Conversation No. 880-1

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 11:16 am-11:19 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President's press conference
-Preparations
-Format
-Start of press conference
-Announcement of Dr. David K. Bruce's appointment US liaison office in People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Background hand-outs
-Briefing by President

Ziegler left at 11:19 am.

Conversation No. 880-2

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 11:19 am and 11:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President’s press conference
-Ziegler's introduction

The President and Ziegler left at 11:21 am.

Conversation No. 880-25

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 11:22 am and 11:58 am
Location: Oval Office
Unknown people met.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President’s schedule
  -Press office

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:58 am.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 11:58 am-12:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President’s 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 characterized
- Dr. David K. E. Bruce
- Stockpiling
- Food prices
  - Importance of story
- Aid to India and Pakistan
- Watergate
  - John W. Dean, III
  - Executive privilege
- Committee to Reelect the President
  - Responsibility
- Kempler’s question
  - Hiss case
- Cooperation with Congress
  - Hiss case
  - Issues
- Press obsessions
  - Hostility to administration and presidency
  - Bias against President
  - Comparison to treatment of John F. Kennedy
- Ziegler’s response

Ziegler left at 12:05 pm.

Conversation No. 880-4

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 12:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-117]
Conversation No. 880-5

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 12:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule
   - Memorial service for George T. Bell
     - John D. Ehrlichman [?]

Bell
   - Christian Science religion
   - Illness
     - Cancer
   - Mrs. Bell
   - President's telephone call to Bell
   - Christian Science

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:11 pm.

Conversation No. 880-6

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 12:11 pm-12:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

President's press conference
   - Vietnam
     - Questions
       - President's handling

The President talked with Ralph H. Cake between 12:11 pm and 12:12 pm.

[Conversation No. 880-6A]

[See Conversation No. 37-118]
Ralph H. Cake
  - Illness

President’s 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
        - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
      - People's Republic of China [PRC] liaison office announcement

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:15 pm.

Greetings

Press statements
  - North Vietnam
  - India
  - Pakistan

India
  - US aid
    - Suspension
    - Commitments
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
Conversation No. 880-6 (cont’d)

-Sales
-Policy
-State Department
-Tanks
-Johnson
-Personnel carriers
-Lethality
-PRC
-Military expenditures
-Indira Gandhi’s comments to Daniel P. Moynihan [?]
-Arms race
-Poverty
-Comparison with Pakistan
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Arms production

President’s trips
-Plans
-Africa
-Latin America
-Latin America
-Value
-William P. Rogers
-Requests
-Commitments
-Japan

Vietnam

Dr. David K. E. Bruce
-US liaison office to PRC
-Lead story
-Alfred L. Jenkins
-John H. Holdridge

Kissinger left at 12:18 pm.

Press relations
-Vietnam
-Watergate
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:18 pm.

President’s schedule
- President's meeting with James M. Collins
  - John G. Tower

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

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

President’s press conference
- Length
  - Sarah McClendon
  - Frances L. Lewine
    - Cut-off of press conference
  - Clark R. Mollenhoff
- President's handling of questions
  - Martin K (“Ken”) Worthy
Ziegler left at 12:25 pm.
Sanchez left at 12:26 pm.

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Date: March 15, 1973  
Time: 12:26 pm-12:35 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Debbie Ploch, James M. Collins and Max L. Friedersdorf. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions  
- Family

Photographs

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

[Sirikit, Queen of Thailand] Queen Sirikit Kitiyakara  
- Attributors  
- Miss World contest  
- Ploch’s trip to Southeast Asia

[Photograph session]

State visit by [Bhumibol, King of Thailand] Bhumibol Adulyadej  
- Visit to White House  
- Message for Queen Sirikit

Ploch’s teaching career  
- English  
- Spanish

Cotton Bowl  
- Football game  
  - Texas, Oklahoma

Gifts
Oval Office
  -Mrs. Nixon's input
  -Curtains
    -Color television [TV]
  -Painting of White House
    -Great Britain
  -Portrait of George Washington

Rose Garden
  -Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding
  -Flowers

Ploch's plans
  -Marriage
    -President’s future grandchildren

Chinese vase
  -Value
  -Jade
  -Age
  -Inscription

Prisoners of war [POWs]

Ploch's trip to Far East
  -Experiences
    -People
  -Sale of cotton from US
    -Necessity

Crewelwork by Julie Nixon Eisenhower

President's daughters
  -Middle names

Ploch's middle name

Ploch, et al., left at 12:35 pm.
The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s schedule
- Donald E. Young
- Telephone call
- Alaska
- Meeting with President
  - Max M. Fisher
- President's meeting with Lucy M. Ferguson
  - Arrangements

Alexander P. Butterfield
- Confirmation
  - Federal Aviation Administration [FAA]
- Photograph with President
- Swearing-in

President's schedule
- Meeting with Arlene Dahl
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Actress
  - Photograph session
- Meeting with Theodore H. ("Teddy") White
  - Book
  - Ronald L. Ziegler, Haldeman
  - Length
- Herman Kahn
- Visit to dentist
- Ambassador William Warnock of Ireland
  - Meeting
    - Shamrock presentation
  - Length
- Visit to dentist
  - Openings
    - Shamrock presentation
- Next week
  - Openings
- Meeting with White
- Labor Management Advisory Committee
  - Cost of Living Council
  - George P. Shultz
  - Herbert G. Stein and John T. Dunlop
  - Shultz's presence
    - Postponement
    - John D. Ehrlichman's opinion
- Organization of American States [OAS] reception
  - President's presence
  - White House reception
  - Latin America
  - Ambassadors
- William P. Rogers' dinner
  - Date
  - State Department
  - Ambassadors
- OAS reception
  - President's speech
    - Preparation
- Photograph sessions with President
  - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
  - Nixon Library, National Archives
    - Thomas Hart
  - President at work
- Cabinet meeting
- Congressional leaders meeting
- Labor Management Advisory Committee
  - Shultz's attendance
- Congressional leaders meeting
  - Cabinet meeting
  - Shultz

Walter H. Annenberg
  - Gift in the Executive Office Building [EOB] office
    - Replica

President's schedule
  - Haldeman
Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:51 pm.

Bull left at 12:52 pm.

Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
  -Annual report
  -Meeting

People's Republic of China [PRC]
  -Ambassador to France
    -Seniority
    -Diplomatic service
    -Central committee
    -Intelligence
    -Visit to US

Washington press corps
  -Questions on US-PRC relations
    -Lack of interest
  -US-PRC relations
    -Dr. David K. E. Bruce
    -Historical significance

US-PRC relations
-President’s trip to PRC
  -Importance
-Bruce
  -Alfred L. Jenkins
  -John H. Holdridge
  -Ambassador to France [Huang Zhen]
  -Chief of Protocol Department
    -Rank
    -English language
    -Announcement of appointment
      -Ronald L. Ziegler
-News stories
  -Kissinger’s trip to PRC
  -Handling by press corps

Press corps
  -Bias
    -Executive privilege
      -Questions
      -Staff testimony to Congress
        -Walter W. Rostow
          -Ehrlichman
-PRC story
  -Historical significance
  -Patriotism
  -Bruce
  -Watergate

US-PRC relations
  -Importance
  -President's letter to Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-lai
    -Composition
      -Treaty
    -Common dangers
    -Transcript

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Nuclear treaty
  -Announcement of policy objectives
    -Agreement on principle
    -Renouncing nuclear weapons
- Removing danger of nuclear war
- Reactions from PRC and Europe
- Bargaining
- Draft treaty from USSR

USSR
- US responses to attacks
  - Hypothetical situations
    - Allies
    - Neutral
    - India
- PRC
  - Reaction from PRC and Europe
  - Leonid I. Brezhnev

USSR
- Emigration of Soviet Jews
  - Question from press
    - President's response
  - Need for stable US-USSR relations
  - Rate
  - Reaction
  - Public exposure of question
    - Edward M. (“Teddy”) Kennedy
    - John T. Downey release
    - Chou
    - PRC
  - US-USSR relations
- Private message
  - Republicans
  - Peace Corps

PRC
- Message
  - Kissinger's meeting with President
    - Scheduling

US-Pakistan relations
- Commitments
  - Arms sales
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
Kissinger left at 1:02 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:02 pm and 1:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull [?].

Ronald L. Ziegler
- Meeting with President

Bull [?] left at an unknown time before 1:04 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 1:04 pm-1:16 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

President’s 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
- People's Republic of China [PRC] diplomatic mission to US
  - Lack of press interest

**PRC**
- Diplomatic mission
  - Ambassador to France [Huang Zhen]
- Chief of Protocol
  - Han Su [?]

**Press corps**
- Comments of old-timers
  - Squire Byrnes, Edgar Allen Poe, J. William Theis, Martin Hayden
- Decline
- PRC story
  - Lack of interest
  - Significance
    - Opening of liaison office
    - Taiwan
    - Chou En-lai
    - India-Pakistan
      - Superficial lead
- Hostility to administration
  - Courtney Sheldon
  - Response of White House
  - Liberals

**President’s press conference**
- Ziegler's evaluation
  - White House response
- Tone
  - Toughness
- Liberals
- Drug legislation
  - Administration position
  - Permissiveness
    - Press bias
    - Commission report [?]
Conversation No. 880-11 (cont’d)

- John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- President's appearances
  - Responses to questions
  - “No comment”

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

Liberal establishment
- Hiss
- Berlin Wall
- Vietnam
- Presidency
- Attitude of country
- Support for George S. McGovern
- Education, social issues
- Joseph W. Alsop
  - McGovern
- Radical elements
- Crime
- McGovern
  - Democratic convention
  - Meeting with radicals
    - Loss of support in country
    - White House staff reaction
      - William P. Rogers
      - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
      - Leonard Garment

President's press conference
  - Television [TV] broadcast
  - Reports on TV
    - Public reactions

Ziegler left at 1:16 pm.
Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:53 pm and 2:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Request
  -Ronald L. Ziegler [?]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:55 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:55 pm and 2:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

President’s approval of item
  -President's meeting with Lucy Ferguson

Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -Reception

The President and Woods left at an unknown time before 2:59 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:55 pm and 3:55 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Arrangements for Prisoners of war [POWs] reception

Lucy Ferguson, John Ferguson, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Williams, Jeannette Williams, Mark Williams, Jonathan Williams, Diane Jordan, Shelby Jordan and Kim Jordan entered at 2:59 pm. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions
- Size of family

Lucy Ferguson's work with White House
- Retirement
- Thanks
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

Photographs
- Arrangements
- Children
  - Dress
- Copies
  - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

Lucy Ferguson's work
- Thanks

Salutations

Lucy Ferguson, et al., left at 3:03 pm. Woods remained.

Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Recognition
  - Medal
  - Certificate
  - Commendation
- Gifts
  - Presidential cufflinks
  - Pins
- J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr. [?]
- Recognition
  - Commendation
Max M. Fisher and Leonard Garment entered at 3:06 pm. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

President's press conference

Woods left at 3:06 pm.

Photograph
  -Seating arrangements

Fisher's activities
  -Fisher's work with Jewish community
    -Foreign policy issues
      -Middle East
      -Soviet Jews
      -Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
        -Opposition of Jewish community
        -Non-Jews
  -Fisher's help for president
    -Work with William P. Rogers
    -Joseph J. Sisco
    -Henry A. Kissinger [?]
    -George P. Shultz
    -Strategy

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -President's meeting with Golda Meir
- President's approach on Soviet Jews
  - Unnamed congressman
  - President's trip to People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - Release of John T. Downey

An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

Refreshment

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:55 pm.

USSR
  - PRC trip by president
    - Lack of conditions
    - Relationship
    - Results of trip
      - Release of Downey
  - Soviet Jewish emigration
    - MFN
    - US-USSR relations
    - Agitation
      - Dangers
        - Summit
        - Peace
    - American Jews
    - Congress
      - Pandering
    - Rate of emigration
      - Reasons
      - Relationship to MFN
        - Economic initiatives
    - American Jewish community
      - Agitation
        - Dangers to Soviet Jews
        - President's approach
  - US relations with USSR
    - Goals
      - Peace
        - Relationship between superpowers
      - Handling of Soviet Jewish emigration
        - Arms limitations
Conversation No. 880-14 (cont’d)

-Communists
-Blame
-Press conference

-Soviet Jewish emigration
-Domestic issue
-Speech
-New York
-Herschel Schacter
-Heroics
-Leonid I. Brezhnev

-President’s approach
-Humanitarianism
-Germany
-Rider on MFN
-Economic progress
-Vietnam
-Arms limitations

-USSR’s leadership
-Paranoia, jingoistic pride
-Congressional action on MFN
-American Jewish community
-Responsibility
-Meir’s and Yitzhak Rabin's attitude
-Peace prospects
-PRC
-Release of Downey
-Conditions

-Soviet Jewish emigration
-USSR’s goal
-Respectability
-President’s approach
-Public relations program
-Conditions on trade

-Treatment of Soviet Jews
-Insane asylums
-NAZIs
-Killing, torture
-Cruelty
-Handling of Soviet Jewish emigration
-US influence
-Rider on MFN
- American Jewish community
  - Fisher’s role
  - Rogers
  - Leadership meeting
    - Speech
    - Congress
    - Demagoguery
  - Henry A. Kissinger
  - Rider on MFN
    - Battle against Jews
    - Votes
- US relations with USSR
  - Arms limitations
  - Vietnam
    - North Vietnam’s restraint
    - Influence with USSR
  - Communism
  - Alger Hiss case
    - Popularity of anticommunism
- American Jewish community
  - Fisher's work
    - Congress
    - Votes
    - Kissinger
    - Leadership
    - Strategy
  - Interests
    - Peace
    - Soviet Jews
- Soviet Jewish emigration
  - USSR’s reaction
  - France, Great Britain
  - Brezhnev
    - Discussions with President
    - Possible announcement
    - Congress
    - Internal matter
- Natural gas trade
- Conditions in USSR
- US reception
- Israel
- Immigrants to US
  - Parole waiver
  - Working class
  - Intellectuals
  - Nationalities
- President’s influence
- Dangers of rider on MFN
- Importance
  - Comparison with arms for Israel
    - Meir
    - Airplanes
- Humanitarian problem
- Foreign policy problem
- Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Political ambition

American Jewish community
  - Goodwill toward President
  - Confidence in president
  - Speech
    - Herschel Schacter
  - Leaders
    - Meetings
  - House of representatives
  - Foreign policy issues
    - Approach
      - Communicating President’s sympathy
  - Confidence in Rogers
    - Middle East
  - Attitude toward Kissinger
    - “Peace at home”
      - Administration’s efforts
  - Garment’s role
  - Fisher's approach
    - President’s suggestions

Vietnam
  - Status of cease-fire
    - Infiltration
    - Handling of North Vietnamese
      - Compared to handling of American Jewish community
USSR
- Brezhnev's visit
- Dinner
  - Republicans from Jewish community
  - Representation
- Fisher's work with Jewish community
- New York
- Strategy
- Garment’s role
- Rogers's appearance on "face the nation"
  - Disclosure of strategy
- Secrecy
- President’s sympathy
- Brezhnev
- Work with Congress,
  - Jacob K. Javits and Abraham A. Ribicoff
- Political overtones
  - Partisanship
- Strategy
- Approaches
  - Georgi Arbatov
  - Speech
    - Institute on American Relations with the Soviet Union
    - Fall-out
      - American Jewish community
- PRC
- Kissinger
- Fisher’s work with American Jewish community
  - President’s suggestions

Energy
- John D. Ehrlichman, Charles J. DiBona
- Fisher's advice
  - Knowledge of oil and Middle East
- Advisory group
  - Fisher’s inclusion
  - John B. Connally
  - Oil companies
  - Fisher’s patriotism
  - Ken Jameson’s exclusion
Conversation No. 880-14 (cont’d)

-Standard Oil of New Jersey
-Standard Oil of California
  -President’s friend
-Standard Oil of Texas
  -Connally
-Charles J. DiBona
  -Intelligence
  -Knowledge of oil
  -System analysis
  -Meeting with Fisher
-Fisher’s association with oil company
  -Discontinuation
    -Ehrlichman
    -President’s trust
      -Connally
      -Natural gas investments
-Natural gas
  -Price
    -Need for action
-Kerr-Mills Bill
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower's veto
    -Motivation
      -Francis case [?]
        -Campaign contribution scandal
          -California
  -Results
  -Garment’s knowledge
  -Contributions
  -Natural gas company
    -Ruthlessness
-Decontrol
  -Ehrlichman
  -Extent
    -Political fall-out
  -Ehrlichman
-El Paso Gas Company
  -Antitrust case
-Fisher's work
  -Support for President
    -Priorities
    -Trip overseas
- Prestige

[First name unknown] Tyson [?
- US Steel
- Geneva [?
- Trade negotiations

Fisher’s work for administration
- European Economic Community
  - Negotiations
- George P. Shultz, Peter M. Flanigan
- Business Council
  - Quality of advice
  - Selfishness
  - James M. Roche[?]n
- Donald McI. Kendall
  - Informal business group
- Business Council
  - Connally
  - Paul W. McCrackan

Food
- Prices
  - Fisher's advice
  - Production levels
  - Consumption levels

- POWs
  - Physical condition
  - Diet
  - Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., Col. Robinson Risner
    - Solitary confinement
    - Character
  - Diet
    - Physical condition
  - Dental problems
  - Surgery
    - Civil War
  - Denton
    - Condition of teeth
      - Reasons
      - Diet
-Diets
  -Concentration camp survivors
    -NAZIs
    -Condition of teeth
      -Reasons
      -Dentures
      -Compared to American diet
        -Smoking

POWs
  -Captivity
  -Communication in prison
    -Morse code
    -Sweeping
    -Writing paper
  -Reading matter
    -Propaganda
  -Solitary confinement
  -Survivors
    -Quiet voices
      -Improvement in treatment
    -American elite
  -Prison camps
    -World War II
      -Movie, *The Great Escape*
        -Survival
          -Treatment of POWs
            -Brutality
            -Adolph Hitler
  -Retention of American values
    -Denton's letter to President

Fisher's wife
  -Parties
  -Appointment to position
    -Kennedy Center
    -National Commission on the Arts
    -New elite of the President's supporters
      -Sammy Davis, Jr.

Joseph J. Sisco
-Trustworthiness
-Jewish community’s support
-Middle East
-US ambassador to Israel
- Kissinger
- Replacement
- Consequences
- Work with Kissinger
- Quality of work
- Assistant Secretary of State

Israel
-US ambassador
- Appointment
- Paul N. (“Pete”) McCloskey, Jr.
- Jewish community
- Kenneth B. Keating
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
- Support for Israel
- Assistant Secretary of State
- Prestige
- Work with Kissinger
- Sisco
- Germany
- Tom [last name unknown]
- Qualifications

-American Jewish community
- Support for Sisco
- Garment’s role
- Reaction to Rogers's plan
- Kissinger

Campaign contribution

Fisher and Garment left at 3:55 pm.
The President met with Donald E. Young, Jack Coghill and Richard K. Cook. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Middle East
   -Staying out
      -Comparison with Alaska

Photographs
   -Congratulations
   -Arrangements

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
   -Development of issues
   -Young’s campaign
      -Bush country
         -Percent of vote

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:56 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:17 pm.

1972 election issues
   -Young's opponent
Young’s campaign
   -Personal appearances
     -Rotary Clubs, Lyons Clubs, Chambers of Commerce
   -Radio talks
   -Television [TV] coverage
     -TV companies
       -Statewide network
       -Anchorage
     -Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy’s advertisements
     -President’s budget cuts
     -Walter J. Hickel’s advertisements
     -Counterattacks
       -Notti
       -Gun control
       -Peggy Begich’s reaction
         -Thomas Begich
       -Michael Gravel, Kennedy

-Gravel
   -Re-election
     -Defeat

Alaska politics
   -Ted Stevens
     -Appeal
   -Gravel
Conversation No. 880-15 (cont’d)

-Appeal
-Opinion of Senate colleagues
-Governor’s office
-Young’s campaign
-Funding
-Contributions
-Republican national Committee [RNC]
-Ed Terrell [?], Mary Ellen Miller, Chuck Bailey
-Young’s control
-Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
-Anchoragae
-Coghill’s role
-Victory
-Publicity
-George H. W. Bush
-Issues
-Special nomination
-Governor’s race
-President’s appearance
-Spiro T. Agnew’s visit
-Value
-Fundraising
-Anchoragae
-Committee to Re-elect the President
-State Republican party
-Democrats
-Splits
-Notti
-Primary
-Senate, lieutenant governor
-Divisions among democrats
-George S. McGovern
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
-Visit to Alaska

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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-Native land claims settlement
- Use of power by Alaska natives
  - Pipeline
  - Wealth

- Pipeline
  - Necessity for country
  - Courts
  - Support in Alaska
  - Opposition
    - Federal employees
      - Support for environmental groups
        - Sierra Club

- 1972 election
  - Environmental issues
    - Danger of extremism
      - West
      - World War II

- Environment
  - Strip mines for coal
    - Joe Usabelli [?]
  - Seeds and revitalization
  - Initiative by private enterprise
  - Court rulings

- Pipeline
  - Domestic Council
  - Environmentalists in administration
  - Administration's legislation
    - Delays
      - Court situation
    - Pressure from Cook

- Young's congressional committee assignments
  - Gerald R. Ford
  - Interior
  - Merchant marine
  - Fisheries
  - Subcommittees
  - Armed services

- Congressional delegation
  - Rapport with White House
  - President's support for pipeline
    - Announcement to constituents
    - Importance of fight compared with achievement
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Young’s meeting with George H. W. Bush
   - Young’s schedule
     - Pan American Airlines
     - Polar route
     - Fairbanks
     - New York
     - Republican programs

1972 election
   - Young’s victory
   - Democrats
     Washington Post

1974 congressional election
   - Illinois
     - Chicago
     - Jesse L. Jackson
     - George W. Collins
     - Lindy Boggs
     - Solid Democratic districts
     - Age of Congress members
       - Republicans
       - Craig Hosmer
         - Heart attack
       - Bob Price
         - Texas
       - Retirements
         - Republicans
           - Compared with Democrats
             - Age

   - Candidacies
     - Young’s victory
       - Nick Begich
       - Marginal seats

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Youngs's children

Travel allowance
  - Congress
  - Young's residence
  - Arctic Circle

Photographs
  - Copies

Young, Coghill and Cook left at 4:17 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:17 pm and 4:18 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:18 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:17 pm and 4:18 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Ronald L. Ziegler's schedule
  - Henry A. Kissinger
The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:18 pm.

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 4:18 pm-5:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

George T. Bell
-Death
-Personality
-Wealth
-Cause of death
-Cancer
-Religion
-Christian Scientist
-Call to hospital
-Company
-Sale
-Retirement
-Work in 1968 campaign
-Citizens for Nixon
-Work in White House
-Personnel office
-Charles W. Colson

Ralph H. Cake
-President's call
-Cake's response
-State of health

Telephone calls
-Death
-Comments
-Preparation
President's press conference
- Announcement of People's Republic of China [PRC] liaison office
  - historic significance
- Question and answer session
- Press responses
- Donald H. Segretti case
- Watergate
- John W. Dean, III's testimony
- Eugene V. 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 pm.

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

Prisoners of war [POWs]
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-10)

Conversation No. 880-18 (cont’d)

-Press coverage
  Gen. John P. Flynn
-Public reactions

Press relations
-North Vietnam
  -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
    -Infiltration
      -US response
-N-Lead stories
-PRC initiative
  -Bruce
  -Significance
    -Lack of press interest
-Press conference
  -Questions on Watergate, Dean
  -Risher
    -PRC
    -Wire service
-Clark R. Mollenhoff
  -Question on PRC liaison
    -Significance

-PRC liaison
  -Follow-up questions
  -John T. Downey
  -Bruce
  -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -Taiwan
  -Meeting with PRC
  -Ambassadorship

Press conferences
  -Tone
    -Patrick J. Buchanan
    -Colson
    -Importance
  -Nature of questions
    -New York Times reporter
      -[First name unknown] Kenwick [?]
    -Question for President
      -President’s answer
-Next press conference
  -Scheduling
    -State of the Union Address
    -Television [TV] coverage
    -State of the Union Address
      -Timing
      -Nguyen Van Thieu's visit
      -Prime time TV coverage
  -Watergate
  -Aid to India and Pakistan
    -Questions
      -Responses
  -Watergate
    -Ervin Hearings
    -Comments
    -Maurice H. Stans' civil suit
      -Comment
    -President's statements
      -Stans
      -Ervin hearings
      -Watergate
      -Dean
      -Segretti
    -Ziegler's responses
    -Democrats
  -Food prices
    United States Department of Agriculture [USDA] release
      -Food prices
        -Virginia H. Knauer
        -Housewives
          -Bargain list
          -Influence on prices
            -Price controls
        -Boycott of meat
          -Limits on purchasing
        -Knauer
          -Potential press coverage
        -POWs
          -Lack of meat
          -Health
-Meat
  -Necessity
  -Protein

Press conference
-George P. Shultz
-Soviet Jews
  -Questions
-Shultz's trip
-Important issues
  -Lack of interest
-Tariffs
  -USDA
  -Congress
-Stockpiling
  -Question by Forrest Boyd
    -Importance
      -National security
  -Influence on pricing
    -Copper, tin stockpiles
      -Necessity
-Frequency
  -Variation of intervals
    -Staggered times
-Handling of press
  -Benefits for administration
  -TV coverage

Memorandum on Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon to Ronald L. Ziegler
-Book
  -Copies to Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
-Mrs. Nixon's activities and offices
  -Cancer Society
  -Developmentally disabled children
  -Chairmanships

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 4:45 pm.

Congressional relations
  -Administration's record
    -Information
Conversation No. 880-18 (cont’d)

- Openness
- Dean
  - Appearance before Congress
  - Lyndon B. Johnson
- Walter W. Jenkins
  - Private materials
    - Access
    - Republicans
    - Johnson’s staff
      - Homosexuality
      - Blackmail
- Robert D. (“Bobby”) Baker
- Publicity for administration's record
  - Positive stand

President's foreign travel
- Latin America
  - William P. Rogers
  - Visit
- Africa visits
  - “Police states”
- Brazil
  - Safety
    - Brasilia
    - Intelligence analysis
- Caracas, Venezuela
  - Guerrilla activity
  - Risk of another incident
- Brazil
  - Brazilia
- Jamaica
- Nicaragua
- Latin American summit
  - Brasilia
  - Mexican president
    - Cozumel
      - Yucatan Peninsula
      - Island
- Press statements
  - Trips under consideration
- Lee Kuan Yew’s visit
Conversation No. 880-18 (cont’d)

- Guilio Andreotti’s visit
- Willy Brandt
  - Visit
    - Domestic situation
    - US-Europe relations
    - Personality
- Record as Berlin mayor
  - John V. Lindsay
    - New York mayor

Georges J. R. Pompidou
  - Kissinger’s letter
  - Election
    - President's response to results
    - Washington Post reports
      - Gen. Charles A. J. M. deGaulle
      - Harry S. Truman
    - Leftist parties
      - Splits
        - Socialists
        - Communists
      - Separation of candidates
        - Plurality
        - Votes
    - Majority in assembly

Press conference by Ziegler
  - Watergate
  - Mansfield amendment on European troop withdrawal
    - President's opposition
    - Statement for press
      - Mutual reductions
        - Compared with unilateral reductions
    - Influence on negotiations
    - Vietnam peace settlement
    - Democratic partisanship
      - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield

Ziegler left at 4:47 pm.

Joseph Simpson Farland
Conversation No. 880-18 (cont’d)

- Appointment as ambassador
  - Health problems
    - Heart
    - Altitude
- Treatment
  - Iran
  - Greece

Ambassadors
- Pakistan
- Germany
  - Thomas Vail
  - Farland
    - Netherlands
    - Switzerland
    - Canada
  - [First name unknown] Safer [?]
    - Kissinger's opinion
    - Judaism
- Farland
  - Canada
- Argentina
  - Safer [?]
- Mexico
  - [First name unknown] Reynolds
    - Columbia
- Farland
  - Canada
- Vail
  - Germany
    - Kissinger’s telephone call
- Argentina
  - Importance
  - Peronists
  - Danger

Plot against Richard M. Helms
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin’s information
- Tehran
- Iraq
Ambassadors

Arms control committee
  -David Packard
    -Appointment
    -John J. McCloy

President's meeting with Max M. Fisher
  -Garment
    -Sisco
      -Fisher's support for Middle East post
      -Experience
      -Rogers
      -Work with Israel

Haldeman left at 5:05 pm.

Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War
  -Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
  -Annual report on foreign policy
    -Kissinger’s staff
    -Foreign service
      -Ambassadors
      -Circulation
        -Nixon Doctrine
        -President’s role
        -Rogers
  -Kissinger's draft
  -Great Britain
Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:05 pm.

Refusal [?]  

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:30 pm.

Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War  
-Draft language  
-Use of nuclear weapons  
-Press coverage  
-Article 4  
-Condominium  
-PRC  
-Reactions  
-Great Britain  
-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]  
-Meaning of treaty  
-Great Britain  
-Definitions  
-Counterproposal by USSR  
-Motives of USSR  
-Détente  
-Ban on nuclear weapons  
-Impact on American pacifists  
-Trident construction  
-Administration responses  
-Provisions of treaty
Effectiveness
  - Administration's statements
  - Elimination of threat
  - Article 2
  - Conditions

Haldeman's job
  - Lack of complaint
  - Importance
  - Quality of work

Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War
  - Détente
    - Cost
    - US efforts
      - Crisis
  - Effects
    - Restraint
    - Middle East crisis
    - Vietnam settlement
    - Europe

Effects of détente
  - Diplomatic setbacks for USSR
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
      - Survival
    - Middle East
      - Troop withdrawal
    - Vietnam War
      - Bombing of North Vietnam
    - Europe
      - Settlement of Berlin
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Effects on weapon programs
    - Intangible feeling of détente
      - Relationship to US interests
  - SALT
    - Domestic support
      - President’s opponents
  - PRC-US relations
    - Military support
- Détente with USSR
- USSR as aggressors
- Europe and Japan
  - Weakness
  - Japan
  - Dangers
  - PRC
  - Aggression

PRC
- Ambassador to US
  - Ally to President

President's press conference
- Press relations
  - Haldeman
  - Ziegler
- PRC liaison office
  - Press indifference
  - News reports
  - President’s PRC policy
  - Compared to Watergate
    - Dean
    - Historical significance

- News reports
  - Watergate
  - Food prices
- President's comments
  - Personnel replacement in Vietnam
    - Need for correction
    - Issue of legality
    - Effect on strategic balance
    - Equipment
  - Journalists’ calls to Kissinger
    - George Sherman, Robert C. Toth
  - North Vietnamese infiltration reports

******************************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[NATIONAL SECURITY]
Vietnam
  - Infiltration
    - US calculation of rates
      - Laos
    Press conference responses

US relations with USSR
  - Middle East
    - Pressure
    - Peace
    - USSR-Egyptian relations
    - US-Egyptian discussions
      - Hafez Ismail
        - Brezhnev
    - Dobrynin
      - Brezhnev’s message

President’s press conference
  - Warning to North Vietnam
    - Ziegler
  - Journalists’ calls to Kissinger
    - Sherman, Toth
-President’s credibility

Vietnam
-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's plans
  -Air strikes, sorties
    -Number
    -B-52s
  -Ho Chi Minh Trail
-Note to North Vietnam
  -Reply
-Dobrynin
-PRC
-Prisoners of war [POWs] release
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Thieu's visit to US
  -Timing of bombing
-Bombing resumption
  -Risk to peace
  -POWs
  -Warnings
-US concerns
  -Replacement personnel
    -Effect on strategic balance
  -Cease-fire violations
-Infiltration
  -President's responses at press conference

Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
-Subject of meeting
-Message from President
  -US public opinion

Detente
-Congressional action on military budget
  -US military strength
    -Possible provocations from USSR
    -Relaxation
    -President’s image
      -“Old Cold Warrior”
-President's critics
  -Chemical weapons
  -SALT
Kissinger's meeting with Dobrynin
   - Dobrynin's knowledge of US actions
     - Brezhnev
       - Harry S. Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt's relations with Josef V. Stalin
       - Desire for peace
         - Diplomacy
           - Reputation in history
       - Possible motives
         - Relaxation of tensions
           - Splitting Europe from US
       - Peace
         - Story of Brezhnev’s father
           - World War I
           - World peace
           - Monument

Kissinger left at 5:30 pm.
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President’s schedule [?]
- John D. Ehrlichman

Radio speech
- Copy
- Veterans speech
- Role of government

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:31 pm.

Concentration No. 880-20

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 5:31 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's meeting with John W. Dean, III and Richard A. Moore

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:31 pm.

Concentration No. 880-21

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 5:31 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-121]
Conversation No. 880-22

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 5:31 pm-5:33 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

[See Conversation No. 37-122]

Conversation No. 880-23

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: Unknown between 5:33 pm and 5:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-123]

Conversation No. 880-24

Date: March 15, 1973
Time: 5:36 pm-6:24 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

President's press conference
   - Previous discussion with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler
   - Announcement of Dr. David K. E. Bruce
     - People's Republic of China [PRC] liaison
     - Significance
       - Importance of PRC ambassador
       - Democrat
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 [AP]
    - Court test
- Press
  - Future stories
  - Hostility to administration
  - Strategy in the future

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

Refreshment

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

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

[PROCESSING NOTE: WITHDRAWAL NO. 2 HAS BEEN DECLASSIFIED IN FULL]

-Vietnam
  -North Vietnamese infiltration
  -President’s response

-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
    -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 Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., and Howard H. Baker, Jr.
- 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
        - Kansas City

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

Delivery of letter to Robert C/ ("Bob") Wilson

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:24 pm.

Watergate
  - FBI raw files
    - Disclosure
      - American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU]
      - 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
  - Administration's cooperation with committee
-Press reaction
-Separation of powers
  -President's responsibility
-Executive privilege
  -Separation of powers
    -Statement
      -Constitutional responsibility
    -Truman's firing of Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur
      -Bombing of China
      -President's support
    -Justification of position
      -Ziegler's statement
-Gray
  -Position on raw files disclosure
  -Executive privilege
-Ervin Committee
  -White House staff testimony
-Court test on staff testimony
  -Chapin, Charles W. Colson
  -Chapin
    -Weak points
      -Kalmbach
      -Colson
      -Segretti
-Chapin
  -White House statement
  -Letter to President
    -Apology
    -Explanation
-Activities in campaign
  -Richard ("Dick") Tuck
  -Segretti
  -Pranksterism
  -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. (“Ted”) Kennedy
-Colson
-Testimony to Senate
-Administration's position
-Ties to E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
-Chapin
-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
-Press
-Treatment of Ziegler
-Ziegler's handling
-President's statements to Ervin
-Ervin committee
Conversation No. 880-24 (cont’d)

-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
    -L. B. Nichols
    -Hoover
-Leaks
  -FBI
  -Hollywood Ten
-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 Post-Dispatch, Louisville Courier
  -Impact
  -Alger Hiss
    -Background
      -Dean G. Acheson
      -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 President's 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
    - Stripling
    - Amount of work
- Work with FBI
  - Cooperation
    - National security concerns
  - Information
    - Disclosure
      - Espionage
      - Hoover
      - Raw files
- FBI report
  - Leak to President's committee
- Press
  - Lisagor
  - James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
  - Hatred for President
- Ervin committee
  - Possible subpoenas
    - Chapin
  - Republicans
    - Statements
  - Administration's cooperation
    - Extent
Dean and Moore left at 6:24 pm.

Date: March 15 or 16, 1973
Time: Unknown between 6:24 pm, March 15 and 10:14 am, March 16
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

Category [？]
- Number [？]

Lack of knowledge of something

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:14 am, March 16.