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Papers of the

NIXON WHITE HOUSE

Part 8,

The Nixon White House Tapes:

The Complete Transcripts

A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of

RESEARCH COLLECTIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICS
General Editor: William Leuchtenburg

PAPERS OF THE NIXON WHITE HOUSE

Series Editor: Joan Hoff-Wilson

Part 8.

The Nixon White House Tapes: The Complete Transcripts Prepared by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Once the bulk of the papers and tapes from the five-and-one-half years Richard Milhous Nixon served in the White House are released, his presidency will become the best documented one in United States history. Because of Nixon's unprecedented forced resignation from office in 1974, little about his truncated administration appears normal in retrospect, including the complicated problems surrounding his presidential papers. The sheer magnitude of the collection overwhelms scholars and nonspecialists alike. There are, for example, forty million pages of documents in the White House Central Files and 4,000 hours of recorded conversations. At the end of 1987, only three million documents and 12 1/2 hours of tapes had been opened, because unlike other sets of presidential papers, Watergate-related congressional legislation and a web of litigation have prevented the release for research of a vast majority of the least controversial of this unique collection of Nixon White House documents and tapes. As Watergate events unfolded in 1973 and 1974, questions about access to, and protection of, documents generated by the Nixon administration assumed prominence. In May 1973, both presidential counselor Leonard Garment and Elliot Richardson, then attorney general, advised Nixon to place the papers of H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and John Dean under the protection of the FBI. Nixon agreed on the condition that there be no access to these papers "without written presidential consent." Executive privilege became the issue of the day as Congress demanded and the president refused to produce those records and tapes deemed pivotal for the resolution of an unprecedented national constitutional crisis. Although the courts ultimately overruled Nixon's claims of executive privilege during the course of the various Watergate investigations, after Nixon left office he signed an agreement with Arthur Sampson, head of the General Services Administration (GSA), that mandated the destruction of the tapes and allowed considerable opportunity for destruction of some presidential papers as well. This September 1974 Nixon-Sampson agreement came into existence when the National Archives and Records Service (NARS) was under the jurisdiction of GSA, and so the Archivist of the United States had not been involved in its negotiation.

The Nixon-Sampson agreement created an archival firestorm that swept through both the halls of Congress and the scholarly community of researchers. Signed without the knowledge of the National Archives, it not only gave Nixon wide latitude in controlling access to the papers of his controversial administration, but also left in doubt whether they would ever be donated through the National Archives to a presidential library and made available for study, as had the papers of all other occupants of the White House since Herbert Hoover. Never before had the preservation of an entire documentary record of a single administration become an issue of national scholarly and journalistic concern; never before had access to records been so personalized for the American public.

In the immediate wake of the president's resignation over Watergate, criticism of the Nixon-Sampson agreement predictably resulted in unparalleled congressional action. In December 1974, President Gerald Ford approved legislation dramatically altering the control that previous presidents had exercised over materials produced during their time in office, thus ultimately producing new archival procedures for processing such papers. This 1974 Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act: 1) authorized the seizing of all Nixon documents and tapes, placing them in control of the federal government; and 2) mandated that any abuse-of-power information in this presidential material be made available to the public as soon as possible. Consequently, federal archivists of the National Archives and Records Service of the GSA (now an independent agency known as the National Archives and Records Administration, or NARA) began to establish guidelines for reviewing all of the documents and tapes from the White House Central Files.

This review process was complicated by the fact that the 1974 Act was not exclusive; that is, it included both the official and the unofficial Nixon material in the government's custody. This has meant that archivists have had to cull from these presidential papers all private and personal material relating solely to the president's family or other nonpublic activities, including "private political associations." The latter category proved particularly troublesome in the processing of not only the "Special Files," but also for the bulk of the Central Files as well, because most of the Nixon documents have some political content and few are concerned exclusively with the private political association of the person who wrote or received the document. The new review process has also delayed the release of Nixon-related material. Since FDR, major portions of the papers of other modern presidents have been opened within a half-dozen years after the end of their terms in office, but the least controversial materials from the Nixon years have languished unprocessed, in part because of this extremely complicated and litigious review process.

For three years Nixon challenged the 1974 Act in the courts to prevent the release of the Special Files. Ironically, this Special Files Unit had been originally created in September 1972 within the Nixon White House to provide a separate storage location for documents removed from the Central Files and selected staff members' offices because they were considered "sensitive." They included the complete files of the staff secretary, the President's Office, and the offices of H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Dean, and Charles Colson.

In 1977, after the Supreme Court upheld the 1974 Presidential Recordings and Materials Act as constitutional, it took another two years for attorneys representing the former president and federal archivists to work out an agreement permitting NARA to systematically screen and prepare for research purposes the Special Files and the White House tapes. In February 1979, this unusual "negotiated agreement" called for the permanent removal of "any political document in the files that did not have a direct connection to the president's constitutional powers or statutory duties" and the return of these documents to Nixon with the understanding that "he would donate them in the future to the National Archives." Because of these and other unique procedures, the processing of the Nixon papers did not begin until five years after he resigned as president.

Since that time, Nixon and/or his key aides have brought additional suits attempting to prevent the opening of documents in these controversial Special Files. In the interim, archivists have reduced the volume of the Nixon Special Files by 6 percent; legal representatives of the former president and members of his administration have withdrawn another 10 percent. Although users can request mandatory reviews of both sets of winnowed material, the historical record of the Nixon administration has at least temporarily been diminished. In the event that some of these documents are reviewed once again by federal archivists, the former president can still challenge their release through the courts. Thus the specter of protracted litigation still hangs over these contested pages.

Subsequent to the 1979 "negotiated agreement," NARA drafted six sets of regulations under which both the most sensitive materials, along with the most commonplace ones from the voluminous Nixon White House Central Files, would be processed. Previous sets had been revised or dropped because of congressional or legal actions. Before obtaining approval in 1986 from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to publish the sixth set in the *Federal Register*, the National Archives was given a Justice Department memorandum, attached to *but not published with* these regulations, that unequivocally stated that Nixon could still invoke executive privilege over these documents, and that President Ronald Reagan or any future sitting president would have to honor the claim without reviewing the merits. Litigation on this memorandum was still pending in March 1988.

The 4,000 hours of tape recordings pose even thornier archival and access problems. It would take a single person almost two years of non-stop listening for eight hours a day just to hear all of the tapes without taking time to review or analyze them. Although NARA has basically completed processing the tapes and prepared a 27,000-page finding aid for researchers, lawyers for Nixon and some of his top advisers claim that untold numbers of violations of the personal privacy of individuals remain. They argue that the review process agreed to in the 1979 "negotiated agreement" has not proven feasible with respect to these controversial secret tapings, and that, therefore, they should be reviewed again using stricter privacy standards.

In the unlikely event that no further legal barriers are encountered, sometime during the 1990s the National Archives intends to open those recorded conversations that the Watergate special prosecutor requested (not all of these were used as evidence and, hence, were made public in various court cases after 1974). After these initial eighty hours of special prosecutor tapes are opened, NARA will follow its regulations and release additional segments, similar to the manner in which the first Special Files documents began to be released sequentially in 1987. This means that all persons mentioned in the recordings who have requested that they be notified in advance will be, in the event they would want to file charges against the release of specific conversations. Thus, even with the Tape Survey Log, researchers face many delays and obstacles before they will be able to analyze and interpret this unique documentary source—the White House tapes.

Other unusual characteristics of the Nixon presidential papers involve the subject matter of the records released to date and contained in various parts of the microfiche editions published by University Publications of America. The first is that most of the obvious abuse-of-power documents had already been presented as evidence and made public when various Nixon aides and their staff members were tried in the last half of the 1970s. Consequently, journalists, but not historians, were generally disappointed and confused by the release of the first records from the White House Central Files, because they did not contain sensational revelations. The initial 1.5 million pages of documents opened in December 1986 focused on domestic subject files ranging from welfare and environmental issues to Supreme Court appointments and desegregation of schools. These files are of enormous historic, if not headline, value to aid in understanding the formulation of the major domestic policies of the one-and-one-half Nixon administrations.

Secondly, those papers released in May and July 1987 consisted of 1.5 million documents that make up the total volume of the Special Files. These were purported to be of particular importance to the abuse-of-power question, but have not yet revealed any significant information about the Watergate break-in or its cover-up that had not already been presented as evidence in court cases in the 1970s. The first opening in May, for example, included five major file groups of papers relating to the work in the White House of John Dean, Harry Dent, John Ehrlichman, Egil Krogh, and Gordon Strachan.

The second opening in May contained 267,500 papers actually created or seen by Richard Nixon during his tenure in office. These included both the President's Office Files, with notations in Nixon's handwriting, and "Personal Files" for 1969–1974, in addition to segments of the papers of Desmond J. Barker, Jr. (2,500 pages); Patrick J. Buchanan (22,500 pages); Dwight L. Chapin (35,000 pages); Peter M. Flanigan (12,500 pages); David R. Gergen (2,500 pages); General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (40,000 pages); Kenneth L. Khachigian (25,000 pages); Herbert G. Klein (5,000 pages); Tom C. Korologos (2,500 pages); Frederic V. Malek (2,500 pages); John A. Scali (5,000 pages); Gerald L. Warren (2,500 pages); David R. Young, Jr. (22,500 pages); and Ronald L. Ziegler (42,500 pages).

At the July 1987 opening, 823,450 more papers from the Special Files were released, consisting of 353,600 pages created or maintained by Nixon's Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman and 108,800 pages by Special Counsel Charles Colson. Other segments opened at the same time included: John R. Brown III (2,400 pages); Stephen B. Bull (4,000 pages); Alexander P. Butterfield (10,000 pages); J. Fred Buzhardt (4,000 pages); Michael J. Farrell (1,600 pages); Edwin L. Harper (800 pages); David C. Hoopes (25,000 pages); W. Richard Howard (5,000 pages); Peter E. Millspaugh (1,600 pages); Terrence O'Donnell (1,600 pages); Peter G. Peterson (2,400 pages); Geoffrey C. Shepard (2,400 pages); Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. (1,610 pages); Richard C. Tufaro (2,000 pages); J. Bruce Whelihan (8,400 pages); and David G. Wilson (1,600 pages).

Thirdly, these first historic openings of the Nixon Presidential Papers are but the tip of the iceberg for researching this controversial and important administration, especially its best known activity outside of Watergate, namely, foreign policy. Unfortunately, national security considerations have prevented any systematic declassification of materials pertaining to Nixon's record in the field of foreign affairs. Despite the publicity it receives, the Freedom of Information Act is not an adequate historical tool for obtaining the necessary aggregate data to document the decision-making processes involved in formulating U.S. diplomacy for Nixon's or any other recent administration. Moreover, the National Security Council, responsible for declassification of most foreign policy documents, has not yet concentrated on the Nixon years. To make matters worse for those interested in studying the

diplomacy of the United States from 1969 through 1974, crucial foreign policy advisers such as Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig have established personal monopolies over both public and private documents they generated by depositing them with the Library of Congress, thus making them subject to more severe restrictions than now govern Nixon's papers.

Finally, the question of the establishment of a Nixon Presidential Library remains problematic sixteen years after the thirty-seventh president resigned under a constitutional cloud of unprecedented proportions. After several major academic institutions turned down offers for housing the papers of what will become the most completely documented U.S. administration, the former president first decided to build his library in the seaside town of San Clemente, California, once the site of the western White House. Then, in November 1987, it was announced that the \$25 million complex would be built in the southern California town of Yorba Linda, where Nixon was born in 1913. While the museum opened in 1990, no agreement has been reached with the government about housing the Nixon presidential papers there.

As of the end of 1987, the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Archives Foundation planned to build a library that would be entirely independent of the National Archives, unlike all the other presidential libraries in the country. Until the resultant stalemate between the government and Nixon's representatives is resolved, his presidential papers will remain in federal custody at the NARA facility in Alexandria, Virginia. This means that the Nixon Presidential Library will contain primarily his post-presidential papers (the bulk of his vice presidential papers have long since been donated to the federal government) and assorted family material.

The Nixon Presidency

The delays encountered in opening the Nixon White House Central Files is particularly unfortunate in light of historical inquiry into an administration that may well be the most significant one since World War II and one of the most important in this entire century. Richard Milhous Nixon became president of the United States at a crucial juncture in American history. Following the Second World War there was general agreement between popular and elite opinion on two things: the effectiveness of most New Deal domestic policies and the necessity of most Cold War foreign policies. During the 1960s, however, these two crucial postwar consensual constructs began to break down, and the war in Indochina, with its disruptive impact on the nation's political economy, hastened their disintegration. By 1968 the traditional bipartisan, Cold War approach to the conduct of foreign affairs had been seriously undermined. Similarly, the "bigger and better" New Deal approach to the modern welfare state had reached a point of diminishing returns even among liberals.

A breakdown in either the foreign or domestic policy consensus offers both opportunity and danger to any incumbent president. Nixon had more opportunity for risk-taking changes at home and abroad during his first administration than he would have had if elected in 1960, when he was narrowly defeated by John F. Kennedy, because of the disruptive impact of war and domestic reforms during the intervening eight years. Also, he inherited a wartime presidency, with all of its temporarily enhanced extralegal powers. Although Nixon was a wartime president for all but twenty months of his five-and-one-half years in office, he found that the impunity for constitutional violations that was often accorded previous wartime presidents was not to be his.

Periods of war and reform have usually alternated in the United States, but in the 1960s they burgeoned simultaneously, hastening the breakdown of consensus that was evident by the 1968 election. This unusual situation transformed Nixon's largely unexamined and rather commonplace management views into controversial ones. It also reinforced his natural predilection for bringing about change through executive fiat. This historical confluence of war and reform accounted in part for many of Nixon's unilateral administrative actions during his first administration, and for some of the events leading to his disgrace over the Watergate cover-up and resignation during his second term.

Because much of the press and both Democratic-controlled houses of Congress were suspicious of him in 1969, Nixon almost automatically viewed administrative action as one way of obtaining significant domestic reform. Moreover, some of his initial accomplishments in administratively redirecting U.S. foreign policy ultimately led Nixon to rely more on executive actions at home to accomplish certain domestic goals than he might have otherwise. In any case, this approach drew criticism from

those who already distrusted his past and *presumed* present policies and priorities. Nixon's covert and overt expansion and prolongation of the war during his first term also reinforced existing suspicions about his personality and political ethics. In this sense, liberal paranoia about his domestic programs fueled Nixon's paranoia about liberal opposition to the war and vice versa.

By 1972, Nixon's success in effecting structural and substantive change in foreign policy through the exercise of largely unilateral executive power increasingly led him to think that he could use the same preemptive administrative approach to resolving domestic problems, especially following his landslide electoral victory that year. By the time he resigned from office in 1974, Nixon had effected significant structural changes in the organization of the executive branch of government—many of which are still in place. For example, he replaced the Department of the Post Office with a public corporation theoretically less subject to political patronage; merged the Peace Corps and Vista into one agency called Action; and created five new domestic advisory boards: the Urban Affairs Council that circuitously evolved into the Domestic Council; the Council on Environmental Quality (this was established at the initiative of Congress, but was effectively staffed and utilized by Nixon); the Rural Affairs Council; the Council on Executive Reorganization; and the Council on International Economic Policy (CIEP).

The Nixon administration also established the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and recommended that the functions of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) be divided into two new agencies—the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Energy Research and Development Administration, both of which came into existence under President Gerald Ford. The Nixon administration also created the Office of Child Development and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. With Nixon's approval the Bureau of the Budget was transformed into the Office of Management and Budget, whose monitoring and investigative powers gave it greater influence than ever before on the budgets of all government agencies and departments. Although Nixon tried to implement certain reorganizational (and ideological) ideas by temporarily impounding federal funds and attempting to abolish the Office of Economic Opportunity, federal courts subsequently ruled against these actions.

Probably the most important reorganizational activity of the Nixon administration involved the National Security Council (NSC). With Nixon's strong encouragement, Henry Kissinger transformed the NSC system into a personal foreign policy secretariat within the White House. As head of the reformed and revitalized NSC, Kissinger occupied the "super-official" position of assistant to the president for national security affairs, with more powers than those who, since Eisenhower's presidency, had served as special assistants for national security affairs. Ultimately, Kissinger chaired six special committees operating just below the NSC level, including the controversial Committee of 40, which oversaw all covert CIA activity abroad.

The reorganized NSC also created a conceptual framework for formulating U.S. foreign policy by establishing a series of National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs). These were drafted by NSC staff and signed by Nixon or by Kissinger on behalf of the president. The NSSMs directed various agencies and interdepartmental groups within the government to prepare detailed policy or "area" options, *not policy recommendations*, which were then passed on by Kissinger to members of the National Security Council, who sometimes argued over them in Nixon's presence. However, since these "formal options" were written, Nixon did not always need them orally debated by the NSC.

Nixon seems to have relied most heavily on these NSSMs in his first two years in office and less so in subsequent years. The NSSM system was designed to prevent the State Department and other executive departments from becoming advocates of particular policies by relegating them to the roles of analysts rather than policymakers. According to political scientist Alexander George, this "Nixinger" system for formulating foreign policy became the "most centralized and highly structured model yet employed by any American president." It is this system with minor variations that is still operative almost twenty years after its creation.

It is sometimes said that, when Nixon created the Urban Affairs Council (UAC) with its colorful executive secretary Patrick Moynihan, this made Moynihan the Henry Kissinger of domestic policy, because the UAC was presumably based on the emerging NSC model. Such a comparison has proven misleading for a number of reasons, not the least of which was Moynihan's lack of attention to management skills. Moreover, Moynihan's presence in the White House was always more tenuous

than Kissinger's, not only because he was a Democrat, but also because Nixon had appointed as counselor to the president for domestic affairs, Arthur Burns, whose views opposed and often neutralized those of the head of the UAC.

Despite the lack of centralization that characterized the structure for formulating foreign policy, Nixon's first administration actively pursued five areas of domestic reform: welfare, civil rights, economic and environmental policy, and reorganization of the federal government. In all these areas, even though his welfare reform failed to pass Congress, Nixon's positive domestic programs may be remembered longer than his currently better known foreign policy activities, because fewer of them have been dismantled or neglected by his successors in the White House.

Obviously, the domestic record of Richard Milhous Nixon will forever remain tarnished by a negative series of events, including wiretaps, the creation of the "plumbers" unit within the White House to plug information leaks and ultimately to conduct break-ins, the harassment of individuals on an "enemies" list, the misuse of the CIA to infiltrate and investigate a variety of protest organizations, and temporary consideration given to the "Houston Plan," which would have institutionalized surveillance of suspect groups and individuals. These events climaxed with the Watergate break-ins in May and June 1972 and the subsequent attempts by the president and his closest aides to cover up these and other illegal acts.

While Watergate was probably an accident waiting to happen, given the "hardball" nature of U.S. politics by 1972, this does not excuse the break-ins or the cover-up that resulted in a president of the United States resigning before he could be impeached for obstructing justice. However, if historians or other students of the American presidency continue to insist that Richard Nixon was an aberration, rather than all too common product of the American political system, as a people we will have learned little from Watergate. It is time to re-evaluate, rather than simply rehash the positive as well as the negative lessons from the administration of the thirty-seventh president of the United States. This microfiche edition of the first papers released from the Nixon White House Central Files makes such a scholarly re-evaluation possible outside the facilities of the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Virginia.

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Professor of History
Indiana University**

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

UPA's micropublication entitled *Papers of the Nixon White House* constitutes the historical record of the Nixon administration. These papers represent President Nixon as both a national and world leader in the search for peace and in war, and they highlight President Nixon's interest in foreign affairs, the war in Vietnam, and the thawing of the cold war. In addition, there is significant material on the president's domestic economic, political, and social problems, plans, and programs. These materials will provide scholars with a firsthand look at the concerns, plans, and programs of the Nixon White House.

This micropublication, entitled *Part 8. The Nixon White House Tapes: The Complete Transcripts Prepared by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force*, represents an installment in the study of the Watergate affair and the political fall of Richard Nixon.

The Watergate Special Prosecution Force (WSPF) was created following the appointment by Attorney General Elliot Richardson, on May 25, 1973, of Archibald Cox as special prosecutor. This group was charged with investigating and prosecuting offenses arising from the 1972 presidential campaign, particularly the break-in at the Democratic National Headquarters in the Watergate building. This charge was broadly interpreted by Special Prosecutor Cox to include not only the Watergate affair, but allegations regarding the settlement of the ITT antitrust suit, alleged perjury during the 1972 Senate confirmation hearings of Richard G. Kleindienst, investigation of the activities of White House "Plumbers," and alleged "dirty tricks" and illegal financing activities during the 1972 presidential campaign. The WSPF gathered information from a variety of sources, including the Senate Watergate Committee. It was from this source that the WSPF learned of the White House office taping system. This presented the special prosecutor with the means to resolve the issue of White House duplicity in various crimes uncovered by the WSPF.

The special prosecutor acquired, by subpoena or other legal means, approximately sixty hours of recordings from the White House. These sixty hours consist of approximately eighty-eight separate conversations or portions of conversations related to the WSPF's investigations. The WSPF produced transcripts for at least eighty-five of the entries. (No transcripts have been located among the records of the WSPF for the remaining conversations.)

This micropublication consists of the original WSPF-produced transcripts under the control of the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. Microfilmed in chronological order, as they are arranged at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, they provide the scholar with intimate knowledge and insights into Richard M. Nixon, the man and his administrative style.

Processing of the Records

These recorded White House conversations are part of the presidential historical materials of the Nixon administration. These materials are in the custody of the National Archives and Records Administration under the provisions of Title I of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 1695, 44 U.S.C. 2111 note). The associated transcripts of these conversations are found among the Records of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force (Record Group 460) in the Holdings of the National Archives. Access to the tapes and transcripts is governed by the 1974 act and its implementing public access regulations.

The National Archives' Office of Presidential Libraries has archivally processed the sound recordings for public access under the 1974 Act and implementing regulations. Archival processing consisted of duplicating the recordings to preserve the original tapes, organizing and describing the materials, and reviewing the tapes and transcripts for public access.

The review for public access consisted of examining the materials to identify any information that required restriction in accordance with the regulations governing the Nixon materials (36 CFR 1275.50 or 1275.52). The National Archives has determined that access must be restricted at this time to some portions that contain national security classified information or information that, if released, would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy of an individual. The access regulations provide that the National Archives will make available personal information that otherwise might be restricted if that information is essential to an understanding of abuses of governmental power (Watergate matters).

If the National Archives has withheld restrictable information from the tapes and/or transcripts, the reason for withholding the information is indicated on the transcript. If there is no transcript, a withholding is indicated in an explanatory note. Restricted information is shown as follows:

- 1) Restricted "B"—national security classified information deleted; or
- 2) Restricted "D"—information deleted that, if released, would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy or constitute libel of a living person.

In addition to restrictable information, the National Archives has withheld other segments from the tapes. When the following have been withheld, they have been replaced by blank tape that runs for about ten seconds.

- 1) Highlighted "Unintelligibles" on transcripts—indicate tape segments that were so unintelligible that the National Archives could not adequately review them for release at this time. The National Archives has withheld such segments when it was determined that the length or context of an unintelligible segment presented the possibility that it might contain restrictable information.
- 2) Room noise withdrawals are tape segments between conversations and have been withdrawn for editing purposes. For whatever reason, the recording device sometimes continued to run when either no one was in the room or when the president was alone. These segments contain conversation. Room noise withdrawals are found on only a few of the tapes being released at this time.

All deletions from the tapes or transcripts, other than those described above, were made by authorities prior to the time the materials were transferred to the custody of the National Archives. The National Archives has observed those deletions in preparing the tapes and transcripts for public access. The National Archives staff has not attempted to correct or improve the transcripts, and the National Archives makes no claim in regard to their accuracy.

SOURCE NOTE

The documents reproduced in this micropublication are from the Watergate Special Prosecution Force File Segment of Record Group 460 (Records of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force). These records are part of a larger series entitled White House Tapes. These files are maintained by the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

EDITORIAL NOTE

UPA's *Papers of the Nixon White House* consists of selected series from the Papers of President Richard Milhous Nixon included in the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. Other series published by UPA include official inventories, meetings files, the President's Office Files, and selected series from John Ehrlichman's and H. R. Haldeman's White House Files and the President's Personal Files.

Part 8. The Nixon White House Tapes: The Complete Transcripts Prepared by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force, consisting of the materials highlighted in the scope and content note, have been filmed in their entirety. UPA has microfilmed all title pages and documents as they are arranged at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following acronyms and abbreviations are used frequently in this guide and are reproduced here for the convenience of the user.

AM	Ante-meridian (morning)
CRP	Committee to Re-Elect the President
DB	Dictabelt (a type of tape recording device)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
ITT	International Telephone and Telegraph
No.	number
PM	Post-meridian (afternoon/evening)
RN	Richard Nixon
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
SST	Supersonic transport
Telcon	Telephone conversation
WSPF	Watergate Special Prosecution Force

USER INSTRUCTIONS

NIXON PART 8

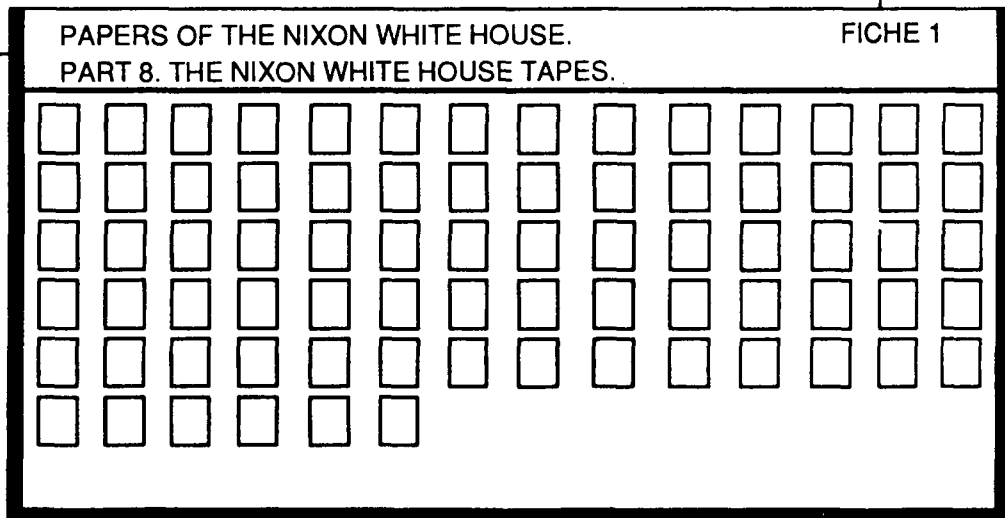
Fiche and Frame Numbers

Each fiche has been assigned a single accession number for reference purposes. These numbers are in bold type in the fiche index. Frame numbers have been assigned to each page of each document in this collection. All transcripts are large enough to comprise several of these frame numbers and in a few cases more than one fiche.

FICHE DIAGRAM

TITLE OF COLLECTION

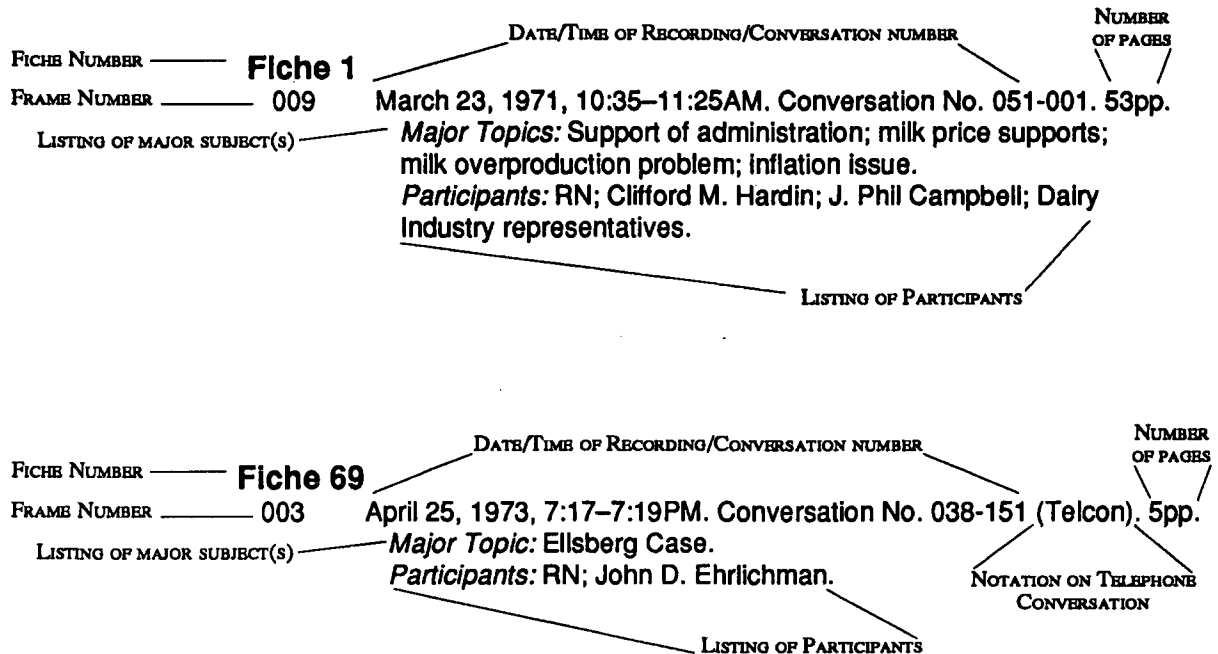
FICHE NUMBER



Fiche Index

All items in this microfiche collection are described by transcript title.

SAMPLE ENTRIES



Bibliographic Data

The bibliographic data for each main entry include the following items:

Date—The date provided is the date of the conversation transcribed.

Time—The time of each conversation has been included. A small number of transcripts will include only the portion of the conversation selected by the Special Prosecutor.

Conversation No.—Created by the Nixon Presidential Materials Project Staff, these numbers consist of an initial three-digit number that identifies the reel of the original tapes in the order they were received from the White House. Each individual conversation is then identified by the three-digit number following the hyphen. Therefore, 051-001 denotes the first conversation on the fifty-first reel received by the National Archives.

Number of pages—The total number of pages for a specific transcript is given.

(Telcon)—In a small number of cases this notation appears following the Conversation No. and informs the researcher that the transcript is of a recorded telephone conversation, usually by Dictabelt.

Major Topics

The *Major Topics* listing serves to characterize the subjects of discussion, reflection, and/or items reported to the president. *Major Topics* highlight the major issues, events, prominent individuals, and key policy matters, primarily concerning the Watergate affair, of the Nixon administration. Major topics have been indexed in the second portion of this guide.

Participants

The Participants listing provides the researcher with the names of individuals or groups meeting with President Nixon. This information has been gleaned from the title page of each transcript. Names of all participants, with the exception of RN, can be found in the Participants Index.

Acknowledgements

UPA would like to thank the staff of the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, National Archives and Records Administration, for their cooperation on this publication. The staff is both knowledgeable about the Nixon papers in their care and articulate and forthcoming with that knowledge.

FICHE INDEX

Entries in this index refer to specific transcripts within the Watergate Special Prosecution Force File Segment of the White House Tapes Series comprising this micropublication. This file is described in the Scope and Content Note. The transcripts have been published in chronological order; each year is denoted by a bold centered heading. The three-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which the transcript begins. RN has been used to denote President Richard Nixon. Additional information or explanations have been added to the titles of a small number of transcripts to assist the researcher in accessing the documents. These additions by UPA have been enclosed in brackets. For a detailed description of the order and type of information found in this index, see the User Instructions that begin on page xvii.

1971

Fiche 1

- 003 March 23, 1971, 10:16–10:19AM. Conversation Nos. 472-004, 005, and 006. 6pp.
Major Topic: Pending legislation.
Participants: RN; Stephen B. Bull; John B. Connally.
- 009 March 23, 1971, 10:35–11:25AM. Conversation No. 051-001. 53pp.
Major Topics: Support of administration; milk price supports; milk overproduction problem; inflation issue.
Participants: RN; Clifford M. Hardin; J. Phil Campbell; Dairy Industry representatives.

Fiche 2

- 003 March 23, 1971, 5:05–5:38PM. Conversation No. 472-021. 44pp.
Major Topics: SST; farm economic situation; milk price supports; pending agriculture legislation.
Participants: RN; Clifford M. Hardin; J. Phil Campbell; George P. Shultz; John D. Ehrlichman; John C. Whitaker; Donald B. Rice; John B. Connally; William Fitz-Patrick.

Fiche 3

- 003 April 19, 1971, 3:03–3:34PM. Conversation Nos. 482-017 and 018. 36pp.
Major Topics: ITT; antitrust issue; crime issue; racial discrimination cases; discipline in the administration; revenue sharing.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; George P. Shultz; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 4

- 003 April 19, 1971, 3:04–3:09PM. Conversation Nos. 002-001 and 002. 5pp.
Major Topic: Antitrust issue.
Participants: RN; Richard G. Kleindienst (Telcon).
- 008 April 21, 1971, 4:18–6:13PM. Conversation No. 485-004. 5pp.
Major Topics: ITT; antitrust issue.
Participants: RN; John N. Mitchell.

Fiche 5

003 May 5, 1971, 9:35 [9:55]–10:15[?]AM. Conversation No. 491-014. 28pp.
Major Topics: Anti-war demonstrations in Washington, D.C.; press bias.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 6

003 July 6, 1971, 11:47AM–12:45PM. Conversation No. 538-015. 18pp.
Major Topics: Pentagon Papers; Daniel Ellsberg.
Participants: RN; John N. Mitchell; John D. Ehrlichman; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 7

003 July 24, 1971, 12:36–12:48PM. Conversation No. 545-003. 8pp.
Major Topic: Leaks to press on SALT talks.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Egil M. "Bud" Krogh, Jr.
011 October 8, 1971, 10:04–10:46AM. Conversation No. 587-003. 10pp.
Major Topics: Handling of wiretap information; J. Edgar Hoover.
Participants: RN; John N. Mitchell; John D. Ehrlichman; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 8

003 October 25, 1971, 12:35–2:05PM. Conversation No. 601-033. 23pp.
Major Topics: G. Gordon Liddy; J. Edgar Hoover.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Stephen B. Bull; Alexander P. Butterfield.

1972

Fiche 9

003 March 30, 1972, 11:50 [11:52] AM–12:15PM. Conversation No. 697-015. 23pp.
Major Topics: Senate confirmation hearings and Richard G. Kleindienst nomination as attorney general.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 10

003 March 30, 1972, 1:30–2:30PM. Conversation No. 697-029. 43pp.
Major Topics: Richard G. Kleindienst nomination as attorney general and Senate confirmation hearings; ITT.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Charles W. Colson.

Fiche 11

003 June 20, 1972, 2:20–3:30PM. Conversation No. 342-027. 17pp.
Major Topics: Watergate break-in and administration reaction to press coverage.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson.

Fiche 12

003 June 23, 1972, 10:04–11:39 [10:39] AM. Conversation No. 741-002. 40pp.
Major Topics: Comments on FBI investigation of Watergate break-in; pending legislation; busing issue; 1972 presidential campaign; media activities.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 13

003 June 23, 1972, 1:04–1:13PM. Conversation No. 741-010. 4pp.
Major Topics: Watergate break-in and E. Howard Hunt.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.
007 June 23, 1972, 2:20–2:45PM. Conversation No. 343-036. 15pp.
Major Topics: Comments on FBI investigation of Watergate break-in and alleged Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) involvement; 1972 presidential campaign.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 14

- 003 June 30, 1972, 12:57–2:10PM. Conversation No. 347-004. 4pp.
Major Topic: Watergate break-in.
Participants: RN; John N. Mitchell; H. R. Haldeman.
- 007 September 15, 1972, 5:27 [5:24]–6:17PM (This portion is unknown between 4:49 and 6:17PM). Conversation No. 779-002. 45pp.
Major Topics: Watergate affair; White House investigations; comments on FBI investigation of Watergate break-in; wiretapping; congressional activities.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John W. Dean III; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 15

- 003 September 15, 1972, 5:27 [5:24]–[5:38] 6:17PM (This portion is unknown between 5:38 and 6:17PM). Conversation No. 779-002. [Second Installment.] 15pp.
Major Topics: Comments on Internal Revenue Service (IRS) investigations of Democrats; bureaucracy issue and administration supporters.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John W. Dean III.

Fiche 16

- 003 November (Unknown), 1972, Unknown. Conversation No. 000-000 (Telcon/DB). 19pp.
Major Topics: Watergate affair; plea for assistance by Watergate defendants.
Participants: Charles W. Colson; E. Howard Hunt.

Fiche 17

- 003 January 4, 1973, unknown after 5:14–5:50PM [12:02–1:02PM]. Conversation Nos. 393-013 and 014. 19pp.
Major Topic: Henry Kissinger's secret Vietnam War peace negotiations.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson.

Fiche 18

- 003 January 8, 1973, 4:05–5:34PM. Conversation Nos. 394-021 and 395-001. 16pp.
Major Topics: Wiretapping; Watergate affair; E. Howard Hunt; G. Gordon Liddy.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson.

Fiche 19

- 003 February 13, 1973, 9:48–10:52AM. Conversation No. 854-017. 12pp.
Major Topics: Comments on congressional confirmation of White House nominees; L. Patrick Gray III; Senate Committee hearings on Watergate affair.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson.
- 015 February 14, 1973, 10:13–10:49AM. Conversation No. 855-010. 22pp.
Major Topics: Executive privilege; David Shapiro; cover-up issue; leaks to the press.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson; Stephen B. Bull; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 20

- 003 February 14, 1973, 5:34–6:00PM. Conversation No. 856-004. 17pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray III; cover-up issue.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 21

- 003 February 16, 1973, 9:08–9:38 [9:39] AM. Conversation No. 858-003. 28pp.
Major Topics: "Coaching" of L. Patrick Gray III; FBI wiretapping; FBI investigation of Watergate break-in; leaks to the press; Kennedy and Johnson administrations' use of the FBI.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; L. Patrick Gray III.

Fiche 22

003 February 23, 1973, 9:35–10:05AM. Conversation No. 862-004. 19pp.
Major Topics: Richard G. Kleindienst; Jeb Magruder; Ervin Committee activities; executive privilege issue; John N. Mitchell and campaign committee funds; Charles W. Colson; written interrogatories issue.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 23

003 February 23, 1973, 10:08–10:52AM. Conversation No. 862-006. 34pp.
Major Topics: “Coaching” of Richard G. Kleindienst; John W. Dean III internal White House investigation; White House staff connections to CRP; executive privilege; turnover of FBI files to Ervin Committee.
Participants: RN; Richard G. Kleindienst.

Fiche 24

003 February 27, 1973, 3:55–4:20PM. Conversation No. 864-004. 23pp.
Major Topics: Howard Baker; executive privilege issue; leaks to the press.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 25

003 February 28, 1973, 9:12–10:23AM. Conversation No. 865-014. 50pp.
Major Topics: Richard G. Kleindienst meeting with Ervin Committee; “coaching” of John W. Dean III; written interrogatories position; Maurice Stans; Vesco contribution issue; law suits against the press; Larry O’Brien law suit; leaks to the press and FBI.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 26

003 March 1, 1973, 9:18–9:46AM [9:45AM]. Conversation No. 866-003. 22pp.
Major Topics: Richard G. Kleindienst; comments on L. Patrick Gray III’s appearance before the Ervin Committee; Kennedy and Johnson’s use of FBI; leaks to the press and FBI.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; Manolo Sanchez.
025 March 8, 1973, 9:51–9:54AM. Conversation No. 872-001. 3pp.
Major Topic: Donald Segretti article in *Washington Post*.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III.

Fiche 27

003 March 13, 1973, 12:42–2:00PM. Conversation No. 878-014. 78pp.
Major Topics: Charles Colson; implementation of executive privilege; campaign finances and contributions; White House handling of press; William Sullivan; preparations for Ervin Committee hearings; discrediting the FBI; L. Patrick Gray III’s confirmation hearings; Hugh Sloan; sentencing of Watergate defendants; Herbert Kalmbach.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John W. Dean III; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 28

003 March 17, 1973, 1:25–2:10PM. Conversation No. 882-012. 28pp.
Major Topics: Preparations for the Ervin Committee hearings; pending legislation; Jeb Magruder; Ellsberg affair; Herbert Kalmbach.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 29

003 March 20, 1973, 10:47AM–12:10PM [unknown between 10:47–11:40AM]. Conversation No. 884-007. 5pp.
Major Topic: Briefing of congressional leadership idea.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

008 March 20, 1973, 6:00–7:10PM. Conversation No. 885-007. 28pp.
Major Topics: Watergate affair strategy; James W. McCord; perjury issue; Gordon Strachan; Jeb Magruder; knowledge of “dirty tricks”; G. Gordon Liddy; presidential press statement issue.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 30

003 March 20, 1973, 7:29–7:43PM. Conversation Nos. 037-175 and 176. 19pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray III confirmation hearings; Hoback testimony; presidential statement proposal.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; White House operator.

Fiche 31

003 March 21, 1973, 10:12–11:55AM. Conversation No. 886-008. 95pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray III confirmation hearings; decision making leading to intelligence-gathering operations; John W. Dean III synopsis of Watergate events; G. Gordon Liddy; Jeb Magruder; Grand Jury session events; E. Howard Hunt and Charles Colson; use of campaign funds; Robert Vesco; blackmail issue.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; H. R. Haldeman; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 32

003 March 21, 1973, 10:12–11:55AM cont. Conversation No. 886-008 cont. 34pp.
Major Topics: Use of campaign funds; blackmail issue; proposed federal delay in Grand Jury sentencing of Watergate defendants.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; H. R. Haldeman; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 33

003 March 21, 1973, 5:20–6:01PM. Conversation No. 421-018. 40pp.
Major Topics: Immunity issue and Grand Jury; presidential concern for “dirty tricks” personnel; Larry O’Brien law suit; cover-up issue; proposed presidential report.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 34

003 March 21, 1973, 7:53–8:24PM. Conversation Nos. 037-204 and 205 (Telcon). 13pp.
Major Topics: Howard Baker; proposed special counsel to the president on Watergate affair; susceptibility of John W. Dean III; proposed presidential statement.

Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson; White House operator.

016 March 22, 1973, 9:11–10:35AM. Conversation No. 422-020. 60pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray III; Howard Baker–Richard G. Kleindienst relations; meeting between Howard Baker’s administrative assistant and Charles Colson; campaign funds and John W. Dean III; disposition of campaign funds; funds for Watergate defendants; John N. Mitchell; Ellsberg affair.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 35

003 March 22, 1973, 1:57–3:43PM. Conversation No. 422-033. 94pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray–John W. Dean III relationship; FBI questioning of John W. Dean III; Richard G. Kleindienst; Howard Baker; Ervin Committee information and Howard Baker's administrative assistant; executive privilege; proposed presidential report on Watergate affair using FBI materials; cover-up plan.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; John D. Ehrlichman; H. R. Haldeman; John N. Mitchell.

Fiche 36

003 March 22, 1973, 1:57–3:43PM cont. Conversation No. 422-033 cont. 14pp.
Major Topics: Cover-up plan; Grand Jury activities; proposed presidential report.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; John D. Ehrlichman; H. R. Haldeman; John N. Mitchell.

Fiche 37

003 March 27, 1973, 11:10AM–1:30PM. Conversation No. 423-003. 86pp.
Major Topics: Proposed executive-judicial-congressional board of inquiry into Watergate; handling of press regarding John W. Dean III; press handling of Watergate affair; John W. Dean III–G. Gordon Liddy relationship; H. R. Haldeman's narrative of Watergate affair; Grand Jury testimony; executive privilege; cover-up plan.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 38

003 March 30, 1973, 12:02–12:13PM. Conversation No. 890-019. 14pp.
Major Topics: Press statement on Watergate cover-up charge; appearances before the Grand Jury.
Participants: RN; Ronald L. Ziegler; John D. Ehrlichman.

017 April 12, 1973, 7:31–7:48PM. Conversation No. 044-158. 19pp.
Major Topics: Press treatment of Watergate affair; RN request for précis on Watergate affair; effects of Watergate affair on Nixon presidency.
Participants: RN; Charles W. Colson.

Fiche 39

003 April 14, 1973, 8:55–11:31AM. Conversation No. 428-019. 94pp.
Major Topics: E. Howard Hunt's appearance before Grand Jury; handling of Watergate defendants; handling of Jeb Magruder, John Mitchell, and Fred LaRue.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 40

003 April 14, 1973, 8:55–11:31AM cont. Conversation No. 428-019 cont. 4pp.
Major Topics: Handling of Jeb Magruder, John Mitchell, and Fred LaRue.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 41

003 April 14, 1973, 1:55–3:55PM. Conversation Nos. 896-004 and 005. 71pp.
Major Topics: Jeb Magruder's decision to testify before the Grand Jury; implication of John W. Dean III by Jeb Magruder; John N. Mitchell–John D. Ehrlichman discussion; proposed testimony by John D. Ehrlichman before the Grand Jury.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Ronald L. Ziegler; John D. Ehrlichman; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 42

003 April 14, 1973, 5:15–6:45PM. Conversation No. 428-028. 53pp.
Major Topics: Jeb Magruder's testimony before the Grand Jury; implication of John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 43

003 April 14, 1973, 11:02–11:16PM. Conversation No. 038-034. 16pp.
Major Topics: Jeb Magruder's testimony before the Grand Jury; Charles W. Colson; handling of appearances before the Ervin Committee.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 44

003 April 14, 1973, 11:22–11:53PM. Conversation No. 038-037. 31pp.
Major Topics: Handling of testimony before Grand Jury appearances; special prosecutor issue; Jeb Magruder's testimony before the Grand Jury; Gordon Strachan.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 45

003 April 15, 1973, 10:35–11:15AM. Conversation No. 896-006. 27pp.
Major Topics: Special prosecutor issue; perjury issue and E. Howard Hunt; obstruction of justice issue; handling of Watergate defendants and Grand Jury; implication of John W. Dean III; press on Watergate affair.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 46

003 April 15, 1973, 3:27–3:44PM. Conversation Nos. 038-042 and 043. 23pp.
Major Topics: Handling of appearance before Ervin Committee by presidential aides; special prosecutor issue; John Mitchell.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; White House operator (Telcon).

Fiche 47

003 April 16, 1973, 9:50–9:59AM. Conversation No. 897-003. 17pp.
Major Topics: Cover-up by John W. Dean III; handling of John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony; public relations.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Stephen B. Bull.

Fiche 48

003 April 16, 1973, 10:00–10:40AM. Conversation No. 897-004. 57pp.
Major Topics: Presentation of resignation/indefinite leave of absence letters to John W. Dean III; "coaching" of John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III; Stephen B. Bull. [John D. Ehrlichman is incorrectly listed on transcript cover sheet.]

Fiche 49

003 April 16, 1973, 10:50–11:04AM. Conversation No. 897-009. 13pp.
Major Topics: Handling of appearance before Grand Jury of presidential aides; executive privilege issue; handling of John W. Dean III and Dean Report.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

016 April 16, 1973, 12:00–12:31PM. Conversation No. 897-011. 24pp.
Major Topics: Cover-up planning; preparations for possible press questions; campaign funds question; handling of appearance before Grand Jury of presidential aides.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 50

003 April 16, 1973, 3:27–4:04 [4:02]PM. Conversation Nos. 427-005 and 006. 22pp.
Major Topics: L. Patrick Gray and handling of Watergate documents; concerns regarding presidential influence on Grand Jury proceedings; concerns regarding John W. Dean III statements.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 51

003 April 16, 1973, 4:07–4:35PM. Conversation No. 427-010. 28pp.
Major Topics: Statement on leave of absence for presidential staff members appearing before Grand Jury; John W. Dean III's concern over being a scapegoat for other presidential aides; vacillation on facts of Watergate affair by John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; John W. Dean III.

031 April 17, 1973, 9:47–9:59AM. Conversation No. 898-006. 9pp.
Major Topic: Preparation of statement and press strategy on Watergate affair.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Rose Mary Woods.

Fiche 52

003 April 17, 1973, 12:35–2:20PM. Conversation No. 898-012. 94pp.
Major Topics: Question of immunity for John W. Dean III; handling of appearance before Grand Jury of presidential aides; comments on John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 53

003 April 17, 1973, 12:35–2:20PM cont. Conversation No. 898-012 cont. 4pp.
Major Topics: Comments on John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 54

003 April 17, 1973, 3:50–4:35PM. Conversation Nos. 898-023, 899-001, and 002. 30pp.
Major Topics: concerns and strategy for handling appearances of John W. Dean III and L. Patrick Gray before Grand Jury; concerns regarding possible resignations of H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman; "Magruder's list"; Grand Jury examination of Gordon Strachan; statement on appearance of White House staff before Ervin Committee.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler.

Fiche 55

003 April 17, 1973, 5:20–7:14PM. Conversation No. 429-003. 67pp.
Major Topics: Statement on appearance of White House staff before Ervin Committee; L. Patrick Gray and alleged destruction of Watergate documents; question of immunity for John W. Dean III; handling of Judge John Sirica's interrogations of defendants before Grand Jury.
Participants: RN; William P. Rogers; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 56

003 April 18, 1973, 3:05–3:23PM. Conversation No. 900-026. 19pp.
Major Topics: Concern over John W. Dean III's testimony before the Grand Jury; John D. Ehrlichman's recollection of Watergate affair events; wiretapping.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 57

- 003 April 19, 1973, 9:31–10:12AM. Conversation No. 902-001. 29pp.
Major Topics: Candidates for counsel to the president; scenario regarding handling of early stages of Watergate affair; proposed statement on handling of Watergate affair by RN.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 58

- 003 April 19, 1973, 10:12–11:07AM. Conversation Nos. 902-002 and 003. 9pp.
Major Topics: Ellsberg Case; wiretapping.
Participants: RN; Henry A. Peterson.
- 012 April 19, 1973, 1:03–1:30PM. Conversation No. 902-009. 22pp.
Major Topics: John W. Dean III as a scapegoat; scenario of events prior to Watergate affair; handling of John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 59

- 003 April 19, 1973, 3:45–5:00PM. Conversation No. 429-015. 71pp.
Major Topics: Comments on statements by John W. Dean III; Jeb Magruder; handling of funds for Watergate defendants and blackmail issue; public relations proposals.
Participants: RN; Richard A. Moore.

Fiche 60

- 003 April 19, 1973, 4:50–?PM. Conversation No. 000-000 (Telcon/DB). 13pp.
Major Topics: Comments on John W. Dean III's statements to Grand Jury; preparation for testimony before the Grand Jury by Herbert Kalmbach.
Participants: John D. Ehrlichman, Herbert Kalmbach.
- 016 April 19, 1973, 5:15–5:45PM. Conversation No. 429-018. 26pp.
Major Topics: RN discussion with Richard A. Moore; "breakdown" of John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 61

- 003 April 19, 1973, 9:37–9:53PM. Conversation Nos. 038-125 and 126 (Telcon). 17pp.
Major Topic: Comments on proposed *Washington Post* version of John W. Dean III's account of Watergate affair.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; White House operator.

Fiche 62

- 003 April 20, 1973, 8:15–8:39AM. Conversation No. 903-001. 17pp.
Major Topics: Comments on statements by John W. Dean III and *Washington Post* article; Haldeman recollections regarding money for E. Howard Hunt; public relations effectiveness.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 63

- 003 April 20, 1973, 11:07–11:23AM. Conversation No. 903-006. 16pp.
Major Topics: Comments on Grand Jury testimony of Jeb Magruder; George Bush; Grand Jury prosecution activities; John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony; Grand Jury leaks to the press.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 64

003 April 20, 1973, 12:16–12:34PM. Conversation No. 903-019. 18pp.
Major Topics: Comments on Kenneth Rietz; concerns regarding slow pace of Grand Jury prosecution; John W. Dean III's position as counsel to the president; obstruction of justice issue; handling of "hush" money for Watergate defendants and John Mitchell.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 65

003 April 25, 1973, 11:06AM–1:55PM. Conversation No. 430-004. 94pp.
Major Topics: John B. Connally's views on Watergate affair; John N. Mitchell; RN's public relations vulnerabilities; question of resignation or leave of absence for presidential aides; views of William Rogers; Grand Jury leaks to the press from prosecutor's office; comments on John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony; William O. Bittman money conversation and blackmail issue; defense against John W. Dean III's accusations.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 66

003 April 25, 1973, 11:06AM–1:55PM cont. Conversation No. 430-004 cont. 22pp.
Major Topic: Defense against John W. Dean III's accusations.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman.

Fiche 67

003 April 25, 1973, 4:40–5:30 [5:35]PM. Conversation No. 430-022. 38pp.
Major Topics: John W. Dean III's accusations before Grand Jury; blackmail issue and E. Howard Hunt; payments to Watergate defendants; recounting of John W. Dean III's discussion with RN regarding Watergate events.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; Thomas Hart.

Fiche 68

003 April 25, 1973, 6:57–7:14PM. Conversation No. 038-150 (Telcon). 19pp.
Major Topics: Appearance of H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman before Grand Jury; John W. Dean III's allegations against John D. Ehrlichman; Ellsberg Case; handling of John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 69

003 April 25, 1973, 7:17–7:19PM. Conversation No. 038-151 (Telcon). 5pp.
Major Topic: Ellsberg Case paper.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman.

008 April 25, 1973, 7:25–7:39PM. Conversation Nos. 038-154 and 155 (Telcon). 15pp.
Major Topics: Ellsberg case and national security investigation issue; Henry Peterson; John W. Dean III's involvement in the Vesco case; Ervin Committee efforts to call John W. Dean III before hearings; strategy for handling revelations by John W. Dean III; issue of leave of absence for Haldeman and Ehrlichman.
Participants: RN; John D. Ehrlichman; White House operator.

Fiche 70

003 April 25, 1973, 7:46–7:53PM. Conversation Nos. 038-156 and 157 (Telcon). 10pp.
Major Topics: Question on possible tape recorded conversations with RN; strategy for handling John W. Dean III's allegations.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; White House operator.

- 013 April 26, 1973, 8:55–10:24AM. Conversation No. 905-008. 76pp.
Major Topics: Public relations proposals; Ellsberg Case, John W. Dean III, and John D. Ehrlichman; Ervin Committee investigations; Ronald L. Ziegler's press statements; review of March 21, 1973 meeting notes and actions of John W. Dean III; money for Watergate defendants issue; Haldeman's recollections of Watergate affair events.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

Fiche 71

- 003 April 26, 1973, 3:59–9:03PM. Conversation No. 431–009. 94pp.
Major Topics: John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony and "hush" money for Watergate defendants; H. R. Haldeman's recollections of meetings with John W. Dean III and RN; issue of "hush" money to Watergate defendants; E. Howard Hunt blackmail issue; handling of revelation of L. Patrick Gray's destruction of Watergate documents.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler; Stephen B. Bull; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 72

- 003 April 26, 1973, 3:59–9:03PM cont. Conversation No. 431–009 cont. 94pp.
Major Topics: Handling of revelation of L. Patrick Gray's destruction of Watergate documents; possible resignation of Richard G. Kleindienst; strategy for handling John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony; strategy for handling cover-up issue.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman; John D. Ehrlichman; Ronald L. Ziegler; Stephen B. Bull; Manolo Sanchez.

Fiche 73

- 003 June 4, 1973, Unknown between 10:16AM and 9:54PM. Conversation Nos. 442-001 through 442-069. 94pp.
Major Topics: Office taping system and listening to recorded conversations; FBI wiretapping during Kennedy administration; John W. Dean III's statements and the Ervin Committee; RN–John W. Dean III meeting notes; situation of Watergate defendants; Grand Jury investigations; reconstruction of RN's notes of meetings with John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; Stephen B. Bull; Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; Ronald L. Ziegler; Manolo Sanchez. [WSPF cover page includes John W. Dean III in participants list, but there is no material reflecting his actual presence at time of recording.]

Fiche 74

- 003 June 4, 1973, Unknown between 10:16AM and 9:54PM cont. Conversation Nos. 442-001 through 442-069 cont. 77pp.
Major Topics: Listening to recorded conversations; reconstruction of RN's notes of meetings with John W. Dean III; alleged cover-up; John W. Dean III's Grand Jury testimony and allegations; strategy for handling John W. Dean III's Ervin Committee appearance.
Participants: RN; Stephen B. Bull; Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; Ronald L. Ziegler; Manolo Sanchez. [WSPF cover page includes John W. Dean III in participants list, but there is no material reflecting his actual presence at time of recording.]

Fiche 75

- 003 June 4, 1973, 10:05–10:20PM. Conversation Nos. 039-080 and 081 (Telcon). 21pp.
Major Topics: Comments on March 21, 1973 meetings with John W. Dean III; strategy for handling John W. Dean III's allegations; reconstruction of RN notes on meetings with John W. Dean III.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman, White House operator.
- 024 June 4, 1973, 10:21–10:22PM. Conversation No. 039-083 (Telcon). 3pp.
Major Topic: Handling John W. Dean III's allegations.
Participants: RN; H. R. Haldeman.

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The following index is a guide to the participants highlighted in each transcript. The first number after each entry refers to the fiche, while the three-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular transcript containing the participant's words begins. Hence, 1: 009 directs the researcher to the transcript that begins at Frame 009 of Fiche 1. By referring to the Fiche Index, which constitutes the initial portion of this guide, the researcher will find the transcript title. RN has not been included in this index due to the frequency with which he appears.

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The following index is a guide to the major topics in this microfiche publication. The first number after each entry or subentry refers to the fiche, while the three-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular transcript containing information on the subject begins. Hence, 1: 009 directs the researcher to the transcript that begins at Frame 009 of Fiche 1. By referring to the Fiche Index, which constitutes the initial portion of this guide, the researcher will find the transcript title and a list of major topics arranged in the order in which the material appears on the fiche. Many documents refer to the White House and/or the Nixon administration when discussing the activities of the Executive Office and the president's personal advisors and staff. Therefore, the researcher should cross-reference entries under Nixon administration and White House.

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