Conversation No. 881-1

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:18 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President's schedule
- Meeting with John W. Dean, III
- Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
- Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:18 am.

Conversation No. 881-2

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 10:18 am - 10:33 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
- Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Leonid I. Brezhnev's message to President
- Human Rights Commission
  - Resolution
  - Geneva
  - Free emigration
  - Kissinger's call to [David] Kenneth Rush
  - Andrei A. Gromyko
  - Dobrynin
  - Rush's call to Kissinger
  - US resolution
    - Handling
      - Jewish protests
  - US representative to Human Rights Commission
  - Ties to Jewish organizations
Conversation No. 881-2 (cont’d)

- Explanation of actions
  - US resolution on free emigration
    - William P. Rogers
    - Recall of US representative
    - State Department’s role
      - Rogers, Rush
    - Dobrynin’s reaction
    - Brezhnev
    - Rush
    - Jewish emigration
      - President's message to Congress
      - Impact
      - Support for President
  - Written report
    - Rush
    - Dobrynin
  - Senate Democratic Caucus
    - Overseas troops
      - Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
  - Jewish protests
    - President's sympathies
  - Congressional action
    - President's opposition
  - Max Fisher
  - Statistics of Soviet Jewish emigrants
    - Publicity
  - Message for Dobrynin
    - Recall of US representative
    - President's meeting with Jewish leaders
  - Brezhnev
    - President’s note
  - Rush
    - Telephone call
      - Apology

Overseas troops
  - Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
  - European concerns

Vietnam
-US military action
  -Timing
  -President's message to North Vietnam
    -Timing
    -President's press conference
    -Effectiveness
  -Options
    -Troop withdrawals
      -Appearance of weakness
    -Prisoners of War [POWs] release
      North Vietnam’s action
    -Bombing
    -Economic commission [?]  
      -Mining
    -Safest course
      -POW release
      -President’s statement on television [TV]
      -Nguyen Van Thieu’s visit
  -Peace settlement
    -Enforcement
      -Public reaction
        -Respect for President
        -Violations
      -1969 chances for peace
  -Thieu
    -South Vietnam
    -President’s message to North Vietnam
    -North Vietnam’s response

President's press conference
  -New York Times
  -TV
  -Dr. David K. E. Bruce
    -Vietnam
  -Questions
  -Watergate
    -John N. Mitchell
    -Reasons for break-in
    -Public reaction
    -Disclosure of information
Conversation No. 881-2 (cont’d)

- 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
  - Comparison with India-Pakistan War
  - International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]

Brezhnev’s visit to US
  - Public interest
  - “Big plays”

Vietnam
  - Possible defeat
    - Bombing
    - 1974 election
      - Impact
    - 1975, 1976 predictions
      - Prospects
        - Peace settlement
        - US handling of North Vietnam

Cambodia
  - Bombing
    - B-52s
    - Intelligence reports
    - Targets
    - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

President's meetings with John W. Dean, III

Human Rights Commission resolution
  - Kissinger's message to Dobrynin
  - Rush
    - Personal apology

Kissinger left at 10:33 am.
Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 10:34 am -11:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with John W. Dean III.

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[ouis] Patrick Gray, III's testimony to Judiciary Committee
  - Raw files
    - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
    - Roman L. Hruska's inspection
    - Limits on raw files
    - James O. Eastland

- Gray
  - FBI investigations
    - Control
    - Credibility of FBI

- Dean report
  - Richard A. Moore
  - Oral report
  - Summary of findings
  - Briefing of Ziegler, White House staff
    - Cooperation with Congress
    - Washington Star reports
    - White House clarifications

- FBI files
  - Kennedy
  - Judiciary Committee
    - Chairman, ranking members
  - Gray
-Release to Attorney General
  -Propriety
  -Gray's testimony
-Meeting with Ervin and Baker
  -Administration's position
-Baker's statements on television [TV]
  -Kleindienst
  -Previous conversation with 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
  -Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
  -Edward J. Gurney
  -Position on Watergate
    -Political aspirations
  -Fred D. Thompson
  -Dealsings 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 News
  -Inadequacies of White House efforts
-President's image
  -Protection
  -Dangers
  -Disclosure of information
    -Dean testimony
    -Watergate
    -Donald H. Segretti
-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 Moore
  -Need for master plan
    -Stay at Camp David
    -Mitchell
      -Judgment
      -John D. Ehrlichman, Maurice H. Stans
        -G. Harrold Carswell, Kleindienst, Gray
-Cover-up
  -Avoidance
    -Necessity
    -Presidency
-Ziegler's answer on Dwight L. Chapin and Segretti at press conference
  -Misleading statements
-News summary
  -Note to Dean from President
  -FBI agent's comments
  -Herbert W. Kalmbach
  -FBI files
  -Dean's meeting with Ziegler

An unknown man entered at an unknown time between 10:34 am and 10:58 am.

Request for Ziegler's attendance at meeting

Watergate
  -TV coverage of press conference
    -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
      -John W. Chancellor
    -President's responses to questions
      -Credibility
      -Advantages of TV
  -President's credibility
    -Necessity
  -Ervin Committee
    -Activities, thinking
      -White House knowledge
    -Attitude of members
      -Gurney, Baker

Ziegler entered at 10:58 am.

-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
      -Ervin
Dean's call to Kleindienst

Dean left at 11:06 am

Dean's job
   -Difficulties

President's press conference
   -TV coverage
-Watergate
-Issues covered in T.V. coverage
  -Food prices, Dr. David K. E. Bruce's appointment
  -Vietnam settlement

Watergate
  -Ziegler's statement
    -Cooperation of administration
      -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
  -TV coverage
    -Ziegler's evaluation
  -Press hostility
  -Press respect for President
    -Firmness
  -Wire services
    -Reactions
  -Networks, morning newspapers
    -Washington Star

Ziegler left at 11:10 am.
Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 11:10 am - 12:06 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's call
- Message with Rose Mary Woods

President's visit to dentist
- Presence of press
  - Secret Service
- Departure
- Staff
  - Military aid
  - Usher
  - Secret Service
  - Press
  - Head of Secret Service
  - Ziegler
- Dr. William O. Chase

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered and Bull left at 11:10 am.

White House social events
- Inclusion of children
  - William E. Timmons, Frank J. Horton
  - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
  - Woods
  - Arrangements
- Policy
- Press story
- Congress members
- Cabinet officers
- Quantity
- Timmons
- Marjorie Lincoln
- G. Gould Lincoln
- Age
Herbert G. Klein

-President's meeting with Lt. Cdr. Robert J. Flynn
  -Arrangements
  -Bull

-President's meeting with Roger Shields
  -[Unintelligible name]

-Prisoner of war [POWs] dinner
  -Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
  -Format
  -Flynn
  -Meeting with President

POWs

-Gifts
  -Photograph
  -Woods
  -Eagle with inscription
    -J. Willard (“Bill”) Marriott, Jr.

-Citation
-Bracelet

-Disadvantages

-Presidential gifts
  -President's seal
  -Cufflinks
  -New design

-Children
  -President's gifts
    -Pins

-Gifts
  -Ashtrays
    -Display value
    -Cost
    -Vase, platter
    -Smoking
Conversation No. 881-4 (cont’d)

Press relations
- Favorable editorials
  - Distribution
    - White House
    - Klein’s office
      - 1972 campaign
- Charles W. Colson’s group
- American Enterprise Institute
- Committees
- George H. W. Bush
- Republicans
- Circulation of editorials
  - Subtlety
    - Congress
    - Campaigns
  - Bush’s role
- Congress members
- Private citizens
- Walter H. Annenberg, Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis

Watergate
- John W. Dean, III
  - Richard A. Moore
  - Coordination
- John N. Mitchell
  - Judgment
    - G. Harrold Carswell
- 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
  -Joseph McCarthy
- 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
    -Advantages
  -Involvement
    -Haldeman
- Dean's role
  -Containment strategy
    -Value
- Full disclosure
  -Advantages
  -Dangers
    -Exposure of cover-up
- Dean's view
  -Containment
Conversation No. 881-4 (cont’d)

-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] files
  -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

President's television [TV] address on role of government
  -David R. Gergen’s memorandum
    -John D. Ehrlichman
    -Radio
  -1973 State of the Union Address
  -Foreign policy discussion
    -National Security Council [NSC]
  -State of the World Address
    -Henry A. Kissinger
  -Reaction in Congress
    -NSC
    -Gergen
    -Domestic policy

State of the World Address
  -Kissinger
    -Length of address
    -Quality

Congressional relations
  -Opposition to Vietnam settlement
    -Democratic Senate
    -Press coverage
  -Lobbying by William P. Rogers
    -Economic aid to Vietnam
    -Military budget
  -Partisans
    -Republicans
Press relations
  -President's press conference
    -Patrick J. Buchanan [?]
    -TV coverage
  -Need to get out of Oval Office
    -Hostility of press
  -TV coverage of press conference
  -TV news
    -Viewership
      -Percentages
    -President's appearance
      -Viewership
  -President's speech before Congress
    -Prime time
  -Press coverage
    -President’s trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
    -Vietnam settlement announcement
      -Radio
  -Press conference
    -Effectiveness
    -[Unintelligible name]
      -Comments on reporter's questions to President
  -Questions
    -Submission
    -Preparation by President
    -Reaction by press
    -President’s expectations
  -Subjects
    -Foreign policy
    -Limitations on subjects
      -Separate press conferences on foreign, domestic, economic issues
      -Disadvantages
  -Preparation
    -Amount of work
    -White House staff
      -Buchanan, Kissinger, Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz
  -Questions
    -Wounded Knee
CONVERSATION NO. 881-4 (cont’d)

-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
    -Legal preparation
    -Involvement with Segretti
    -Knowledge
  -Issue
    -Cover-up compared with break-in
      -Hauge's perception
      -Danger to administration
    -Burglars
      -Conviction
      -Possibility of widening the investigation
        -Future arrests
          -Jeb Stuart Magruder
          -Mitchell
          -Ties to White House
            -Haldeman
  -Haldeman
    -Relationship with Magruder
    -Statement
Conversation No. 881-4 (cont’d)

-Nixon

-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 powers

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

President's schedule
-Pete V. Domenici

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

-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

Haldeman left at 12:06 pm.
Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 12:06 pm - 12:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Pete V. Domenici, Nancy (Burk) Domenici, Lisa Domenici, Peter Domenici, Nella Domenici, Clare Domenici, David Domenici, Nanette Domenici, Paula Domenici, Helen Domenici and Wallace H. Johnson. Stephen B. Bull and Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Peter V. Domenici's family
  -School
  -Age of one child
  -Other children
    -Order in family

Photographs
  -Copies
    -Atkins

Children
  -Kindergarten
    -Maryland
    -Teachers

Photographs
  -Arrangements

House
  -Rockville, Maryland
  -Size
    -Israeli embassy
  -Location
    -Distance
    -Churches
    -Holy Cross School
    -Public schools
    -Montgomery County, Maryland
      -Wealth
Public schools
-Montgomery County

Tricia Nixon Cox
-Date of birth

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Age
-Growing up in politics

Domenici’s seniority
-Clinton Anderson

Oval Office
-Picture
-Flags
-Armed services
-Pictures of pandas
-Ling-Ling
-George Washington portrait, Boehm bird sculpture
-Vase from People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Jade
-Quality
-Age

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's crewel work

Gifts
-Girls
-Boys

Domenici's work in Senate
-Family
-Washington, DC in spring
-Cars
-President's Oldsmobile 98 during Senate years

Domenici, *et al.*, left at 12:19 pm.
Date: March 16, 1973  
Time: 12:20 pm - 12:31 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Arlene Dahl, Rounseville "Skip" Schaum, Lorenzo Schaum, Carole Schaum and Michael J. Farrell. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions

Children
- School
- President’s birthday
  - Dahl’s father
- Age

Dahl’s family
- Move to New York

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale
- Effect of church services characterized
  - New Jersey

Debbie Reynolds
- President’s meeting
  - Irene
    - Plot
    - Reviewers
    - Wholesomeness
    - Out-of-towners
    - New York
    - New York Post
    - Tony Award
- Voice
  - Ailment
  - Changes
Musical show
  - Applause

Broadway
  - Changes
    - Cultural values
    - Decline in quality
  - Marlon Brando
    - Cover of *Time*, *Newsweek*
      - *Playboy*
  - Family theater

Movies
  - Parental Guidance [PG] rating
  - Suitability
  - Restricted [R] rating
  - Camp David

Photographs
  - Arrangements
  - Atkins
    - Beijing
    - Moscow
    - PRC

Henry A. Kissinger

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  - Trade fair

Last meeting with President
  - Church
  - Metro Goldwyn meter [MGM]

Movie
  - *Three Little Words*
    - Debbie Reynolds
      - Helen Kane character
    - Richard (“Red”) Skelton
    - Format
Photographs
  -Copies

Tour of White House
Julie Nixon Eisenhower's crewel work

Dahl, et al., left at 12:31 pm.

Conversation No. 881-7

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 12:31 pm - 1:36 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Congressional relations
  -Problem
  -Meeting with Pete V. Domenici and family
    -Children
      -School
      -Crucifix

President's schedule
  -Meetings with people
    -Usefulness
    -Criteria for scheduling
    -Domenici
      -Value for President
      -Encouragement
    -Poster child

Rose Mary Woods
  -Duties
    -Invitations
      -Church services
      -Attendance by children
Church services
  - Value
    - Concern for religion
  - Invitations
    - Refusals
    - Cancellations
    - White House staff
    - Subcabinet
      - Vacancies
  - Congress members
    - Children
      - William E. Timmons
  - Woods's job
    - Children
      - Presence
      - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
  - Invitations
    - Cancellation
      - Circumstances
  - Congress members
    - Consultation with Timmons
      - Bryce N. Harlow, Clark MacGregor
  - Value

Congressional relations
  - Meeting with Domenici
  - Congressional leaders meetings
    - Value
      - Ranking members of committees
        - Breakfast meeting

Military aide to President
  - Work with Major John V. (“Jack”) Brennan
  - Conversation with Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
  - Responsibilities
  - Relationship with Nixon family
  - Air Force and Navy officers
    - Army officer
      - Administrative work for Brennan
Conversation No. 881-7 (cont’d)

- Logistics
- Transportation
- Brennan's duties
  - Choice for aide
  - Other aides’ duties
  - New acquaintance for President

Anne L. Armstrong
- Congressional leadership meetings
  - Attendance
- Work with Congress and John D. Ehrlichman
- Role
  - Robert H. Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld

President's schedule
- Size of meetings
- Working dinners

Congressional relations
- John McCollister
- Congressman from Nebraska
- MacGregor
- Ehrlichman’s candidate
  - White House Congressional liaison
    - Background
      - SOS, Chowder and Marching Society
      - Joint breakfast
    - Loyalty to President
      - 1968 election
      - Ehrlichman
    - Candidate for congressional liaison
      - Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr.

- Timmons
  - Status
- White House staff
  - Budget strategy
    - Ehrlichman, Roy L. Ash, David N. Parker
      - Arrangements
- Surrogates
  - Forms
Conversation No. 881-7 (cont’d)

- Train reservations
- Pittsburgh
- Speech
- Influence
- Parker, William J, Baroody, Jr., Ziegler's staff

- Need for guidance
  - Assignments

- Responsibility
  - Ash’s role
  - Ehrlichman’s role
  - Haldeman’s role
  - Need for guidance, clear goals
  - Ash
    - Budget
    - Parker
    - Ehrlichman

- Speakers
  - Placement in congressional districts
    - Bella S. Abzug, Jack F. Kemp

- Influence on Congress members
  - Pressure by major contributors
    - Walter H. Annenberg, [unintelligible name]
  - White House pressure on key people, organizations
    - Ohio
    - Indiana
    - State chair

- Timmons's work
  - Democrats
  - Re-election
    - Kemp, Abzug
  - Initiative
  - Pressure points
    - Targeted list
    - Vetoes
    - Public pressure
  - Initiative
  - Personality, attitude
    - Leadership qualities
  - Comparison with MacGregor

- Timmons
-Demotion
-Domenici
-Democrats
-Conceptual outlook
-Replacement
-Ehrlichman
-Ash
-Staff work
   -Regional briefings
      -Edward L. Morgan, Baroody
   -Editorials
   -Value
-Nature of work
-Veterans bill
-Vocational rehabilitation bill
   -Delays
   -Veto
      -Override
      -Test vote
      -Absentee votes
-Timmons's role in White House

White House staff
-Ash
   -Personality
   -Realism
      -Press relations
      -Compared with George P. Shultz
-Shultz
   -New Summary
   -Responsibilities
      -Workload
         -Oil
         -Monetary policy
         -Wage and price controls
         -Labor department
         -Commerce Department
         -Trade bill
         -Tax bill
         -Need to concentrate
Conversation No. 881-7 (cont'd)

-Trade
-Taxes
-Monetary policy
-Deal with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
  -Frederic B. Dent
  -Kissinger
-Labor-Management relations
-Phase III
-Comparison with John B. Connally
-Energy
  -William E. Simon
-Quality of advice

-Peter M. Flanigan
  -Use of abilities
    -Shultz
    -Under-utilization
  -Ehrlichman
-Ash
  -Management
  -Ehrlichman
  -Role in White House
    -Advocacy
    -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
-Views
  -Flanigan
    -Taxes
    -Trade
    -Bias
    -Compared with Ehrlichman
-Responsibilities
  -Talks with businessmen
    -Automobile prices
    -[First name unknown] Townsend
  -Flanigan
-Dent
  -Personality
  -Judgment
  -Flanigan
  -Dealings with businessmen
    -Time
-Governors
-Use of abilities
-Shultz
-Ash

Congressional relations
-McCollister
-Nebraska
-Budget battle
-Focus on House of Representatives
-Congressional leadership abilities
-Joint breakfast
-Organizer of meetings
-SOS
-Chowder and Marching
-Intelligence
-Attitude
- Appearance
-Timmons
-Replacement
-Harlow
-Lobbyist
-Problems

-MacGregor
-Location
-Washington, DC
-Recruitment
-Financial obligations

Press relations
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Abilities
-Quality of work

Congressional relations
-Colson as White House Congressional liaison
-Charges of involvement in Watergate related matters
-Qualities
-Problems
-Possible recruitment
-Personality
-Costs of elections
-Dwight L. Chapin, Colson
-Abilities
-Budget battle
-Cabinet meeting
-Surrogates program
-Assistant secretaries
-Value
-Rogers
-Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
-Cabinet
-James T. Lynn
-Abilities, appearance
-MacGregor
-Need for positive, cheerleader attitude
-Lynn
-Timmons
-Speaking tours
-Value
-Washington, DC
-Rotary Clubs
-Massusa [?]
-Lynn
-Weinberger
-MacGregor
-Judgeship
-Watergate
-Plans for next three years
-Judgeship
-Attorney General
-Supreme Court appointment
-Circuit court
-District of Columbia
-Counselor position in White House
-Legislative advisor to President
-Lawyer title
-Budget matters
Conversation No. 881-7 (cont’d)

- Timmons
- Financial hardships
- Boredom

- George H. W. Bush
  - Abilities
  - Work with Republican National Committee [RNC]
  - Leadership abilities
    - Strategy
  - Contacts with Congress
  - Comparison with Robert J. Dole

- MacGregor
  - Abilities
  - 1974 election

Watergate
  - Issuance of report or White Paper
    - Need for future conversations with John W. Dean, III
      - Richard A. Moore
    - 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 Stuart Magruder
  - Dean’s concerns
    - Knowledge
    - Speculations by Sloan
Conversation No. 881-7 (cont’d)

-Liddy
  -Danger to administration
    -Knowledge of Donald H. Segretti's activities
      -Recruitment by Chapin
      -Contacts with Herbert W. Kalmbach
    -Work with Liddy
      -John N. Mitchell
    -Links among various activities
      -E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
  -Possible statements
    -Current position on responsibility for Watergate
    -Statement on Magruder
      -Implication of 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

Haldeman left at 1:36 pm.

Conversation No. 881-8

Date:  March 16, 1973
Time:  4:51 pm - 4:52 pm
Location:  Oval Office
The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

[The recording began while the conversation was in progress]

Watergate
- Sherman Adams analogy in *Washington Post* article, March 16, 1973
  - Parallels with John W. Dean, III's testimony
    - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - Differences
- White House staff
  - Testimony
    - Charges of criminality

Ehrlichman left at 4:52 pm.

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:52 pm and 5:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

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

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- President’s conversation

Woods’s schedule

President’s schedule
  - Herman Kahn

Clothing
  - Delivery
  - Tie
Nelson A. Rockefeller  
- Book

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

Jen-Lin Huang  
- Ambassador  
- Gift for President

Cufflinks

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 34s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Card  
- Signature

Dentist  
- Appointment

Woods’s schedule

Philip F. Timberlake’s daughter  
- Marriage to Black man  
- Black child
Woods left at an unknown time before 5:02 pm.

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:52 pm and 5:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Philip F. Timberlake’s daughter
-Letter to President
 -President’s answer
  -Situation
   -Husband
 -Leonard Garment
  -Answer
   -Violation of civil rights
 -Inauguration
  -Embarrassment
   -Press coverage
 -Timberlake’s health
 -Philip Timberlake, Jr.
  -Death
The President and Woods left at 5:02 pm.

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: Unknown between 5:06 pm and 5:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

President's meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:10 pm.

Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 5:10 pm - 6:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

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
Herman Kahn entered at 5:14 pm.

Introduction to Ziegler

The White House photographer entered and Ziegler left at 5:14 pm.

Photographs
   -Arrangements
   -President’s chair

The White House photographer left at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.

Kahn's meeting with President
   -Value
   -John D. Ehrlichman's reaction

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:14 pm.

Refreshment

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.
Last meeting with President
   - New York
   - Phil Bartman [?]
   - President’s political career

Hudson Institute
   - Financial state
   - Personnel
   - Expenditures
     - Research
     - Contracts
   - Government studies
     - Defense Department, State Department, National Security Council [NSC],
       Executive Office of the President [EOP]
   - Institute's policies
     - Private sector funding
     - National Security Agency [NSA]
   - National Endowment for the Humanities [NEH]
     - Effectiveness of President’s speeches
     - Length of research

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 5:14 pm.

Ehrlichman
   - Presence at meeting
   - Foreign policy studies
   - Meeting
     - Earl L. Butz

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.

Kahn's current project
   - Study
     - Resources
     - Pollution
     - Productivity
     - Cultural attitudes
   - Study of water
   - Public attitudes
     - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
Energy
Environment
Influence of propaganda
-Iron Curtain countries, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Catholic Church in France
-Strength
-Albigensian heresy
-Control
-Czechoslovakia
-1968 reform movement
-Religion
-Jan [last name unknown]
-USSR
-Communist Party
-Rhetoric

Unity
Propaganda
Student attitudes
-Variation
-Prestige universities
-Support for George S. McGovern
-Faculty attitudes
-State universities
-Non-college youth
-Political attitudes

US politics
-Book
-Public attitudes

Ehrlichman entered at 5:24 pm.

Ehrlichman's schedule
-Cost of Living Council [COLC]

Meeting with Kahn
-Ehrlichman's presence

NEH study on long term prospects for mankind
-Six phases
Conversation No. 881-12 (cont’d)

-Phase one
  -Use of technology
-Phase two
  -Studies of food, housing
    -Population
-Phase three
  -Conference on food issues
    -Compensation
-1976 US bicentennial
  -Credit for President’s policies
-Financing
  Domestic Council
  -Proposal
  -Necessity
-Energy problem
  -Crisis
    -Henry Fairlie's book about John F. Kennedy
      -Attitudes of writers, scholars

Current crises
  -Food prices
    -Urgency
  -Sense of crisis
    -Vietnam War
    -Watergate
  -Long-range planning
    -Need for caution by leaders
      -Speeches
  -Leader class
    -Weakness

Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -President's meetings
  -Solitary confinement
    -Strength
  -Contrast with nation's leaders
    -Weaknesses
      -Universities
    -Strength in White House
Leaders of US
- Weaknesses
- College students
  - Change in attitudes in 1960's
    - Earning potential
    - Lack of effort at improvement
  - Compared to Europeans, Romans
  - Prestigious universities
- Chart of attitudes
  - Locations on chart
    - American national character
    - Prestigious universities
      - Party affiliation
      - Comparison with nation
      - Comparison with middle management
    - Robert F. (“Bobby”) Kennedy
    - Democrats
    - Minority groups
    - Labor unionists
      - George Meany
- Kahn's article
  - Deletions of questions
  - List of groups
    - Changes in social groups
      - Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians
      - Students
      - Establishment
        - 1950's
          - Comparison with 1960s
        - Leader class
        - Churches, universities, press
        - Dwight D. Eisenhower
        - Ethical critics
          - Unitarians
        - Dissident elements
          - “Joy love culture”
- Bicentennial
  - Intellectual content
    - Use of Kahn’s research
- Role of US in world
-Social problems
  -Solutions
-Japan
  -Future role
    -Per capita income

Domestic problems
  -Domestic Council

Upper middle class
  -Dialogue
    -Kahn’s *US News and World Report* article
    -President's meeting with Newbold ("Newby") Noyes, Jr.
    -Setting up
    -Terms
    -President's speech in 1969
      -Tone
      -Editing
      -Attacks
        -Press reaction
    -Kahn's changes
      -Dialogue with *New York Times*
      -*New York Review of Books*

Press relations
  -Inaccuracies
    -*New York Times*
    -*Washington Post*
    -*Baltimore*
    -Votes for President
      -Patriotism, morality
      -Racism
        -Editorials
    -Kahn's conversation with Max Frankel and Thomas Grey ("Tom") Wicker
      -*A. M. Rosenthal* editorial
      -*Survey*
      -*Reason for votes for President*
        -*Racism*
    -*Mistakes by New York Times*
      -*Vulnerabilities*
Potential for change
- Daniel Yankelovich's poll
  - Critique of *New York Times* editorials
    - Busing issue
      - *New York Times* errors
        - Costs of busing
          - Public opposition
            - Role of racism
              - Neighborhood schools
                - Quality of schools
          - Segregation
            - Contradictory policies
              - Neighborhood schools

POWs
- Return
  - Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
    - Solitary confinement
      - Book on US and his experience
        - US at time of capture
          - Audience for book
            - Common people

Leader class
- Current decline
  - Source of decline of civilization
    - Common people
  - Businessmen
    - Weaknesses
      - Managers
        - Corruption of children
          - Elite schools
    - Vietnam War
      - Peace
        - Antiballistic missile system [ABM] system
          - Opposition
    - Establishment
      - Churches
        - Fundamentalists
          - Support for President
-Baptist
-Catholics
-South
-West
-Established churches
-Quakers
-Weaknesses
-Episcopalians
-Presbyterians
-Denton
-Supporters of President
-William F. (“Billy”) Graham
-Weaknesses
-Lack of respect as religious leader
-Educators
-College presidents, faculty
-Weaknesses
-Comparison with students
-Ivy League
-Graduate schools
-Businessmen
-Conservative orientation
-Selfishness, weakness
-Lack of courage
-Support for President
-Midwest, South, West
-Laboring classes
-President’s November 3, 1969 speech
-“Silent majority”
-Election
-Opposition to demonstrators
-Farmers
-Small businessmen
-Comparison with Wall Street
-Chamber of Commerce
-National Association of Manufacturers [NAM]
-Reason for support for President
-President’s victories

American society
-Education
-Kahn’s book title
-“1963 to 1972: A decade of Educated Incapacity”
-[Unintelligible name]
-Train incapacity
-Engineers, sociologists
-Influence on attitudes
-Newspapers, universities
-President’s background
-New York
-Leader class
-Shallowness
-Lack of character
-Religion
-Revival
-Decline of Christianity
-Sweden
-Germany
-France
-Italy
-Pope
-Spain
-Latin America
-Mexico
-US
-Movement toward orthodoxy
-Protestants
-Baptists
-Church of Christ
-Pentecostals
-Counter culture
-Counter counter culture
-Jews
-George C. Wallace
-Spokesman for counter counter culture
-[Unintelligible name]
-Racism
-Wallace's change in attitude
-Racism
-Racists
-Shame
Conversation No. 881-12 (cont’d)

- Article in newspaper
  - White workers
    - Denials of racism
    - *Washington Post*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Letter from President to relative of Timberlake family
  - Irish Catholicism
  - Racism
  - Rose Mary Woods
  - Son
    - Suicide
  - Daughter
    - Interracial marriage
      - Letter
      - Father’s reaction
      - 1973 inauguration

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Spokesman for counter counter culture
  - Wallace
  - President as spokesman
    - Compassion
      - Poor blacks
    - Melvin R. Laird and Defense Department
      - Concern for *New York Times, Washington Post* editorials

Press relations
  - First term
  - Press effect on others
    - Good ideas from press
  - White House staff
    - Obsession
    - Wicker
- President’s lack of enemies
- President’s press coverage
  - Quality
    - Journalists’ disagreement with President on issues
    - President’s disinterest
- Wicker
  “Joy, love culture”
- James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
  - Generation gap
  - Commencement speech at Stanford University
    - Students' reaction
- Communication with President
  - Rhetoric
  - Spiro T. Agnew’s "effete snobs" comment
  - Presentation of administration's case

Intellectuals
- Exposure of errors
- Support of President
- Response to changes in public opinion
- Interest in power and survival
- Decency
- Sense of mission
  - New York Times
  - Vietnam War
- Defeatism
  - Opposition to peace and aid
    - South Vietnam

South Vietnam’s successes
- President’s Vietnamization program
  - President’s speech
    - Kahn’s article
  - Left Wing’s theory
    - One year interval before North Vietnam’s victory
  - Chance of victory
- South Vietnamese strength
  - Kahn’s articles for Saturday Review of Literature
-North Vietnam’s settlement
-Nguyen Van Thieu's visit to US
-Peace settlement
-Successes
  -December 1972 bombing
  -Retention of Thieu in power
  -Thieu’s weakness in 1969
-North Vietnam
  -Tanks
-An Loc battle
  -Historical significance
    -Ancient Greece
    -Press reports
-Press relations
  -Deficiencies
-Cambodian operation
  -Correct play
  -Impact on US casualties
    -Defense Department
  -Successes
    -Weapons capture
      -Publicity
      -Statistics
        -Example of Customs Service's capture of heroin
          -Publicity
            -Talking paper

Press relations
  -Approaches
    -Reston
    -Review of record of each reporter
  -President's reasons for talking with press
    -Issue of credit

Vietnam War
  -France
  -Mistakes
    -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
    -Perception of victory
    -Five major studies
Rural constabulary
  - Sir Robert Thompson
  - Marine Corps, Navy
  - South Vietnamese police
Counter intelligence
  - Rotation of US personnel in Vietnam
Village indoctrination
  - US skill
  - Training of US personnel
    - Deficiencies
    - Perceptions of wealth
    - Education
Counterinsurgency tactics
  - South Korean forces
    - Northern group
    - Problems
  - Group south of Danang
    - Successes
    - US Army refusal to learn from them
  - Thompson’s recommendations
  - Rural insurgency
    - Latin America
      - Successes
      - Panama
      - School
      - UA military manuals
France
  - Kahn's talks at Pentagon and Saigon
    - Criticism of generals
      - Gen. William C. Westmoreland
      - Abrams
        - Age
Cambodia operation
  - Loss of Gen. Do Cao Tri
Laotian operation
  - Attrition
  - Abrams
    - Thailand
    - Air support
  - Abrams
Tape Subject Log
(rev. July-2010)
Conversation No. 881-12 (cont’d)

-Public relations
  -Poor performance
    -Saigon press conference
    -Cambodia operation
    -Public justification
  -Laos operation
    -Perception of success
-President's policies
  -Successes
  -Opposition
    -Press
    -Establishment
    -Congress
    -Henry A. Kissinger’s January 1973 trip to Paris
    -Democratic caucus
    -POWs release
    -Troop withdrawal
    -Time article
    -J. William Fulbright
    -Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield

USSR, People's Republic of China [PRC] initiatives
  -Arms control
  -Vietnam settlement
    -Delay
  -Complexity
  -Weapons freeze
    -Negotiations
  -Warsaw Pact
    -Negotiations
    -Europe
    -Mutual Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]
    -Fulbright, Mansfield, New York Times
      -Unilateral reduction
  -Sources of us success

Vietnam War
  -May 8, 1972 decision, December 1972 bombing
    -Opposition
    -Intellectuals
Lack of support
- Cabinet
  - John B. Connally
- Opposition
  - 1972 Moscow summit
  - North Vietnam’s offensive
    - Tanks
    - USSR
    - Hue
  - 1972 Moscow summit

India-Pakistan war
- PRC
- US policy
  - Support for Pakistan
  - India
  - Support from US public
- PRC initiative
- USSR initiative
- US establishment
  - Comparison with Great Britain
  - Refusal to understand government position
  - Kissinger

US upper middle class
- Relations with administration
  - Colleges
    - Harvard University
  - Persuasion
    - Pakistan policy
- Crime
  - Commission
  - Rape
- Sex in society
  - Religion, morality, taste
- Pornography
  - State support, availability
  - Threat to family
- Sex education
  - Public support
-Reasons for support by leaders
  -Pregnancy avoidance
  -Sources of opposition

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-Board of education view
  -Sex as creative, joyful, fun
    -Teaching of sexual techniques
    -Opposition from parents
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Dangers to American family
  -Sex and values

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-Role of mystery
  -Women’s dress
    -Attractiveness
    -Bikini
    -Slit skirt, pantaloons
      -PRC
      -South Vietnam
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Individual values
  -Prudishness
  -Marlon Brando
    -Time, Newsweek covers
    -Esquire, Playboy
-53-

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 881-12 (cont’d)

-Children
-Supreme Court
  -Pornography
    -Redeeming social value
      -Last Tango in Paris
-Book
-Life editorials
  -Past quality
    -President’s reading as Vice President
-Changes in standards
  -Modern art
    -Kissinger
  -Sensationalism
    -Saturday Evening Post
-Pornography
-Advertising
  -Readership
  -Advertisers’ attitudes

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s birthday
  -President's schedule

President's policies
  -National unity
  -Amnesty
    -Christian Science Monitor
  -Divisiveness
-Communication with upper middle class
  -Washington Post, New York Times
    -Potential to influence
      -Harvard University
        -New York Review of Books
-Wicker
  -Decency
    -Max Frankel
-Reston
  -Problem
    -Background
    -Snobbishness
-Wicker
Tape Subject Log
(rev. July-2010)

Conversation No. 881-12 (cont’d)

-Subjects
  -Potential for persuasion
  -Note from Kahn to President

Intellectuals
  -Hostility to President
  -Apologies
  -Wicker, Reston
  -Washington Post
    -Joseph C. Kraft
  -Alger Hiss case
    -Hiss as intellectual
    -Guilt
  -Whittaker Chambers
    -Transcript
    -Confrontation in hearing room
    -Alias
  -Transcript
  -Fund controversy [?]
  -1968 election victory
  -Vietnam War
  -Defeatism

President’s schedule
  -Mrs. Nixon’s birthday party

Kahn's note to President
  -Study

Kahn's family
  -Wife
  -Golf
  -Children
  -Gifts

President's reading

Kahn and Ehrlichman left at 6:43 pm.
Date: March 16, 1973
Time: 6:43 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Item for President's library

The President and the unknown person left at 6:43 pm.