3

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:39 pm and 5:40 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 37-172]

Conversation No. 885-4

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:40 pm and 5:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-3 (cont'd)

President's meeting with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft

Bull left before 5:45 pm.

Conversation No. 885-5

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:40 pm and 5:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President's schedule

- -Executive Office Building
- -Dinner
  - -Bacon and eggs
- -Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

Sanchez left before 5:45 pm.

Conversation No. 885-6

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:45 pm and 5:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-6 (cont'd)

```
Vietnam settlement
     -Infiltration from North Vietnam
           -US responses
           -Provocation
           -Reduction
                 -Reasons
                      -Seasonal weather
           -Annual rate
                 -Effect of cease fire
                 -Decline
           -US message from Henry A. Kissinger
                 -Delays
                      -Signals
     -Laos
           -G. McMurtrie Godley
           -New government
                 -Formation date
     -Prisoners of war [POW] release
           -Timing
                 -Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG] statement
           -Air strike
                 -Effect
                 -Kissinger's opinion
                      -Second thoughts
     -Laos negotiations
           -Godley's statement
           -Air Strikes
           -North Vietnam's reactions
                 -POW release
     -Air strikes
           -Timing
           -POW release
           -Effectiveness
           -POW release
           -Public support
           -Cease-fire
```

-Laos

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-6 (cont'd)

- -Congressional Objections
- -South Vietnam
- -Cambodia
- -Laos
- -Infiltration from North Vietnam
- -Public and Congressional resistance
- -Value
  - -Symbolism
  - -Military Effect
- -Timing
  - -POW release
- -Public objections
  - -Laos
- -Purpose
- -Congressional and public reaction
  - -End of war
    - -Perception of escalation
- -Kissinger
  - -December 1972 bombing
    - -POWs
    - -Settlement agreement
- -Guarantee for settlement
  - -Promise to Nguyen Van Thieu
  - -South Vietnams capabilities
    - -Air Force
- -North Vietnam testing
  - -US reaction
  - -Deterrence

## Kissinger

-Return From Trip

Vietnam settlement

-US responses

Second thoughts

Scowcroft left at 5:59 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

Conversation No. 885-7

Date: March 20, 1973 Time: 6:00 pm - 7:10 pm Location: Oval Office

# The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Stephen B. Bull.

```
President's schedule
```

- -William P. Rogers [?]
- -Haldeman
- -National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse
  - -Raymond P. Shafer
  - -John D. Ehrlichman's recommendation on meeting
  - -Publicity
    - -Ronald L. Ziegler
  - -Shafer
    - -Submission of final report to President
      - -Photographs
      - -Press
      - -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
  - -Meeting with Gen. John B. Flynn
  - -Postponement
- -Labor Management Advisory Board
  - -George P. Shultz
    - -Withdrawal of request
  - -Consumer Price Index [CPI] release
  - -Meeting with President
    - -Postponement
- -Meeting with Flynn
- -Congressional Campaign Committee
  - -Mrs. Bruce Bedford
  - -Announcement
- -Carlos Sanz deSantamaria

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:10 pm.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

```
John B. Connally
          -Return from Europe
***********************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
     George Christian
          -Harry S. Dent
          -Party switch
              -Timing
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Terry L. Decker
          -Job change
              -New York
              -Lucy A. Winchester
          -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's executive assistant
              -Competence
              -Knowledge of First Family
          -Bull
     President's meeting with Ehrlichman
          -Meetings with counselors
              -Organization
              -Cabinet involvement
                   -Earl L. Butz
          -Cabinet meetings
              -New cabinet
                   -Loyalty
                       -George W. Romney, John A. Volpe, Peter G. Peterson
              -Value
              -Topics
                   -Economics
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

```
-Economics
```

## -Quadriad

- -Number at meeting
- -Ehrlichman's role
- -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- -Purpose
- -Harry S. Truman's meetings with Congress members
- -Meetings with Cabinet, Congressional leaders
  - -Number
  - -Purpose
  - -Presence of staff members
    - -William L. Safire, Raymond K. Price, Jr., Thomas C. Korologos
- -Meetings with staff
  - -Value
  - -Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Ronald L. Ziegler
  - -John W. Dean, III
  - -Scheduling
- -Cabinet meetings
  - -Ehrlichman's role
  - -Earl L. Butz
    - -Agriculture Department
    - -Natural resources
  - -Value
  - -Purpose
- -Counselor meetings
  - -Value
  - -Roy L. Ash
    - -Meetings with President
  - -Assistants to President
    - -Haldeman, Ash, Shultz, Ehrlichman, Kissinger
  - -Common issues
  - -Value
- -Cabinet meetings
  - -Value
- -Decision making
  - -Haiphong
    - -Bombing
- -Disagreements and recommendations

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

## -Record

```
Vietnam settlement
```

- -President's decisions
  - -Bombing of Laos
    - -Alexander M .Haig, Jr.
      - -Doubts
  - -Kissinger's trip to Mexico
- -Bombing resumption
  - -Value
  - -Public reaction
    - -Press
    - -North Vietnam
    - -Laos
    - -Ho Chi Minh trail
  - -Prisoners of War [POW] release
    - -Kissinger
    - -Risks
  - -Signal
  - -Infiltration from North Vietnam
    - -South Vietnam
    - -Nguyen Van Thieu
      - -US commitment
  - -POW release
    - -Risks
  - -Ho Chi Minh trail
  - -US public reaction
    - -Kissinger's recommendation
      - -POWs
    - -Rashness
  - -Haldeman's call to Kissinger
    - -Risks
    - -Public Reaction
    - -P.O.W. Reaction

## Kissinger

- -Vacation
  - -Discussion with President

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

```
-Place
                 -Mexico
                 -California
                      -Thieu
           -Arrangements
                 -Departure
     -State of the world message
           -Thieu
           -Preparation
Leaks
     -Julienne L. Pineau
           -Newsweek reporter
           -John A. Scali
           -Hugh Sidey
                 -Time
           -Kissinger
                 -Conversations with reporters
Theodore H. ("Teddy") White
     -Deadline on book
           -Memorandum
     -Book
           -Last Chapter
Heads of State visits
     -[Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
           -Scheduling
           -Dinner
                 -Dress
           -Scheduling
     -Guilio Andreotti
           -Agnew
           -Golf Game
                 -Francis A. ("Frank") Sinatra
                 -Cancellation
     -Shah of Iran
     -California
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

Conversation No. 885-7 (cont'd)

```
-Golf
-Andreotti
     -Activities
           -Golf
           -Precedent
           -Sinatra
           -Kakeui Tanaka
-President's meeting with Ali Bhutto
     -National Security Council [NSC]
     -Arrangements
           -Dinner
-Meeting with Tanaka
-Ivory Coast
-Meeting with William R. Tolbert, Jr.
     -Kissinger's recommendation
           -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
           -Statement Department
-Tolbert visit to US
     -Prayer breakfast
     -Office call
           -Commencement address
                 -San Francisco State University
                 -Grambling College
     -Dinner
           -Scheduling
                 -Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Andreotti
-Sulman Franjieh
     -Lebanon
     -Rogers's recommendation
           -Kissinger
     -Fall Of 1973
           -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
           -Iran
           -Japan
           -Thailand
```

-Poland -Frequency

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. Sept. 2010)

-Franjieh

-Travel

-Tolbert

-Informal basis

President's schedule

- -California trip
- -Topeka, Kansas
  - -Distance
  - -Veterans Vocational Skills Training Center
  - -Value of visit

[A transcript of the following portion of the conversation appears in U.S. v. Mitchell, Government Ex. 11A, 00072-00097 (1-26).]

The President and Haldeman left at 7:10 pm.

Conversation No. 885-8

Date: March 20, 1973

Time: Unknown between 7:10 pm and 9:27 pm

Location: Oval Office

# Unknown men met.

President's location
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 9:27 pm.