



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 923-001](#)

[Conversation No. 923-002](#)

[Conversation No. 923-003](#)

[Conversation No. 923-004](#)

[Conversation No. 923-005](#)

[Conversation No. 923-006](#)

[Conversation No. 923-007](#)

[Conversation No. 923-008](#)

Conversation No. 923-001

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:03 am and 10:17 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Draft of speech [Address for Armed Forces Day ceremony]

-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon [?]

-Analogy

-Deletion

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Editing

-Proposal

-Article 20 [Vietnam Peace Agreement]

Weather in Norfolk, Virginia

President’s schedule

-Camp David

-Andrews Air Force Base

-Helicopter

-Mrs. Nixon

-Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:17 am.

Conversation No. 923-002



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:17 am and 10:48 am

Location: Oval Office

Alexander M. Haig, Jr. met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

The President entered and Butterfield left at 10:48 am.

Weather

Israel

- Four year program
  - President's view
    - Delay
    - Concessions
  - Haig's view
  - Cut-off

Watergate

- Special Prosecutor
  - Haig's conversation with Elliot L. Richardson
  - Archibald Cox
  - Compared to Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy and Nicholas deB.

Katzenbach

- Richard M. Helms
  - Forthcoming conversation with Haig
- Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
- Huston Plan
  - Release of documents
    - [William] Stuart Symington
- Ervin Committee hearings
  - Television [TV]
- Democrats' reaction



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- Rhodesian chrome
- Vietnam
  - Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] Director
  - Joseph A. Califano, Jr.'s call to Haig
  - Lyndon B. Johnson and J. Edgar Hoover
- Military background
- Haig's conversation with Richardson
  - Walters
    - Memoranda of conversation [Memcons]
    - Compared with affidavit
- [Richard G.] Stilwell [?]
- Walters
- Stilwell
  - Background
- Selection process
- Stilwell
- Califano and [First name unknown] Lake [?]

### Califano

- Telephone call to Haig
- Johnson

### Watergate

- White House response
  - Forthcoming White Paper
- Ervin Committee hearings
- Martha (Beall) Mitchell's possible statement
- White House response
  - Forthcoming White Paper
    - President's possible meeting with Congressional leaders
  - Possible TV speech
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - Domestic intelligence
    - Wiretaps
    - Hoover



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- Clemency
  - James R. Hoffa
  - Charles W. Colson
- Funds for defendants
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - Informing President concerning \$350,000
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Informing President concerning Herbert W. Kalmbach
  - President’s knowledge
    - E. Howard Hunt, Jr. and William O. Bittman
- Forthcoming White Paper
  - White House staff opinion
    - Haig, Ronald L. Ziegler and Bryce N. Harlow
  - Preparation
    - President’ schedule
  - Possible meeting with Congressional leaders
- Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
  - Involvement
    - John J. (“Jack”) Caulfield
    - Bay of Pigs
    - Richard M. Helms’s conversation with President
- Helms
  - Forthcoming testimony before Foreign Relations Committee
  - Walters’s role in Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
  - Effect on John N. Mitchell
- Mitchell
  - John W. Dean, III
    - White House staff activities
    - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Colson
  - Involvement
- Ehrlichman
  - Kalmbach
- Impeachment



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- Possible White House response
- Effect
- Congressional interest
  - Symington
  - Senate Armed Services Committee
  - Bella S. Abzug
  - John C. Stennis
    - Conversation with J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr., May 18
      - Wiretaps
  - Edward Brooke
    - Compared with Charles Percy
- Helms
  - Conversation with Haig
    - President's opinion of Helms
    - Testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - Loan of equipment to Hunt
- White House response
  - Possible televised speech by President
  - Forthcoming White Paper
    - Briefing
      - Haig
      - Ziegler
      - Buzhardt
- Impeachment
  - Process
  - Possible effect of vote
- Relationship to other actions during present administration

Haig left at an unknown time before 10:48 am.

Conversation No. 923-003

Date: May 19, 1973

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Time: 10:48 am - 10:54 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Watergate

- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
  - Television [TV] appearance, May 18
  - Comments regarding President
- White House response
- James W. McCord
  - Testimony
  - Lie detector test
- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
  - Woods's opinion
  - Physical appearance
- White House response
  - Bryce N. Harlow and Gerald R. Ford
- McCord
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - Departure
  - Alcoholism
- John N. Mitchell
  - Effect of Martha (Beall) Mitchell
  - Alleged conversation with Helen A. Thomas
- White House response
  - President's possible resignation
- Clayborn Gray's [?] telephone call to Woods
  - Duke Law School [1937]
  - Opinion of President

President's schedule

- Camp David

Mitchell

- Martha (Beall) Mitchell



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- Legal situation
  - Perjury
  - Indictment
  - Hearsay
  - Effect of televised Ervin Committee hearings
    - McCord's testimony
      - Hearsay
        - Mitchell
        - G[eorge] Gordon Liddy
    - Equipment
    - Cast

### Watergate

- White House response
- Mitchell
  - Alleged statement
  - McCord's testimony
    - Robert C. Mardian [?]
- McCord
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
  - Committee to Re-Elect President [CRP]
  - Role in government
    - Justice Department
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - John J. ("Jack") Caulfield
- White House response
  - Harlow
  - Forthcoming White Paper
  - Republican leadership meeting

Woods left at 10:54 am.

Conversation No. 923-004



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 10:54 am and 11:02 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Ronald L. Ziegler's location

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:02 am.

Conversation No. 923-005

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 11:02 am and 12:47 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Ziegler's schedule

-Press briefing

President's forthcoming speech

-Peace [?]

Ziegler's morale

Watergate

-White House response

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-Forthcoming White Paper

-Possible television [TV] speech

-Wiretaps

-Domestic intelligence

-Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr. and plumbers



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- Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- Clemency
- Cover-up by President
- Forthcoming White Paper
  - President's possible meeting with Congressional leaders
- Possible TV speech
  - Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters's testimony
    - Previous speech regarding H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
  - Ervin Committee hearings
    - Charles W. Colson
    - Martha (Beall) Mitchell
- Forthcoming White Paper
  - Briefing
    - Haig
    - Ziegler
  - J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
  - Bryce N. Harlow
  - Patrick J. Buchanan and Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Conversations with Ziegler
- Forthcoming White Paper
  - Preparation
- Further revelations
  - Walters's memoranda
  - Ervin Committee hearings
- Walters
  - Memoranda of conversation [Memcons]
    - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
    - John W. Dean, III
    - Possible release
      - Buzhardt's view
- President's schedule
  - Newspapers
    - Robert U. ("Bob") Woodward
    - New York Times*
- White House response



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- Forthcoming White Paper
- Executive privilege
  - White House staff members' notes of conversations with President
    - Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Colson
    - Dean
  - George H. W. Bush
  - President's freedom of discussion
- Clemency
  - Conversations with President
    - Haldeman
    - Ehrlichman
    - Colson
    - Dorothy Hunt
  - President's authorization
  - Conversations with President
    - John J. ("Jack") Caulfield
    - John N. Mitchell
    - Dean
  - Dean
    - Allegations regarding Ehrlichman and President
- White House response
  - National security
    - Relationship to Watergate break-in
    - Mitchell's role
- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
  - Statement concerning President
- White House response
  - Executive privilege
    - Walters's memcons
    - White House staff members' notes of conversations with President
    - Ziegler's conversation with Buzhardt, May 18
      - Possible order by John J. Sirica
    - Notes of Haldeman and Ehrlichman
    - Colson



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### -Notes

- President's meeting with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Clemency
  - President's discussions
  - Motive
  - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s testimony
  - Rose Mary Woods's opinion
  - TV coverage
  - Credibility
  - G[eorge] Gordon Liddy
- Ervin Committee hearings
  - Impact on public
- Purpose of attacks on President
- White House response
  - President's previous TV speeches
    - December 1972 bombing of North Vietnam
  - Congress
  - Press
- Reaction of public
  - Compared to Dita D. Beard
- White House response
  - Resignation and impeachment
  - Future allegations
  - Forthcoming White Paper
    - Possible effects
- President's opponents
- Support for President
- White House response
  - Ziegler's press briefing, May 18
    - President's possible resignation
    - R. Sargent Shriver
    - Joseph A. Califano, Jr.'s speech
    - President's election mandate
  - President's possible resignation



## White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

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- Harris poll
- Courtney Sheldon's question to Ziegler
- New York Times* story
- Peace issue
  - Harris poll
- Impeachment
  - President's meeting with Haldeman
    - Congressional procedure
  - Bella S. Abzug
  - Buzhardt's theory
  - Effect of possible vote
  - Possible outcome of vote
- White House response
  - Forthcoming White Paper
    - Possible effect
  - President's schedule
    - Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Dean's roles in White House
- Dean
  - Allegations regarding August 19, 1972 meeting with President
  - Investigation

Lyndon B. Johnson comparison

White House staff operation

Watergate

- Unknown doctor's letter to Haig
  - Justice Department's investigation
- Wiretaps
  - Morton A. Halperin's conversation with Daniel Ellsberg
  - Forthcoming leak by White House

White House staff operation

- Doctor's letter to Haig
  - Notification of President
- Congress



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- Press and bureaucracy
- Cabinet meeting
- Strategy
  - Tone
  - Momentum
- John B. Connally
  - Cabinet meeting
- Bryce N. Harlow
- Ziegler's forthcoming conversation with Connally
  - Connally's schedule
    - Economic meeting
    - Quadriad

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:02 am.

- President's schedule
  - Haig
  - Richard M. Helms
    - Haig's recommendation

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:48 am.

- Watergate
  - Special Prosecutor
    - Archibald Cox
      - “Kennedy man”
      - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Reaction
  - White House response
    - Morale

Haig entered and Ziegler left at 11:48 am.

- Watergate
  - President's schedule
    - Helms



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-Haig's recommendation

-Helms

-Conversation with Haig

-Helms's testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee

-Equipment

-National Security Council [NSC] meeting

-Conversation with President concerning Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] involvement

-Helms's possible resignation

-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

Moynihan

-Letter to Haig

Watergate

-Haig's activities

-Conversation with Helms

-Huston Plan

-Huston Plan

-Possible release

-Compared with Pentagon Papers

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-011. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 12/01/2017. Archivist: AY]

[National Security]

[923-005-w001]

[Duration: 5s]

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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Watergate

- Huston Plan
  - Possible release
  - Tom C. Huston's memorandums
- Executive privilege
  - President's previous conversation with Ziegler
    - Buzhardt
    - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
  - Need for presidential confidentiality
  - Buzhardt's possible conversation with Leonard Garment
  - White House staff members' notes of conversations with President
    - Haldeman
    - Walters's memcons
    - President's conversations with Henry A. Kissinger

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-011. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 12/01/2017. Archivist: AY]

[National Security]

[923-005-w002]

[Duration: 51s]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

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Watergate

- Executive privilege



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- White House staff members' notes of conversations with President
  - Criminal activities
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] cover-up
  - Colson
    - Possible statement
    - Location of files
- Leaks during India-Pakistan conflict
- Instructions for Buzhardt
  - Colson
  - Haldeman and Ehrlichman

### Haldeman

### Mitchell

- Telephone call to Helen A. Thomas
  - Martha (Beall) Mitchell
- White House activities

### Watergate

- Dean
  - Possible immunity
  - Documents
    - Huston Plan
- Forthcoming roles
  - Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Colson
  - Dean
- White House response
  - Congress, press and public
  - President's forthcoming speech at Norfolk, Virginia
  - Forthcoming speeches
    - Connally, Spiro T. Agnew, and Cabinet members
    - Content
  - President's schedule
    - Possible TV speech
    - San Clemente
      - Time spent away from Washington, DC



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- Key Biscayne
- George P. Shultz
- Richardson
- Special Prosecutor
- Forthcoming White Paper
- Preparation
- Huston Plan
  - Background
    - J. Edgar Hoover
    - Haldeman's memorandum to Huston
  - Termination
    - Documentation
      - Louis W. Tordella
      - William C. Sullivan
    - Hoover
      - Meetings with Mitchell and Clyde A. Tolson
    - Mitchell's possible meeting with President
    - Huston's telephone calls to rescind report implementation
    - Copies of memorandum
    - Sullivan
    - Huston's possible conversation with Haldeman
  - Implementation
    - Robert C. Mardian
- Domestic intelligence
- Krogh and plumbers
  - Ellsberg
  - Pentagon Papers
  - Hoover
  - President's order
  - Activities
  - Brookings Institution
    - Alleged possession of Pentagon Papers
- Huston
  - 1968 bombing halt study
    - Efforts to locate
      - Pentagon



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- Leslie Gelb, Morton K. Halpern
- Activities
  - Burglary in Georgetown
  - Studies for President
- Pentagon Papers
- Break-in of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office
  - Contrasted with break-in of President's doctor's office
- Allegations concerning President
  - White House staff operation
- White House response
  - Forthcoming White Paper
    - Distribution
  - President's possible TV speech
    - Escalation of charges
    - Timing
      - Ervin Committee witness schedule
        - Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Colson
  - Indictments
- Walters's memcons
  - Release
    - Timing
    - [William] Stuart Symington and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
      - Timing
        - John C. Stennis
        - President's forthcoming meeting with Congressional leaders
    - Haig's conversation with Helms
    - Buzhardt's conversation with Stennis
- Forthcoming White Paper
  - Ehrlichman
- Mitchell
- White House staff involvement
- Cubans
- Plumbers
- Mexican money



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- Recollections of Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Walters
  - Affidavit
    - Content
    - Compared with memcons
  - Memcons
    - Problem areas for President
- White House response
  - Forthcoming White Paper
- Walters's memcons
  - President's order to Ehrlichman and Haldeman to meet with Helms and Walters
    - President's motive
  - President's call to L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
  - Inclusion of Walters in meeting with Helms, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman
    - President's motive
  - President's telephone call to Gray
  - Explanation of problem areas for President
  - President's conversation with Gray
- President's meeting with Gray
  - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] investigation
- Gray
- Walters
  - Memcons
  - Possible testimony
    - Dean
  - Memcons
    - Possible allegations regarding President and cover-up
- Dean's conversation with President, May 21
- White House response
- Walters
  - Testimony before Armed Services Committee
    - Dean
- Dean
  - Activities
- Walters



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- Memcons
  - Gray's conversation with President
  - President's possible order to Walters
- President's conversations with Henry E. Petersen
- National security
  - Ehrlichman's concern
  - Plumbers
    - President's conversation with Petersen, 4/17
    - Delivery of Ellsberg break-in material to court
  - Hunt
- Ehrlichman's conversation with President
  - Request for President to call Petersen
  - Hunt
  - Ellsberg break-in
  - President's subsequent call to Petersen
- Ehrlichman
  - Telephone call to Haig, May 17
  - Ehrlichman's meeting with Walters, Haldeman, and Helms
  - National security
    - Petersen and plumbers
  - President's conversation with Petersen, 4/17
  - Ellsberg break-in

President's schedule

Haig left at an unknown time before 12:47 pm.

Conversation No. 923-006

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 11:48 am and 12:47 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown men met.



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President's schedule [?]

-Instructions [?]

Greeting

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 12:47 pm.

Conversation No. 923-007

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 11:48 am and 12:47 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

-Briefcase

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Location

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

-Timing

-Office

-Departure

The President and Bull left at an unknown time before 12:47 pm.

Conversation No. 923-008

Date: May 19, 1973

Time: Unknown between 12:47 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office



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Unknown people met.

Departure

-Timing

-Wife and daughter

Instruction [?]

Location

-[Unintelligible name]

The unknown people left at an unknown time after 12:47 pm.