Conversation No. 883-1

Date: March 19, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:22 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-151]

Conversation No. 883-2

Date: March 19, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 10:14 am and 10:22 am  
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

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

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:22 am.

Conversation No. 883-3

Date: March 19, 1973  
Time: 10:22 am - 10:23 am  
Location: Oval Office
The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 37-152]

Conversation No. 883-4

Date: March 19, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:23 am and 10:30 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

President's meeting with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman [?]

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:30 am.

Conversation No. 883-5

Date: March 19, 1973
Time: 10:30 am - 12:34 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Weather
  -Snow
  -Cherry blossoms

President’s schedule
  -Willy Brandt’s visit
  -Confirmation of date
  -Kakuei Tanaka's visit
  -Confirmation of date
  -May 1, 1973 date for Brandt visit
-Possible trip to Africa
  -Dates
    -Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
    -Problem of scheduling
    -Congressional fundraising dinner
    -Mid-week departure
    -Press coverage
  -Meeting with Brandt
    -Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft’s participation
    -Advice from Henry A. Kissinger

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:30 am and 11:06 am.

[Conversation No. 883-5A]

Brandt visit
  -Scowcroft
  -Date
  -Status report

[End of telephone conversation]

President's schedule
  -Meetings with foreign heads of state
    -Brandt
    -Guilio Andreotti
    -Paris visit
      -Georges J. R. Pompidou
      -Kissinger's recommendations
        -Visit by Pompidou to US
        -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] country objections
          -President’s concerns
        -US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] summit
        -Brandt's trip to US
        -Public relations trip
          -Paris
        -Haldeman's meeting with Kissinger
        -Pompidou's visit
    -President's meetings with European leaders
Kissinger’s recommendation
- Location of meetings in Europe
  - Azores
  - Paris
  - President’s concern
  - Kissinger
    - State Department

President’s trip to Africa
- Two country visit
  - Favors

NATO
- President’s security during visits
  - Europe
    - Netherlands
    - Denmark
    - Belgium
      - NATO base
    - Luxembourg
    - Spain
    - Portugal
      - Azores
  - Frequency of visits

Julie L. Pineau
- Departure from National Security Council [NSC] job
  - Reasons
    - Kissinger
    - Abilities

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

John B. Connally
- Party switch
  - Arrangements
    - George Christian
  - Announcement
    - Paul Latt [?]
-Follow-up
-Delays
-Timing
  Christian
-Democratic Party

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Gen. John P. Flynn
-Health
-Announcement
  -Telephone call to Flynn
  -Timing
  -Senior officer status

Pineau
-Competence
-Dealings with Kissinger

Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
-White House weekend events
  -Church services
  -Evenings at the White House
  -Rigor of schedule
    -Rex W. Scouten
    -Lucy A. Winchester

President’s schedule
-Head of state Visits
-Number of Evenings at the White House
  -Lists of invitees
    -Rose Mary Woods and William E. Timmons
    -Individuals sought by President
    -Completion
      -Maurice H. Stans
  -Worship services
    -Local guests
-Purpose of events
  - Compared with purpose of audience
-Evenings at the White House
  - Political figures
  - Stans's group
  - Campaign contributors
-Frequency of Evenings at the White House
  - Limitations
  - Rest
-Press conference
  - Congressional relations
-Trip to west coast
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Lee Kuan Yew's dinner
  - Andreotti's visit
  - Florida trip
  - Easter holiday
-Brandt's visit
-Evening at the White House
-Finance dinner
-USSR visit
  - Dates
  - Evening at the White House
-Visit by African head of state
  - President’s trip to Africa
-[Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi’s visit
-Dinners
  - Entertainment
  - Gifts for attendees
  - Foreign visitors
  - Congress members
    - Congressional assistants
  - Length of time

Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
  - Meetings with young people
  - Value to administration
    - Symbolism
  - Committee to Re-Elect the President [CRP]
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Party at White House
-Church service
- Oswald Hoffman [?] 

President's schedule
-Church services
- Monthly schedule
- White House correspondents dinner
- Palm Sunday [?]
-May schedule
- Brandt’s visit
- President’s trip to Africa
- Mother’s Day
-President's revisions
- White House correspondents dinner
- Saturday events
- Use of White House
- Effectiveness
- Summer schedule
- California
- Frequency
- Difficulty of scheduling
- International monetary situation
- Speeches

-Evenings at White House
- Preparations
- Early scheduling
- Arrangements
- Quality of show
- Audience
- Congress member
- Kentucky
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon's birthday
- Personal touch
- Green bow tie
- Entertainment
- Poem
- Bonnie Owens of Merle Haggard's group
- Birthday poem
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Merle Haggard
-Personality
-Guests
-Visits upstairs
-Value
-Flowers
-Dining room
-[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II's comparison of President, Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy
-Availability
-Rose Mary Woods
-Attendance of White House dinner
-Spiro T. Agnew
-Secretary’s attendance
-[First name unknown] Summers

-Camp David and Sequoia
-Cabinet
-Use
-David Eisenhower's observations

-Social events
-Frequency
-First term
-Psychology
-Pressures of election
-Congressional relations

-Camp David and Sequoia
-Cabinet

-Upstairs of White House
-Use by outsiders
-Mrs. Nixon’s birthday
-POWs
-Evening at the White House

-Stag dinners
-Campaign contributors
-Compared with state dinner
-Dwight D. Eisenhower's approach
-Number attending
-Conversation with White House staff
-Cabinet
-Governors
-Value and format
  -William T. Cahill
-Foreign visitors
  -Length of dinner
-Chief of protocol
-Identification of campaign contributors
  -Foreign visitors
  -Congress members
-Church services
  -Invites
    -William F. (“Billy”) Graham's recommendation of minister
-Reasons for having services
  -Religious observance
-Church in Florida
  -Compared with White House for holidays
-Assistant secretary invitees
  -Evening at the White House
  -Campaign contributors
-Social events
  -Types
    -Church services
    -Evening at the White House
    -State dinner
-Youth events
  -Frequency
-Brandt’s visit
-Lee Kuan Yew's visit
-Stag dinner
  -Woods, Charles W. Colson and Patrick J. Buchanan
  -Invitees
  -New establishment compared with New Majority
    -Educators
    -Columnists
    -Broadcasters
    -Editors
    -Publishers
    -Government managers
    -Foundations
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Labor unionists
-George Meany
  -Jay Lovestone
-Blacks and Mexican-Americans
  -Quota basis
-New Majority
  -Italian-Americans
-Brandt dinner
  -Invitees
    -Campaign contributors
-Pahlavi [Shah of Iran] dinner
  -Invitees
    -Campaign contributors
-Haldeman's conference with Kissinger and Agnew
  Nguyen Van Thieu's visit
    -Visit to Washington, DC
      -California
        -Isolation
          -Demonstrators
            -Impact
              -Possible cancellation by Thieu

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:06 am.

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s advice

Watergate
  -News report on Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
    -Image
      -Partisanship
    -Gerald L. Warren's briefing
      -Arrests of potential witnesses
  -Administration response
    -Approaches
      -John D. Ehrlichman, Richard A. Moore, and John W. Dean, III
        -President's statement
          -Comments on Ervin's comments
            -Ehrlichman
              -President's response to Ervin's threats
-White House cooperation on information
-Separation of powers
-Supreme Court test
-White House cooperation
  -Ziegler's statement for press
-Ervin's partisanship
  -Confrontation with administration
  -"Face the Nation" appearance
-Emphasis on administration's cooperation
  -Ehrlichman
-News media
-Congress
-Reporting on Watergate
-Peter M. Flanigan's testimony
  -Ziegler's response on question
-Sherman Adams testimony
  -Ziegler's statement
    -Charge of crime
-Flanigan's testimony
-Precedent
  -Written statement in Sansinena oil tanker case [1970]
  -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
    -Circumstances
    -Parallels with Watergate
-White House aides
-Testimony
  -Court case
    -Delays
-Ervin Committee
  -Ehrlichman's advice
  -Threats of imprisonment
    -President's reply
      -Separation of power
      -Cooperation
      -Justice Department
      -Sensationalism
-Central issues
  -White House cooperation
    -Separation of powers
Examination of Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] raw files
-White House staff morale
-Ervin Committee
  -Sensationalism
  -Dean
-ITT case
  -Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC] investigation
    -Justice Department
    -Ziegler's comments
-Files on case
  -SEC subpoena
    -William J. Casey
  -Summary of contents
    -Agnew, Connally, and Peter G. Peterson
    -Leaks from committee
  -Comments

Press relations
-Proper length of briefing
  -Ziegler's judgment
-Ehrlichman's briefings
  -Compared with Kissinger's briefings
-Length
  -Limits
  -Earl L. Butz
  -Department briefings
  -Press objective
  -Cut-off point
-Press hostility
  -Clark R. Mollenhoff
  -Biases of reporters
-Announcements of positive stories
  -[First name unknown] Alexander
  -Food White Paper
    -Herbert G. Stein

Watergate
-Press briefings
-Warren
-Briefings
-Administration's cooperation
  -William J. Baroody's office
    -Publicity
  -Jeremiah O'Leary story in *Washington Star*
    -Raw files
      -Alger Hiss analogy
    -Cooperation

Ziegler left at 11:26 am.

-Public relations efforts
  -Someone to direct
-Public relations sense and coordination of efforts

Public relations
  -POW story

President’s schedule
  -POW party
    -Press presence
      -Risk
    -Coverage
    -Restrictions on behavior
      -Ziegler
  -Entertainment
    -Response by women attendees
      -Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
  -Format
    -President's toast and Flynn's response
      -Press coverage
  -Entertainment
    -Hope
      -Personality
    -Gags
    -Haggard
      -Straight lines
        -Welfare recipients
An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am.

President’s schedule
- President's meeting with Theodore H. (“Teddy”) White
  - White’s notebook
- Memorandums on Brandt

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.

POWs
- Reception
  - State Department
  - Defense Department
- Briefing
  - Value
  - Flynn’s opinion
- Wives
  - Activities
  - Tea at State Department

President’s schedule
- Social events
  - Amount of effort
  - Range of invitees
  - Value
    - President’s popularity
    - Job responsibility of President
    - Renewal of country’s faith
- Event in Topeka
  - Value
  - Motorcade
- Chicago trip
  - Format
  - Walk
- Thieu’s visit
  - President's trip to California
-Florida
  -President's visit
    -Weather compared to California
-Location
  -Washington, DC
  -California
  -Demonstration
    -Jane Fonda
-Beaches in California
  -Camp Pendleton
  -Capistrano State Park
-Protesters
  -Fonda’s presence
  -POWs

POWs
  -North Vietnam
  -Viet Cong
  -Absent without leave [AWOL]

Vietnam War
  -Definitive history
    -Sir Robert Thompson
      -Kissinger
    -Joseph W. Alsop
  -Thompson's book
    -President's impressions
      -Sequel
        -President's support and collaboration
          -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Kissinger
    -Sensitivity to left-wing criticism
      -December 1972 bombing
        -Conflicts with Haig
-Success
-Behavior
-December 1972 bombing
-POW reaction
  -Support for President’s decision
  -Release from captivity
-Decision
  -Haldeman's conversation with William L. Safire
-Relation to May 8, 1972 decision
-Use of B-52's
  -President’s decision
  -Carpet bombing
  -Terror bombing
  -Military targets
  -Stewart J. O. Alsop's column
-Criticism of President
  -Lyndon B. Johnson and Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
-Reasons
  -Defending troops and POWs
    -Grounds to resume bombing
-Bombing of military targets
  -Hanoi
  -Future US bombing
  -Dikes
  -Civilian targets
  -Previous accusations
  -Cease fire
-Sources
-Herman Kahn
-Abandonment of settlement effort
  -POWs
  -Cease-fire
-Limited scope
  -Press reports
    -Stories of massive destruction
      -Earlier bombing
      -Dikes
      -Prison camps
      -Hospitals
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

- Reaction of POWs
  - Kissinger's ambivalence
    - Appearance of objections
    - Safire
    - May 8, 1972 decision
  - Safire's writing on President's and Kissinger's behavior
    - Cambodia
      - Role of Kissinger in decision
        - Inaccuracies
          - Demeanor of Kissinger compared with President
            - Dr. G[eorge] Alexander Heard
            - College students
              - Association with protester
            - Safire
              - Rebuttals to Kissinger's accounts
                - Role as Jew

Kissinger
  - Cambodia
  - India-Pakistan War of 1971
  - Laos
  - Anxieties
  - Vietnam War
    - Bombings
    - TV
  - Safire
    - December 1972 bombing
      - Paris messages
        - Proposed TV appearance by President
  - Henry Brandon
  - Conflicts with William P. Rogers and Melvin R. Laird
    - Disruption
    - Safire
    - Brandon
  - Comments on Rogers
    - Safire’s opinion
  - Role in Cambodia invasion
    - Self-delusion
  - Talks with James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
    - Haldeman's comments
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Kissinger's reactions to Reston's column
  -State Department
-Meeting with Reston
-Personality
  -Integrity
-Self-delusion
  -Oriana Fallacci interview
    -Haig
    -Tape recording
-Safire
-Haig
-Cambodia
  -Kissinger's conversations with Haldeman
-May 8, 1972 decision
  -Military’s role
  -Kissinger's role
-1972 Moscow summit
  -Cancellation
    -December 1972 bombing
    -Responsibility
-Connally's role
-Kissinger's approach
  -Mining
  -Bombing
    -Surgical bombing
    -Ports
    -Ship withdrawal
  -Menu strikes
  -Johnson

Vietnam War
  -Gradual escalation
-Vietnam settlement
  -Military fears of losing B-52's
    -Kissinger
-Bombing
  -Use of B-52's
    -Kissinger’s reaction
    -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's conversation with the President
-President’s responsibility for decision
-Expansion of strikes
   -Kissinger’s opinion
   -Publicity
   -President’s record of conversations with Kissinger
   -President’s memory
   -Revisionism
-Cambodian invasion
   -President's role in decision
     -Heard
     -Determination
     -Military advice
-Public relations
   -Kissinger on offensive
   -Ehrlichman’s public appearances
   -Connally [?]
   -Herbert G. Klein, Bryce N. Harlow and Haldeman’s role
   -Arms capture
     -Compared with heroin seizure
     -Significance
     -Talking points
-Press coverage
   -Ziegler, Moore, David R. Gergen, Buchanan and Ehrlichman
     -Domestic side
     -Ehrlichman compared with Kissinger

Kissinger
- TV briefings
- Popularity
- Integrity
   - Accounts of personal involvement in decisions
   - Self-delusion
-Cambodia decision
   - Sunday Supplement magazine excerpt
     - Brandon’s book on Kissinger
     - Leaks on Cambodia
-Kent State University
- Speech
- Heard
-Meeting with Ivy League presidents

Book by Safire
- Potential controversy
  - View of Kissinger
  - Haig's role on Vietnam

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 campaign
- Surplus finds
  - Disposal
    - George H.W. Bush
    - State committees
      - Candidate selection
      - Bills
    - Apportionment around states
      - California
      - New York
      - Advertising
    - Stans
    - Republic National Committee [RNC] plans
      - Announcement
  - Bush
    - Role of RNC
      - Candidate selection
      - President’s concern
- RNC
  - Press coverage
    - Washington Post
  - Limits of role
    - Grassroots organization
    - Candidate selection
    - Committees
      - Ethnics
      - Women
      - Youth
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-National and county organization
-Campaign
-Candidates for House of Representatives
-Senate

1974 election in Illinois
-Senate race
- John B. Anderson
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Delay of decision
- President’s non-involvement in primary
- Pre-emption of primaries
- Candidate selection
- Bush
- Robert H. Finch
- Indecision on race in California
- Senate
- Governor

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Agnew
-David Eisenhower
-Statements
-Quotations from liberals
-Intellectual pretensions
- John K. Galbraith and Plato

Press relations
-Gridiron comments
- Texas
- Credibility
-Comments on Southern Republicans
-Harry S. Dent’s support for Connally
- Compared with support for Agnew
- Colson

Speech to Congress
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Delays
- Cooperation with Congress
- Conditions
  - TV coverage
  - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy and Roman L. Hruska
- Contents
  - Domestic concerns
    - Responsibility of Congress

Press conference
- Watergate questions
  - Public interest
  - Media interest
  - Testimony before Congress
  - Cooperation
  - Press reports
    - Stories of confrontation
- Scheduling
  - Last troop withdrawal from Vietnam
  - Return of POWs

President’s speech
- TV speech
  - Reading
    - White House
    - Congress
    - Personal role
  - Dwight Eisenhower
  - Tone
    - Microphone technique
      - Franklin D. Roosevelt and President
- Speech before Congress
  - Advantages
    - Congressional relations
      - Willingness to cooperate
    - Public perception of conflict
      - Reassurance of cooperation
      - Reception of President by Congress
  - Press conference
Conversation No. 883-5 (cont’d)

-Disadvantages
  -Attention on Watergate
-Scheduling
  -Watergate hearings
-Options
  -Press conference
    -TV coverage
    -Timing
    -East Room
      -Advantages to President
  -TV coverage
    -Timing
    -Advantages to press
-Speech to Congress
  -Haldeman's preference

Book by Safire
  -Deadline
  -Interview of President
    -President’s schedule
      -California
  -Biases
    -Jew
-Analysis of Kissinger
  -Critique of book by Brandon
    -Rogers, Laird
    -Impression of President
      -Treatment
      -Brandon's background
        -Jew
          -Czech

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:26 am.

Items for Old Executive Office Building [EOB] office
  -Dictabelts for private file

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 12:34 pm.
State dinners
  - Lists of guests
  - Preparation by President
  - Staff member's aid at receiving line
  - African dinner
  - Brandt dinner
    - Guests
      - Selection and announcement
        - Arthur F. Burns and Hugh Scott
    - Guests
      - Invitation

Weather

Speech
  - Work by President

Haldeman left at 12:34 pm.

Date: March 19, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:34 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office
Unknown men met.
The unknown men left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.