



**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments  
Conversation Number 571-10**

Portion of a conversation between the President and H. R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on September 13, 1971 at an unknown time between 4:36 and 5:05 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Billy Graham's story

- The President's talk with John B. Connally
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS)
- Graham's previous talk with Connally
- IRS employee

Contributors to the Democratic Party

- Jewish
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Investigation

IRS

- Graham
- Eugene Carson Blake
- IRS commissioner (?) [Harold T. Swartz]
- Haldeman's call to John N. Mitchell regarding IRS
  - Graham
  - Democrats
  - Robert H. Abplanalp
  - Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo
  - John Wayne
  - Republican contributors
  - The President
- Investigators
  - Edmund G. Muskie
  - Frank Sinatra's airplane

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 572-8**

Portions of a conversation between the President, H. R. Haldeman and Charles W. Colson. These portions were recorded on September 14, 1971 at an unknown time between 12:37 and 1:32 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1] [P, HRH]

Internal Revenue Service (IRS)

- List
- Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo
  - Investigation
    - New York City IRS office
    - Reporter
- Investigations
  - Jews
    - Billy Graham
- Commissioner of the IRS
  - Directions

[Segment 2] [P, HRH, CWC]

Edmund G. Muskie rally

- Robert J. Brown
  - Signs
  - Blacks
    - Patrick J. Buchanan's suggestion
      - Funds for financing black candidates
        - Shirley Chisholm
        - Julian Bond
          - Black voters
        - Democratic Party
        - Black candidates
- Financing
  - Eugene J. McCarthy
    - Howard Stein
      - U.S. News and World Report
      - Newsweek
        - McCarthy plan
        - Primaries
- Speaking tour

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**Conversation Number 572-8 (continued)**

- Democratic National Convention
  - People's candidate
  - Fourth party
- George C. Wallace
- Funds for McCarthy, black candidates
- Black candidates
  - Comparison with Democrats' votes for Wallace
  - Alabama primaries
- Use of funds
  - Television commercials, billboards

**White House Tapes**  
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**Conversation Number 574-6**

Portion of a conversation between the President and Henry A. Kissinger. This portion was recorded on September 17, 1971 at an unknown time between 11:29 and 11:41 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

1972 Election

- Eugene J. McCarthy
  - Howard Stein
    - Kissinger's meeting
      - Comparison to the other candidates
- Edmund G. Muskie
  - Statement
- McCarthy
  - Kissinger's efforts

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 576-5**

Portions of a conversation between the President and H. R. Haldeman. These portions were recorded on September 18, 1971 at an unknown time between 10:05 and 10:39 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Fundraising

- Herbert W. Kalmbach
  - As money raiser
- Distribution of funds
- George C. Wallace
- Eugene J. McCarthy
- Effects of third party candidates
- Congressional races
- Norris Poulson
  - Number of opponents
- McCarthy
- Black candidates
  - Results and effects

[Segment 2]

Internal Revenue Service (IRS)

- Daniel Schorr
- Mary McGrory
- J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
  - FBI files on Schorr
- Investigation
  - Schorr's colleagues
- Patrick J. Buchanan's view
  - Apparent hiring of Schorr
- FBI

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 576-6**

Portions of a conversation between the President, H. R. Haldeman, John N. Mitchell, John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson. These portions were recorded on September 18, 1971 at an unknown time between 12:07 and 2:05 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation. [Segment 1 has been withdrawn in its entirety because it is within a National Security withdrawal.]

[Segment 2] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

- Focus
- Congress
  - Ehrlichman's views
  - Effects on administration control
    - Control
  - Court effects
  - Election
  - Daniel Ellsberg
  - Leslie Gelb
  - Administration view
    - Leaks to press
- Impasse
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) inquiry
- Democrats
  - Administration
  - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Involvement of students and associates in
  - Elliot L. Richardson's involvement
    - Effect of Congressional hearing
    - Congressional investigation
      - Testimony
        - Richardson
        - Kissinger
        - Involvement
- Contents
- Democrats
- Focus
  - Possible Senate and House investigation
- Origins of the Vietnam War
  - Revelations of the Pentagon Papers
  - Dien coup
  - Bombing decisions during Vietnam war

-Interests

issue

**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

- Gulf of Tonkin
- Kissinger and Richardson
  - W. Averell Harriman
- McGeorge Bundy
- Kissinger's views
- Timing of investigations, revelations
  - Vietnam elections
- Democrats' focus
- Responsibilities of Democrat administration
  - Dien coup
- Congressional committee's budget
- J. William Fulbright's actions
  - Foreign Relations Committee
  - Executive Committee
  - Public hearings
  - Politics of the Pentagon Papers
    - Effect on Edmund G. Muskie's advisors
    - Democrat foreign policy establishment
    - Delivery of documents to Congress
- Columnists
  - Daniel Ellsberg's views
    - Coverup
    - Public scrutiny
  - Newspapermen
    - First Amendment rights
    - Content of the Pentagon Papers
    - Dien
    - Controversy

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO.18

[National security]

[Duration: 27 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 18

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-E. Howard Hunt, Jr. (?)

-Vietnam election

**White House Tapes  
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**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

- Leaks
  - Effects of revelation of the Pentagon Papers
  - October 3
- Congressional hearings
  - Fulbright's action
    - Study
  - Executive session of Foreign Relations Committee
  - Barry M. Goldwater
- Policy decisions
  - Republicans
  - Joint hearings
    - Armed Services Committee
    - Foreign Relations Committee
    - Democrats' views
      - John G. Tower
      - Armed Services
  - Suppression
    - Coup
  - Cables and documents
    - Ehrlichman and Egil "Bud" Krogh, Jr.
  - New York Times, Washington Post
  - Boston Globe
- Times
  - Neil Sheehan
  - Ellsberg source
  - Lucien Conein
    - Articles
      - Lodge
      - Harriman
    - Leaks of documents

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

[National security]

[Duration: 44 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

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-Effects of information



**White House Tapes  
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**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 19

[Privacy]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 19

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-Effects of information

[Segment 3] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Conein, theories

-Republicans

-Effects on Democrats

-Other investigations

-Bay of Pigs

-Cuban Missile Crisis

-Exposure of documents

-White House efforts

-Physical quantity

[Segment 4] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Democratic involvement

-Michael J. "Mike" Mansfield's use of phrase "Nixon's war"

-Responsibilities

-Krogh, David R. Young, Jr.

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 30

[National security]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 30

**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

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**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

-Exposure of Vietnam, dirty tricks

[Segment 5] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Democrat administration

-Vietnam War

[Segment 6] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Exposure of facts

-Requirements

-Young

-National Security Council (NSC) staff

-Diem and Democrats

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

[National security]

[Duration: 15 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

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-Implications for Democrats

-Harriman

-Bundy

-Rostow

-Connections with candidates

-John F. Kennedy administration

-Edward M. Kennedy candidacy

-Portrayal

-Edward M. Kennedy and Edmund S. Muskie

**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

-Poll

[Segment 7] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Interview

-Conein

-Edward Landsdale

-Dien and Democrats

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 31

[National security]

[Duration: 17 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 31

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[Segment 8] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers

-Democratic involvement

-Congress

-TV exposure

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 29

[Privacy]

[Duration: 3 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 29

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**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

-American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)

[Segment 9] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers  
-Congress  
-Leaks

[Segment 10] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 22

[National Security]

[Duration: 6 m 35 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 22

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[Segment 11] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

Pentagon Papers  
-Bombing halt study  
-White House use  
-Johnson administration  
-Last month  
-Joseph Califano  
-Trip to the Department of Defense  
-Materials in files  
-Austin, Texas  
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
-Leslie Gelb, Morton H. Halperin and Paul Warnke  
-Paul H. Nitze  
-National Archives and Records Service

**White House Tapes  
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**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

- Contract
- Robert L. Kunzig
  - J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr.
- Pictures of documents
- Edgar Allan Poe
  - Tom C. Huston's investigation
- Department of Defense
- Kissinger's views
  - Huston's views
  - Richard V. Allen's views

[Segment 12] [P, JNM, JDE, HRH, CWC]

- Foreign policy events
  - Review for facts
- Bombing halt

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 24  
[National security]  
[Duration: 3 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 24

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- Nixon's orders
- Haig
- White House use

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25  
[National security]  
[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

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**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

- Bay of Pigs
- CIA
- Instructions for Helms
- Public release

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26

[National security]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26

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-Press

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 27

[National security]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 27

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-Defense and State Departments

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 28

[National security]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 28

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-Leaks to press

**White House Tapes  
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**

**Conversation Number 576-6 (continued)**

- Kissinger
- Handling
- Kissinger
- The President's right to know
- Staff
  - Allen
  - Huston
  - Krogh
  - Huston
  - Allen
  - Job with Peter G. Peterson
  - Krogh
  - G. Gordon Liddy, E. Howard Hunt, Jr.

[Segment 13] [P, JDE, CWC, HRH]

- Use of Federal agencies
  - 1972 campaign
- Internal Revenue Service
- Robert H. Abplanalp, Hobart D. Lewis
  - Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo
  - John Wayne
- Billy Graham
  - John B. Connally's reaction

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 576-8**

Portions of a conversation between the President, H. R. Haldeman and John B. Connally. These portions were recorded on September 20, 1971 at an unknown time between 10:03 and 11:08 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1] [P, JBC]

- Armand Hammer
  - Support for the President
  - Offer of financial contribution

[Segment 2] [P, JBC, HRH]

- Armand Hammer
- Offer of financial contribution
  - Haldeman
  - Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Possible motivation
  - State dinner
    - Job for Sam Yorty
    - Overseas problems



**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 449-1**

Portion of a conversation between the President, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on September 21, 1971 at an unknown time between 9:22 and 9:27 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

- Pentagon papers and the declassification issue
  - Ehrlichman's schedule
- Meeting with Richard M. Helms
  - List
  - Cuban missile crisis
  - Bay of Pigs

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[National security]  
[Duration: 7 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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- Tom C. Huston
  - Bombing halt information
- Timing of issue
  - Release
- Pentagon Papers
  - Timing
- Henry A. Kissinger
  - Issue
  - Involvement in Vietnam
    - Democrats
  - Nixon administration
  - News story
  - Possession of documents

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 571-1**

Portion of a conversation between the President, H. R. Haldeman and Robert J. Dole. This portion was recorded on September 13, 1971 at an unknown time between 12:37 and 1:12 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

- Wage-price freeze program
  - Support from dairy industry
  - Administration action
  - Democrats
    - Wilbur Mills' sponsorship of bill
- Number attending meeting in Chicago
  - Comparison with Republicans
  - Bipartisan

**White House Tapes**  
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**Conversation Number 274-44**

Portions of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. These portions were recorded on September 8, 1971 at an unknown time between 3:36 and 5:10 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

- Egil "Bud" Krogh, Jr.
  - Narcotics assignment
  - Daniel Ellsberg
  - Declassification
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman

[Segment 2]

- Pentagon Papers
  - Los Angeles
    - Investigation
    - Activities
  - Columnists
    - Jerald terHorst
      - Conspiracy information
      - Ellsberg lawyer
      - Bay of Pigs
    - terHorst
  - Bay of Pigs documents
    - Richard M. Helms
      - Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) resistance
      - Allen W. Dulles
      - Knowledge
      - Reasons for CIA resistance
    - Ellsberg group's knowledge

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5  
[National security]  
[Duration: 17 s]  
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

**White House Tapes**  
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**Conversation Number 274-44 (continued)**

[Segment 3]

Contributors

- White House investigation
  - Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Edmund S. Muskie
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS) past investigations
  - Robert H. Abplanalp
  - Hobart D. Lewis
  - John Wayne
    - Paul Keyes
    - Barry Goldwater
- New IRS Commissioner
  - Audits
  - IRS
- The President
  - 1962 taxes
- John N. Mitchell
- IRS
  - Muskie
  - Humphrey
- Investigations
  - Edward M. Kennedy
    - Pakistan
    - Investigation
      - Hawaii
    - Convention
    - Hawaii
    - Hyannis
- Muskie
  - Lifestyle
  - Family
- Kennedy
  - Chappaquidick
  - Use of
- Divorce
  - Nelson Rockefeller's divorce
  - Nick Thimmesch

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 276-4**

Portions of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. These portions were recorded on September 10, 1971 at an unknown time between 3:03 and 3:51 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Pentagon Papers

- National Archives
  - Paul H. Nitze
  - Secret documents
    - Deposit
      - Nitze, Leslie Gelb, Morton H. Halperin
  - Ehrlichman's forthcoming actions
    - Robert L. Kunzig, Administrator of

General Services Administration (GSA)

- Archivist of the United States
- Documents

[Segment 2]

Pentagon Papers

- Administration's strategy
  - Media release
- Declassification of documents as response
- Edward M. Kennedy

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 278-30**

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on September 12, 1971 at an unknown time between 5:15 and 5:31 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 8-100]. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Expenditures

- Press release
  - Questions
  - Property acquisitions
  - Public disclosure
  - Sale
  - Holdings in real estate
  - Answers to questions
- Interview with the President
  - Questions
  - The President's response
  - Real estate holdings
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Type of investigation
  - Bobby Baker case
  - Occupation of presidential office
- Handling
- Response to questions
- Type of response
- Conversation with Frank DeMarco, Jr.

**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 279-6**

Portion of a conversation between the President and Patrick J. Buchanan. This portion was recorded on September 22, 1971 at an unknown time between 11:14 and 11:25 a.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 9-112]. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Busing

- Campaign strategy
- The President's comment
- Edmund G. Muskie's statement

**White House Tapes**  
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**Conversation Number 8-100**

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on September 12, 1971 at an unknown time between 5:15 and 5:31 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 278-30]. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Expenditures

- Questions to John W. Dean, III
  - Release
    - Electrostatic copy
- Reprint
  - The President's property
    - Key Biscayne
- Questions to the President
  - Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo
    - Letter
      - Interview
      - George A. Smathers
      - Fisher's Island
      - Coco Lobo
- Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Bobby Baker
- Presidential response
- The President's conversations with Herbert W. Kalmbach and Frank DeMarco, Jr.
  - The President's property



**White House Tapes**  
**Abuse of Governmental Power Segments**  
**Conversation Number 9-112**

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Patrick J. Buchanan. This portion was recorded on September 22, 1971 at an unknown time between 11:14 and 11:45 a.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 279-6]. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Busing

- Edmund G. Muskie comments
- Campaign strategy
- Press
- Civil rights leaders' comments