



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

Conversation Number 866-4

Portion of a conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 1, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:36 and 10:44 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. [Henry A. Kissinger departed the Oval Office at 10:37 a.m.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

John W. Dean, III entered at 10:36 a.m.

Richard G. Kleindienst

Kissinger left at 10:37 a.m.

End of meeting

Kleindienst

- Conversation with Dean
- Talk with L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Change in Gray's position
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files
 - Gray's offer to Congress
 - Attorney General's approval
 - Attorney General's criteria for turning over to Congress
 - Bella S. Abzug's questioning
- Alger Hiss case
 - Non-cooperation from FBI
 - Six Crises
 - Executive privilege
 - Clark R. Mollenhoff questions
- Cooperation of FBI and Department of Justice

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:37 a.m.

Copy of Six Crises

- Delivery

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:44 a.m.

FBI

- H. Allen Smith book on John F. Kennedy
 - Harassment of newsmen during steel crisis

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 866-4 (continued)

- Material for publicity
- Robert F. Kennedy misuse of authority

Amnesty issue

- Carl Sandburg on Abraham Lincoln
- Lincoln's position
 - Amnesty for South
 - No amnesty for number of deserters

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 10:37 a.m.

Hiss case

- President's speech (1950/51)

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:44 a.m.

Hiss case

Dean left at 10:44 a.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 866-12

Portion of a conversation between the President and Richard G. Kleindienst. This portion was recorded on March 1, 1973 between 10:52 and 10:56 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 37-17.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-17

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Richard G. Kleindienst. This portion was recorded on March 1, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:52 and 10:56 a.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

-L. Patrick Gray, III's testimony
-Availability of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) records

- James O. Eastland
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
- Alger Hiss case
 - Lack of cooperation by executive branch
 - Harry S Truman
 - Tom C. Clark
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - FBI

Availability of FBI records

- Bella S. Abzug
- Miami riots
- Black Panthers
- Watergate

Hiss case

- Politicization

John W. Dean, III as contact

- President's involvement

Howard H. Baker, Jr.

- Party loyalty
- Ralph Flanders
- Joseph McCarthy

Gray's forthcoming testimony

- Eastern press reporting
- Ronald L. Ziegler
 - New York Times
 - The Washington Post
- Dean's investigation

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments
-Files for White House

Parting remarks

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 866-17

Portion of a conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 1, 1973 between 1:06 and 1:14 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate investigation

- The President's conversation with Richard G. Kleindienst
- Dean's notes on precedents on information release
- A "freeze" order
 - Page in report
 - Information from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- Dr. Connally
- FBI files
 - Raw files to Congress
 - Harry S Truman precedent
- Clark R. Mollenhoff
 - Executive privilege
- White House Staff
 - Procedures for obtaining information
 - Mollenhoff
 - Willingness of White House to reveal information to Congress
- Testimony issue
- Attorney General
 - Dealings with Dean
 - Pressure on Kleindienst
 - Loyalty
 - Affection for John N. Mitchell
- Mitchell
 - Vulnerability

Weather

Dean left at 1:14 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 416-18

Portion of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 1, 1973 at an unknown time between 6:00 and 6:20 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Donald H. Segretti
 - Story in New York Times
- Charles W. Colson and E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - White House investigation
 - Statement for press
- Executive privilege
 - Statement

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 867-1

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 2, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:01 and 11:04 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- John W. Dean, III
- President's statement on executive privilege
- President's press conference
- Subject to cover
 - Dean
 - Donald H. Segretti
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Questions from press
 - Referral Committee to Re-elect the

President

- Segretti
- Dean
- L. Patrick Gray, III's testimony
- President's comments

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 867-8

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 2, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:11 and 12:15 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Press conference

- Watergate
 - Importance of story
 - Senate hearings
 - President's comments
 - Cooperation with Ervin Committee
 - Conditions
- Hearings
 - Focus
 - Evenhandedness
 - Hearsay evidence
 - John W. Dean, III's investigation
 - Dean's testimony
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Clark R. Mollenhoff's question
- Charges

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 867-16

Portions of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. These portions were recorded on March 2, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:00 and 1:27 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Financial activities
 - John W. Dean, III's investigation
 - Dean's work with John N. Mitchell via Thomas A. Pappas
- Money for Watergate defendants
- Pappas
 - Henry J. Tasca in Greece
- Money for Watergate defendants
 - Pappas
 - Fund raising
 - Sale of company
 - J. Paul Getty
 - Cash

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Dean
 - Intelligence
 - Judgment
 - Confidence
 - Honesty
- Investigation
 - Complexity
- Dealings with people
 - Mitchell
 - Watergate burglars

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

[Duration: 58 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

Conversation Number 867-16 (continued)

-Charles W. Colson
 -Discussions on Watergate
 -Contacts with Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman,
Dean
 -President's contact solely with Dean
-Dean
 -Contact man on Watergate
 -Legal background
-L. Patrick Gray, III
 -Testimony before Ervin Committee
-Maurice H. Stans
 -Testimony before Ervin Committee
 -Questions on contributions
 -Robert L. Vesco problem
-Receipt of cash
 -Press reports
 -Harry L. Sears
 -Ignorance of Vesco
-Mitchell
-Political campaign contributions
 -George S. McGovern
 -Sources
-Vesco contribution
 -Returned to Vesco
 -Donald A. Nixon
 -Present activities
 -Ehrlichman

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 868-7

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 3, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:40 and 10:05 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

- L. Patrick Gray, III's confirmation hearings
 - John W. Dean, III's view
 - Gray's strategy
 - Raw Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files
 - Ervin Committee
 - Harry F. Byrd's position
 - Gray's testimony
 - Advice
 - James O. Eastland
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Senate vote
 - Eastland
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s position on raw FBI files
 - Haldeman's view
 - Disagreement with Gray's strategy
 - Dean
 - Kleindienst
 - FBI
 - Handling of the Watergate investigation
 - Directorship
 - Jerry V. Wilson
 - Dean
 - Gray
 - Kleindienst

Watergate

- Maurice H. Stans
- Possible testimony

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 9 s]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Conversation Number 868-7 (continued)

- Comparison to Gray
- Involvement in Watergate
 - Innocence
- Robert L. Vesco
 - Involvement
- Haldeman's view

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 868-20

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 3, 1973 at an unknown time between 3:27 and 3:45 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Television coverage
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Testimony
 - Administration's view
 - Ziegler
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - William L. Safire
- Dean's statement
 - President's approval
 - Congressional investigation
 - Past cases
 - Mike Gravel
- Administration statement
 - Dean's testifying
 - Cooperation with Congressional committee
 - Compared to Hiss case
 - Harry S Truman
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Department of Justice
 - FBI
 - White House staff
 - Separation of powers
- Administration position
 - Cooperation

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 869-13

Portion of a conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 6, 1973 between 11:49 a.m. and 12:00 noon in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Confirmation hearings
 - Talks with Dean
 - Work with Senate committee
 - Cooperation
 - Reports in newspapers
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Cooperation
 - Strategy in dealing with committee
 - Hardline
 - Raw files
 - Problems in disclosing
 - Nomination
 - Possible withdrawal
 - James O. Eastland
 - Kleindienst's conversation with Eastland
 - Votes in committee
 - Phillip A. Hart, Birch Bayh, Edward M.

Kennedy, John V. Tunney

- Ervin Committee hearings
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Interview with WTOP radio
 - Dean's testimony
 - Peter M. Flanigan's testimony
- Executive privilege
 - Position
 - Statement
 - Dean's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
 - Former White House staff
 - Privilege
 - Dwight L. Chapin, Charles W. Colson, C. Strachan

Gordon

- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Interviews with Committee to Re-elect the President staff members

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

Conversation Number 869-13 (continued)

- Penny Gleason
 - Background
 - James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Talk with FBI
 - Gray rebuttal
- Gray
 - Nomination
 - Administration support
 - Confirmation
 - Standards
 - Performance with committee
 - Administration's opinion
 - Dean's discussion with Gray
- FBI
 - Cartha D. "Deke" DeLoach
 - William C. Sullivan
 - Report on past activities by FBI
 - Report to Dean
 - Dealings with Dean

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Privacy]

[Duration: 7s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Change in file
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's orders
- Examples of misdoings
- Ervin Committee
 - White House position
 - Talks with Kleindienst
 - Concern about Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Baker's statement
 - Chicago Tribune
 - Reasons
- Witnesses
 - Preparation
 - The President's handling of Alger Hiss

case

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 869-13 (continued)

- Baker
- Ervin
- Executive privilege
 - White House staff appearances
 - Problems
 - Gray
- Dean
 - Double privilege
- President's position on executive privilege
 - Press questions
 - Clark R. Mollenhoff
 - Hypothetical questions
 - Dean's contact with Mollenhoff on the

A.

Ernest Fitzgerald case

- Gray
 - Intelligence
- Hiss case
 - Perjury charge
 - Whittaker Chambers
 - Witnesses
 - Preparation
- Baker
 - Cross examination
 - Abilities

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

Conversation Number 871-4

Portions of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and John W. Dean, III. These portions were recorded on March 7, 1973 at an unknown time between 8:53 and 10:12 in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1] [P, JWD]

Greetings

Watergate

- Senate committee
 - Impact of L. Patrick Gray, III hearings
- Senate Judiciary Committee
 - Roman L. Hruska
 - Support for President
 - Ervin Committee
 - Edward J. Gurney
 - Support for President
 - Gray hearings
 - Criticism
- Strategy
- Gray hearings
 - Questions on Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

procedures

- 1968 campaign practices
- Questions on bugging
- 1968 campaign practices
 - William C. Sullivan
- Senate investigation
- Questions for Gray
 - Charges of FBI bugging
 - Hruska, Marlow W. Cook
 - Gurney
 - Kramer [first name unknown]
- Exposure of FBI practices
 - 1968 campaign
 - Surveillance of Spiro T. Agnew's phone
 - White House orders
 - Gray's comportment
 - J. Edgar Hoover
- Dealings with Gray

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

Conversation Number 871-4 (continued)

- Dean
- Testimony on 1968 bugging
- Testimony
 - Raw data files
- Edward M. Kennedy's question
- Use of FBI by White House
 - John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy
- Past abuses
 - Malcolm Smith's book
 - Questions by senators
 - Use by Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Walter W. Jenkins
 - Bugging Nixon's campaign plane
- Questions for Gray
 - Gray's answers
- Lie detector tests
- Cartha D. DeLoach
- Hoover
 - Lie detector tests
- Gray
 - Comportment at hearings
 - Desire for job as FBI director
 - Tom C. Korologos' comment on confirmation hearing demeanor
- Dean's view
- FBI
 - Importance of position
 - Investigations in 1968 campaign
- Questions
 - Use of FBI by White House
 - Robert F. Kennedy's use
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's use
- Gurney
 - Contacts with Dean, White House
 - Source of questions
- Hruska
- Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Work with Gray
 - Problems
- Call to Dean by Gray
 - John D. Ehrlichman
- Questions for Gray

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 871-4 (continued)

- Dangers
 - Internal investigation of 1968 campaign
 - Lie detector tests
 - DeLoach and Sullivan
 - Investigation of FBI
 - Methods
 - Alger Hiss case example
 - Donald H. Segretti
 - FBI notes
 - Gray allegations
 - Dean's denial
 - FBI investigations
 - Dean's involvement
 - Right of counsel
 - White House
 - Sensitivity
 - Leaks
 - Gray
 - Nomination
 - Withdrawal
 - Responsibilities as director
 - Senate Committee
 - Questions for Gray
 - Withdrawal of nomination
 - Publicity
 - FBI directorship
 - Jerry V. Wilson
 - Gray
 - FBI files
 - Division from White House
 - Congress
 - Dean
 - Testimony before Congress
 - Attorney/client relationship
 - Precedents
 - Lee Pressman
 - Alger Hiss's lawyer
 - Civil cases
 - Williams and Califano law firm
 - Withdrawal from civil cases
 - Conflicts in relationship with Washington Post
-

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 871-4 (continued)

- Robert Strauss and Lawrence F. O'Brien
 - Negotiations
 - Settlement of cases
- President's view
- White House staff
 - Handling of Watergate
- FBI directorship
 - Questions for Gray at hearings
 - Use of FBI by the White House

[Segment 2] [P, HRH]

Internal Revenue Service (IRS)

- Examination
 - Representatives and senators
 - White House staff and Cabinet officers
 - Frequency
- Handling of sensitive cases
- Jack F. Kemp
 - Demand for examination in House
- Importance

FBI directorship

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Hearings
 - Problems
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Withdrawal of name
 - Means
 - John D. Ehrlichman
- Jerry Wilson
 - President's preference
 - Ehrlichman's recommendation
 - Qualifications
 - Richard G. Kleindienst, John N. Mitchell
 - Possible nomination
- Gray
 - Behavior at hearings
 - James O. Eastland
 - Kleindienst hearings

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 871-4 (continued)

(ITT) -International Telephone and Telegraph

- Judiciary hearings
 - Problems
- Qualifications
- Recommendation
 - Mitchell and Kleindienst
 - Concern over Wilson

[Segment 3] [P, HRH]

- Scheduling
 - Meetings
 - Thomas A. Pappas
 - Watergate burglars
 - Financing

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 871-5

Portion of a conversation between the President and Thomas A. Pappas. This portion was recorded on March 7, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:54 and 11:01 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Pappas' activities
 - President's knowledge
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Gratitude
- Stans
 - Innocence
- John N. Mitchell
 - Innocence
- Committee to Re-elect the President
 - Involvement
 - Guilt
 - Low level staff
- Break-in
- White House involvement
- Pappas' support
- Break-in
 - Democratic National Committee
 - Value

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

Conversation Number 872-18

Portion of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 8, 1973 at an unknown time between 2:46 and 2:50 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Donald H. Segretti
- Dwight L. Chapin
- Questions from press
- Links with White House
 - Ziegler's answer
- Raw files from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Release
 - American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) protests
 - Ziegler's response
- FBI files
 - Value
 - Hearsay

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Privacy]
[Duration: 42 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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- ACLU position
- Ervin Committee
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 874-21

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 9, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:35 and 1:40 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

- John D. Ehrlichman's press conference
 - Ziegler's assessment of Ehrlichman's performance
 - Watergate questions
 - Ehrlichman's responses
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Dean's presence at a meeting
 - Domestic issues

- Watergate
 - President's future press conference
 - Ziegler's public stance
 - Donald H. Segretti's case

[Segment 2]

- Watergate
 - Administration position
 - Statements for public
 - Dean
 - Presence at interviews with White House staff
 - Justification
 - Ehrlichman's response
 - Segretti
 - Strategy for handling
 - Gerald L. Warren
 - Options
 - Impact of various courses of action
 - Impact on public

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 874-21 (continued)

President's appearance on TV
-Timing

[Segment 3]

Hugh Sidey
-Criticism of administration

Watergate
-Embarrassment to administration
-Spiro T. Agnew
-President's statement
-Dean testifying
-Ehrlichman

Ronald L. Ziegler left at 1:40 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-89

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Patrick J. Buchanan. This portion was recorded on March 11, 1973 at an unknown time between 2:33 and 2:39 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Press conference
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's response
 - Senate committee hearings
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - Donald H. Segretti

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-93

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Charles W. Colson. This portion was recorded on March 11, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:19 and 4:51 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Washington Post reporting
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Dwight L. Chapin
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Hearings
 - Ralph Flanders
 - Damage to the White House
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Court ruling
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
- Ervin hearings
 - Court ruling
 - Dean
 - Lawyer-client privilege
 - Executive privilege
- Testimony by White House aides
 - H.R. Haldeman
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Colson
 - Chapin
- Separation of powers
 - Avoidance of cover-up
 - Public stand
- Gray
 - Paris Herald Tribune
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raw files
 - American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
 - Effect on FBI
 - Aid to the President's image
- Washington Post article
 - Demonstrators
 - Peace groups
 - Conventions
 - San Francisco
 - Los Angeles

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-93 (continued)

- Double standard
- Washington Star
- Vance Hartke
 - Misuse of funds
 - Bob Walters
- Campaign practices
- Dean's investigation
- Non-White House personnel

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 876-5

Portion of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger. This portion was recorded on March 12 1973 at an unknown time between 10:34 a.m. and 12:20 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. [Segments 1 through 4 contain Abuse of Power material, and also contain national security information. Only segment 5 is released.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 5] [P, HRH]

Watergate

- Ervin hearings
 - Length of time
- John W. Gardner
 - Possible Senate candidate
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS) investigation
 - Candidate from Ohio
 - Background investigation
- IRS audit
 - Congress
 - William E. Timmons
 - List of targets
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - George S. McGovern contributors
 - Vance Hartke
- White House, Cabinet officers

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 878-5

Portion of a conversation between the President and George H. W. Bush. This portion was recorded on March 13, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:05 and 11:16 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Ambassadorial appointments
-Financial contributors
-Maurice H. Stans
-Amounts
-H. R. Haldeman

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5
[Privacy]
[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

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-William P. Rogers' conversation with Bush
-Concerns
-Jerry S. Jones
-Robert L. Vesco

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 878-7

Portions of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. These portions were recorded on March 13, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:35 a.m. and 12:03 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Media Articles
 - Watergate
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Gordon C. Strachan
 - Confirmation hearings
 - Media articles
 - Problems
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Wallace H. Johnson
 - James O. Eastland
 - Advice
 - Dean testimony
 - Subpoena

[Segment 2]

- Watergate
 - President's meeting with Dean
 - Subjects of discussion
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - William C. Sullivan
 - Testimony about Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Timing of testimony

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

Conversation Number 878-22

Portion of a conversation between the President, Ronald L. Ziegler, H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 13, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:55 and 6:29 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Questions
- Stories on John W. Dean, III
 - Testimony
- John O. Pastore
- Questions from press
 - Ziegler's answer
 - President's cooperation with Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and grand jury
 - Cooperation in giving information
 - Executive Privilege
 - Written questions
- Peter M. Flanigan
 - Testimony
- Emphasis on complete cooperation
 - Alger Hiss case
- Hiss case
 - Harry S Truman's order of noncooperation
 - Raw files
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - Justice Department
 - Precedent
- Cooperation
 - Sworn statements
 - Answer to questions
 - Guidelines
 - Executive privilege
 - Extent
 - Comparison with John F. Kennedy, Sherman Adams case
- Sworn written statements
 - Ziegler's statement
 - President's press conference

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 878-22 (continued)

- Reference to Ziegler
- President's meeting with Dean
 - Donald H. Segretti case
 - White House involvement
- President's press conference
 - Patrick J. Buchanan's view
 - Extent of comments
- Ehrlichman's appearance on T.V. talk show
 - Question on Watergate
 - Producer's criticism of Thomas E. Jarriel, Herbert E. Kaplow
 - Fay Weedon [?]
 - Failure to ask questions on Watergate
- Longevity as an issue
- President's press conference
 - Press concerns
 - Value
 - Types of questions
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Segretti
 - FBI file
 - President's comments
 - Ervin Committee concerns
 - President's comments

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- White House staff
 - Handling
 - Problems
- Break-in
- Robert L. Vesco case
 - Hiring of lawyers
 - Charles W. Colson
 - George A. Smathers
 - \$100,000

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-15

Portion of a conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 between 8:55 and 8:59 a.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 37-99.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-99

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 between 8:55 and 8:59 a.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 419-15.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Preparation for Ronald L. Ziegler's press briefing
- Invitation to James O. Eastland
- Dean's appearance before Senate Judiciary Committee
- White House stance
- Senate Republicans
- Possible subpoena of Dean for L. Patrick Gray,
III's nomination
- Dean's response
- White House policy on Senate questioning
- Historical precedents
- H. R. Haldeman
- John D. Ehrlichman

Meeting with the President

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-20

Portion of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III, Ronald L. Ziegler and Richard A. Moore. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:50 and 10:50 a.m. in the President's EOB office. Stephen B. Bull participated in a small portion of this segment. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Ziegler's press conference
 - Time
- Public statement on Senate questions
 - Formulation
- Executive privilege
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Statements
- Executive privilege
 - President's policy
 - Senate questions
- Testimony of H. R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson
 - Problems
- John N. Mitchell
- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Nomination
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- G. Gordon Liddy
 - Questions
- Dean's letter
 - Subpoena
 - President's response
- Gray's testimony
 - Press questions
 - Position
 - Confirmation
 - Timeframe
 - Watergate

Richard A. Moore entered at an unknown time after 9:55 a.m.

- Congressional subpoenas
 - Advantages to administration

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-20 (continued)

-Court fight
-Delays

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 6 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- Prominence of issue
- Cover-up money
- White House staff
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
 - Vulnerabilities
 - Ehrlichman
 - Colson
 - Haldeman
 - Mitchell
 - Responsibilities
 - Vs. culpability
- Donald H. Segretti and Dwight L. Chapin
 - Impact
 - Damage to administration
- Public reaction to Watergate
 - Importance of issue
 - Level of public suspicion
 - Jeb S. Magruder
- Administration strategy
 - Consistency with President's statement
 - Dean
 - Written interrogatories
 - Answers
- Executive privilege
 - Use
 - Reaction of press
 - Targets

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-20 (continued)

- Haldeman
- Mitchell
- Chapin
- Colson
- White House staff
 - Public perceptions of Haldeman, Mitchell
 - Chapin's relation to Haldeman
 - Magruder
 - Relation to Haldeman
 - Haldeman
 - Involvement
 - Dick Tuck
 - President's security
 - Demonstrations
 - Violence
 - Tuck
 - Organization
 - Opposition to George S. McGovern
 - President's campaign policy on heckling
- Public perceptions
 - White House staff
 - Gordon C. Strachan, Magruder and Chapin
- Investigation
 - Chapin, Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) report
 - Segretti
 - Allegations of involvement
 - Ziegler's response
 - President's suggestions
- 1972 campaign
- Public statements
- Ervin hearings
 - Work with administration
 - Problems
 - President's comments
- Segretti
 - President's knowledge
 - Response to questions
 - Illegal practices
 - Espionage and sabotage
 - Legality

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

Conversation Number 419-20 (continued)

- Campaign practices
 - False mailings
- Demonstrations against President
 - Violence
 - Double standard
- Press questions and the administration's responses

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Privacy]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

- Illegal activities
 - Demonstrations
 - Distinction from legal activities
 - Campaign practices
- Election campaign tactics
 - Sabotage and espionage
 - Violations of law
 - Legal acts
 - Demonstrations
 - Publicity
 - Double standards
- President's press conference questions
 - Answers to questions for President
 - Demonstrations
 - Illegal acts
 - Questions on illegal acts
 - Tuck
- Dean's report on Watergate
- Campaign ethics
- Chapin's departure from White House
 - Segretti case
 - Haldeman's knowledge
 - Chapin's role
 - Kalmbach's role

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-20 (continued)

- Allegations
 - Substance
- FBI investigation
 - Campaign activities
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Liddy
- Dean's investigation of FBI files
- Illegal acts
- Dean's investigation
 - Segretti
 - Chapin
 - Strachan
 - Segretti
 - Vulnerability
 - Chapin
 - Kalmbach
 - FBI investigation
 - Gray's testimony
 - Chapin interviewed
 - Activities
 - Allegations
 - Line of questioning
 - Ziegler's statement
- Ervin Committee
 - Impartiality
 - Investigation of both sides of campaign
- Public attitudes
 - White House knowledge
 - Dean investigation
 - The President's role
 - Watergate break-in
 - Hunt and Liddy
 - Magruder
 - Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
 - Dean investigation
- President's statements for press
 - Segretti
 - Overblown rhetoric
- Demonstrations
 - Violence
 - Double standard of press
 - Involvement of McGovern supporters

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-20 (continued)

- Segretti
- Allegations
- Ziegler's statement

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:55 a.m.

President's next meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:50 a.m.

Watergate

- Ziegler's press conference
- Preparation of statement
- Ervin Committee
- Ziegler's comments
- Formulation
- President's comments
- Responsibility for break-in
- Exploitation by opposition
- Rhetoric
- President's comments to press
- Gray hearings
- Robert L. Vesco case
- Executive privilege
- White House staff

President's meeting with Dean and Moore

- FBI investigation

Ziegler, Dean and Moore left at 10:50 a.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 879-5

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:10 a.m. and 12:25 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate
 -Problems
 -Donald H. Segretti case
 -News interest
 -Amount, duration
 -International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)
case
 -Ronald L. Ziegler
 -L. Patrick Gray, III
 -Testimony
 -Questions from Congress
 -Opening of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
raw files

[Segment 2]

Watergate
 -Segretti case
 -Richard G. Kleindienst
 -Source of problems
 -Lack of Republican support
 -John W. Dean, III
 -Invitation to testify
 -Republicans
 -Appearance of nonpartisanship
 -Public posture
 -Need for support for President
 -Kleindienst
 -Lack of support
 -Talk
 -John D. Ehrlichman, Dean
 -Justice Department

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- John N. Mitchell
- Kleindienst
- Gray

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-23

Portion of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III and Richard A. Moore. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 between 12:47 and 1:30 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Ronald L. Ziegler's briefing on Watergate

- Length
 - Comparison to James C. Haggerty
 - Limits
- Format
- Subjects
 - Written interrogatories
 - President's appearance
 - Congressional investigation
 - Edward M. Kennedy and Birch Bayh
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Meeting with H. R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and lawyers
- Separation of powers

Watergate

- Thomas Lumbard's interview with Washington Post
 - Work for Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP)
 - Dean's conversation with Donald E. Santarelli
 - Post report
 - Link between G. Gordon Liddy and Dean
 - Counsel duties
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
 - William C. Sullivan
- Ervin Committee
 - Subpoenas
 - Authority over administration
- Common Cause law suit
 - Dean's subpoena
 - Administration lawyers
 - Abilities
 - John W. Gardner
 - Lawrence F. O'Brien's suit, Maurice H. Stans's libel suit
- Administration counter-offensive

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

Conversation Number 419-23 (continued)

-Ervin Committee
-March 13, 1973 issuance of subpoenas for Dean, Jeb
S.
Magruder, Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., Murray M. Chotiner
-Ervin Committee
-Objectives
-Investigation of Stans
-Questions for Dean
-CRP personnel structure
-O'Brien suit against CRP
-Dean subpoena
-Use of executive privilege
-Court fight
-Haldeman and Ehrlichman
-UNINTELLIGIBLE
-Executive privilege
-Dan Rather's questions
-President's statements
-Alger Hiss case
-President's criticisms of White House
-Harry S Truman's non-cooperation
-Response of press corps
-Previous appearance before Congressional Committee
as Vice-President
-FBI
-Sullivan
-Problems
-Knowledge of certain activities
-Trust settlement
-Democratic abuses
-Possible release
-UNINTELLIGIBLE
-President's statements for press
-Release of material
-Precedents
-1968 campaign
-Allegations of wiretapping
-Sullivan
-Knowledge of illegal activities by
Democrats
-John N. Mitchell's conversation with Cartha D.
-Sullivan

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-23 (continued)

-Use of information
-Lyndon B. Johnson
 -White House staff involvement
-UNINTELLIGIBLE
-Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 6 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-John B. Connally
-UNINTELLIGIBLE
-Gray

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Privacy]
[Duration: 11 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

-Testimony to Congress
 -Contacts with Dean
-Donald H. Segretti
 -UNINTELLIGIBLE
 -Dean's reports to President
 -Questions from press
 -Responses
 -Investigation of Segretti

Campaign contributions
 -Robert L. Vesco

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-23 (continued)

- Connection with Stans
 - Seriousness of problem
 - Cash contribution
 - DeVan L. Shumway
- Donald A. Nixon
 - Work with Vesco
- Dick Tuck
- Mexican banks
 - Stans' role
 - Current investigation

Watergate

- Gray
 - Testimony to Congress
 - Press conference
 - Ehrlichman
- Segretti case
 - Questions for President
 - Response
 - Ehrlichman
- Executive privilege
 - Guidelines
 - Double privilege
 - Washington D.C. courts
 - Supreme Court
 - Attitude toward executive privilege
 - William H. Rehnquist
 - Justification
 - Colson
- Truman administration
 - Total non-cooperation in Hiss case
 - Department of Justice raw files vs.

summary

- report
 - Contrast with administration's position
- Ervin Committee
 - Administration cooperation
- Dan Rather
 - Hiss case
 - Truman administration's non-cooperation
- Democratic illegalities
 - Press leaks

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments
-Need for publicity

Moore and Dean left at 1:30 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-108

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:25 and 4:34 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 419-34B.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Congressional access to Federal Bureau of Investigation
(FBI) raw files
 -Past incidents
 -Orders for FBI

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-34

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:25 and 5:29 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversations 37-107, 37-108, and 37-109. Conversation 37-107 is not related to Watergate information and will not be released at this time.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Ziegler's press conference

- Executive privilege
 - John W. Dean, III
- Watergate
 - Administration cooperation with investigators
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Dean
 - UNINTELLIGIBLE
 - Further questions on Watergate
- Executive privilege
 - Emphasis on cooperation
 - Restrictions on raw files disclosure

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:25 and 4:34 p.m.

[Conversation No. 419-34A]

[See Conversation No. 37-107]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Donald H. Segretti case
- Ziegler's statements
- White House involvement

The President talked with John W. Dean, III at an unknown time between 4:25 and 4:34 p.m.

[Conversation No. 419-34B]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-34 (continued)

[See Conversation No. 37-108]
[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Segretti case
 - White House involvement
 - Dwight L. Chapin's involvement
 - Questions to Ziegler
 - Political sabotage and espionage
 - White House involvement
- Chapin-Segretti link
 - Confirmation
 - L. Patrick Gray, III's testimony
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

interviews

- Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Ziegler's remarks
 - Use of FBI raw files

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Privacy]

[Duration: 2 m 9 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- President's reply at press conference
 - Dean's report
 - White House involvement
 - Ervin Committee investigation
 - Guidelines
 - Hearsay prohibition
 - Press questions
 - President's reaction to reports on Segretti
 - Dean investigation
 - Chapin involvement

The President talked with Dean between 4:34 and 4:36 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 419-34 (continued)

[Conversation No. 419-34C]

[See Conversation No. 37-109]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- President's press conference
 - Raw files disclosure
 - Answer
 - Dean's investigation
 - Problems
 - Further comments
 - Segretti case
 - Investigation
 - Segretti's actions
 - Chapin
 - Hiring of Segretti
 - Contacts of Segretti, Mitchell, and
- Kalmbach
- Justice Department investigation

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Ziegler's talk with James C. Haggerty
 - Executive privilege
- International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) case
- Television
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Dan Rather
 - As national issue
 - Hearings on TV
- Testimony
 - Mitchell, Maurice H. Stans, Chapin, Dean
 - Segretti
 - Subpoenas
- Executive privilege
 - Mitchell

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

Conversation Number 419-34 (continued)

- Stans
- Joseph R. McCarthy hearings
- Mitchell, Stans and Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
- Hiss case
 - Press stories and reactions
 - Impact on establishment
- Press conference
 - Questions
 - Dean
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Segretti case
 - Dean's investigation
 - White House staff
 - Chapin
- Impact on White House staff
 - Ziegler
 - Confrontations with press
- Ervin hearings
 - Guidelines for conduct
 - Hearsay
- Gray
 - Hearings
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - Difficulties

[Segment 3]

- Press conference
 - Vesco case
 - Handling
 - John D. Ehrlichman's advice
 - Stans
 - Contributions
 - President's comments

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-109

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 14, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:34 and 4:36 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 419-34C.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Comments on agencies' responsiveness
- Congressional access to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raw files
- James O. Eastland
 - Judicial hearings
- John J. McClellan
 - Joseph Valachi case
- Harry Dexter White case
- J. Edgar Hoover's policy
 - Public statement by the administration

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-116

Portion of a telephone conversation between Ronald L. Ziegler and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:22 and 10:05 a.m. The President's voice may be heard in the background. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Preparation for press briefing

- Subpoena of Dean in Common Cause suit
 - Dean's response
 - Reason for subpoena
 - Dean as the President's counsel
- Subpoenas of Congressional aides
 - Thomas Dodd
 - Daniel Brewster
 - Clark Mollenhoff's response
- White House staff depositions in civil suits
 - Precedents
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Type of questions
- Mollenhoff
 - Congressional aides' immunity
- Colson's deposition
 - Judicial executive privilege
 - Legislative executive privilege
 - Differences
 - Reasons for appearance
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Senate committee
 - Colson's deposition
 - Speech on executive privilege

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-3

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:58 a.m. and 12:05 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Press conference

- Watergate
 - Court tests
 - Ziegler's future comments
 - President's comments
 - Restrictions on White House commentary
 - Cooperation with Congress
 - Record of administration
 - Alger Hiss case
 - Press sensitivity
 - Unknown reporter's question
 - Ed Kempler
 - Press bias
 - Comparison to Pentagon Papers case
 - Issues of case
- White House position with press
- Clark R. Mollenhoff
- President's handling of questions

[Segment 2]

Press conference

- Watergate
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Executive privilege
 - Committee to Re-elect the President
 - Responsibility
 - Kempler's question
 - Hiss case
 - Cooperation with Congress
 - Hiss case

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-3 (continued)

- Issues
- Press obsessions
 - Hostility to administration and presidency
 - Bias against President
 - Comparison to treatment of John F. Kennedy
- Ziegler's response

Ronald Ziegler left at 12:05 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-6

Portion of a conversation between the President, Henry A. Kissinger and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:12 and 12:25 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1] [P, HAK]

Press conference

- Watergate
 - Questions on Donald H. Segretti
 - President's handling of questions
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - President's demeanor
- Watergate
 - Ed Kempler's question
 - Press double standard
 - Alger Hiss case
 - Harry S Truman
 - Hiss case
 - President's involvement
 - Reasons
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Committee to Re-elect the President
 - Involvement
 - Mitchell's involvement
 - Kissinger's view

[Segment 2] [P, RLZ]

Watergate

- L. Patrick Gray, III
- Testimony before committee
- News reports
 - John W. Dean, III's testimony
 - Restrictions
 - Executive privilege
 - Court challenge
 - Mitchell, Maurice H. Stans

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-6 (continued)

[Segment 3] [[P, RLZ]

Watergate

- Press conference
 - Richard A. Moore's, Patrick J. Buchanan's and Dean's opinion
 - Moore's opinion
- Ziegler's comments
 - Ervin hearings
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raw files
 - White House viewing
 - Disclosure to Ervin Committee
 - Dealings with press
 - J. Edgar Hoover's practices
- Press
 - Frustrations

Press conference

- Length
- Sarah McClendon
- Frances L. Lewine
 - Cut-off of press conference
- Clark R. Mollenhoff
- President's handling of questions
- Timing
 - Advantages
 - Moore's view
- Press hostility
- Watergate
 - Comments
 - Future press conference responses
 - Tone

Watergate

- Executive privilege
 - The President's experiences as congressman
 - Cooperation with committee of Congress
 - Administration's record

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-11

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:04 and 1:16 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Press conference

- Need to present the White House view
- Victor Lasky
- Administration dealings
- Alger Hiss case
 - Comparison with Watergate
 - W. Bruce Weinrod
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Kenneth W. Clawson
- Line for press
- National security issue
- FBI files
 - Use
 - Disclosure to Congress
 - Use by White House staff
- Watergate
 - Executive privilege
- Mood at press conference

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Executive privilege
- Senate actions
 - Possible court test
- Liberals
- Hiss case
 - Harry S Truman's order on executive privilege

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-18

Portion of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:18 and 4:45 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Press conference

- Press responses
- Donald H. Segretti case
- Watergate
- John W. Dean, III's testimony
- Eugene Risher's question
 - Dean's testimony
 - President's handling
- Ziegler's responses to questions
 - President's conversation
 - Previous mistake
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - Recommendation of Segretti
 - Ziegler's denial of a story
 - Veracity
- Chapin
 - Relationship with Segretti
 - Ziegler's answers to questions

Ziegler entered at 4:19 p.m.

- China announcement
- Press questions
 - Watergate
 - Dean
 - Executive privilege
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
- David K. E. Bruce appointment
- Timing
- President's handling
 - Press response to President's appearance
 - Comparison with John F. Kennedy, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Lyndon B. Johnson

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments
Conversation Number 880-18 (continued)

[Segment 2]

Press conference

- Watergate
 - Comments
 - Maurice H. Stans' civil suit
 - Comment
- President's statements
 - Stans
 - Ervin hearings
 - Watergate
 - Dean
 - Segretti
- Ziegler's responses

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24

Portion of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III and Richard A. Moore. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:36 and 6:24 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. [Stephen B. Bull enters and leaves the Oval Office at an unknown time during the conversation.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

President's press conference

- Watergate
 - Policy topics
 - Lack of press interest
- Dean
- Questions on Watergate
 - Press interest
 - Donald H. Segretti
 - Dean
- Other questions
 - Cease-fire
 - Stockpiles
- Past conferences
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower era
 - Previous consultation
- President's handling of conference
- Headlines
 - Dean
 - Washington Star
 - Foreign policy
- Associated press
 - Court test
- Press
 - Future stories
 - Hostility to administration
 - Strategy in the future

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 5:36 p.m.

Refreshment

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 6:24 p.m.

President's press conference

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

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

- Ronald L. Ziegler's role
- Future comments
- Transcripts
 - Senate responses
- Ervin committee
 - Court test over executive privilege
 - President's response

*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National security]
[Duration: 42 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

*

- Watergate
 - Dwight L. Chapin and Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - President's handling of questions
 - Defensiveness
 - Ziegler's statements
 - Administration's cooperativeness
 - Alger Hiss case
 - Difference from Watergate
 - News story
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Harry S Truman's order
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- Dean report
 - Question
- Peter Lisagor and Mary McGrory
 - Questions for Moore
 - Hiss and Watergate case
 - National security issues
- Dan Rather's questions
 - Raw files
 - Disclosure to Congress in Hiss case
 - J. Edgar Hoover's policy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

- Lisagor
- Dean report
 - Questions
 - President's answers
 - Information for public
- Court test
 - President's answer
 - Effectiveness
- Press
 - Proper response
 - Answers to questions
 - Courtesy

Watergate

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Conversation with Dean
 - Meeting with Ervin and Baker
 - FBI reports
 - Disclosure
 - Hoover's policy
 - Raw files
 - Privacy
 - White House staff reports
 - Contents
 - Validity
 - Dangers of disclosure
 - President's policy on disclosure
- FBI raw files
 - Hoover's policy
 - Gray
 - Hoover's policy
 - Instance of disclosure of raw data to congressional committee in 1948
 - Internal security investigation
 - Vote fraud case

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 5:36 p.m.

Delivery of letter to Congressman Bob Wilson

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:24 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

Watergate

- FBI raw files
- Disclosure
 - American Civil Liberties Union
 - Truman's order
 - Newspaper support with exception of

Chicago

Tribune and New York Daily News

- Hiss case
 - Opposition to President's committee
 - Press
 - President's cracking of case
- Administrations's cooperation with committee
 - Separation of powers
 - President's responsibility
- Executive privilege
 - Separation of powers
 - Statement
 - Truman's firing of General Douglas A.

MacArthur

- President's support
- Justification of position
- Ziegler's statement
- Gray
 - Position of raw files disclosure
 - Executive privilege
- Ervin Committee
 - White House staff testimony
- Court test on staff testimony
 - Chapin, Charles W. Colson
 - Chapin
 - Weak points
 - Kalmbach
 - Segretti
- Chapin
 - White House statement
 - Letter to the Presidents
 - Apology
 - Explanation
 - Activities in campaign
 - Segretti
 - Pranksterism

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

- Culpability
- Hiring of Segretti
- Testimony
 - Pranks
 - Other duties
 - Administration's position
 - Haldeman
 - Duties
- Statement for Senate
 - Possibilities
- Ervin Committee
 - White House staff testimony
 - Television
 - Chapin
 - Haldeman
 - Colson
 - Edward M. Kennedy
- Colson
 - Testimony to Senate
 - Administration's position
 - Ties to E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- Court tests on testimony
 - Delays
 - Advantages to administration
 - Duration
 - Supreme Court
 - President's statement
 - Separation of powers issue
 - Advantages
 - Dean testimony
 - Court rulings
 - Dean's privilege as counsel to President
 - Congressional reluctance
 - Robert C. Byrd
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s position
 - Congressional position
 - Decisions and options
 - Advantages to administration
- Ervin
 - Knowledge of Constitution
- Daniel K. Inouye
- White House statement

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

- Press
 - Treatment of Ziegler
 - Ziegler's handling
 - President's statements to Ervin
- Ervin committee
 - White House statements
 - Compared to Hiss case
 - Hearsay
 - Guilt by association
 - Senators' questions
 - Use of rules of court
 - Hearsay
 - Ervin's conduct of committee
 - President's handling of Hiss case
 - Cooperation with FBI
 - Agent L. B. Nichols
 - Hoover
 - Leaks
 - Breaking of case
 - Robert Stripling
 - Editorials
 - Herblock cartoons
 - Whittaker Chambers
 - Potential for dramatization in television series
 - Stripling
 - Dislike of Drew Pearson and the Left
- White House staff
 - Stripling comparison with Chapin, Colson
 - Aggressiveness
- Hiss case
 - Cooperation with Stripling
 - President's age
 - Attacks on establishment, Congress, State Department
 - New York Times, Washington Post, St. Louis Dispatch, Louisville Courier
- Impact
- Alger Hiss
 - Background
 - Dean G. Acheson

Department

Post-

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 880-24 (continued)

- Harvard
- Defense fund
 - McGeorge Bundy
 - Contribution
- Moore's view
- July confrontation of Hiss and Chambers
- Testimony
- Chambers' dentist [Dr. Hitchcock]
- Perjury
- Automobile purchase transaction
- Intellectuals
 - Hunger for power
- Trial
- Pumpkin papers
- Moore
 - Work in Nixon campaign in 1950
- Hiss' background
 - Moore's visits to Georgetown in 1945
 - Stories of Hiss's communist leanings
 - Halperin [sp?] [first name unknown]
- President's committee in 1948
 - Staff
 - Amount of work
- Work with FBI
 - Cooperation
 - National security concerns
 - Information
 - Disclosure
 - Raw files
- FBI report
 - Leak to President's committee
- Press
 - Lisagor
 - James B. Reston
 - Hatred for President
- Ervin committee
 - Possible subpoenas
 - Chapin
- Republicans
 - Statements
- Administration's cooperation
 - Extent

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Dean and Moore left at 6:24 p.m.

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

Conversation Number 416-34

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 15, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:22 and 10:05 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Problems
 - Donald H. Segretti
- Peter M. Flanigan
 - Investigation
- John W. Dean, III
 - Questions about Ervin Committee appearance
 - Response
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Constitution
 - Separation of powers
- John D. Ehrlichman
 - Testimony
- Dean's letter
 - Testimony to committee by staff
 - Kissinger
 - Ehrlichman
 - Dean's responsibilities
- Dwight L. Chapin
- Ziegler's statement
 - President's confidence in White House staff
- Press questions for President
 - Past investigations
 - President's possible answers
- Chapin
 - Charges against
 - White House statements
- President's final statement
- Ziegler's game plan to questions
 - Segretti
 - Chapin
- Clark Mollenhoff
- Further questions
 - President's answers
- Dean
 - Dealings with Federal Bureau of Investigation

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

(FBI)

- Ervin Committee
 - Dealings with Dean
 - Cooperation

Conversation Number 416-34 (continued)

- Dean
 - FBI information
 - Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP)
 - Testimony to committee
- White House staff
 - Depositions
- Ervin Committee hearings
- Dean
- H.R. Haldeman
 - Testimony
 - Subpoena
- Cross examination
- Separation of powers
 - Cooperation of White House
 - Haldeman testimony
 - Richard G. Kleindienst hearings
 - Answers to questions from press
 - Cooperation with committee
 - Right to cross-examine White House staff
- Ziegler's statements to press
 - Confidence in Chapin

Trade legislation

Watergate

- CRP
 - Testimony
 - Dean
- Ehrlichman, Ziegler
- Chapin
- Answers to press
 - Post stories
 - Grand jury proceedings
- Chapin
 - Segretti
 - Allegations
 - Chapin's denials
- Herbert W. Kalmbach testimony

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Dean
 - Position for Ervin Committee
- Separation of powers
 - Statements for press
 - Chapin

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-2

Portion of a conversation between the President and Henry A. Kissinger. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:18 and 10:33 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

President's press conference

- New York Times
- Television
- David K. Bruce
- Questions
- Watergate
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Reasons for break-in
 - Public reaction
 - Disclosure of information
 - White House staff testimony
 - Position
- Kissinger's talk with Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
 - Clark M. Clifford
 - Califano's reaction to Watergate trial
 - Court system
 - Senate hearings
- Controversy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-3

Portion of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 between 10:34 and 11:10 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files disclosure to investigation
 - Press conference question
 - Richard G. Kleindienst's meeting with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. and Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Evaluated report on files
 - Inspection by committee counsel
 - Limits on disclosure
 - Previous agreements with J. Edgar Hoover
 - L. Patrick Gray, III's testimony to Judiciary Committee
- Raw files
 - Roman L. Hruska's inspection
 - Limits on raw files
 - James O. Eastland
- Gray
 - FBI investigations
 - Control
 - Credibility of FBI
- Dean report
 - Oral report
 - Summary of findings
 - Briefing of Ziegler, White House staff
 - Cooperation with Congress
 - Washington Star reports
 - White House clarifications
- FBI files
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - Judiciary Committee
 - Chairman, ranking members
 - Gray
 - Release to Attorney General
 - Propriety
 - Gray's testimony
 - Meeting with Ervin and Baker

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-3 (continued)

- Administration's position
- Baker's statements on T.V.
 - Kleindienst
 - Previous conversation with the President
 - Discussion of issues and ground rules
 - Options
 - Baker's motives
- John N. Mitchell
 - Talk with Baker
- Baker
 - Talk with President
 - Contents
 - Contacts with Kleindienst
 - Influence of Washington, D.C. on attitudes
 - Edward J. Gurney
 - Position on Watergate
 - Political aspirations
 - Fred D. Thompson
 - Dealings with Samuel Dash
- Ervin Committee
 - Investigation of charges against Democrats
 - Publicity
 - Barry M. Goldwater speech
 - Letter to Ervin
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Material
 - Call to Dean
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Amount of material
 - Need to broaden investigation
- Democrats
 - Strength, organization
- Press
 - Detroit Press
 - Inadequacies of White House efforts
- President's image
 - Protection
 - Dangers
 - Disclosure of information
 - Dean testimony
 - Watergate
 - Donald H. Segretti

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

Conversation Number 881-3 (continued)

- Disclosure of information
 - Briefing of Ziegler
 - Strategy
 - Dean report
 - Oral report
 - Responses to committee
 - Post election
 - Full disclosure
 - Dangers
 - Advantages
 - Cover-up
 - Interviews of White House staff at White House offices by Dash
 - Pre-emption of hearings
 - Full disclosure
 - Problems
- Ervin Committee
 - Baker
 - Court challenge
 - Credibility
 - Expressions of concern
- Work by Dean and Richard A. Moore
 - Need for master plan
 - Stay at Camp David
 - Mitchell
 - Judgment
 - John D. Ehrlichman, Maurice H. Stans, Gray
- Cover-up
 - Avoidance
 - Necessity
 - The Presidency
 - Ziegler's answer on Dwight L. Chapin and Segretti press conference
 - Misleading statements
- News summary
 - Note to Dean from the President
 - FBI agent's comments
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - FBI files
- Dean's meeting with Ziegler

at
The President talked with an unknown person at an unknown time

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-3 (continued)

between 10:34 and 10:58 a.m.

[Conversation No. 881-3A]

Request for Ziegler's attendance at meeting

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- T.V. coverage of press conference
 - National Broadcasting Company (NBC)
 - John W. Chancellor
 - President's responses to questions
 - Credibility
 - Advantages of T.V.
- President's credibility
 - Necessity
- Ervin Committee
 - Activities, thinking
 - White House knowledge
 - Attitude of members
 - Gurney, Baker

Ronald Ziegler entered at 10:58 a.m.

- White House strategy
 - FBI files
 - Kleindienst's report to Ervin and Baker
 - Disclosure
 - Answer to press
 - Limitations, guidelines
 - Hoover precedent
- Statement on disclosure
 - Raw files
 - Danger to innocent people
 - Committee chairman
 - White House policy
 - Kleindienst
- Gray
 - Orders from White House

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-3 (continued)

- Supervision of Attorney General
- Leaks to press from Judiciary Committee
 - Kalmbach
- White House policy
- Gray
 - Testimony
 - Disclosure of information
- Dean report
 - Format
 - Statements
- Kleindienst's meeting with Ervin and Baker
 - Ziegler's comments to press
 - President's meeting with Baker
 - White House staff appearances before Committee
 - President's opposition
 - Ervin's knowledge
 - Baker's statement
 - Baker's ideas on testimony
 - Stans
 - Mitchell
 - President's view
 - White House staff
- White House staff
 - Testimony before Committee

Dean's call to Kleindienst

Dean left at 11:06 a.m.

Dean's job
-Difficulties

President's press conference, March 15, 1973

- T.V. coverage
 - Watergate
- Issues covered in T.V. coverage
 - Food prices, David K. Bruce's appointment
 - Vietnam settlement

Watergate

- Ziegler's statement
- Cooperation of administration

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-3 (continued)

- President's orders
 - Limitations
- Past precedents
- Ziegler's briefing on Watergate
- Problem of cover-up
 - Segretti
 - Protection of President
- Ervin Committee
 - Work with White House
 - Complete disclosure of facts
 - Concern for innocent
- Ziegler's comments for press
 - Past statements
 - Stans
- Referral to President's statement

President's press conference, March 15, 1973

- T.V. coverage
 - Ziegler's evaluation
- Press hostility
- Press respect for President
 - Firmness
- Wire services
 - Reactions
- Networks, morning papers
 - Washington Star

Ronald L. Ziegler left at 11:10 a.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-4

Portions of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. These portions were recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:10 a.m. and 12:06 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- John W. Dean, III
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Coordination
- John N. Mitchell
 - Judgment
- Dean
 - Quality of work
 - Advice of others
- Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Meeting with President
 - Publicity
 - View of White House staff
 - Possible testimony
 - President's opinion
 - Political aspiration
 - Credibility
 - Comparison with Ralph E. Flanders
 - Role on committee
- Rowland Evans, Robert D. Novak column
 - News summary report
 - Poll of Congress
- Congressional support for President
 - Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.
- Supporters throughout country
 - Gabriel Hauge
- Dean
 - Discussion of options
 - Cover-up
 - Danger to President
 - Haldeman's opinion
 - Strategy
- Donald H. Segretti case
 - Full disclosure

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

Conversation Number 881-4 (continued)

- Advantages
- Involvement
 - Haldeman
- Dean's role
 - Containment strategy
 - Value
- Full disclosure
 - Advantages
 - Dangers
 - Exposure of cover-up
 - Dean's view
 - Containment
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files
 - Charles W. Colson's view
 - Gray confirmation testimony
 - Advantages to administration
 - FBI leaks
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
- FBI
 - Mitchell
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - J. Edgar Hoover
 - Political acumen

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Press conference
- As an issue
- President's statements on disclosures
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
- Court challenge
 - Constitutional problems
 - Benefits
 - Dean
- Dwight L. Chapin
- Colson
 - Role in White House
 - Benefits
- Chapin

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-4 (continued)

- Legal preparation
- Involvement with Segretti
- Knowledge
- Issue
 - Cover-up vs. break-in
 - Hauge's perception
 - Danger to administration
 - Burglars
 - Conviction
 - Possibility of widening the investigation
 - Future arrests
 - Jeb S. Magruder
 - Mitchell
 - Ties to White House
 - Haldeman
 - Haldeman
 - Relationship with Magruder
 - Statement
 - Colson
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Knowledge
 - Mitchell
 - Magruder
 - Ties to Haldeman
 - Contact with
 - Circumstantial evidence
 - Compared to Chapin
 - Ties to Segretti
 - Compared to Colson
 - Ties to Hunt
 - Mitchell
 - Problems
 - Refusal to talk with President
 - Executive privilege
 - Questions for President
 - Chapin
 - Separation of Power

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 11:10 a.m.

President's schedule
-Pete V. Domenici

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-4 (continued)

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:06 p.m.

Watergate

- Separation of powers
 - President's handling of questions
 - Word "privilege"
 - Public understanding of issue
- News summary
- Ervin Committee
 - Segretti case
 - President's responsibility
 - Statements by President
 - Timing

H. R. Haldeman left at 12:06 p.m.

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

Conversation Number 881-7

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:31 and 1:36 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Issuance of report or White Paper
 - Need for future conversations with John W. Dean,
- III
- Strategy
 - Cooperation with Congress
 - Questions from press
 - Staff testimony
 - Dean
 - Guidelines, restrictions
 - Written questions
 - Strategy
 - Maximum disclosure
 - Advantages, problems
 - Watergate burglars
 - Containment of testimony
 - Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
 - Danger of confessions
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Sloan
 - Cooperation
 - Dissension
 - Conflict with Jeb S. Magruder
 - Dean's concerns
 - Knowledge
 - Speculations by Sloan
 - Liddy
 - Danger to administration
 - Knowledge of Donald H. Segretti's activities
 - Recruitment by Dwight L. Chapin
 - Contacts with Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Work with Liddy
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Links among various activities
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Possible statements

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

Conversation Number 881-7 (continued)

Watergate -Current position on responsibility for

 -Statement on Magruder

 -Implication of Charles W. Colson, Dean and

Mitchell

 -Magruder

 -Involvement in Watergate

 -Colson

 -Knowledge of Watergate

 -Magruder

 -Statement about Haldeman

 -Discussion with Dean

 -Link in chain

 -Emotional state

 -Testimony in court, Senate

 -John J. Sirica's evaluation

 -White Paper

 -Advisability

 -Dean's opinion

 -Need for action

 -Haldeman's opinion

H. R. Haldeman left at 1:36 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 420-11

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 3:00 and 4:47 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Campaign contributions

-Internal Revenue Service (IRS) investigation of Howard Hughes

- Donald F. Nixon
 - John Meier
 - Interview
 - Ehrlichman's view
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo
 - Interview
 - Delays
 - Don Alexander
 - \$150,000 contribution
 - Unreported
- Robert L. Vesco
 - Prosecution
 - Donald F. Nixon
 - Disengagement
 - Liability
 - Edward C. Nixon
 - Washington Star and New Republic stories
 - Ties with President's family
 - Donald F. Nixon
- White House staff
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Ehrlichman
 - Charles W. Colson
- Murray M. Chotiner, George A. Smathers
 - Work for Vesco
 - Visit to Ehrlichman
 - Tod R. Hullin
 - Financial deal
 - Blackmail
 - Edward C. Nixon
- \$250,000 contribution
 - Maurice H. Stans

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

Conversation Number 420-11 (continued)

- Return of contributions
- Edward C. Nixon
- White House statement
 - Campaign contributions
 - Stans
 - Harry L. Sears
 - Meeting with Vesco
 - Edward C. Nixon
 - Stans
- Chotiner
- Colson's law firm
 - Possible retainer (\$100,000)
- Smathers
- New York law firms
- Exile in Costa Rica

*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National Security]
[Duration: 33 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

*

- Howard F. Cerny
 - Vesco's attorney
 - Relationship to Donald F. Nixon
 - President's family
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Appearances
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Testimony
 - Need for care

Watergate

- H. R. Haldeman and Ehrlichman
 - Exclusion from meetings with Dean
 - Colson

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 420-11 (continued)

- President's strategy
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Cooperation with Congress
 - Past administrations
 - Problems of reporting
 - Comments on case
 - Restraint
 - Press behavior
- Ervin Committee
 - Samuel Dash
 - Edward J. Gurney
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Joseph R. McCarthy's hearings
- Dean
 - Kleindienst
 - Talk with Baker
 - Meeting with President
 - Record of conversation
 - Everett M. Dirksen
 - Report
 - Interviews of individuals
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
 - Jeb S. Magruder
 - Testimony
 - Conflicts
 - Change of testimony
- Hiss case
- Mitchell
- Colson
- Haldeman
 - Circumstantial evidence
 - Link with Magruder
- Magruder
 - Talk with Dean
 - Mitchell's role
 - Haldeman's role
 - Differing testimony
 - Haldeman
 - Colson
 - Mitchell

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

Conversation Number 420-11 (continued)

- Self-protection
- Instigation of break-in
 - Mitchell
 - Haldeman
 - Colson's need to know about opposition
 - Pressure on Magruder to find out about Lawrence F. O'Brien
- International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) case
 - Campaign contribution
 - San Diego convention
 - Fear of demonstration
 - Reubin O. Askew-Democrats connection
- Ehrlichman's hypothesis on the break-in
 - Magruder
 - Pressure on G. Gordon Liddy
 - Costs of operation
 - Call to Sloan
 - Cash for break-in
 - Evolution of break-in plan
 - Liddy contacts with E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - James W. McCord, Jr.'s recruitment
 - Need for equipment
 - Liddy's reports
 - Dissemination

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Privacy]

[Duration: 47 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- Mitchell
 - Knowledge of break-in
 - Frederick C. LaRue
- Donald H. Segretti
- President's answers to questions
 - White House involvement

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

Conversation Number 420-11 (continued)

- Segretti
- Need to get the facts out
- White House staff
 - Importance
 - Mitchell, Colson, Ehrlichman
 - Haldeman
 - Involvement
 - Gordon C. Strachan
- Fate of presidency
 - Priority
 - Dependence on White House staff
- Kalmbach
 - Money link
 - Segretti link
 - Activities
- Segretti case
 - Problem areas
 - Kalmbach's fundraising
 - Use of campaign funds
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - [Anthony T. Ulasewicz?]
 - Disposition of funds
 - Exposure
 - Dangers
 - Bad publicity
 - Ervin Committee
 - Samuel Dash
- Kalmbach
 - Questions about bank accounts
 - Possible subpoena
 - Exposure
 - Vulnerability
 - Possible statement
 - Link to Haldeman
 - [Terrence O'Donnell?]
 - Use at Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP)
- Limits of testimony
- Public opinion
 - Boredom
 - Press corps
 - Interest

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

Conversation Number 420-11 (continued)

- Public reaction
- Ervin Committee
 - Duration of hearings
 - Frequency of hearings
 - President's cooperation
 - Magruder
 - Spokesman
- Segretti
 - Revelations of activities
- Break-in
 - Value
 - Morality
 - Effects on President
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Dwight D. Eisenhower, Sherman Adams
- Ervin Committee
 - Information from White House
 - Mitchell
 - Vulnerability
 - Cooperation
 - Full disclosure
 - Problems
- Dean
 - Report to President
 - Forwarding to Ervin
 - Disclosures
 - Publicity
 - Disclosures
 - Incriminating evidence
- Break-in
 - Ehrlichman's theory
 - Colson
 - Hunt's activities
 - Colson
 - Mitchell
 - Receipt of money
 - Hunt
 - Liddy
 - Role of the committee
 - Link to Kalmbach
- Richard A. Moore
 - Report to President

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Dean
- Ervin Committee
 - Star witnesses
 - Mitchell, Stans
 - Magruder
 - TV appearances
 - McCarthy hearings
 - Subpoena
 - Martha B. Mitchell
- Cooperation from White House
 - Written statements
 - Disclosure of information

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-8

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 between 4:51 and 4:52 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Sherman Adams analogy in Washington Post article,
March 16, 1973
 - Parallels with John W. Dean, III's testimony
 - Differences
- White House staff
 - Testimony
 - Charges of criminality

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 881-12

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:10 and 5:14 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Ziegler's meeting with Republican Club presidents of east coast schools

- Ziegler's impression
- Watergate
 - Interest in constitutional questions
 - Sherman Adams case
 - Charge of impropriety
 - Comparison
 - Administration's stand on cooperation
 - H.R. Haldeman
 - John W. Dean, III

Watergate

- Richard G. Kleindienst's meeting with Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
- White House cooperation
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files
 - Disclosure
 - Regulations
 - Administration position

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-132

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Charles W. Colson. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 at an unknown time between 7:53 and 8:12 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Ervin Committee hearings
 - Pete Flanigan
 - H. R. Haldeman
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Compared to Sherman Adams
- President's national stature
 - Effect of POW return
 - Ending war
 - President's statement on Watergate
 - Questioning of John W. Dean, III
 - Cooperation of White House staff
- White House staff cooperation
 - Richard L. Wilson
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

questioning

- Grand jury questioning
- Senate cooperation
 - Barry Goldwater
 - Colson's role
 - Sen. Edward W. Brooke
- FBI raw files
 - White House cooperation
 - Compared to Alger Hiss case
 - Harry S Truman
- President's press conference
 - L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Compared to J. Edgar Hoover
 - FBI raw files
 - James O. Eastland
 - John Stennis
- Instructions for Colson
 - Senate
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Webster
 - Meeting with President

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments
-Fears discussed

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-134

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 16, 1973 between 8:14 and 8:23 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Meeting with Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Ervin Committee counsels [Samuel Dash, Fred D. Thompson]
 - Results of meeting
 - Report by Justice Department
 - FBI synopsis of raw files
 - L. Patrick Gray
 - Questioning of Ronald L. Ziegler
- Instructions for Dean
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Preparation of statement for the President
 - Sentencing of Watergate burglars
 - Judge John J. Sirica
 - Lengths of prison terms
- Dean's conversation with Moore
 - Problems of investigative report described
 - President's instructions
 - Value of report
- Future oral report by Dean
- Written report
 - Ervin Committee
 - Format
- White House staff involvement
 - FBI files
 - Grand jury evidence
- Ervin Committee
 - Access to grand jury evidence
 - Ervin

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-134 (continued)

- Executive privilege issue
- White House testimony
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - Charles W. Colson
- Dean investigative report
 - Donald H. Segretti
 - White House involvement
 - Charges
 - Financing
 - Ervin

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 882-10

Portions of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. These portions were recorded on March 17, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:37 and 12:47 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Senate committee
 - Separation of powers
 - Executive privilege
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Washington Post story
 - Compromise
 - President's view
 - John W. Dean, III

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Attention to issue
- Last Presidential press conference
 - Impact on press and Senate
 - President's cooperation with Congress
- Press reports
 - Positive tone
- Senate hearings
 - Press coverage
 - Problems
 - Campaign finances
 - Democratic abuses

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 883-5

Portions of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler. These portions were recorded on March 19, 1973 at an unknown time between 11:06 a.m. and 12:34 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, RLZ]

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 and John W. Dean, III
 - The President's statement
 - Comments on Ervin's comments
 - The President's response to Ervin's threats
 - 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
- News media
 - 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 Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 883-5 (continued)

- White House aides
 - Testimony
 - Court case
 - Delays
- Ervin Committee
 - Ehrlichman's advice
 - Threats of imprisonment
 - The President's reply
 - Separation of power
 - Cooperation
 - Sensationalism
 - Central issues
 - White House cooperation
 - Separation of powers
 - 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
 - Department of Justice
 - Ziegler's comments
 - Files on case
 - SEC subpoena
 - William J. Casey
 - Summary of contents
 - Spiro T. Agnew, John B. Connally, and Peter G. Peterson
 - Leaks from committee
 - Comments

[Segment 2] [P, HRH, RLZ]

- Watergate
 - Warren
 - Briefings
 - Administration's cooperation

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 883-5 (continued)

- William J. Baroody's office
 - Publicity
- Jeremiah O'Leary story in Washington Star

- Raw files
 - Alger Hiss analogy
- Cooperation

Ziegler left at 11:26 a.m.

- Public relations efforts
 - Someone to direct
- White House staff
 - Public relations sense and coordination of efforts

[Segment 3] [P, HRH]

Press conference

- Watergate questions
 - Public interest
 - Media interest
 - Testimony before Congress
 - Cooperation
- Press reports
 - Stories of confrontation

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 420-17

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 19, 1973 between 1:28 and 1:31 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 37-154.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 37-154

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 19, 1973 between 1:28 and 1:31 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 420-17.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Ziegler's press briefing
- Administration cooperation in investigation
 - Columnists
 - William L. White's column
- Ziegler
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Kenneth W. Clawson
- [First name unknown] Lindbaugh [sp?]
 - Meetings with columnists
- Compared to Sherman Adams case
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Nature of charges
 - H. R. Haldeman
 - Hugh Scott's statement

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 420-24

Portions of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III and Richard A. Moore. These portions were recorded on March 19, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:03 and 5:41 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Disclosures by administration
- Strategy

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Disclosures
 - Extent
 - Problems/dangers
- Executive privilege
 - Press inquiries
 - President's willingness to cooperate
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's statement
- Press relations
 - Administration's point of view
- Meetings with congressmen
 - Hugh Scott
 - Edward J. Gurney
 - Appearance on "Today" show
 - Executive privilege
 - Hugh Scott
- Separation of powers
- Common Cause lawsuit
 - Disclosure of contributors prior to April 7, 1972
- Depositions to Dean
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Dean's response
- Compliance with campaign laws
- Department of Justice's ruling on Dean's testimony
- Executive privilege
- Attorney-client privilege
- Disclosures

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 420-24 (continued)

- Extent
- President's cooperation
 - Confidentiality
- Written questions
- Guidelines
- Common Cause suit
 - Dean's statement
 - Dean's testimony
- Release of statement to public
 - Attorney-client privilege
- Donald H. Segretti case
- Statement by President
 - Extent of disclosures
 - President's willingness to cooperate
- Disclosures by White House
 - Extent
 - Reports by press
- White House staff
 - Involvement in Watergate
 - Dean
 - Testimony
 - Confidentiality
 - Cooperation with Ervin Committee
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - H.R. Haldeman
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Sworn statements
 - Testimony
 - Limits
 - Criticism from press
- Investigations
 - White House responses to Ervin Committee
 - Dean
 - Ehrlichman
 - Criticism
 - Howard H. Baker. Jr.
- Public attitudes
 - Support for President's position on disclosures
 - Executive privilege

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 5:41 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-3

Portion of a conversation between the President, Ronald L. Ziegler, Hugh Scott, Leslie C. Arends and William E. Timmons. This portion was recorded on March 20, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:30 and 10:46 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Executive privilege
- Scott's statement
- John W. Dean, III's testimony
 - Cooperation
 - Story in newspaper
- Scott and Arends' statements
 - White House cooperation
 - Guidelines
- Appearance of White House staff before

Congressional committees

- Comparison with Sherman Adams
- Dean
 - Legal status
 - Written interrogatories
- Alger Hiss case precedent
 - Harry S Truman's order
 - Earl Browder
- Truman's orders to Federal Bureau of

Investigation (FBI)

- Separation of powers
 - Compared to Supreme Court
 - Justice William O. Douglas
 - Pornography decision
 - Confidentiality of aides
- Emphasis on positive positions of

administration

- Television
- Power of committees
 - Scott's research
 - Power of Subpoena
 - Precedents
- Senate's powers
 - Vote of Senate to compel testimony

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-3 (continued)

- Court test
 - Separation of powers
 - Delays
- White House cooperation
 - Full disclosure
 - Guidelines
 - Republican complaints
- Public relations
 - Problems
 - Need for Republican Congressmen to help

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- White House disclosures
- Cooperation of White House
 - Concern for separation of powers

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-7

Portions of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. These portions were recorded on March 20, 1973 at an unknown time between 10:47 and 11:40 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

ITT case

- Ronald L. Ziegler's statements
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) investigation
- Report
 - Democratic Congressmen
 - Vance Hartke
 - Need for publicity
- Spiro T. Agnew, John B. Connally, Haldeman, Peter M. Flanigan
- Interview with Charles W. Colson
- Reporters' questions
 - Need for counter-attack
 - Old story
 - Previous testimony
 - Richard W. McLaren
- Ehrlichman
 - Need to work on case

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Theodore H. White
- Issue of presidential power
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Publicity for President's position
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Lack of publicity
 - Attack on press
 - Agnew

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-17

Portion of a conversation between the President, John W. Dean, III and Richard A. Moore. This portion was recorded on March 20, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:42 and 2:31 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- A report for President
 - President's approach
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's comments
 - Problems
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.'s questions
 - Possible questions
 - Donald H. Segretti case
 - White House cooperation with Ervin Committee
 - Jeb S. Magruder interview
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP) intelligence operation
- Ervin Committee questions
 - Dean's answers
 - General answers
 - In response to Magruder
 - Hearsay testimony
 - Possible questions
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

investigations of Segretti

- Dean's meetings with Segretti
 - Dean's answers
 - Gordon C. Strachan
 - Segretti's reasons for contacting Dean
 - Dwight L. Chapin and Herbert W. Kalmbach

involvement

- Grand jury testimony
- Generalities
- Number of questions
 - Ervin
- Possible questions
 - Ziegler's response
- Ervin, Samuel Dash
- Written interrogatories
 - Administration position

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-17 (continued)

- Replies
- Cross examination
- Written interrogatories
 - Strategy of administration
 - Agreement with committee
- Administration defense against Ervin Committee
 - Story for Rowland Evans and Robert Novack or Kevin Phillips
- Barry M. Goldwater
 - Double standard
 - Investigation by FBI of committee members' last campaign
- Goldwater
- William J. Baroody
- Committee members vulnerability
 - Campaign contributions
- Burglars
 - Appeal to court for exemption from hearings
 - Judge John J. Sirica
- Use of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
 - Committee rules
- Charges of campaign violations
 - Goldwater speech
 - Draft
 - Baroody
- Leaks to columnists
 - Charges of double standard
- Investigation of George S. McGovern's campaign
 - Republican investigation
 - FBI investigation
- Democratic National Committee
 - Discovery of bug in phone
 - FBI investigation
- Administration counterattack
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Appearance before Ervin Committee
 - Democratic uses of FBI
 - Disclosure
 - L. Patrick Gray, III's confirmation
- Gray hearings
 - Gray's work with John D. Ehrlichman
 - Richard G. Kleindienst

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-17 (continued)

- FBI
 - Sullivan testimony
 - Cartha D. DeLoach
 - Closed sessions
 - Political use of FBI
 - Leaks by White House
 - New investigation of past abuses
 - Joseph A. Califano
 - White House staff testimony
 - Claims of privilege
 - President's concern
 - Precedents
 - FBI
 - Use by administration
 - False accusations
 - Use by past administrations
 - 1968 campaign
 - Telephone surveillance
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Talk with Dean
 - Testimony in Robert L. Vesco case by grand jury
 - Questions
 - Range
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr. and Segretti
 - Ehrlichman
 - Dean
 - Donald A. Nixon and Edward C. Nixon
 - Prosecutors
 - Appointment
 - Vesco
 - Dealings with administration
 - Value to Vesco
 - Reaction to grand jury
 - Questions
 - International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)
- case
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)
- documents
- Harley O. Staggers
 - Department of Justice
 - Senate Judiciary Committee
 - Possibility of perjury by

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

Kleindienst

Conversation Number 884-17 (continued)

- Jack N. Anderson leak
- Release of documents
- Antitrust problems
- Senators' problems
- Contacts with Spiro T. Agnew by Harold S. Geneen and Edward J. Gerrity, Jr.
- Peter G. Peterson, John B. Connally
- ITT officials
- Divestiture of company
- Vesco case
 - Compared to ITT case
 - Contribution to 1972 campaign
 - Returned to Vesco
 - Democratic exploitation
 - Political uses of case
- Ervin hearings
 - Media coverage
 - Questions for administration
 - Written interrogatories for Dean
 - Executive privilege
 - Edward J. Gurney
 - Debate of John V. Tunney
 - Dean's assessment
 - Defense of administration
 - Risks
- Strategy
 - Next step for administration
 - Questions for administration
 - Ziegler's response
 - Potential headlines
 - Dean involvement with Segretti
 - Kalmbach
 - Administration handling
 - Options
 - Counterattack
 - Tone
 - Sullivan
 - Testimony on past abuses of FBI
 - Goldwater
 - Investigation of Democrats
 - President's view

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-17 (continued)

- Sullivan
- Senate hearings
- A report for President
 - Ehrlichman
 - Review
 - Ziegler
 - Review
 - Moore's opinion
- Gray
 - Hearings
 - Segretti
- Dean's report on Segretti
 - Segretti's meetings with Strachan
 - Number of contacts
 - Dean's meeting with Segretti
 - Generalities
 - Dean's knowledge of activities
 - Part of investigation
 - Knowledge of illegalities
 - Questioning
 - Statements for press
 - Conclusions
 - White House involvement
 - Generalities
 - Dean's involvement
 - Purpose
- A report for President
 - Ehrlichman's review
 - Revisions
 - Ziegler's review
 - Possible release
 - Review by senators
 - Charles McC Mathias
 - Committee chairman
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
- Ervin hearings
 - Gurney
 - Support for administration
 - ITT
 - Presidential involvement
- Vesco case
 - Gurney

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-17 (continued)

- Grand jury hearing
 - Prosecutors
 - Left-wingers
 - Jews
- Need for counterattack
- Sullivan
 - Testimony on Democratic illegalities
 - Impact of FBI, Lyndon B. Johnson, J. Edgar

Hoover

- Embarrassment
 - Need to be careful
- A report for President
 - Ehrlichman's review
 - James O. Eastland's review
- Strategy for counterattack
 - Vesco

- FBI revelations
 - Sullivan
 - Use by Democrats
 - FBI investigation of Congressmen

Dean and Moore left at 2:31 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 884-23

Portion of a conversation between the President, John D. Ehrlichman and George H. W. Bush. This portion was recorded on March 20, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:09 and 4:26 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Effects
- Constitutional issues
 - Executive privilege
- Issue of disclosure
- White House staff
 - Cooperation with grand jury, congressional committee
- Method of cooperation
 - Sherman Adams precedent
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Intent to cooperate
- Staff testimony
- Offers of cooperation
- Effects on Republican Party
 - Concerns on local level
 - Association with the President
- Political issue
 - Interest in New York and Washington
 - Rest of country
 - Cleveland, Kansas City
 - Disinterest
 - Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman
 - Washington press corps
 - Liberal biases
- Staff testimony
 - Executive privilege

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 20, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:26 and 5:39 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. [The recording began at an unknown time while the conversation was in progress.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

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
 - Allegations of misuse
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Statement

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- 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
 - T.V. appearances
 - NBC's "Today Show", CBS news
 - Number
 - Publicity
 - Impact on Senate colleagues
- Colson's operation
 - Effectiveness
 - George S. McGovern's campaign
- Administration strategy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- 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 S. Magruder
 - Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
 - Defendants
 - Hunt
 - Knowledge of Committee to Re-elect the President's (CRP) activities
- CRP
 - Stans
 - President's knowledge of activities
 - Hunt, H. R. 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

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- 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
 - 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
 - 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 Department of Justice
- Administration handling of case
 - Dean
 - Public statements
- SEC investigation
 - Ehrlichman's meeting with G. Bradford Cook,

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments
March 20

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- Civil action
- Referral to Department of Justice

[Segment 2]

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
- Briefing of Cabinet

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- 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. Flannigan
- 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
 - Adams
 - Shield laws
 - Precedents

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 885-1 (continued)

- 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
- 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
 - Work with CRP

[Segment 3]

- Watergate
 - Dean
 - Encouragement
 - Recommendation of L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Mitchell
 - Kleindienst
 - Kleindienst and Gray

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Problems
- Targets of attack
 - Dean
 - Haldeman, Colson
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) directorship
 - Nominees

John D. Ehrlichman left at 5:39 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 886-7

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 21, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:15 a.m. and 10:12 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- L Patrick Gray, III
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's statement
- Testimony to Congress
 - White House instructions
 - Investigation
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raw files
 - Administration position
 - Gray testimony
- Release to Congress
 - J. Edgar Hoover precedent
- Opposition
- Proper procedures
 - Administration's policy
 - Publicity
- News summary
 - President's past statements
 - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Questioning
- Committee's questions
 - Watergate
 - Gray's instructions
 - Deal between Richard G. Kleindienst and

James O. Eastland

- Confusion
 - Ziegler's statements
- Administration's policy
 - President's instructions
 - Constraints
- Kleindienst
 - Press conferences

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 886-18

Portion of a conversation between the President and Rose Mary Woods. This portion was recorded on March 21, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:06 and 1:20 p.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Cash finances

-Fund

-Needs

-Woods' fund

-Inquiry and response

-Amount

-Lack of record

-The President, Mrs. Nixon

-Transfer

-Needs

-Knowledge of existence

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-8

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 21, 1973 at an unknown time between 3:05 and 3:45 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Haldeman's forthcoming meeting
 - John D. Ehrlichman and John W. Dean, III
- Dean's workload
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr., G. Gordon Liddy
 - Money
- Watergate burglars
- James W. McCord, Jr.
- Frederick C. LaRue
 - Aid for Haldeman
 - Pressure on John N. Mitchell
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
- Mitchell
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- Money for defendants
 - Cubans
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- Administration's strategy
 - Money
 - Channeling to defendants
 - LaRue
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Hunt
- Ehrlichman
 - Ideas on strategy
 - Sense of concern about Watergate
- Egil "Bud" Krogh, Jr.
 - Knowledge of Cubans
- William Sullivan
- White House staff
 - Testimony before grand jury
 - Guidelines
 - Legal advice
 - Criminal charges
- An attorney
- Jeb S. Magruder
- Liddy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-8 (continued)

- Testimony
- Hunt
- Ehrlichman and Krogh
- Discussions of Watergate
 - Colson
- Hunt
 - Involvement in Watergate
 - Colson
 - Campaign practices
- Liddy
 - Source of orders
 - Testimony
 - Knowledge
- Watergate
 - Colson
 - Dean's statement to President
 - Call to Magruder
 - Pressure for information
- Intelligence operations
 - Haldeman pressure on Magruder
 - Legitimate activities
 - Open recording of Democratic public statements
- Purpose
- Legitimacy
 - Schedule information on opponents
 - Sources
 - News reports
- Grand jury

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time
between 3:05 and 3:45 p.m.

[Conversation No. 421-8A]

[Request call to unknown person]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Watergate
 - Henry Petersen
 - Grand jury
 - Questions

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

Conversation Number 421-8 (continued)

- Subpoenas
 - Files
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - William Sullivan
- Strategy for administration
 - Handling grand jury
 - UNINTELLIGIBLE
 - Statements for Senate committee
 - Use of executive privilege
 - Question of potential guilt
 - Sherman Adams
 - Problem of grand jury
- Alger Hiss case
 - Court decisions
- Press
 - New York Times, Washington Post
 - Hostility to President
- Grand jury
 - Limitations
 - Contrast with Senate committee
- Special prosecutor
 - Appointment
 - Tom Clark
- Grand jury
 - Handling

Next meeting with Haldeman
-Time

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-18

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 21, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:53 and 5:20 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- President's statement
 - A letter
 - Questions from press
- Strategy
 - Statement on Dwight L. Chapin
 - Disclosures for the record
 - Washington Post story
 - Public reaction
- Grand jury
 - Convocation
 - Findings
 - Investigations of H. R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson, Donald H.

Segretti

- Statement by President
 - Attack on Ervin Committee
 - William Baroody
 - Infringement on constitutional principles
 - Publicity
- "5 percenter cases"

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:53 and 4:58 p.m.

[Conversation No. 421-18A]

[See Conversation No. 37-194]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Harry S Truman administration

The President talked with William P. Rogers between 4:58 and 5:00 p.m.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-18 (continued)

[Conversation No. 421-18B]

[See Conversation No. 37-195; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation.]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

-Harry Vaughan's testimony during Dwight D. Eisenhower administration

-Chapin

-President's statement

-John W. Dean, III's call to Segretti

-Segretti's activities

-Disclosure of information

-H. R. Haldeman

-Knowledge of Chapin and Segretti

-Segretti's activities

-White House staff testimony

-Letters

-Segretti case

-Case of bad judgment

-Attacks on administration

-Grand jury

-White House staff testimony

-Investigation

-Advantage to administration over Senate

hearing

-Ervin hearings

-Letter

-President's statement

-Timing

[Note: The succeeding portion of this conversation has been previously released as part of White House Tapes, Watergate Special Prosecution Force File Segment, RG 460.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-10

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Richard G. Kleindienst. This portion was recorded on March 22, 1973 between 2:19 and 2:26 p.m. [The President's portion of this telephone conversation was previously released in June 1991 as conversation 422-33. Conversation 44-10 included both participants. A transcript of the President's portion of conversation 44-10 is located in the RG 460 finding aid under March 22, 1973, conversation 422-33, transcription pages 16 to 20.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate investigation

-Howard H. Baker, Jr.

-Desire to meet with Kleindienst

-Contact with White House staff

-Kleindienst as point of contact

-Meetings with Kleindienst

-Telephone calls

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Privacy]

[Duration: 4 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Administrative assistant's complaints to
William E. Timmons

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2]

[Privacy]

[Duration: 7 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2]

-Contact with administration

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-10 (continued)

- Ideas about testimony
- John W. Dean, III as White House liaison with Kleindienst

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Kleindienst's conversation with James O. Eastland
 - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
 - Difficulties in confirmation
 - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Possible appointment to Second Circuit Court
 - Confirmation prospects
 - Eastland's view
 - Wallace H. Johnson's view
 - Responsibility
 - Availability of raw files
 - Ervin Committee
- Kleindienst's conversation with Weicker
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) policy regarding availability of Watergate information
- Baker
 - Meeting with Kleindienst

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-2

Portion of a conversation between the President and Henry A. Kissinger. This portion as recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 8:54 and 9:44 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Civil libertarians
 - John J. Sirica's sentencing of G. Gordon Liddy
 - Harshness
 - First offenders
- Senate counsel
 - Changes in public
- Comparison with Joseph McCarthy period
- Alger Hiss case
 - Attacks on President
 - New York Times, Washington Post
- Court case
- Media
 - Double standard

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-4

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:47 and 10:55 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Ronald L. Ziegler's briefing
- John W. Dean, III
 - Report
 - New Problems
 - Completion
- New problems
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Fifth Amendment
 - John J. Sirica
 - Immunity
 - Liddy's response
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Testimony
 - William O. Bittman
 - Delivery of money
 - Jeb S. Magruder
 - Testimony to grand jury
 - Harm to Dean
 - Conflicts in testimony
 - Talk with Kenneth W. Parkinson and Paul L.

O'Brien

- Testimony
- Watergate planning
 - Gordon C. Strachan's order
- Credibility
 - Possibility of White House involvement
- Watergate break-in
 - Statement on Strachan's, Haldeman's and President's role
- Meeting with John N. Mitchell and Haldeman
 - Dean's advice
 - Containment
- Testimony of principals
 - Hunt

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- Magruder
 - Implication of White House staff, Mitchell
 - Confession of perjury
 - Quest for immunity
 - Sirica
 - Implication of higher-ups
 - Haldeman's involvement in break-in
 - Magruder's charges
 - Reasons
 - Need to talk to him
- Haldeman
 - Meeting with Mitchell and Ehrlichman
- Magruder
 - Meeting with Dean
 - Statement on James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Implication of Dean, Strachan, Haldeman and President
 - Administration's response
 - Dean's warnings
 - Public charges
- Hunt's charges
 - Planning the break-in
 - Involvement
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Bittman as source
 - Meeting
 - Colson
- Dean
 - Testimony before grand jury
 - Privilege on conversations with President
 - Meeting between Dean and Richard A. Moore, March 26
 - Plan for handling Watergate
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Department of Justice, and courts
 - Lack of credibility
 - Senate hearings
 - Credibility
 - White House
 - Credibility
 - Response to charges
 - Problems

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- Hunt, Liddy, Mitchell, Hugh Sloan, Jr.
- Lack of credibility
- Independent commission similar to the
Warren Commission on the Kennedy
assassination
- Reasons
- Statements
 - Need for agreement from the three
branches of government
- Appointments
 - William P. Roger's suggestions
 - Earl Warren
 - Ehrlichman
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Former Senator John J. Williams
 - Warren, Tom C. Clark
 - Executive branch representative
 - Past Attorneys General
 - Tom C. Clark
 - Herbert Brownell
 - Ramsey W. Clark
- Size, distribution
- Powers
- Security clearances
- Need for dramatic move by President
 - Hope for resolution
- Independent commission
 - Alternative to grand jury and Senate
commission
- Televised Senate hearings
- Move by President
 - Need for immediate action
- Dean's analysis
 - Magruder
 - Hunt
- McCord
 - Dean's suspicions
 - Rejection of immunity offers
 - Mitchell's reaction to McCord's new lawyer
 - Communist involvement in Watergate
- Hunt

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- Bittman
- Testimony
- Ehrlichman's advice
 - Suspension of Dean
 - Leave of absence
 - Withdrawal of L. Patrick Gray, III's nomination
- Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Rogers' advice
 - Suspension of Kleindienst
 - Mitchell
- Haldeman, Dean
 - Magruder's testimony
 - Leave of absence
 - Dean
- Leaves of absence
 - Problems
 - Colson
 - Magruder
 - Strachan
 - Magruder's testimony
 - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
 - Protection
 - Charges
- Executive privilege
- Leave of absence
 - Dean
 - Request
- McCord
 - Call to Egil "Bud" Krogh, Jr.
 - Fears
- Liddy
 - Possible testimony
 - Link to other operations
 - Plumbers
- Plumbers
 - Problems
 - Ehrlichman's records
 - Memos from Colson
 - Daniel Ellsberg
- Colson
 - Involvement in various operations
 - International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)

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

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- White House staff
 - Involvement
 - Dean
 - Innocence

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- White House staff
 - Colson
- President's involvement
 - Wiretapping
 - Types of intelligence gathering
 - President's orders
 - Colson
 - Use of President's authority
 - Use of Haldeman's name
- Magruder
 - Use of Haldeman's name in requests
 - Name dropping
 - Meeting with President
 - Lack of contact except for post-Watergate tour of 1701 Pennsylvania Ave. in September 1972
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Testimony
 - Hearsay
 - Damage
 - Haldeman, Strachan denials
- Burglars
 - Clemency
 - Likelihood
 - Cubans, Liddy
 - Fairness question in clemency
 - McCord
- Next action
 - Meeting of Mitchell, Haldeman, Magruder
 - Dean, Moore
 - Investigation of independent commission idea
 - Discussion with Ehrlichman
 - Dean's suggestion
 - President's T.V. appearance

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- Timing
 - Vietnam settlement
- Length
- News coverage
- Ehrlichman's reaction to idea
- Reasons for commission
- Groundwork
 - Recruitment of members
 - Prestige of members
 - A recruiter
 - Dean, William E. Timmons, Ehrlichman
 - Rogers' role
- Rogers
 - Discussion with President
 - Discussion with Haldeman

[Segment 3]

Watergate

- Independent commission
 - President's opinion
 - Public relations problems
- Need for action by President
 - Julius Caesar's wife analogy
- Funding for the commission

[Segment 4]

Watergate

- Independent commission
 - Financing
 - Staff
 - Financing
 - Source
- Dean's report
- Haldeman's meeting with Mitchell
- President's meeting with Mitchell
- Haldeman's meeting with Magruder
- Magruder
 - Attorneys

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

Conversation Number 888-4 (continued)

- Parkinson, O'Brien
- Reaction to testimony
- Charges
 - Dean's opinion
- Need to protect the President
- Meeting with Ehrlichman
 - Attempt to limit testimony
- Charges
 - Truth
 - Strachan
 - Statement regarding Haldeman
 - Pressure for intelligence
- Pressure on Strachan
 - Haldeman
 - McGovern campaign
 - Tape recordings
- Ehrlichman
 - Dealings with Hunt
 - Memos from Colson
 - Knowledge of break-in
 - Denial
- Krogh
 - Knowledge
 - Investigation of leaks
 - National security
- President's T.V. appearance
 - Importance

[Segment 5]

Watergate

- Evidence
 - Need to control
 - McCord
- Independent commission
 - Dean's opinion
 - Other investigations
 - Kleindienst
- Meeting with Ehrlichman
- Opinion

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-21

Portion of a telephone conversation between H.R. Haldeman and John N. Mitchell. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:10 and 1:16 p.m. [Mr. Haldeman's portion of this telephone conversation was previously released in June 1991 as conversation 423-3. Conversation 44-21 includes both participants. A transcript of Mr. Haldeman's portion of conversation 44-21 is located in the RG 460 finding aid under March 27, 1973, conversation 423-3, transcription pages 62 to 63.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate Investigation

- Mitchell's conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
 - Possibilities
- Jeb S. Magruder
 - Desire to meet with Haldeman, Mitchell
 - Current meeting with Mitchell
- Ervin Committee
 - Liaison with administration
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Grand jury
 - White House need for information
- Haldeman's talk with Kleindienst

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-11

Portions of a conversation between the President and William P. Rogers. These portions were recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 3:27 and 4:16 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Handling
 - Pressures
- Ramifications
- Charges of cover-up
- White House staff
 - H.R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, John W. Dean

III

- Need to clear up charges
 - Possible damage
- Resolution of problem
- Campaign intelligence
 - Legitimate activities
 - Illegal activities
 - Adverse publicity
 - Donald H. Segretti case
 - Haldeman, Dwight L. Chapin
- Public perceptions
- Protection of President
- Liability
 - Obstruction of justice
- Criminal acts
 - Scope
 - Cover-up
- Resolution
- Independent commission
 - Courts
 - Deficiencies
 - Delays
 - Uniqueness
 - Structure and establishment
- White House staff
 - Dean
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Strategy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-11 (continued)

- Full disclosure of evidence and testimony
- Special grand jury
- Special prosecutor
- Waiver of executive privilege
- Dean
 - Testimony
 - Guidelines
 - Investigation
 - Release
 - Scope
 - Confidentiality
 - Knowledge of Watergate
- Ervin Committee
 - Attacks on character
 - Availability of raw files from Justice Department
 - Congressional committees
 - Alger Hiss case
 - "5-percenter" case
 - Gerald Myers (?) [first name unknown]
- Hiss case
 - Obstacles
 - Editorials
 - Statute of limitations
 - Perjury charges
 - Department of Justice reluctance to prosecute
- Criminal complaints
 - Court hearings
 - Congressional committees
- Ervin Committee
 - Use of executive privilege
 - Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Grand jury
 - Criminal charges
- Ervin Committee
 - Ervin's motives
 - Cooperation of White House
 - Delays in hearings
- Grand jury
 - Informal hearings
 - Negotiations
- Public perceptions
 - Presidential cover-up

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-11 (continued)

- Respect of grand jury
- Ervin Committee
 - Secret testimony
- White House staff
 - President's talks with Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson during election
 - Mention of Watergate
 - Surprise at break-in
 - Haldeman
 - Ehrlichman
- Break-in
 - Reasons
 - Discussion
 - Dean's opposition
 - Implementation
 - Instigator
 - Jeb S. Magruder
 - Pressure from White House
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Democratic National Committee (DNC)
 - Mitchell
 - Role in break-in
 - Perjury
- Aftermath
 - Clemency promises
 - Colson
 - Financial help for burglars
 - Cover-up
 - Avoidance
- Grand jury
- Special panel
- Executive session
- Strategy
 - Full disclosure
 - James W. McCord, Jr. statement
 - Charges
 - Delay
- McCord
 - Charges
- Executive privilege use
 - Criminal charges
- Kleindienst

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-11 (continued)

- Knowledge of Watergate
- Judge Sirica
 - Harshness of sentences
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Purpose
 - Party affiliation
 - Contact with Rogers
- Ehrlichman
- Charges
- McCord's statement
- Special prosecutor
 - Kleindienst's view
 - Kleindienst's cooperation
 - Cooperation of White House

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- Obsession of Washington, D.C.
- Attitude of rest of nation
- White House staff
- Grand jury
 - Judge
- Administration's stance
 - Full disclosure
 - Use of special prosecutor
- Judge Sirica
 - Harshness of sentences
- Grand jury
 - Ervin Committee hearings
 - Investigation

[Segment 3]

Watergate

- Kleindienst
- Sherman Adams
 - Charges
- Special panel

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- President's opposition
- Ehrlichman's support

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-27

Portion of a telephone conversation between H.R. Haldeman and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:20 and 4:57 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 423-13/424-1A.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Grand jury

- White House acquisition of information
- Richard A. Moore's forthcoming call to Henry E.

Petersen

-Dean

- John D. Ehrlichman's call to Richard G.

Kleindienst

- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.'s testimony
- Written statement
- Fifth Amendment
- Counsels meeting in court

White House sources of information

- Ervin Committee and grand jury
- Dean
- Dean call to Moore
- Fred F. Fielding's role
- Petersen

F. Lee Bailey's call to John N. Mitchell

- Bernard W. Fensterwald's call to Bailey or Gerald Alch
- James W. McCord, Jr.
- Fensterwald as co-counsel with Bailey
- Fensterwald's interest in President
- Moore

Fensterwald

- Edward M. Kennedy
- Congressional staff position
- Edward V. Long
- Kennedy
- McCord's bail

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-13/424-1

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:20 and 5:20 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversations 44-27 and 44-30.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
 - Postponement
- John W. Dean, III
- John N. Mitchell
 - Talk with Haldeman
 - Lawrence F. O'Brien
 - Jeb S. Magruder's testimony
 - Talked with Dean
 - Dean's testimony before grand jury
 - Appearance before grand jury
- Judge John Sirica
 - Call
- Independent commission
 - Advantages
 - Problem
 - President's discussion with William P. Rogers
- Importance of case
 - Other stories
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - POW release
 - News reports

POW's

- Patriotism

Watergate

- Rogers' advice
 - Statement by President
 - Value
- Public statement by President
 - Impact

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

Conversation Number 423-13/424-1 (continued)

-Lyndon B. Johnson

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Privacy]

[Duration: 22 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Independent commission
 - Mitchell's opinion
 - Dean's appearance before grand jury
- Dean
 - Testimony to grand jury
- Magruder testimony
- Ehrlichman
 - L. Patrick Gray, III

Ehrlichman

- Vacation
- Return to Washington

H. R. Haldeman talked with John W. Dean, III at an unknown time
between 4:20 and 4:57 p.m.

[Conversation No. 423-13/424-1A]

[See Conversation No. 44-27]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Grand jury
 - Dean's plans
 - Written statements
 - Report from Henry E. Peterson
- Mitchell
 - Call from F. Lee Bailey

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-13/424-1 (continued)

- Representation of James W. McCord, Jr.
- Bernard Fensterwald
 - Meeting with McCord and Judge Sirica
- President as target of case
- Fensterwald
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - Senate committee
 - Russell Long
- McCord
 - Naming of White House staff in Watergate
 - Magruder and Dean
 - Revelations
 - Disclosure
 - Investigation of Kennedy
 - Involvement
- Kennedy
 - Investigation
- Magruder
 - Legitimate intelligence activities
 - Washington Post stories
- Dramatic steps by President
 - Necessity
 - Dean's advice
 - Ehrlichman's advice
- McCord
- Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Criticism of Committee counsel's conduct
 - News reports
- McCord
 - Source of funds
- Mitchell
- Independent commission
 - Rogers' opposition
- President's public statement
 - Comments on Mitchell
 - Charles W. Colson's advice
 - Executive privilege
- Executive privilege
 - Uses
 - Pre-June 17, 1972
 - Testimony to Congress
 - Criminal case

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-13/424-1 (continued)

- Department of Justice's jurisdiction
- Mitchell's interpretation
- Kleindienst
 - Call to Sirica
 - Special counsel
 - Sirica's plans
 - Cooperation of White House staff

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- White House staff
 - Cooperation with courts
- Clemency
 - President's opposition
- Dean's investigation
- Ziegler's statement
 - Grand jury appearances
 - Sirica's agreement
- Ervin Committee
 - Jurisdiction over criminal cases
- Colson
 - Advice on issue
- Ervin Committee
 - Need to neutralize

H. R. Haldeman talked with Colson. at an unknown time between
4:48 and 5:20 p.m.

[Conversation No. 423-13/424-1C]

[See also Conversation No. 44-30]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Special prosecutor
 - Colson's opposition
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s charges
 - Substance

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 423-13/424-1 (continued)

-Administration over reaction

H. R. Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time
between 4:58 and 5:20 p.m.

[Conversation No. 423-13/424-1D]

H. R. Haldeman's schedule

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

-White House

-Cooperation with investigators

-Colson

-Mitchell

-Dean

-Role in Watergate

-Comment about McCord

-Implication of Mitchell, Magruder

-Magruder

-Former White House job

Watergate

-Charge of perjury

-President's statement for public

-Candor

-Acceptance of responsibility

-Charges of perjury

-Judge John Sirica

-Sentences for Cubans

-Independent panel

-Warren Commission precedent

-Danger of exaggeration of case

-Executive privilege

-Use against Senate

-President's statement

-Value

-Reception by press

-Dean

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-30

Portion of a telephone conversation between H.R. Haldeman and Charles W. Colson. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:58 and 5:20 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 423-13/424-1C.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Meeting with Colson

Ervin Committee

- White House response to request for testimony
- Richard G. Kleindienst meeting with John J. Sirica
 - White House investigation
 - John W. Dean, III's report
 - James W. McCord Jr.'s charges
 - Possibility of special prosecutor
 - New grand jury
 - Executive privilege on events prior to
Watergate
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's announcement
 - Effects
 - Previous claims of executive privilege
- McCord
 - Statements to Samuel Dash
 - White House reaction
- Commission
- Special prosecutor

Meeting with Colson

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-3

Portion of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:22 and 5:34 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 44-32.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-32

Portions of a telephone conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. These portions were recorded on March 27, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:22 and 5:34 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 424-3.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Watergate

- Ziegler's meeting with press
 - Samuel Dash
- Dash
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Tom C. Korologos' report
- Ziegler's meeting with press
 - Ervin committee
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Possible appearance before grand jury
 - White House cooperation

[Segment 2]

Watergate

- White House response to James W. McCord, Jr.
 - President's conversation with William P. Rogers
 - John D. Ehrlichman's suggestion of President's role in response
- President's role
 - Rogers
 - Sherman Adams
 - Harry S Truman
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Bobby Baker
 - Walter Jenkins
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Adams
 - Truman
 - Ervin Committee
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- McCord
- Cubans

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

Conversation Number 44-32 (continued)

- White House response
 - Individuals' appearance before grand jury
 - Special prosecutor
- Questions at Ziegler's briefing
 - White House statement
 - Grand jury
 - Executive privilege
 - Ervin Committee
 - Cover-up
 - White House statement
 - Dean's report
 - McCord
 - White House staff appearance before grand jury
 - Need for orderly proceedings
- President's March 29 speech

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

Conversation Number 424-10

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 27, 1973 between 6:05 and 7:10 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Haldeman's conversation with Charles W. Colson [?]
 - Obstruction of justice and conspiracy charges
- Independent panel
 - Problems
- Special prosecutor
 - Problem
 - No limit on authority
- Grand jury
 - Danger of losing control
 - Problem
 - Culpability of White House staff
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- Advisor for President
 - Trial/criminal law experience
- Overreaction
 - Richard G. Kleindienst meeting with John J. Sirica
 - Signal to Sirica
 - Trial lawyer's advice
- Criminal lawyer
 - Advice
 - William P. Rogers
- Sirica
- The President's conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
- Hunt's statement
 - Ziegler's understanding
- Cover-up
 - Charges
 - Hearsay
- Grand jury
 - John W. Dean, III's testimony
 - James W. McCord, Jr.'s allegations
 - Cooperation with judiciary
 - Limitations
 - Haldeman
 - Answers to grand jury
 - Executive privilege

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Guidelines
- Colson
 - Effect of Watergate
- Dean
 - Effect of Watergate
 - Involvement
 - Firing
 - Disbarment
- Colson's involvement
- Jeb S. Magruder
 - Meeting with Dean
 - Perjury
 - Conspiracy charges against Dean
 - Funds for lawyers' fees
- Colson
 - Involvement in Watergate
 - Advice
 - Retention of criminal lawyer for White House
- Legal advisor
- Colson
 - Damage to presidency
 - John D. Ehrlichman, Dean
 - Watergate
 - Extent of damage to presidency
 - Conversation with Hunt
 - UNINTELLIGIBLE
- Clemency question
 - Previous discussion
 - Time
- Hunt
 - Dorothy Hunt
 - Family
- President's handling of issue
 - Influence of election
 - Ehrlichman
 - Involvement with other activities
- President's handling
 - Past mistakes
- Independent panel
 - Rogers' advice
- John N. Mitchell
 - Involvement with Watergate

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Resolution of issue
 - Administration strategy
 - Colson's advice
 - Potential problems
 - Hunt, Sirica
- Dean
 - Testimony
- Colson
 - Assessment of damage of cover-up
- Options for President
- Independent panel
- Special counsel
 - Benefits
 - Problems
- Full disclosure
 - Problems
- Court cases
- Colson
 - Statement for Ziegler
 - Executive privilege
 - Possible waiver
- White House staff
 - Cooperation with grand jury, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Statement for Ziegler
 - Colson's advice
 - Criminal charges
 - Cooperation with grand jury
 - Extent
 - Statement for Ziegler
 - Drafting
 - Executive privilege
 - Application with grand jury, Congress
 - Criminal conduct
 - Colson's advice on statement for Ziegler
 - Cooperation with grand jury
 - Separation of powers
 - Criminal charges
 - Form of investigation
 - Senate hearing
- Sirica
 - Dealings with Kleindienst

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Appointment to bench
 - Rogers' action as Attorney General during Dwight D. Eisenhower administration
- Cover-up charges
 - Involvement of White House staff
 - Haldeman, Dean, Ehrlichman
 - Gordon C. Strachan
 - Mitchell
 - Robert C. Mardian, Frederick C. LaRue
 - Kenneth W. Parkinson, Paul L. O'Brien
 - Dean
 - Haldeman
 - Extent
 - Colson
 - Ehrlichman
 - Colson
 - Clemency and funds for defendants
 - Extent
- Perjury charges
 - Magruder
 - Strachan
- Cover-up charges
 - Comparison to original crime
 - Full disclosure
 - Advantages vs. problems
 - Ehrlichman
 - Colson
- Issue
 - Danger of perspective
 - Election campaign
 - Effect on Watergate issue handling
 - Colson
 - Promise of clemency
- Clemency
 - Sirica's use of sentencing
- Independent panel
 - President's opposition
 - Dangers
 - Colson's opposition to panel
- Sherman Adams case
 - Eisenhower administration
- White House staff

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Firing of everyone
 - Possible prison terms
 - Executive privilege
- Colson
- Dean
 - Level of involvement
 - Danger of firing
 - Further disclosures
- Hearsay nature of evidence
- Edward M. Kennedy
 - Surveillance
 - Legitimacy
 - Personal life
 - Disclosures
- L. Patrick Gray, III

H. R. Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 6:05 and 7:10 p.m.

[Conversation No. 424-10-A]

Gray
-Information

The President talked with the unknown person at an unknown time.

Watergate

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Donald H. Segretti
 - Investigation by Kennedy
 - Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
 - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.'s subpoena
- Activities
 - Direction
 - Haldeman's knowledge
 - Authorization of money
 - Purpose
 - Public defense of Haldeman's role

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Ervin Committee
 - Weicker
 - Confrontation with Haldeman
 - Money for campaign
 - Cash contribution
 - Investigation
 - Executive privilege
 - Limits of investigation
- White House strategy
- Press
 - Interest
 - Ability to sustain
 - Washington Post
 - Editorials
- President's interest in Watergate
 - Need for diversion
- Special counsel
 - Problems
- Colson
 - 1972 campaign
 - Discussions with President
 - President's use of time

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 14 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

President's meeting with George P. Shultz

Watergate

- Dealing with case
- Special counsel
 - Benefits
 - Nature of advice
 - Value

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-10 (continued)

- Legal ramifications of actions
- Recruitment
 - Reputation
 - Henry E. Peterson
- Criminal lawyer as advisor to White House
- Consultation with President
- Dealings with White House staff
- Weicker's campaign finances
 - Ervin committee
 - A list
 - Campaign financing
 - Murray M. Chotiner
 - Colson's advice
- Public disclosures
- Internal Revenue Service
- Special counsel
 - Petersen and Kleindienst
- Statement by Ziegler
 - McCord
- Ervin Committee
 - Areas of investigation
- Campaign funds
 - Haldeman's defense
- Dean
 - Defense against charges
- Money to Committee to Re-elect the President
- Weicker

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-22

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 between 8:45 and 9:00 a.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Meeting with John N. Mitchell

- Mitchell's arrival
- Questions for Mitchell
- Jeb S. Magruder

Watergate

- Grand jury
- Charles W. Colson
- Charges
 - Obstruction of justice
 - Perjury
- Colson
 - John W. Dean, III
 - Preparation of Magruder
- Mitchell
 - Charges against
- Grand jury
- John G. Tower, Norris Cotton
- Washington Post story
 - Jules Witcover
 - Republican activists
 - Interest in Watergate
 - Oliver Ouayle, Albert E. Sindlinger
- Media coverage
 - Networks
 - Lead stories
- Post editorial
 - Criticism of Samuel Dash
- Ervin hearings
 - James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Executive session
- White House cooperation
 - Tower, Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Informal testimony
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - William E. Timmons
 - President's concerns

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

Conversation Number 421-22 (continued)

- Executive privilege
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- Declassification of documents

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 14 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

- Ervin Committee
 - Weicker
 - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
 - Agreement with White House
 - Charges of non-cooperation
- Haldeman's meeting with Mitchell
- Haldeman's role
 - Public relations reaction
 - John D. Ehrlichman's abilities
 - Wounded Knee incident
 - Haldeman
- Strategy
 - Colson, Timmons
 - Resolution of issue
 - Haldeman's role
- Congress
 - Intensity of hostility
 - Charges of cover-up
 - White House staff statements for investigators
 - A record of proceedings
 - Kissinger's meetings
 - Need for control
- A Dean report
 - Issuance
 - Value
 - Haldeman's opinion
 - Dean's credibility

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 421-26

Portions of a conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. These portions were recorded on March 28, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:44 and 9:52 a.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 44-39.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-39

Portions of a telephone conversation between the President and Ronald L. Ziegler. These portions were recorded on March 28, 1973 at an unknown time between 9:44 and 9:52 a.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 421-26.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Ziegler's forthcoming briefing

- Watergate
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s testimony
- Congressional request for John W. Dean, III to testify
- Richard G. Kleindienst
- Robert G. Dixon

[Segment 2]

Ziegler's forthcoming briefing

- Watergate
- McCord
- G. Gordon Liddy

[Segment 3]

Ziegler's forthcoming briefing

- Watergate
- Bob Maynard's attack on Samuel Dash in Washington Post, March 28
- McCord
- Prosecutor's comments

[Segment 4]

Ziegler's forthcoming briefing

- Watergate

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-10

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 between 12:45 and 1:45 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Conversation with John W. Dean, III
- Jeb S. Magruder's story
- Responsibility for plan
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr., G. Gordon Liddy, Charles W.

Colson

- Colson's calls to Magruder
- Lawrence F. O'Brien information
- Hunt and Liddy with Colson
- Frederick C. LaRue with Magruder
- O'Brien information
- Florida convention
- Liddy
- Connection with Gordon C. Strachan
- Wire tap information
- Notes given to James W. McCord, Jr. by Baldwin
- [first name unknown]
- Liddy's copies
- Magruder
- White House
- Strachan, Colson
- Strachan's conversation regarding approval of plan
- Haldeman
- The President
- John N. Mitchell
- White House knowledge
- Colson, W. Richard Howard, Strachan and

Haldeman

- Colson
- Howard
- Strachan
- Haldeman
- Strachan's story
- Haldeman's knowledge
- Mitchell's conversation with Haldeman
- Dean's agreement with Magruder prior to Magruder's

Conversation Number 425-10 (continued)

- Magruder's story
 - Meetings in Mitchell's office
 - Liddy
 - Presentation
 - Budget Authorization
 - Mitchell
 - Magruder
 - Dean
 - Colson
 - Magruder's authority
- Liddy
 - Employment by Magruder
 - Firing by Magruder
 - Strachan's order to Magruder
- Magruder's story
 - Porter's forthcoming testimony on cash payments
 - Pre-April 1972 payments
 - Colson
 - Howard
 - Purchase of books
 - Effort to increase sales of Edith Efron's book
 - Colson
 - Edward M. Kennedy mailing in New Hampshire
 - Authorization

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-10 (continued)

- Liddy's work, January-March 1972
- Colson's statement about President's ordering mailing
 - Mitchell
 - Testimony on meetings in Mitchell's office
 - Dean's influence
 - Liddy's role in committee
 - Magruder's diary showing several meetings
 - Mitchell's story of post-Watergate meetings regarding forthcoming testimony on Liddy
 - Meetings
 - Credibility of witnesses
 - Subjects discussed
 - Prior knowledge of Watergate
 - Rejection of plan
 - Liddy's and McCord's work on budget
 - \$250,000 for Liddy
 - Credibility
 - Fear of exposure of perjury
 - Colson
 - Previous testimony
 - Strachan
 - Dean
 - Magruder
 - Family
 - Money
 - Reassurance by Mitchell and Haldeman

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:45 and 1:45 p.m.

[Conversation No. 425-10A]

[See Conversation No. 44-48]

[End of telephone conversation]

Haldeman talked with the Camp David operator at an unknown time between 12:45 and 1:45 p.m.

[Conversation No. 425-10B]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-10 (continued)

[See Conversation No. 44-49]

Haldeman talked with John W. Dean, III at an unknown time

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate

- Magruder's concerns
- Colson
 - Involvement
 - Magruder
 - Mitchell
 - Campaign irregularities
 - Mitchell
- Ehrlichman
 - View of testimony before Ervin Committee
 - Senior White House staff
 - Providing information
 - Grand jury
- Magruder
- Dean
 - Possible denial of involvement
 - Liddy
 - Possible testimony regarding Watergate
 - White House involvement
 - Others' involvement
 - Lawyer-client privilege
- Colson
 - Possible challenges to testimony
 - Magruder
 - Strachan
- Dean
 - Dean
 - Possible immunity
- Mitchell
 - Mitchell
 - Involvement in Watergate
 - Meetings with Liddy
 - Testimony
 - Magruder's story
 - Perjury
 - Effect on Mitchell

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

Conversation Number 425-10 (continued)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 30 s]

END WITHDRAWN TIME NO. 1

-Los Angeles Times article
-Ervin Committee investigation of political
activities
-Suit in California

-\$65,000 payment to unknown person
-Ervin Committee
-Richard G. Kleindienst
-McCord
-Kleindienst
-Ervin and Howard H. Baker, Jr.
-William E. Timmons's role as White House
Congressional liaison
-Dean
-John G. Tower
-Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.'s vote
-Edward J. Gurney and Baker
-Weicker's interest
-Haldeman
-Committee staff's opinion
-Weicker
-Donald H. Segretti
-White House cooperation
-Effect
-TV
-Kleindienst's efforts
-Public hearings
-Question of executive privilege
-White House staff members
-Majority and minority counsel
-Committee members

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-10 (continued)

- Dean
 - Role as White House counsel
 - Possible testimony
- Exercise of privilege
 - Colson
 - Haldeman
 - Hearsay
 - Notes
 - Diary
- Magruder's date book
- Strachan and Dean
- Haldeman
 - Record-keeping
 - Strachan
 - Campaign records kept for President
- Dean
 - Conversations with Haldeman
 - TV cameras
 - Suggestions for handling
 - Timing
 - Dean's conversations with Mitchell and
- Magruder
 - Testimony
 - Need to be truthful
 - Role as White House counsel
 - Privilege
- Magruder
 - Perjury
 - Defense
 - Orders from Colson
 - Money given to Colson for mailing
 - Authorization
 - Committee for Kennedy write-in New Hampshire
- Hunt
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's concern
 - Testimony
 - Charges against Colson regarding Watergate
- break-in
 - Possible explanation of Colson's activities
 - Lawrence F. O'Brien's activities
 - Howard Hughes
 - International Telephone and Telegraph

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

(ITT)

- Kleindienst
- Schedule
- UNINTELLIGIBLE

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-23

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 between 4:20 and 4:40 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- John W. Dean, III
 - Possible testimony
 - Privilege
 - Subjects
- Gordon C. Strachan
- Jeb S. Magruder
- Charles W. Colson
 - Pardons
 - Length of terms
 - Bicentennial, 1976
 - Christmas 1974
 - Cubans
- Magruder
- Dean
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Schedule
 - President's schedule
 - Liaison with Ervin Committee
 - Information
 - Henry E. Peterson, Richard A. Moore
- Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Check on taxes
- Donald H. Segretti
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Kleindienst
 - Moore
 - UNINTELLIGIBLE
 - William P. Rogers
 - Cabinet
 - White House cooperation
 - White House involvement
- Availability of full story of Watergate
 - Liddy
- Magruder
- Question of knowledge

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-23 (continued)

- Liddy
- James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Knowledge of plan
- Liddy's plan
 - Provisions
 - Rejection
 - Magruder
 - John N. Mitchell
- John D. Ehrlichman
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Point of contact
 - Accusations against
- Mitchell

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

Conversation Number 44-58

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 at an unknown time between 7:17 and 7:32 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1]

Haldeman's meeting with Congressmen

-Question on Watergate

-Herman T. Schneebeli

-Haldeman's response

-White House involvement

-Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP)
involvement

-Denials

-Haldeman's involvement

-White House cooperation

-Senate

-Samuel Dash

-Executive privilege

*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[Privacy]

[Duration: 6 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

*

[Segment 2]

Watergate

-Charles W. Colson

-Haldeman's follow-up

-Jeb S. Magruder

-Haldeman's follow-up

-John W. Dean, III

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Report
- Haldeman's call

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 425-26

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 between 8:50 and 9:09 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 44-61.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-61

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 28, 1973 between 8:50 and 9:09 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 425-26.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
 - Grand jury appearance
 - Immunity
- James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Judge John J. Sirica
 - Subpoena for grand jury
 - Effect of information for White House

-Hunt

- Lawyer's report to Paul L. O'Brien
- Grand jury's offer of immunity
- George D. Webster's call to John W. Dean, III
 - Meeting with Howard H. Baker, Jr.'s assistant,

Hugh

Branson

- Baker's desire for liaison with White House
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Murray M. Chotiner
 - Webster
 - William E. Timmons' call to Branson

-Dean

- Mitchell and Jeb S. Magruder
- Need for criminal lawyer
 - Hiring by Dean
 - Dissemination of information
- Mitchell
 - New York Grand Jury
 - Diary showing meetings

-Story

- White House staff involvement after break-in
- Hunt's testimony
- McCord's knowledge

-Timmons

- Webster

-Dean

- Mitchell's story
 - Meetings

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-61 (continued)

- Dean's story
- Prior knowledge
- Magruder
- Mitchell
- Plea
- Executive privilege
- Mitchell and Magruder
 - McCord's possible knowledge
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Preparations for Mitchell meeting
 - Approval of plan
- Mitchell
 - Martha Mitchell's call to the New York Times
 - Allegations
 - Target
 - McCord
 - Target of allegations
 - Magruder
 - Mitchell's reaction
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Hospitalization of Martha Mitchell
- Magruder
- Approval of Liddy's plan
- Dean
 - Criminal lawyer
 - Possibilities
 - Support from President
 - Necessity of testimony
 - Fifth Amendment
 - Firing
 - Testimony
 - Fifth Amendment
 - Lawyer-client relationship
 - Haldeman
 - McCord
 - Grand jury
 - Sirica
 - Ervin Committee
- Charles W. Colson

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-30

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 12:54 and 1:34 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- New developments
- Ervin Committee
 - Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - Speech to Press Club
 - Charges against John W. Dean, III
 - Call to Spiro T. Agnew
 - Opposition to President's stand on executive privilege
 - Public relations problem
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s charges
 - Hearsay
 - E. Howard Hunt, Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy
- Ervin Committee
 - Testimony of Hunt and Liddy
 - John N. Mitchell and Jeb S. Magruder
 - Problem of executive privilege
 - Public hearings
 - Problem of separation of powers
 - Advantages of grand jury
 - Dean appearance
 - Waiver of privileges
 - A public statement
- Grand jury hearings
 - Waiver of privileges regarding criminal conduct
 - Waiver of executive privilege
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Watergate matters, vs. White House business
- Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Press conference
 - Attacks on Committee's leaks
 - Source
 - Judiciary committee employee
 - Discovery
 - Secret Service tail
 - Employee
 - Political views

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-30 (continued)

- Ervin Committee
 - Baker
 - Possible White House action
 - Dean testimony
- Grand jury appearances
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's announcement
 - Dean's appearance
 - McCord's testimony
 - Validity
- Bugging
 - McCord's involvement in other incident
 - Charges
- Watergate reports
 - Delivery to Gordon C. Strachan
 - Strachan's knowledge of contents
- Grand jury testimony
 - Dean
 - Mitchell's request
- Arthur Becker's office meeting
- William P. Rogers
- Mitchell meeting with Liddy
 - Dean's recollection of Mitchell's reaction
 - Purpose
 - Liddy's presentation
 - Rejection
 - Second meeting
 - Purpose
 - Dean's arrival
 - Liddy's presentation
 - Rejection
 - Dean's recounting to Haldeman
- Haldeman's knowledge
 - Intelligence gathering
 - Bugging operation
- President's contacts with Dean and Magruder
 - Pre- and post-election period
- Grand jury
 - Dean's testimony
 - Charges
 - Waiver of executive privilege
 - Guidelines
 - Involvement in break-in

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-30 (continued)

- Mitchell
- Magruder
- Colson
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Richard A. Moore
- Ehrlichman
 - Abilities as lawyer
- Magruder
 - Charges against others
 - Severity
 - Accusations against Mitchell
- Mitchell
 - Possible charges
 - Break-in
 - Discussion of Watergate
- Charges
 - Validity
- Grand jury
 - Dean
 - Publicity for testimony
 - Dean
 - Meeting with Ehrlichman and Haldeman
 - Testimony
 - Basis for refusal
- Mitchell
 - Meeting with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Colson
 - Haldeman's call
- Ehrlichman's meeting with Haldeman

The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman at an unknown time between 12:54 and 1:34 p.m.

[Conversation No. 424-30A]

President's schedule

- George P. Shultz's draft

Haldeman's meeting with Ehrlichman

- Location

[End of telephone conversation]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 424-30 (continued)

Colson

- Debate in Clark Mollenhoff[?]
- Knowledge of Liddy's and Hunt's activities, Watergate

Watergate

- Magruder
 - Attacks on Colson
 - Substance of charges
- Major questions
 - Motive, knowledge of break-in

President's schedule

- A break

Watergate

- Ziegler's announcement
- George H. W. Bush's call
 - Meeting with President
 - Urgency
 - Political advice
 - Impact of Watergate
- Meeting with Haldeman
 - Bryce Harlow
 - Gerald R. Ford
 - Explanation of Watergate
- Damage to President
- Attacks on President
- White House Staff
 - Accusations
- President's meeting with Bush
 - Haldeman's return call
 - President's awareness of crisis
 - President's strategy
 - Bush's suggestions
 - Bush's concerns

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

Conversation Number 426-4

Portion of a conversation between the President, John D. Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman and Ronald L. Ziegler. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 2:45 and 4:20 p.m. in the President's EOB office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 44-68 and conversation 44-69.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

[Segment 1] [P, JDE, HRH, RLZ]

Haldeman

Watergate

- Haldeman's phone conversations
 - John W. Dean, III
 - John N. Mitchell
- Draft statement
 - Mitchell
 - Dean
 - Wording
 - Dean's forthcoming grand jury testimony

H. R. Haldeman entered at 2:46 p.m.

- Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Sherman Adams
- Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Bobby Baker and Walter Jenkins
- Motivation
 - Case
- Statement
 - Dean
 - Wording
 - Dean's forthcoming grand jury testimony
 - Waiver of executive privilege
 - Mitchell's recommendation
 - Limitation
 - Ziegler's presence

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:46 and 3:01 p.m.

[Conversation No. 426-4A]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

[See Conversation No. 44-68]

[The call was placed on hold]

Ziegler
-Meeting with the President

Watergate
-Accusations
-Forum for hearing
-Seriousness

Haldeman talked with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time.

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate
-Forum for handling of charges
-Ervin Committee
-Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
-Possible responses to questions

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:46 and 3:01 p.m.

[Conversation No. 426-4B]

[See Conversation No. 44-69]

[The call was placed on hold]

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:01 p.m.

Press briefing

Haldeman talked with John W. Dean, III at an unknown time between 3:01 and 3:30 p.m.

[The call was placed on hold]

[Ehrlichman talked with Dean at an unknown time]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

[End of telephone call]

President's forthcoming speech, March 29
-Advance text

[The above portion of the conversation took place
simultaneously with Conversation No. 426-4B]

President's speech
-Shultz
-Veto
-Defense budget
-Briefing by Shultz
-Advance text

Watergate
-Jack N. Anderson's column
-President's forthcoming statement
-Ehrlichman's conversation with Dean
-Briefing
-Timing of release
-Briefing
-Charges in Los Angeles Times
-Mitchell and Jeb S. Magruder
-Wire service reports
-Timing of release
-Ehrlichman's meeting with publishers
-Interest in Watergate issue
-New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times
-Dan Rather's commentary on President's forthcoming
speech
-Issues addressed in speech
-Timing of release
-Reaction of press
-Form and timing of White House release
-Mitchell/Charles W. Colson story
-Wording of statement
-Former White House staff members
-Cooperation with grand jury
-Timing of release
-Mitchell

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

- Reaction
 - Roger Mudd, television commentators
 - Weicker, Hugh Scott
- Timing of release of Watergate statement
 - Effect of release prior to evening speech
 - President's forthcoming speech, March 29
 - Networks' possible commentary
 - Newspapers, March 30
- James W. McCord, Jr.'s possible testimony
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.'s possible testimony
- Strategy
 - Ehrlichman
 - Ervin Committee

Ziegler left at 3:30 p.m.

- L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Senate Committee's forthcoming meeting
 - William E. Timmons
 - Charles McC Mathias, Jr.
 - Possible motion
 - Confirmation by Senate
- Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 - President's meeting at the Executive Office Building with Baker
 - Administrative assistant's statement regarding desire for White House contact
 - George D. Webster
 - White House contact
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Ehrlichman
 - President
 - Spiro T. Agnew
 - Ehrlichman
 - Ehrlichman
 - Committee's procedures
 - Written interrogatories
 - Executive session
 - Stonewalling
 - Campaign
 - Form of information
 - Privilege

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

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

- Possible party at interest
 - Ervin's concerns
- Instructions from President
 - Grand jury
 - Executive privilege
 - Edward J. Gurney
- Ervin Committee
 - Leaks
 - McCord's testimony
 - Ervin's and Baker's meeting with Samuel Dash
- Special counsel to White House
 - Qualifications
 - Dean's possible counsel
 - Qualifications
 - Donald Santarelli, Frank [surname unknown]
 - Dean
 - Statements to President regarding Haldeman
 - William P. Rogers
- Instructions from Ehrlichman
 - Call to Baker

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 4:05 p.m.

- Special counsel to White House
 - Ehrlichman
- George H. W. Bush
- President's forthcoming statement
 - Timing of release
 - Bush
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Spiro T. Agnew
 - Beliefs regarding White House staff
 - President's schedule
 - Gerald R. Ford
- Colson
- Mitchell
- Baker's conversation with Agnew
 - G. Gordon Liddy's testimony
- Hunt
 - Statement to grand jury
 - Knowledge of higher-up's involvement
 - Mitchell

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

- Colson
- Dean
- Liddy
- Bush
 - Haldeman's forthcoming call
 - President's forthcoming statement
 - Executive privilege
- Executive privilege
 - Senate
 - Grand jury
 - Ziegler
 - Colson's answer at National Press Club

John D. Ehrlichman entered at an unknown time after 3:30 p.m.

- Ehrlichman's previous phone call to Baker
 - Focus of responsibility at White House
 - Baker's conversation with Agnew
 - Ehrlichman's forthcoming meeting with Baker and Ervin
 - Previous negotiations regarding Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raw files
 - Kleindienst's meeting with Ervin and Baker
 - Committee's reaction
 - Henry A. Kissinger's procedure
 - Oath-taking

[Segment 2] [P, JDE, HRH]

Watergate

- Ehrlichman's forthcoming meeting with Baker and Ervin
 - Ehrlichman as point of contact
 - Timmons
 - Scott, Ford
- Haldeman's forthcoming call to Bush

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 4:20 p.m.

President's forthcoming speech, evening of March 29

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-4 (continued)

- Length
- Content
 - Shultz
 - Vietnam
 - National economy
 - Defense budget
- Preparation

Watergate

- President's morale
- President's involvement
 - Conversation with Ehrlichman regarding convicted burglars
 - Timing
 - Burglars' desire for clemency
 - Conversation with Colson
 - Death of Dorothy Hunt
 - Conversation with Ehrlichman
 - Timing
 - Magruder's statement
- Question of knowledge
 - Haldeman
 - Colson
 - Ehrlichman
 - Orders for Watergate break-in
- Bugging
 - Watergate
 - Edward M. Kennedy
- Colson
- White House information regarding Democrats' plans
 - Secret Service
- Liddy
- Cubans
- Possible testimony by Ehrlichman
 - Knowledge of Watergate
- Mitchell
 - Conversations with President
 - Plans with Robert C. Mardian
 - Approval of Liddy's plan
 - Control of Committee to Re-elect the President
 - Magruder's knowledge
- Haldeman, Colson, Ehrlichman

White House Tapes

Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Other White House activities
 - National security
 - Leaks within government
 - Daniel Ellsberg case
 - J. Edgar Hoover, William Sullivan

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-68

Background conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman while H.R. Haldeman is waiting for Ronald L. Ziegler to pick up the receiver. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 426-4.] This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 2:46 and 3:01 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Haldeman conferred with the President and Ehrlichman at an unknown time.

Possible statement on Watergate
-Judicial system

[See conversation 426-4]

[End of conferral]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-69

Portion of a telephone conversation between H.R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and John W. Dean, III. At times during the conversation, the President, Ronald L. Ziegler and John D. Ehrlichman can be heard in the background. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 2:46 and 3:30 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 426-4.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Haldeman conferred with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time between 3:01 and 3:30 p.m. The President can be heard in the background.

John W. Dean, III
-Grand jury testimony

[See Conversation No. 426-4]

[End of conferral]

Haldeman talked with Dean at an unknown time. The President, Ehrlichman, and Ziegler can be heard in the background.

Press statement
-Ehrlichman's draft
-Wording

Watergate
-Richard A. Moore
-Conversation with John N. Mitchell
-Endorsement
-Mitchell
-Conversation with Haldeman
-Criticism of Senate
-Jeb S. Magruder
-Attorney
-James Bierbower
-Dean

[The call was placed on hold.]

John D. Ehrlichman talked with John W. Dean, III at an unknown time.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-69 (continued)

Ziegler's forthcoming statement

- Dean
 - Charges before Senate
 - Advance knowledge of break-in
 - Request to testify before grand jury
 - Waiver of executive privilege
 - The President's view
 - Grand jury
- Privilege
 - Executive
 - White House staff
 - Attorney-client
 - White House staff
- Strength of language
- Moore
 - Mitchell's reaction
 - Magruder

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-71

Portion of a telephone conversation between John D. Ehrlichman and Howard H. Baker, Jr. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 3:30 and 4:05 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- President's talk with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Baker's talk with Vice President Agnew
- Proposed meeting between Baker, Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. and Ehrlichman
- Ground rules for Select Committee
- John D. Ehrlichman's schedule
- Ervin's schedule
 - Brother's funeral
- Ehrlichman's forthcoming call to Ervin
 - Ehrlichman's talk with Baker
- Baker's and Ervin's meeting with Richard G.

Kleindienst

- Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.'s reaction
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) data
- Arrangements
- Ervin's attitude
- Result

Baker

- Liaison with White House
- Responsibility in White House
 - Delegation
- Conversation with Vice President

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-5

Portion of a conversation between the President and H.R. Haldeman. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 4:20 and 4:45 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- Haldeman's previous phone call to George H. W. Bush
- Howard H. Baker, Jr.
- Spiro T. Agnew
- John D. Ehrlichman's negotiations with Baker
- Bush's conversation with Baker
- Executive privilege
- President's role
- Baker's views
- Bush's conversations with Gerald R. Ford, William

E. Brock, III

- President's forthcoming speech, March 29
 - Contents
 - Amnesty
 - Price ceiling
 - Veto
 - Defense budget
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director

position

- President's forthcoming statement
 - White House defense regarding Watergate
 - News cycle
 - Ehrlichman, Ronald L. Ziegler

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-16

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:35 and 6:24 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- President's conversation with H. R. Haldeman, William P. Rogers
- White House cooperation
 - President's press conference
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
- John W. Dean, III's call to Ehrlichman
 - James W. McCord, Jr.'s testimony to grand jury
 - Dean's possible appearance before grand jury
 - President's forthcoming statement

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-17

Portion of a conversation between the President and John D. Ehrlichman. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:35 and 6:24 p.m. in the President's EOB office. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

- James W. McCord, Jr.'s testimony
- Ehrlichman's conversation with John W. Dean, III
 - Paul L. O'Brien's view of grand jury calling Dean
 - White House staff's testimony
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Jeb S. Magruder
 - Ehrlichman
 - H. R. Haldeman
 - Loyalty
- Possible statement
 - Ervin Committee
 - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.'s press conference, March 29
 - White House
 - Los Angeles Times
 - Edward J. Gurney's assistant
 - Responsibility for Watergate
 - Haldeman
 - Richard G. Kleindienst and L. Patrick Gray, III
 - Donald H. Segretti
 - Rebuttal by Kenneth W. Clawson
 - Dean's statement
 - Grand jury
 - Compared to Ervin Committee
 - Effect on Ervin
 - Dean statement
 - Answer by Ronald L. Ziegler to possible questions regarding illegal action by White House staff
- Ervin Committee
 - Executive privilege
 - Limits
- White House options
 - Agreement with Ervin
 - Testimony of seven defendants before grand

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

jury

Conversation Number 426-17 (continued)

- Dean, Charles W. Colson
 - Effect of proposed White House statement
- Mitchell
- Ehrlichman's statement to publishers
 - Evidence
- Ehrlichman's meeting with Gray
 - William E. Timmons
 - Gray's confirmation
 - Timmons's conversation with Senator James Eastland
- Gray's conversation with Eastland
- Gray's desire to stay on at Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - Materials at FBI
- Gurney's position
- John L. McClellan, Eastland, Robert Byrd [?]
- Materials at FBI
- Ehrlichman's conversation with Dean
- Gray's confirmation
 - Ehrlichman's consultation with Dean
 - Need for public confidence in FBI
 - Morale in FBI
 - Dean
 - Gurney
- McCord
 - Testimony
 - Ehrlichman's questions and answers with Chicago Tribune
 - Whittaker Chambers
 - Alger Hiss
- Possible statement on Watergate, March 30
 - Executive privilege
 - White House cooperation
 - FBI
 - Grand jury
 - Ervin Committee
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Executive privilege
 - White House cooperation
 - Ervin Committee
 - Reaction to leaks

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 426-17 (continued)

Jr.

- White House staff
 - Roles
- Timmons, William J. Baroody, Jr., Kenneth R. Cole,
 - Richard "Dick" Wilson
- News lead
- McCord
 - Testimony before Ervin Committee
 - Dean
 - Possible testimony before grand jury
 - Corroboration
 - E Howard Hunt, Jr., G. Gordon Liddy, Cubans
- Grand jury
 - Mitchell
 - Magruder
- Colson
 - Appearance at National Press Club
- Dean
 - Ehrlichman's forthcoming call, March 30
 - Gray
 - President's schedule

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-80

A telephone conversation between John D. Ehrlichman and John W. Dean, III. This portion was recorded on March 29, 1973 at an unknown time between 5:35 and 6:24 p.m. The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

Watergate

-Dean

-Possible grand jury testimony

-Dean's knowledge of meetings in John N. Mitchell's office

-Conversations with H. R. Haldeman and Ehrlichman

-Truthfulness

-Results

-Dean's conversation with Paul L. O'Brien

-Jeb S. Magruder, Mitchell, Dean, White House

-Mitchell

-Attitude

-Conversation with President

-Dean

-Possible grand jury subpoena

-O'Brien

-James W. McCord, Jr.'s statement

-Conversation with G. Gordon Liddy

-Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.

-Press conference

-Work of the press

-Responsibility for Watergate

-Conversations with Richard G. Kleindienst and

L. Patrick Gray, III

-Donald H. Segretti

-Allegations

-Dean

-Fred F. Fielding

-Dean

-Possible grand jury appearance

-Volunteering of testimony

-Comparison with Ervin Committee

-O'Brien's view

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33

Portion of a conversation between the President, H.R. Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler and Stephen B. Bull. This portion was recorded on March 30, 1973 at an unknown time between 1:43 and 2:53 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, RLZ]

Watergate

- Henry E. Petersen[?]
- John W. Dean, III's suggestion
- Dean
 - Moral support
- Gordon C. Strachan
- Statement
 - Work with Congress
 - Length
 - John D. Ehrlichman's suggestion
 - Circulation to supporters
 - George H. W. Bush, Gerald R. Ford, Hugh Scott
- White House staff
 - Testimony before grand jury
 - Likelihood
 - G. Gordon Liddy
 - Fifth Amendment
 - Immunity
 - James W. McCord, Jr.
 - Immunity
 - Problems
- E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- McCord
 - Earl Silbert, John J. Sirica
 - Grand jury appearance
 - Testimony
- Ervin Committee
 - Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
 - Campaign funds
 - Jack Gleason
 - Receipt
 - Call to Haldeman
 - The Vice President's call to Howard H. Baker, Jr.

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

- Bush
 - Statements
 - Context
 - Need for action
 - Talk with Haldeman
 - Problems with Bush's statement
 - Statements
 - Cooperation with Congress
- Weicker
 - Campaign funds
 - Amounts
 - Repudiation of sources
- Republicans
 - Bush
 - Press conference
 - Weicker
 - John N. Mitchell and Ehrlichman
 - Attacks on Haldeman
 - Link to Donald H. Segretti
 - Hunt
- Plumbers
 - Link to Segretti
- Dean statement
- President's statement for press
 - Press coverage
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Washington Post
 - Haldeman
- McCord
 - Washington Post
 - Memo to Haldeman
 - Security at Miami
 - Distortions in press
 - Baltimore Sun
 - CBS, New York Times
 - Naming of Haldeman
- Dean
- Charles W. Colson
 - Innocence
 - Grand jury appearance
- Dean
 - Grand jury appearance

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

-Ehrlichman
 -Mitchell's view
-Ehrlichman
-Dean
 -Problems
 -Jeb S. Magruder

 -Mitchell
-Ehrlichman

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[Privacy]
[Duration: 13 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

-Dean
 -Alleged meeting

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 1:43 p.m.

Ziegler's press conference
 -Ellsworth Bunker announcement
 -Outcome, analysis
 -Format
 -Watergate
 -Questions from press
 -Executive privilege
 -Grand jury
 -White House staff testimony
 -Distinction between grand jury and Ervin Committee
 -News stories
 -Informal testimony for Ervin Committee
 -Ziegler's statement
 -White House staff testimony
 -Dean
 -Testimony
 -Charges of cover-up

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

Watergate

- Statement for press
- Misunderstandings
- Misrepresentations
 - President's policy on cooperation with grand jury and Ervin Committee
 - Procedures
 - Answering of relevant questions
 - Concern for separation of powers
- Informal discussions on procedures
- Rereading of statement
- Charges of cover-up
 - Rebuttal
 - Full cooperation with Ervin Committee
 - Disclosure of relevant information
- Timing of statement
 - Dean's statements

[Segment 2] [P, HRH]

Watergate

- Ervin Committee
- Hearings
- Testimony
 - Donald H. Segretti and plumbers operation
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Robert Vesco

[Segment 3] [P, HRH]

Watergate

- Senate hearings
- Segretti
- Administration's posture
 - Discipline
- Administration reaction to crises and charges
 - A person in charge of strategy

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

- Ehrlichman and Ziegler
- Ehrlichman
 - Other duties in White House
- Mention in President's speech
 - Patrick J. Buchanan's reaction
- Bush, Scott
- President's role
 - Meeting with George P. Shultz, March 30
 - Other problems
 - Comparison with 1972 campaign
 - Haldeman's and Colson's roles
 - Contacts with President and subjects of discussion
 - Albert Sindlinger's polls, operational coordination
 - Degree of President's involvement
 - Response to charges and news reports
 - Diversion from other problems
 - President's speech, March 29
 - Effect on President's concentration
 - 1972 campaign
- Republican reactions
 - Bryce Harlow, Scott, Ford
 - Overreactions in meetings
- Person in charge of administration strategy
 - Ehrlichman
 - Problems
 - Charges
 - Press reports
- Charges
 - Overreaction
 - Public concern
- President's speech
 - Topic of Watergate
 - Dean
 - Ziegler
 - News reports
 - "CBS Morning News"
 - Robert Pierpoint
- Ervin hearings
 - Testimony of day
 - Weicker

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

- Dealing with White House
- Campaign funds
 - Delivery
 - Stans
 - Check on statements
- Income taxes
 - Reporting
- Campaign funds
 - Cash funds
 - Source
- Pressure from Republicans
- Republicans
 - Concern over Watergate
 - Fears
 - Isolation of White House and Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP) staff
 - Defense of President
 - Criticism in Congress
- Campaign funds
 - Problems in all campaigns
- President's campaign
 - Compared with other campaigns
- Republicans
 - Fears over Watergate
 - Sherman Adams case
- Attacks on President
 - Enemies
 - Strategy
 - Criticism of President's campaign
 - President's responsibility
- 1972 campaign
 - President's involvement in other issues
 - Soviet Union, People's Republic of China (PRC)
- Mitchell
 - Control of campaign
 - Problems
 - Attorney General position
 - Martha Mitchell
 - International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Lack of control

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-33 (continued)

- Haldeman
 - President's foreign trips
- Reasons for attacks on White House staff
 - Mitchell
 - Haldeman
 - Ehrlichman
 - Dean
 - Colson
 - Magruder
- Attacks on President
 - Nature of White House staff
 - Press
- Bush
- Baker's speech
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower

[Segment 4] [P, HRH, SBB]

Watergate

- Mitchell
 - Responsibility for problems
 - Assumption
 - Unwillingness
 - A statement
 - Campaign committee
 - William P. Roger's view
 - Segretti's role
- Origins
 - Riots, demonstrations

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:55 p.m.

President's meeting with Dean

President's trip to California

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:53 p.m.

Dean

- Maureen Dean

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

- Trip to California
 - Maureen Dean's mother
- Stay at Camp David
- Maureen Dean
 - Trip to California
- Stay at Camp David
 - Report

The President left at an unknown time after 1:55 p.m.

[No conversation]

The President entered at an unknown time before 2:53 p.m.

Dean's location

Haldeman's call to Dean

California trip

-Haldeman's presence

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 890-3

Portion of a conversation between the President and Patrick J. Buchanan. This portion was recorded on March 30, 1973 at an unknown time between 8:42 and 8:50 a.m. in the President's Oval Office. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 44-97.]

White House Tapes
Abuse of Governmental Power Segments

Conversation Number 44-97

Portion of a telephone conversation between the President and Patrick J. Buchanan. This was recorded on March 30, 1973 at an unknown time between 8:42 and 8:50 p.m. [This conversation is cross-referenced with conversation 890-3.] The National Archives and Records Administration prepared the following log of this conversation.

President's Speech

-Watergate

-Possible statement

-White House staff involvement