Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 9:41 am and 9:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Florida trip
   -Family schedule
      -Tricia Nixon Cox

President’s call to Paul W. Keyes
   -Annapolis, Maryland

President’s schedule
   -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
   -Bipartisan Congressional leaders meeting
   -Henry A. Kissinger
      -Briefing
   -William P. Rogers
      -Briefing
         -Trip to South America
   -Kissinger
      -Briefing
         -Press coverage
   -Republican leadership meeting
      -William E. Timmons
   -Memorial Day
      -Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
   -People’s Republic of China [PRC] journalists
   -Financial writers group
   -Congressional relations
      -Republican leaders meeting
         -Ronald L. Ziegler
         -Southern Democratic Whips
Conversation No. 928-1 (cont’d)

-Timmons
-Financial writers
  -Peter M. Flanigan
  -Reception
-Bipartisan Congressional leaders meeting
-Armored Division Association Award
-PRC journalists
-Charles C. Edwards
  -National Institute of Health [NIH]
-Southern Democratic Whips
-Lt. Col. John Dramesi
  -American flag presentation to the President
-Cabinet meeting
-David N. Parker
-[Memorial Day] affair
  -Abilene, Kansas
  -Size

Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
  -Television [TV] coverage
    -Director
      -Relationship to Keyes

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

President’s schedule
  -Ziegler

Conversation No. 928-2

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: 9:50 am - 10:10 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.
Press relations
- Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
  - Television [TV]
  - Radio
  - Amount of coverage
    - *Washington Post*
      - Front page
  - TV
    - Impact
    - December 1972 bombing
      - POW release
        - Santa Claus
        - Christmas
  - TV
  - Radio

President’s schedule
- Trip to Florida
- Press briefing
  - Ziegler
- Cabinet meeting
  - Elliot L. Richardson’s swearing-in ceremony

Press relations
- Statement
  - *Santa Ana Register*
  - California purchase
  - Robert H. Abplanalp
  - Retraction
    - Liberty group
    - Right-wing
  - Press briefing
    - Gerald L. Warren
- Opponents in press
  - Mass hysteria
  - Innuendo
Conversation No. 928-2 (cont’d)

-Irritation
  -POW support for December 1972 bombing
  -Cheers
-Personalities
-Reality

President’s schedule
  -Trip to California
    -Length of stay

Press relations
  -Reaction to POW dinner
    -[First name unknown] Folsom
    -Moderates

Watergate
  -Press reaction
  -White House reaction
    -President’s possible press conference
  -Gallup poll
    -Timing

Polls
  -Effect on the President
    -Comparison to December 1972 bombing in Vietnam
  -Gallup
    -Figures

Watergate
  -President’s conversation with [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
    -Ervin Committee hearings
      -Howard H. Baker, Jr.
  -Ervin Committee hearings
    -Baker’s interrogation of Bernard W. Fensterwald
      -George S. McGovern
      -James W. McCord, Jr.
    -Credibility
Conversation No. 928-2 (cont’d)

-Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
-Possible testimony
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
- John N. Mitchell
- Pay-offs
- Denial
- Charles W. Colson
- Dwight L. Chapin and Donald Segretti

-Lt. Gen Vernon A. Walters’s memoranda of conversation [Memcons]
- President’s knowledge of activities described
- John W. Dean, III

-Dean
- Meetings with the President
- Possible immunity
- Activities
- Attitude toward the President
- Attitude toward Ehrlichman
- White House response

-White House response
- White Paper
- Content
- Walters’s memcons
- Possible leak by Ervin Committee
- Dean’s request regarding Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] payroll

-Press reaction
- White House response
- Timing
- President’s return from trip to Iceland
- President’s possible role

-Ervin Committee hearings
- National interest
- TV network news shows
- President’s statement on secrecy, May 24

Weather
- Florida
Conversation No. 928-2 (cont’d)

Watergate
-Press reaction
-Ervin Committee hearings
- Procedures
- McCord and Gerald Alch
  - Compared with the President’s handling of Alger Hiss case

Ziegler left at 10:10 am.

Conversation No. 928-3

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:10 am and 10:24 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Florida

Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
- POW release
- POW wives
- President’s performance
  - Tables
  - Autographs
- Statements of POWs and families
- Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope, John Wayne, Vic Damone, and James (“Jimmy”) Stewart
  - Statements on POW release
  - Perspective on Watergate
- Press reaction
  - Positivity
- President’s statement on national security
- Television [TV] coverage
  - Live coverage
  - Children’s program
Conversation No. 928-3 (cont’d)

-Dick Cavett
-Paul W. Keyes’s role
-Stage presence
-Preparedness or performers
  -Stature
  -Keyes
  -Hope
-Audience
-Reaction to statement regarding December 1972 bombing
  -Crucial moment
  -Response in US
    -Difficulty
  -North Vietnam reaction
    -Treaty of POWs
      -Prison guards

President’s schedule
  -Henry A. Kissinger
    -Briefing

Haig’s schedule
  -Florida
    -Haig’s wife
    -Accommodations
      -Rest

Watergate
  -Haig’s appointment
    -Duration
  -Cabinet
  -Briefing
    -Ronald L. Ziegler

John B. Connally
  -Operator
  -Trip to New York
Conversation No. 928-3 (cont’d)

President’s schedule
  -Cabinet meeting
  -Politicians
    -Relaying problems to the President
  -Forthcoming conversation with Haig
    -Bryce N. Harlow
      -Conflict of interest
        -President’s reaction
  -Role on White House staff
    -Advisor

Haig left at an unknown time before 10:24 am.

Conversation No. 928-4

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:10 am and 10:24 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 39-20]

Conversation No. 928-5

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:10 am and 10:24 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President’s schedule
  -Henry A. Kissinger
The unknown man left at an unknown time before 10:24 am.

Conversation No. 928-6

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:10 am and 10:44 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Center event
- Memorial Day
  - [Dwight ] David Eisenhower, II and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Audience
  - Size
  - Forum
  - Washington, DC
- Joint Veterans event
  - Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW]
  - American Legion
  - World War I
- Library
  - New wing dedication, 1968
- Memorial Day event
  - Invitation to the President
  - Address
  - Location of library
  - Abilene, Kansas

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:24 am.

President’s schedule
- Memorial Day events [?]
- Roy L. Ash
-Weekly meeting
-Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:26 am.

Vietnam settlement
-Negotiations
- New York Herald Tribune articles
- Editorial page
- Attacks
- Patriotism
- Kissinger’s statement to Le Duc Tho

Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
- Statement by the President
- Haig’s comments to Kissinger

The White House operator talked with the President at 10:26 am.

[Conversation No. 928-6A]

[Begin telephone conversation]

[See Conversation No. 39-21]

[End telephone conversation]

Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
- POWs
- Importance of Vietnam negotiations
- Statements by performers
  - James (“Jimmy”) Stewart, John Wayne, and Vic Damone
- President’s decision on December 1972 bombing
- Kissinger’s role
  - President’s comment to Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
- Mrs. James Stockdale
- Haig
Conversation No. 928-6 (cont’d)

-Opinion of Kissinger
-Release of POWs
  -Peace with honor
  -Meaning to POWs
-R. Flynn’s statement about December 1972 bombing
-US collective memory
  -Compared with Watergate
    -John N. Mitchell and Robert L. Vesco

Watergate
  -Cover-up
  -Politics
    -Assault
    -Democratic liberals
      -Loss in November 1972 presidential election
      -Destruction of Republican Party
    -Interests
      -Power
      -Destruction of US
      -Loss of Vietnam War
        -Loss of Americans
    -Power
    -President’s opponents
      -Politicians
      -Press
      -Fanatical desires
        -Power
        -Hatred to US
          -Self-hatred
      -Loss of Vietnam War
        -Betrayal of country
      -McGeorge Bundy’s call to Kissinger
        -Kissinger’s loyalty to the President
        -J. Edgar Hoover’s wiretaps
          -Morality
          -Kissinger’s survival
Conversation No. 928-6 (cont’d)

-Daniel Ellsberg’s actions regarding Pentagon Papers
-Wiretaps
-Wiretaps during John F. Kennedy administration
  -Robert F. (“Bobby”) Kennedy
  -Leak to press
    -Destruction of records by Hoover
    -William L. Sullivan
-Bundy characterized
  -Morality
  -President’s reaction

US-Canada relations
  -Withdrawal from International Control Commission [ICC]
    -Discussion with Kissinger
      -Sixty day extension

Vietnam settlement
  -Kissinger’s negotiations
    -Paris
    -Cabinet meeting
      -Disclosures by North Vietnam

Kissinger’s forthcoming cabinet briefing
  -President’s discussion with Georges J. R. Pompidou
    -Year of Europe

Vietnam
  -Kissinger’s negotiations
    -Schedule
      -Paris
      -Communiqué
        -Compared to formal agreement
        -Cease-fire order
          -All sides
          -Infiltration
        -National Council of Reconciliation
          -Cancelled
Effect of leaks
-Effect on foreign relations
-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Soviet Union
-Vietnam
-Forthcoming statement by Kissinger
-Necessity of secrecy
-Effect of leaks on President’s foreign policy
-SALT
-PRC
-Soviet Union
-Vietnam
-Negotiations
-Kissinger’s progress
-Two-party Joint Military Commission
-South Vietnam
-Pull back
-Zone with borders
-Vietcong presence
-Kissinger’s memorandum
-Delivery to Florida
-Cabinet meeting
-Elliot L. Richardson
-Political action
-Territorial holdings
-Recognition
-Division of country
-Population size
-Nguyen Van Thieu’s reaction
-Compared to November 1972
-US aid
-Haig, Sullivan
-US aid
-President’s support
-Withdrawal from Laos
-Schedule
-Cambodia
  -News summary
  -PRC
  -Marshall Green and Emory C. Swank
    -Phnom Phen
  -Bombing restrictions
  -Kissinger’s negotiating strategy
    -“Playing chicken”
    -Yield

Soviet summit
  -Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear War
    -Act of strength
      -Compared with act of desperation
        -Watergate
    -Bureaucracy’s possible reaction
      -Procedure
      -Preparedness of President
  -Press statement
    -Leak
      -Sources
        -State Department
        -Soviet Union
        -Great Britain
        -France
        -State Department
          -Kissinger’s staff
        -White House staff
  -Control of bureaucracy
    -Trip to Iceland
    -Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
      -Haig’s role
      -Kissinger’s role

President’s meeting with Pompidou
  -“Year of Europe”
    -key
Conversation No. 928-6 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s talking points
-Trip to Iceland
-France’s support
-Precision of talk
  -Compared to President’s meeting with Willy Brandt
    -President’s culpability
    -Conditions
-Support
  -Great Britain
  -Germany
  -France
  -Timing
-Pompidou
  -Support for Nuclear treaty

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:26 am.

President’s schedule
  -Lt. Col. John A. Dramesi
    -Flag

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:44 am.

Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear War
  -Pompidou’s knowledge

POW dinner
  -POW wives
    -Kissinger’s reaction

Watergate
  -White House response
    -Kissinger’s support
    -President’s opponents
      -Motives
Watergate

- Europe’s reaction
- Compared to Cambodia
- Compared to riots
- Severity of action
- Break-in of Daniel Ellsberg’s psychiatrist’s office
- White House response
  - President’s possible statement
  - Toughness
  - Public response
- Kissinger’s schedule
  - Press briefing
  - Wiretaps
  - Need to stop leaks

Cabinet meeting

An unknown man entered and Kissinger left at 10:44 am.
Item for the President’s signature [?]

The unknown man left at 10:44 am.

Conversation No. 928-7

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: 10:45 am - 10:50 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Lt. Col. John A. Dramesi, Adriana Dramesi, and Stephen B. Bull. The White House photographer and members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions
- Card from President

John A. Dramesi’s flag
- Length of imprisonment

Arrangements for photographs

John A. Dramesi’s flag
- White House
- Presidential library

John A. Dramesi
- Future
  - Military service
  - Age
- Dinner invitations
  - Washington, DC
  - Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Presentation of gifts by the President
Conversations No. 928-7 (cont’d)

- Pins
- Ashtray
- Tie clasp
- Cufflinks
- Pins
- Seal
  - Importance
  - Oval Office

Prisoners of war [POWs] dinner
  - Television [TV] Marine march
  - Irving Berlin
    - Health
    - Singer
      - “God Bless America”
  - Background
    - Soviet Union
    - Ukraine
    - Jew
    - Immigrant
    - Persecution
  - John A. Dramesi’s response
    - Emotions

POWs
  - Effect of return on the US
  - Celebrities

Photographs
  - Copies

Adriana Dramesi
  - Background
    - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
    - New Jersey
  - Sons’ military service
    - United States Air Force
Conversation No. 928-7 (cont’d)

-United States Navy
-United States Marine Corps

Dramesi et al. left at 10:50 am.

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:50 am and 11:06 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President’s schedule
-Speech [?]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.

Conversation No. 928-8

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:50 am and 11:06 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

President’s schedule
-Cabinet meeting
-Timing
June 29, 2011

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 11:06 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Cabinet meeting
-Henry A. Kissinger

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:06 am.

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:51 am and 11:06 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President’s schedule
-Meeting

The President and the unknown man left at 11:06 am.

Date: May 25, 1973
Time: 12:09 pm - 12:31 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Elliot L. Richardson. The recording began at an unknown time while the
conversation was in progress.

Justice Department

United States Customs Service
- George P. Shultz’s opinion
- Treasury Department

United States Attorney General
- Role
- President’s relationships
  - Richard G. Kleindienst
  - John N. Mitchell
- Richardson’s role as counsel
  - Leonard Garment
  - Clearances
- Legal problems
  - Law enforcement
- Leadership
- National Security Council [NSC]
- Shultz
  - Richardson’s previous positions
    - State Department
    - Defense Department
- Jonathan Moore
  - Relationship to Henry A. Kissinger’s staff
- Mitchell’s role
  - Papers
  - Judgment
- Foreign policy issues
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
  - Soviet Union
  - Cambodia
- Richardson’s judgment
  - Judicial aspects
  - Compared with Shultz’s judgment
- Defense Department
- Learning
- Indoctrination
- Institution

Presidential appointments
- James R. Schlesinger
  - Professionalism
  - Defense Department
- William E. Colby
  - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] directorship
- Discussion with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Overhaul of agency
- J. Edgar Hoover’s legacy
- Internal candidate
- Cartha D. (“Deke”) DeLoach
- Possibilities
  - Law school dean
  - Judge
- Requirements
  - Military member
  - Bugging
  - Discipline
  - Pride

Haig’s recommendation as a General
  - Richardson’s discussions with Haig
- Importance
- William D. Ruckelshaus
- Requirements
  - Urgency
- Police chiefs
  - Compared to military members

Justice Department
- Joseph T. Sneed
- Need for appointments list
United States Supreme Court
  -Chief Justice
    -Future relationship with Richardson
  -Role as politician

Richardson’s duties
  -Penal reform
    -Cost
  -Reduction in crime rate
    -Drugs
    -Public relations [PR]
      -Credit to the President

Watergate
  -Special Prosecutor
    -Archibald Cox
      -Location
      -Whitney North Seymour, Jr.
    -Robert L. Vesco

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

Watergate
  -Robert L. Vesco
    -F. Donald A. Nixon

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

Watergate
  -Executive privilege
    -Oral testimony
    -President’s papers
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National security]
[Duration: 17 s]

DIPLOMACY

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National security]
[Duration: 34 s]

DIPLOMACY
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Watergate
- Richardson’s meeting with Egil (“Bud”) Krogh concerning plumbers
  - Richardson’s subsequent interrogation
  - Richardson’s notes
  - Excisions
- Executive privilege
  - Memcons
  - Possible testimony by H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, and Charles W. Colson
  - Cabinet officers

President’s attendance at dinner for Richardson in 1965
  - [Bobby Tucker?]
  - Lieutenant governorship
  - Edward W. Brooke
  - State attorney general
  - Henry Cabot Lodge
  - President’s speech

Watergate
- Attacks on the President
  - National security
    - Newsmen’s leaks
  - President’s investigation
- Henry E. Petersen’s investigation
  - John W. Dean, III’s role
  - Daniel Ellsberg break-in information for judge
  - Krogh
- Plumbers
  - Role and function

Leaks
Conversation No. 928-12 (cont’d)

-Effect on foreign policy negotiations
  -POW release
  -SALT
-Effect on personnel management by the President and Kissinger
  -William P. Rogers
  -Richardson
  -People’s Republic of China [PRC] initiative
    -Kissinger
    -Rogers
    -Melvin R. Laird
    -Soviet Union
-Bureaucracy
  -Heroic act
-Chester Bowles and Bay of Pigs
-Obeying of the law
-Cabinet officers’ responsibility
  -Secretary of Defense
  -Secretary of State
-Negotiating positions
  -SALT summit with Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Intelligence sources
-Bugging
-Dissemination of classified information
-Tracing leaks
  -Defense Department
  -Richardson’s role
-Negotiating positions
  -Comparred to real estate sales

Richardson’s swearing-in ceremony
  -President’s remarks

Richardson left at 12:31 pm.
Date: May 25, 1973
Time: Unknown between 12:31 pm and 12:39 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

President’s schedule
-Cabinet
-Briefcase

The President and the unknown man left at 12:39 pm.