Conversation No. 419-1

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:46 and 1:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Items [?

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:16 pm.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 1:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President’s schedule
-Telephone call

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:16 pm.

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 1:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Introduction
- Location
- Date

US foreign policy
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - News summary
  - Analysis
    - President’s trip to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - Overemphasis on negatives
      - Impact on staff
    - Domestic issues
  - Problem solving
    - Observations
    - Exploiting opportunities
- Charles W. Colson’s viewpoint
  = Domestic policy
  - Howard J. Phillips
  - Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] [?]
Law enforcement
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - President’s speech on crime, drugs
    - Presentation of Hank Manfredi Award to Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs [BNDD]
      - Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Tummillo
      - Thomas Devine
        - Paraplegic
        - Franklin D. Roosevelt
          - Wheelchair access
          - Executive Order
      - Mother of slain agent
      - Father
      - Wives
      - Wheelchair
      - Louisiana [?]

Food prices
  - Possible decline [?]
  - Impact on public
    - Mothers of Those Who Served in Vietnam [?]
    - Middle class
    - Character and strength
  - Impact on middle and lower middle classes

Public perception of President’s policies [?]
  - Need for action [?]
    - Meeting with George P. Shultz [?]
    - Prices [?]
      - Impact on farms
      - Budgets
      - Relief
  - Racial integration
    - Suburbs [?]
Ambassadors
   -President’s meeting with Haldeman
   -Pakistan
   -Germany [?]

US foreign policy
   -Meeting with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
   -President’s exploration
   -Qualifications
   -Responsibility of White House

Press
   -Leverage

Haldeman

Ervin Committee [?]
   -Written interrogatories
     -Appearances

Republican Party

White House military aides

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*******************************************************

[This memorandum continues as Conversation No. 419-5]
The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-94]

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:46 pm and 1:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Continued from Conversation No. 419-3]

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Public opinion
-Prisoners of war [POWs]
-Budget [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

The President talked with Adele Rogers.
[See Conversation No. 37-95]

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:33 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Schedule

Date: March 12, 1973
Time: 2:33 pm - 3:02 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

John E. Nidecker
   -Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
   -State Department
      -Deputy Inspector general
      -Travel
   -Bicentennial
      -[First name unknown] Roosevelt [?]
      -Travel the nations

President's schedule
   -Associated Press [AP] appearance
     -Paul Miller
     -Henry A. Kissinger’s appearance
   -American Society of Magazine Editors [ASME] [?] function
John D. Ehrlichman talked with the President between 2:38 pm and 2:41 pm

[Conversation No. 419-8A]
Congressional relations
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Appearance before joint session of Congress
      - Value
    - Publicity for President
      - Appearances before Congress
        - Public relations [PR]
        - Richard A. Moore
        - Utility
    - Ehrlichman’s view of Congressional appearances
      - Symbolism
      - Publicity
        - Television [TV] audience
      - President’s tax proposals
        - Congressional response
      - Timing
        - National press conference
    - President’s appearance before Congress
      - Issues
        - Foreign and domestic
        - Ehrlichman’s choice
    - Presidential staff viewpoint
      - Patrick K. Buchanan
        - Problems compared to opportunities
          - Negatives
            - Indians
            - Impoundment
            - Executive privilege
            - Repression of press

PR
  - Haldeman’s study
    - President’s public appearances, speeches, press conferences
-President’s approval rating
-Polls
-George H. Gallup poll
-President’s desire for conclusiveness
-Lead stories in press
-Prisoners of war [POWs]
-“Lucky break”
-Impact of President’s policies
-Economic suffering
-Food prices
-Negative compared to positive increase in approval rating
-POWs
-Role of domestic issues
-President’s approval rating
-Economic conditions
-Prices and wages
-Press distortion
-Perfection
-Fault and blame

White House staff
-Charles W. Colson
-Contact with President
-Election campaign period
-Post-election period
-Utility to President
-Arrangements
-Frequency
-Forthcoming meetings with Haldeman
-Value
-Good ideas
-Balance

-Domestic issues
-Credit
-Colson
-Patrick J. Buchanan
-Praise for Howard J. Phillips
-Rhetoric
-Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
-“Great Society” programs
  -Publicity for President's domestic programs
    -Conservatives
      -Patrick J. Buchanan
    -Centrists
  -Taxes compared to social services
    -Concern for poor, cost

President's public appearances
  -National Press Club
  -Establishment of dominance of dialogue
    -Methods
      -Travel
        -Periodic stops in localities
          -South Carolina
          -Mississippi
            -John C. Stennis
          -Midwest
        -Watergate
      -End of Vietnam War
    -Foreign travel
      -State visits
      -Latin American travel
        -Value
        -Colombia
        -Venezuela
        -Brazil
        -Jamaica
        -Caribbean

PR
  -Domestic issues
    -Ehrlichman
    -Trade
    -Inflation
      -Compared to Vietnam War
    -US News and World Report article
Survey, predictions
- Housewives
- Public complaints
  - Prices, quality, services
- Crime
- Administration's strategy

President's schedule
- Vacation
  - August
    - Travel
    - Congressional recess
- Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW] convention
  - New Orleans
  - Arrangements
- Congressional recess
- California
- Labor Day appearance
- Vacation
  - August
    - Weather
- July schedule
  - Preparation
  - Compared to State of the Union

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:41 pm.

President's meeting with Col. Robinson Risner
  - Risner’s location
    - West Wing

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:02 pm.

Unknown person’s staff position
  - Extension
    - July
    - Camp David
      - Haldeman’s opinion of staff member
Conversation No. 419-8 (cont’d)

Aspen Lodge
- Maitre d' hotel
- Successor
- Civilian employment

Spiro T. Agnew
- President’s return to Oval Office
- Office space [?]
- Roy L. Ash [?]

Haldeman left at 3:02 pm.

Conversation No. 419-9

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:08 am and 8:36 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Introduction
- Location
- Date

Ronald L. Ziegler [?]

Cadets [?]
- Military
- John D. Ehrlichman

H. R. (‘Bob’) Haldeman
Reaction

Report
  - Staff

President’s meeting with John J. McCloy
  - Advice
  - Recommendations for chairman
    - David Packard

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

*****************************************************************

[This memorandum continues as Conversation No. 419-12]
Conversation No. 419-12

Date:  March 14, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:55 am
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Continued from Conversation No. 419-9]

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Pete V. Domenici [?]
Press relations [?]
-Vietnam

John D. Ehrlichman

Congressmen
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

[This memorandum continues as Conversation No. 419-14]
The President met with an unknown person.

Meeting
- Arrangement
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Henry A. Kissinger [?]
  - Message for secretary

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 8:55 am.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:55 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Continued from Conversation No. 419-12]
Foreign service women
- Reception
- Wives
  - Awards

President’s meeting with Prisoners of war [POWs]’s wife

Congress
- Criticism of President [?]
  - Audience [?]
  - Position
  - Speech

John D. Ehrlichman and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- Review of something with President
  - Writing

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 419-14 (cont’d)

Conversation No. 419-15

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: 8:55 am - 8:59 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John W. Dean, III.

[See Conversation No. 37-99]
Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

Telephone

Memorandum
-Private file

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:25 am.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Awards to customs agents
   - Good idea
   - Press coverage

Prisoners of war [POWs]

President’s meetings with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
   - Public relations [PR]
     - Problems
       - Education [?]
       - Domestic policy
       - Timing
       - Compared to foreign policy

Justice Department
   - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

Robert H. Finch [?]
   - Candidacy

John D. Ehrlichman [?]

Selection process

Meeting in Executive Office Building [EOB]
   - Scheduling
   - Haldeman
   - Power
   - Recognition

Vietnam War
   - Objectives
   - US withdrawal
     - POWs [?]
   - South Vietnam

William P. Rogers
   - Pentagon [?]
Conversation No. 419-18

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:59 am and 9:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a letter to Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis.

Prisoners of war [POWs]
-Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
  -Remarks
  -Letter to President
    -Meeting with President
    -Admiration by President
  -Ordeal in prison
    -Suffering
    -Solitary confinement
  -Book
    -Concern for moral state of US
      -deterioration
    -Letters
    -Theme
    -Peace

Contact with someone [?]

Denton
  -Article in Reader’s Digest
  -Respectability
  -Praise for POWs
  -John D. Ehrlichman
Government spending
  -Publicity
    -Historical examples
    -Philadelphia magazine article
    -Washington Post article
  -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  -Distribution
    -Congress
  -Public reaction
    -Antidote

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
*****************************************************************

Conversation No. 419-19

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: 9:25 am - 9:50 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

Press relations
  -Announcement
    -Arrival
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Kissinger’s proofing

Vietnam
  -Cease-fire violations
    -President's statement
      -Compliance with cease-fire provisions
      -Enforcement options
South Vietnam
- Cease-fire
  - US accomplishments
    - Strength of forces
    - Non-Communist government
-North Vietnam
- Cease-fire violations
  - Re-armament with artillery
  - US action
    - Timing
- Cease-fire agreement
  - Reasons
    - US bombing, mining halt
- Cease-fire violations
  - Reasons
    - Effects of US bombing
    - US resolve
    - Renewed offensive

North Vietnam’s offensive
- Impact on US
  - Criticism of President’s policies
    - Peace movement
    - “Peace with honor”
    - Prisoners of war [POWs] repatriation
  - Domestic policy
  - Foreign policy
    - Public opinion
  - POWs
    - Support for President’s policies
-US retaliation
  - Public opinion
  - Violations
  - Aid to North Vietnam
    - Cancellation
    - Publicity campaign
  - Impact on offensive
    - Timing
-Viability of South Vietnam
  -Need for US engagement
-President’s political position
  -Peace settlement
    -Negotiations
    -December 1972 bombing
-Criticism
  -Eugene J. McCarthy
-Peace settlement
  -POWs
  -US withdrawal
-Criticism
-Violations
  -Joseph W. Alsop’s column
-Cease-fire violations
  -Press statement
    -Tone
    -Bellicosity
-US messages to North Vietnam
  -Escalation of threat
-Press statement
  -US concern
    -Condonement
  -North Vietnam’s compliance
-US messages to People's Republic of China [PRC], Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-US bombing

Aid to Pakistan
  -Release
    -Publicity
      -President’s statement
      -State Department
-Reactions
  -Indira Gandhi
    -Kissinger’s cable to Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
  -India
    -Purchase of materials
Vietnam
- Impact of war on US
  - Kissinger’s negotiations
  - Bombing
  - Withdrawal
    - Compared to France’s withdrawal from Algeria
      - Gen. Charles A. J. M. deGaulle
      - Nationalization of France’s holdings
    - Compared to South Vietnam
    - France’s citizens
- Impact of war on South Vietnam
  - Vietnamization
  - Self-determination
  - Self-defense
- President’s policies
  - Effectiveness
  - Choices
    - Kissinger’s cable from Paris
      - December 1972
      - POWs for withdrawal
      - South Vietnam’s viability
- Public attitude
  - “Peace with honor”
  - Concern for cease-fire violations
  - Response to fall of South Vietnam
- US actions
- Defense Department
  - Air strikes in Cambodia
    - Plantations
      - Chup Plantation
    - President’s call to Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
      - Report
  - Air strikes in Cambodia
    - Chup Plantation
      - Kissinger’s message from President
      - Civilians
        - Problem
-Cambodia
  -1971 Chup Plantation operation
    -Defense
    -Installations
  -Air strikes in Cambodia
    -Decision
    -Defense Department
  -Lon Nol
    -Request
    -US ambassador’s role

-Ho Chi Minh Trail
  -US air strikes
    -Impact on North Vietnam
      -POW repatriation
        -Kissinger’s opinion
        -Notification
        -Delay
  -US message to North Vietnam
    -Cease-fire violations
    -North Vietnam’s military operation
      -Consequences
      -US resolve

-POWs
  -Experience in prison
    -Solitary confinement, torture
      -Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
      -Col. Robinson Risner
    -Non-verbal communication
  -Change in conditions in 1969
    -Major [first name unknown] Bai
    -Relocation
    -Group housing
    -1968 US election [?]
    -Denton and Risner
    -Fear of President

-Charges of misconduct
  -Volunteering information
  -Political impact
Ronald L. Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 9:25 am.

President's schedule

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 9:50 am.

Vietnam
- Aid to North Vietnam
  - North Vietnam presence in Laos, Cambodia
  - Infiltration
- POWs
  - Denton and Risner’s meeting with President
  - Raid on Son Tay prison in North Vietnam
    - “Operation Draft”
  - Reaction to December 1972 bombing
    - B-52s compared to jet fighters
    - Fear among North Vietnamese
  - December 21, 1972 bombing resumption
    - North Vietnamese prison guards
    - Support for President’s policies
      - Skill of US pilots
- Shock
  - Visit from high-level North Vietnamese official
    - Denton and Risner [?]
    - Treatment
    - Good relations with US
    - Kissinger’s trip to Hanoi
    - President’s possible trip to Hanoi
- Bombing
  - Effect of B-52 use
-Shock
-Caution
-Normalization of relations
-Infiltration
-North Vietnam’s desire and necessity
-Risk of protracted war
-“Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam”
-Value
-Adherence
-Commitment of North Vietnam
-Spring military offensive
-Effect on publicity
-Impact on US-USSR summit
-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
-President’s political position
-Warning regarding offensive
-Jeopardy
-Opportunity regarding critics
-President’s press conference [?]
-Hanoi statements
-Barry M. Goldwater, Sr.

Kissinger’s schedule
-David K. E. Bruce
-Meeting with Dobrynin
-Meeting with President
-Foreign policy
-Conversation with William P. Rogers
-Bruce

Kissinger left at 9:50 am.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 10:50 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler and John W. Dean, III.

Richard A. Moore
- Attendance at meeting

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. (“Bob”) Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson
  - Problems
- John N. Mitchell
- L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
  - Nomination
- UNINTELLIGIBLE
- G. Gordon Liddy
  - Questions

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:50 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:50 am.

Watergate
- 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 am.

- Congressional subpoenas
  -Advantages to administration
  -Court fight
    -Delays
- Prominence of issue
- Cover-up money compared to facts
- White House staff
  - Vulnerabilities
    - Haldeman, John N. Mitchell
      - Ehrlichman
      - Colson
      - Haldeman
      - Mitchell
  - Responsibilities
    - Compared to culpability
- Donald H. Segretti and Dwight L. Chapin
- Impact
  - Damage to administration
- Public reaction to Watergate
  - Importance of issue
  - Level of public suspicion
    - Haldeman’s, Mitchell’s knowledge
    - Jeb Stuart Magruder
    - Cover up money
      - Origin
      - E. Howard Hunt, Jr.

- Administration strategy
  - Consistency with President's statement
  - Dean
-Written interrogatories
  -Answers
-Executive privilege
  -Use
  -Reaction of press
    -Targets
      -Haldeman
      -Mitchell
      -Chapin
      -Colson
-White House staff
  -Public perceptions of Haldeman, Mitchell
    -Newsweek article
    -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
      -Link to Haldeman
      -White House response
-Investigation
  -Segretti
    -Gray testimony
  -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
    -Campaign practices
      -False mailings
-Demonstrations against President
  -Violence
  -Double standard
-Press questions and the administration's responses
  -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
    - Allegations
      - Substance
    - FBI investigation
      - Campaign activities
      - Hunt
      - 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
    - President's role
    - Watergate break-in
    - Hunt and Liddy
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:55 am.

President's next meeting

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:50 am.

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 am.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:27 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 12:27 pm.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:27 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-102]
Conversation No. 419-22

Date: March 14, 1973  
Time: 12:27 pm - 12:28 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with John W. Dean, III.

[See Conversation No. 37-103]

Conversation No. 419-23

Date: March 14, 1973  
Time: 12:47 pm - 1:30 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Richard A. Moore and John W. Dean, III.

Ronald L. Ziegler's briefing on Watergate
- Length
- Comparison to James C. Haggerty
- Limits
- Format
- Subjects
- Written interrogatories
- President's appearance
- Congressional investigation
  - Compared with Henry A. Kissinger’s informal consultations
  - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy and Birch Bayh
  - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., Howard H. Baker, Jr.
  - Meeting with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and lawyers
- Peter M. Flanigan
  - 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
-Washington Post report
-Link between G. Gordon Liddy and Dean
-Counsel duties
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
-Louis 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
-Ervin Committee
-March 13, 1973 issuance of subpoenas for Dean, Jeb Stuart 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
-Written interrogatories
-Congress
-Rules
-Subpoena
-Court challenge
-Executive privilege
-Dan Rather's questions
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Sept-2010)
Conversation No. 419-23 (cont’d)

-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
    -President's statements for press
      -Release of material
        -Precedents
  -1968 campaign
    -Allegations of wiretapping
    -Sullivan
      -Knowledge of illegal activities by Democrats
    -Corroborating evidence
    -John N. Mitchell's conversation with Cartha D. DeLoach
      -Spiro T. Agnew [?]
      -J. Edgar Hoover
        -Conversation with President
    -Sullivan
      -Use of information
    -Hoover
      -Conversation with President
        -Wire taps
          -National security
          -Removal of equipment
    -Sullivan’s testimony
      -Impact on Democrats
    -Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst
      -Job performance
        -John B. Connally’s viewpoint
    -Gray
-Intelligence
-Political skills

-Testimony to Congress
  -Affidavit
    -Herbert W. Kalmbach
  -Contacts with Dean
-Donald H. Segretti
  -White House response
  -Policy statement
-Dean's reports to President
  -Questions from press
    -Responses
  -Investigation of Segretti

Campaign contributions
  -Robert L. Vesco
    -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
Conversation No. 419-23 (cont’d)

- Guidelines
- Double privilege
- Washington DC Court of Appeals
  - David L. Bazelon
- Supreme Court
  - Attitude toward executive privilege
    - William H. Rehnquist
- Justification
  - Colson
- Truman administration
  - Total non-cooperation in Hiss case
    - Justice Department raw files compared to summary report
    - Contrast with administration's position
- Ervin Committee
  - Administration cooperation
- Dan Rather
  - Hiss case
    - Truman administration's non-cooperation
- Democratic illegalities
  - Press leaks
  - Need for publicity

Moore and Dean left at 1:30 pm

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape on dictabelt
  - Instructions for Rose Mary Woods

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:09 pm.
Conversation No. 419-25

Date: March 14, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President’s schedule
- Tuesday [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:09 pm.

Conversation No. 419-26

Date: March 14, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Event on March 13, 1973
- Reception
  - Wives of American Foreign Service Officers [?]

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Conversation No. 419-26 (cont’d)

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

Conversation No. 419-27

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:09 pm.

*****************************************************************

Conversation No. 419-37

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

*****************************************************************
The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:09 pm.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

Congress

Prisoners of war [POWs]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conv. No. 419-29

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:09 pm.

Conv. No. 419-30

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:30 pm and 4:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a letter to Captain [J. D. Elliot?]

Appreciation for letter of March 5, 1973

President’s visit to the USS Albany

US armed services
  - President’s impressions
  - Discipline
    - Troops
    - Crisis
Character of commander
- Value
- Voluntary service [?]
- Reminiscence of school experiences of the President
  - Hardest graders
- Officer
  - Dedication, service

[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II [?]
Conversation No. 419-33

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 4:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Delivery
- Dictabelt for Rose Mary Woods

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:25 pm.

Conversation No. 419-34

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: 4:25 pm - 5:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Ziegler's press conference
- Executive privilege
  - John W. Dean, III
- Watergate
  - Administration cooperation with investigators
  - John N. Mitchell
  - Dean
  - Richard A. Moore
  - 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 pm and 4:34 pm.
Conversation No. 419-34 (cont’d)

[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 pm and 4:34 pm.

[Conversation No. 419-34B]

[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[ouis] Patrick Gray, III's testimony
          -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] interviews
            -Herbert W. Kalmbach
      -Ziegler's remarks
        -Use of FBI raw files
          -American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU] guidelines
            -Public release
            -John Chancellor’s file
              -Destruction
                -Lyndon B. Johnson, J. Edgar Hoover
The President talked with Dean between 4:34 pm and 4:36 pm.

[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
Wounded Knee incident
   -Patrick J. Buchanan
   -President’s response
      -Justice Department investigation
   -Indians’ actions
      -Buchanan
      -Radicals
   -President’s response

Shield laws
   -President’s position
      -Mitchell's policy
      -Ziegler
      -[First name unknown] Dixon’s testimony
         -Justice Department
   -Support for guidelines
   -Legislation
      -Questions about First Amendment
      -Federal compared to state courts
   -Restatement
   -Conflict of rights
      -Rights of reporters
      -First Amendment
      -Protection from crime
   -President’s conversation with reporter
      -Press coverage
   -Ziegler’s attendance at joint meeting of press organizations [?]
   -Definition of a reporter
      -Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union [TASS] [?]
      -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
   -Dangers of law
      -Emotional rhetoric
      -Legislation
         -First Amendment
         -Passage
      -Abuse of protection
      -Congress
-Discrediting of press
-State court decisions
  -Bransburg [?] decision
  -Federal remedy
  -Meetings with American Bar Association [ABA]
-First Amendment
  -Freedom of the press
  -Qualifier
  -End of contract

Congressional relations
  -Executive privilege
  -President’s letter [statement]
  -Responsibility
    -Fiscal side
    -Political side
  -Power of presidency
  -Criticism
  -Use by President
    -Frequency
    -Records
  -Cooperation with Congress
  -Dan Rather
  -Briefing
  -Dean [?]
  -Television [TV]
  -Alger Hiss case
    -President’s experience
    -FBI assistance
    -Harry S Truman's Executive Order of non-cooperation with Congress
      -Government departments
      -Information sharing
      -Comparison with current administration
      -Nature of espionage

Watergate
  -Ziegler's talk with James C. Haggerty
    -Executive privilege
-International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
  -Army-McCarthy hearings
    -Ziegler’s childhood memory
  -Henry A. Kissinger [?]
  -Dan Rather [?]
  -As national issue
    -Hearings on TV
  -Testimony
    -Mitchell, Maurice H. Stans, Chapin, Dean
    -Segretti
    -Subpoenas
-Executive privilege
  -Mitchell
  -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
  -Gray
  -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
    -John V. Tunney
      -California
    -Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
-Difficulties

Press conference questions
- North Vietnam
  - Infiltration
- George P. Shultz’s Europe trip
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    - Paris
      - International finance
    - Press conference
      - Soviet Jews
        - Leonid I. Brezhnev [?]
- Pakistan
  - US arms sale
    - Announcement
    - Protest
- Vietnam agreement
  - North Vietnam’s infiltration
  - PRC, USSR
- John T. Downey
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - Release from PRC

Press conferences
- Balance
- Frequency
- Subjects
  - Troop withdrawal
  - Congress, domestic issues
  - Vietnam settlement
    - TV coverage
- Announcement before Congress
  - Response
  - Benefits
  - Amnesty
- Frequency
  - Staggered pattern
  - Control
-Role as event for publicity
-Compared to Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy
-Kennedy
-Events for publicity
  -Staggered patterns
-Press coverage
  -Live, day time
    -Value
  -Amount of play
    -Radio
    -Evening
-Format
  -East Room
  -Press Room
  -East Room as setting
-Preparation
  -Amount of time
  -Worthiness
  -Use of President’s energy
-Value of press conferences
-Types of questions
  -Participatory

Rural Environmental Assistance Program [REAP]
  -Paper
    -Distribution

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:36 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
  -Presence at meeting
  -Secretary

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:29 pm.

REAP
  -Bud Linewall [?]
    -Office of Kenneth W. Clawson
Conversation No. 419-34 (cont’d)

-Column
  -Congressional Record
  -United Press International [UPI]
  -Expansion of story
-Unnamed woman
  -Number of acres [?]
  -Wealth
  -Washington Post

Press coverage
  -Handling
    -Honest reporting
    -Pressure
      -Fairness
  -Spiro T. Agnew’s speech
  -Administration’s effectiveness
    -Overtness
    -Repressiveness
  -Control by administration
    -Skillfulness
    -Hardness
    -William S. Paley
    -Credit
    -Respect
    -President’s response to a question
      -Tone
      -Power of Presidency
        -Clarity
  -Quality
  -Networks
    -Use of prime time
    -Concerns
      -Control by administration

Press conference
  -Vesco case
  -Handling
    -John D. Ehrlichman
Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:36 pm.

Kissinger
- Location
- Presence at meeting
- Timing

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:29 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 5:29 pm.

Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Ziegler left at 5:30 pm.

Pakistan
- Announcement
- US aid

Watergate
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.’s statement
- Constitutional requirements
- Separation of powers
- President’s aides
  - Questioning
- Segretti case [?]
- President’s press conference
- Dean’s investigation
  - Responses to questions
  - Clear position
  - Standards
  - Cooperation
Conversation No. 419-34 (cont’d)

-FBI investigation
  -Interrogations
    -Unnamed woman’s [Judy Hoback ?] request
      -Private interview
      -Presence of lawyers
  -Handling of press questions
    -Posture
    -Seniority
    -FBI interview of secretary
    -Question for Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]
    -Follow up about accountability
    -Danger
    -Distortion, hearsay information
    -Final statement
      -Ervin Committee
  -Segretti
    -Administration’s disapproval
    -Chapin
    -Letters [?]

North Vietnam
  -Forces in Cambodia
    -Withdrawal
  -US aid request
  -President's press conference
    -Explicit statement aid
      -Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -Agreement on ending war and restoring peace in Vietnam
    -Article 20
      -Cambodia and Laos
    -Cease-fire compliance
      -Compared withdrawal

Sudan
  -Message
    -Terrorism
  -President’s statement
USSR
  - Shultz's meeting with Brezhnev
    - Soviet Jews
    - Press coverage
    - Mission
    - Authorization
    - President's response at press conference
      - Hard line
      - Most-favored-nation [MFN] status
      - Foreign policy
      - Shultz's discussion with Brezhnev
        - USSR's initiative

US-USSR trade relations
  - Soviet Jews
  - Press coverage
  - Congress
    - Kissinger's meeting with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
      - Decency
      - Potential as Defense Secretary

Vietnam
  - Cease-fire
  - North Vietnam strategy
    - Tests
    - US withdrawal
    - Communications

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:30 pm.

President's schedule
  - Telephone call [?]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.

Vietnam
  - Cease-fire
  - North Vietnam strategy
Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
   -US-USSR relations
     -Soviet military aid to North Vietnam
     -Answers to US challenges
     -Civilian goods
     -Tanks

United Nations [UN]
   -Kurt Waldheim
     -Offices for Vietcong [VC] or Vietminh
     -Recall of John A. Scali from post

President’s statement
   -Aid [?]

Kissinger left at 5:40 pm.

Date: March 14, 1973
Time: 5:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President’s schedule [?]

The conversation was cut off at 5:40 pm.