

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-1

Date: February 27, 1973 Time: 2:48 pm-3:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman; the recording began while the conversation was in progress.

General revenue sharing

- -President's commitment
- -Purpose
- -Budget cuts

-Impact on revenue sharing

Community action agencies

- -Funding
- -Federal government
- -States
- -Model Cities
 - -Funding
 - -Special revenue sharing
 - -Local option
 - -Philadelphia
 - -Value
 - -Localities
 - -Transitional funds

Public service employment

- -Herbert Stein
 - -Concerns
- -Funds
 - -Cutoff
- -Unemployment
 - -Needs
 - -Detroit, Seattle

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-1 (cont'd)

```
-Unspent funds
     -Need
           -Mayors
           -Special revenue sharing
Budget cuts
     -Problem areas
           -Governors
                 -Highways
                 -Water pollution
     -Highway Trust Fund
           -Roads
           -Changes
           -Public opinion
     -Water pollution
           -States
           -Impact of funds
                 -Inflation
     -Governors
           -Rural Electrification Administration [REA]
     -Compromises
           -Ancher Nelsen
           -Richard M. Fairbanks III
           -Poor
Rate of interest
     -Level
     -REA bank
           -Proposal
Governors
     -Complaints
           -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
     -John C. West, John R. William
     -Nelson A. Rockefeller, Ronald W. Reagan
```

-Conversation with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Surrogate operation

Anne L. Armstrong

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-1 (cont'd)

```
-Refusal
                       -Reasons
                 -Purpose
           -Agnew's responsibilities
           -Golf
           -Initial refusal to see Armstrong
Agnew
     -Ehrlichman's telephone call
           -Arthur J. Sohmer [?]
     -Visibility
     -Areas of interest
           Cities, counties
     -Quality of work
           -Cole
     -Briefing
           -Agnew's presence
President's schedule
     -Ehrlichman's schedule
           -Domestic issues
     -Foreign policy
Henry A. Kissinger
     -Briefing
President's attendance at briefing
     -Foreign policy
     -Defense budget
           -Federal funds allocation
                 -Detroit
                 -Hanoi
                       -Questions
     -Kissinger
           -Presence at briefing
     -Defense budget
           -Attacks
```

-Budget cuts

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Conversation No. 416-1 (cont'd)

```
Congressional relations
     -Ehrlichman's schedule
     -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
     -William E. Timmons
     -Ehrlichman's role
           -Strategy
     -Timmons
           -Clark MacGregor
           -Manner
           -Skill as operative
     -Ehrlichman
           -Domestic affairs
           -Talk with Haldeman
           -Strategy
           -Domestic Council
                -Cabinet members
                      -Cultivation of Congress members
                            -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
                            -Earl L. Butz
           -Timmons
Budget cuts
     -Support in country
           -Business
           -George H. W. Bush
           -Louis P. Harris poll
                -Congress
Social programs
     -Public preferences
           -Tax increases
           -Publicity
                -Haldeman
           -Opinion Research Corporation [ORC] poll
     -Administration efforts
     -Republicans
           -Democrats
     -Limitations
           -Administration strategy
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-1 (cont'd)

Ehrlichman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 2:48 pm and 3:40 pm.

[Conversation No. 416-1A]

Car

Ehrlichman's trip to Capitol Hill

- -Tom [surname unknown]
- -Hugh Scott

[End of telephone conversation]

Ehrlichman's trip to Detroit

- -Reception
- -Press relations
 - -Ouestions
 - -Social programs
 - -Aid to North Vietnam

Ehrlichman's meeting in New York

- -Press questions
 - -Aid to North Vietnam
 - -Peter G. Peterson
 - -Press relations
 - -Energy
 - -Interest
 - -Tax, trade, interest rates

Aid to North Vietnam

- -Parochial attitudes
 - -Germany

Budget

- -Amounts
- -Waste

Ehrlichman left at 3:40 pm.

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Conversation No. 416-2

Date: February 27, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:40 pm and 3:46 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President to Oval Office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:46 pm.

Conversation No. 416-3

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 1:15 pm-1:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:25 pm.

Dinner for Golda Meir

- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - -Seating arrangements
- -Table
 - -Shape
- -Seating
 - -President's table
 - -Golda Meir, Lea (Schlossberg) Rabin
 - -Alice Roosevelt Longworth
 - -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - -William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - -Irving Kristol
 - -Simcha Dinitz

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-3 (cont'd)

- -Taft Shreiber
- -Mrs. Nixon
- -Yitzhak Rabin

Sammy Davis, Jr.'s performance at the White House

- -Songs
- -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Arrangements
- -Blue Room
 - -Receiving line

Congressional leadership meeting

- -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Peter M. Flanigan
- -Scheduling
- -Roy L. Ash, John D. Ehrlichman, William E. Timmons
- -Bipartisan character
- -Republicans
 - -Hugh Scott, Gerald R. Ford
- -Haldeman's opinion

The President talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 1:15 pm and 1:25 pm.

[Conversation no. 416-3A]

Congressional leadership meeting

- -Purpose
- -Meeting with Scott and Ford
 - -Value
 - -Bull
 - -Trade issues
 - -Bipartisan character
 - -Leslie C. Arends, Robert P. Griffin
- -Republicans
 - -Value
 - -Purpose of meeting
 - -Bryce N. Harlow
 - -Griffin, Arends
 - -Scott
 - -Vetoes [?]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-3 (cont'd)

- -Flanigan
- -Timmons
- -Need to talk with Republicans

[End of telephone conversation]

Congressional leadership meeting

- -Scheduling
- -Haldeman's opinion
- -Scott, Ford, Griffin, Arends
- -Timmons, Haldeman -Opinions

Bull left at 1:25 pm.

Conversation No. 416-4

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:25 pm and 3:02 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President's schedule

[Pause]

Refreshment

[End segment withdrawn under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-4 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 pm.

Conversation No. 416-5

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:25 pm and 3:02 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's meeting in Oval Office -Coat

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:00 pm.

Conversation No. 416-6

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:25 pm and 3:02 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Foreign policy

- -President's conversation with William P. Rogers
 - -Example
 - -Melvin R. Laird [?]
- -Malcolm Smith's book about John F. Kennedy
 - -Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Turkey

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-6 (cont'd)

-Military bases -Lyndon B. Johnson -John D. Ehrlichman -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

[This conversation continues as Conversation No. 416-8]

Conversation No. 416-51

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:02 pm and 3:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

Unknown people met.

Verification

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 3:35 pm.

Conversation No. 416-7

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 3:35 pm-3:36 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Speech on community development
-Taping
-Broadcast
-Timing

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-7 (cont'd)

```
-Modifications
-Government programs
-Misuse
-Preparation
-Delivery to President
-Revisions
-Return to President
-Timing
-President's Quadriad meeting
```

Bull left at 3:36 pm.

Conversation No. 416-8

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:36 pm and 4:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[This is a continuation of Conversation No. 416-6.]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Return from Oval Office

- -Time
- -Meeting with Gridiron dinner delegates

Foreign policy

- -Harry S. Truman
- -Speech
- -Decency
- -Unintelligible name [?]
- -Foreign government officials
 - -Invitations [?]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-8 (cont'd)

```
-Henry A. Kissinger
     -President's message
Middle East
     -United Nations [UN]
     -Israel
     -Soviet Union's orbit [?]
     -Golda Meir
           -Socialist Party Congress
                 -Support for US
                 -Vietnam War
                      -Negotiations
John W. Dean, III
     -Meeting with President
           -President's impression
     -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
     -Justice Department
     -Espionage [?]
National Governors Conference
     -Army chorus
           -Performance
     -Foreign policy
     -FBI [?]
     -Congress
     -Governors' speeches
```

Kissinger

[End of dictation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:36 pm.

President's signature

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-8 (cont'd)

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.
The President resumed dictation.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Television [TV] -Paul McCartney [?] -Revolutionaries [?]
The President replayed a portion of the dictation.
Spain
Great Britain
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
Conversation No. 416-9
Date: March 1, 1973

Time: 4:00 pm-4:01 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule -Ronald L. Ziegler -Changes -Sub-Cabinet officials -Diplomatic credentials -Changes -Paul Findley

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-9 (cont'd)

-Meeting

- -Arrangements
- -Length
- -Diplomatic credentials

Bull left at 4:01 pm.

Conversation No. 416-10

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:01 pm and 4:42 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-19]

Conversation No. 416-11

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 4:42 pm-4:44 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Patrick J. Buchanan.

[See Conversation No. 37-20]

Conversation No. 416-12

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 4:46pm-4:47 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-12 (cont'd)

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 37-22]

Conversation No. 416-13

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:47 pm and 4:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-23]

Conversation No. 416-14

Date: March 1, 1973 Time: 4:48 pm-4:50 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 37-24]

Conversation No. 416-15

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:50 pm and 5:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman [?].

President's schedule

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-15 (cont'd)

-Next meeting
-Dictation machine
-Malfunction

Conversation No. 416-16

Conversation N	10. 410-10
Date: March 1, 1973 Time: Unknown between 4:50 pm and 5:40 pm Location: Executive Office Building	
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.	
**************************************	*****
Refreshment	
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************	*****
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.	

Conversation No. 416-17

Date: March 1, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:50 pm and 5:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-17 (cont'd)

Refreshment -Coffee
End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.
Conversation No. 416-18
Date: March 1, 1973 Fime: 5:40 pm-6:40 pm Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.
Yitzhak Rabin's birthday
Pause]
Rose Mary Woods [?] -President's tenure -Term length

Breeding of King Timahoe -[First name unknown] Elderidge -Female dog -Right selection -Pedigree -Owners

-Litter

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
-Pick of the litter
-Age of puppies
-President's choice
-Stud fee
-Puppies
-Number
-Irish setters
-Springer spaniels
-Labrador retrievers
-Litter
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Selection of puppies
```

John B. Connally [?]

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:40 pm.

King Timahoe

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

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

```
Jerry H. Jones
-Conversation with Haldeman
-Personnel

Wilbur D. Mills
-Talk with Connally
-Drinking
-Health
-George P. Shultz
-Medication
-Surcharge
-Criticism of Shultz
-David L. Parr
-Milk producers
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

- -Presence with Mills
- -Milk subsidies

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Connally

- -Party change
 - -Rumors
- -George Christian
- -William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - -Comments on Connally's change in parties
- -Marvin Watson
 - -Change in party allegiance

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Watson

- -Post in administration
- -Armand Hammer
- -Integrity
- -Support for President
- -Abilities
- -Post Office position
 - -Graham
 - -Appointment process
 - -Winton M. ("Red") Blount
- -Watson's desire for position
- -Cabinet office
 - -Transportation Secretary

Veterans Administration [VA]

- -Donald E. Johnson
- -Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)
- -William J. Baroody, Jr.
- -Deputy administrator

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
-Murray M. Chotiner
```

- -Opposition to Johnson
 - -Reasons
 - -Deputies
 - -Controversy
 - -Firing
 - -Fred B. Rhodes
 - -Rufus H. Wilson
 - -Richard L. Roudebush

-John D. Ehrlichman

Robert C. Seamans, Jr.

- -Elliot L. Richardson's proposal
 - -Defense Department position
 - -Robert S. McNamara
- -Qualifications
 - -National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
 - -Systems analysis
 - -Scientist
 - -David Packard's support
 - -Air Force
 - -Richardson
- -Henry A. Kissinger's opinion
- -Softness
- -[First name unknown]Wheeler [?]
- -Richardson
 - -Reasons for nominations

John S. Patterson

- -Ties to President
- -Subversive Activities Control Board [SACB]
- -Age
- -Executive order
- -SACB
 - -Discontinuation
 - -Funding
 - -Board members
 - -Retirement
- -Alternative position

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

-Congress

```
Under Secretary of Commerce
-Candidates
-George D. Webster
-Bryan F. Smith
-Texas Instruments [TI]
-Connally ties
-William P. Clements, Jr.
-Qualifications
-Webster
-Desire for job
-Charles W. Colson
-Support
-Qualification
```

-Promises of job

-Discussion

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5;40 pm.

King Timahoe

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6;00 pm.

-Discussion with Colson

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
Federal Loan Bank Board
     -Appointment of chairman
           -Problem
                 -John A. Stastny
                      -Home builder
                      -Opposition to Hunt Commission
                      -New legislation
           -Candidate
                 -Qualifications
                      -Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation
           -Better candidate
Under Secretary of Commerce
     -Frederick B. Dent
     -Smith
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] director appointment
     -Candidates
     -Kissinger's views
           -Philip J. Farley
     -Kissinger's recommendation
           -[First name unknown] Hertzfeld
                 -Bell Laboratories
                 -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
                 -Conflict of interest
                      -Safeguard software
                      -American Telephone and Telegraph [AT&T]
                      -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
     -Fred C. Ikle
           -Rand Corporation
           -Second choice
           -Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] debate
           -Confirmation chances
           -Jackson's choice
                 -Ability
                 -Acceptability
                      -Kissinger
     -Age
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

- -Deputy directors
- -Ikle

-Jackson's favor

Ethnic appointees

- -Blacks
- -Italian-Americans
- -Mexican-Americans
- -Polish-Americans
- -Honorary posts

Robert H McBride

-Ambassadorial post

-Mexico

Foreign Service Officers [FSOs]

Mexico

- -US ambassador
 - -Qualifications
 - -[First name unknown] Reynolds
 - -Ecuador

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 6;00 pm.

Questions [?]

US ambassador in Sudan

- -Kissinger
- -Hostages
- -Captor demands
- -Airplane shoot down

Wounded Knee occupation

- -"Custer's Last Stand"
- -Ziegler's response
- -Bureau of Indian Affairs
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

-Update

Watergate

- -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] report
- -Press questions for Ziegler
- -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III [?]

Haldeman talked with Cole at an unknown time between 6:00 pm and 6:20 pm.

[Conversation No. 416-18A]

[See Conversation No. 37-25]

American Indians

-BIA

Watergate

- -Investigation
- -E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
- -Dita Beard
- -Comments to the press

[End of telephone conversation]

Wounded Knee occupation

- -BIA involvement
- -John C. Whitaker
- -Richard G. Kleindienst
 - -Marshals
- -Negotiations
 - -Hostages
- -BIA involvement
- -Press questions for Ziegler

Capture of US ambassador

- -Palestinians
- -US policy on hostages
 - -Connection to American Indian affairs

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
Press relations
     -North Vietnam
Watergate
     -Donald H. Segretti
           -Story in New York Times
     -Charles W. Colson and E. Howard Hunt, Jr.
           -White House investigation
                 -Statement for press
     -Executive privilege
           -Statement
Press relations
     -Prisoners of war [POWs] story
           -Publicity
           -Aid for administration's standing
           -George S. McGovern
                 -Policy on POWs
           -Vietnam settlement
                 -Concessions
                 -Minesweeping
     -POW issue
           -Negotiations
           -Linkage
           -Saigon
                 -Agreements
           -US contacts with all parties
     -Vietnam settlement
           -Cease-fire violations
                 -International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
                      -US contacts
                 -Ziegler's comments
                 -Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward
                 -Decline
                 -Woodward
                      -Statement on missile sites
```

-US response [?]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
United States Secret Service [USSS]
```

- -Problem
 - -Agent's meeting with Haldeman
 - -Robert H. ("Bob") Taylor
- -James J. Rowley and Lilburn E. ("Pat") Boggs
 - -Conflict with Taylor
 - -Taylor's departure
- -Haldeman's meeting with Taylor and William H. Duncan
 - -Taylor's feelings
- -Clinton J. Hill
 - -Dislike of Taylor, Haldeman, and President
 - -Alan Cox
 - -Supporter of Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
 - -Cover up
 - -Assignment to Treasury Department
 - -Assistant Director at headquarters
- -Edward L. Morgan
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -Handling of problem
 - -Conversation with Taylor and Duncan
 - -Call from Rowley
- -Boggs
 - -Drinking
- -Richard E. Keiser [Kaiser]
 - -Presidential protection detail
 - -Acting director
 - -Clothing
 - -Haircuts
 - -Mustaches
 - -Grooming
 - -Respect for presidency
 - -Compared to Taylor
 - -Opinion of young agents
 - -Esprit de corps
 - -Marine Corps
 - -Agents drinking on a trip
 - -Opinion
- -John F. Kennedy assassination

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
-USSS failures
           -Drinking the night before
                 -Impact on protection
                 -Warren Report
-Politics
     -Compared with FBI
     -Impact on President
-Helen A. Thomas article
     -Source
     -Rose Mary Woods
     -Duncan
     -Rowley and Boggs
-Hill
     -Abilities
     -Transfer
     -Current responsibilities
-Rowley
     -Other agents' opinions
     -Retirement date
           -Replacement
                 -Boggs
                 -Haldeman's plan
-Hill's removal
-Taylor
     -Promotion
     -Hill
     -Loyalty
     -Respect of other agents
```

**

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

[National Security] [Duration: 13s]

PRESIDENTIAL PROTECTION

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

******************************* ** -Photographer -Taylor -Evaluation -Boggs and Rowley -Hill -Taylor -Source for Thomas story -Need to transfer -Kennedy loyalist -Background -Lyndon B. Johnson detail in Texas -Hostility to Haldeman -Need for shakeup -Plan -Morgan -Duncan and Taylor -Keiser [Kaiser] -Appearance of agents -Mustaches -J. Edgar Hoover at FBI -Taylor -Loyalty to President -Vice Presidency, 1953-1961 -Promotion -Duncan -Motivations -Transfer -Boggs -Loyalty to administration -Rowley -Retirement date

-John Kennedy, Johnson, Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

```
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Privacy]
[Duration: 50s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
******************************
     John V. ("Jack") Brennan
          -Johnson
               -Promotion of unknown man
          -Promotion
              -Vietnam record
     Maj. Gen. James D. Hughes
          -Promotion
     Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
          -Promotion to general
     Military aides
          -Selection
          -Army
          -Air Force
          -Navy
          -Army
          -Air Force
               -Scowcroft
Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:20 pm.
```

Order

Departure

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:40 pm.

Dwight L. Chapin

- -Departure from White House staff
- -Location

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-18 (cont'd)

-Delta Airlines -Chicago

Dog

- -Breeding
- -Dignity

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Personal appointments [?]

- -Answer
- -Alternative candidate
- -Unknown woman
- -Unknown man

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Haldeman left at 6:40 pm.

Conversation No. 416-19

Date: March 3, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:07 pm and 4:10 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Unknown person's schedule
-Arrival
Report to dictate

President's meeting with the unknown person

Tape Subject Log (rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-20

Conversation No. 410-20
Date: March 3, 1973 Time: Unknown between 4:07 pm and 4:10 pm Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
President's schedule -Rest
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:10 pm.
Conversation No. 416-21
Date: March 3, 1973 Time: 4:10 pm Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President's schedule -Dinner

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 416-21 (cont'd)

Time	
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************	********
Sanchez left at 4:10 pm.	
	Conversation No. 416-22
	Conversation No. 410-22
Date: March 3, 1973 Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 5:18 pm Location: Executive Office Building	
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.	
**************************************	********
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]	
President's schedule	
-Amount of work	
-Length	
-Church services	
-Dinners	
-Number	
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************	*******
**	

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:18 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-23

Date: March 3, 1973

Time: Unknown between 4:10 pm and 5:18 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Guest accommodations at White House
-Rex W. Scouten
-Bedrooms to be prepared
-Queen's bedroom

Conversation No. 416-24

Date: March 3, 1973 Time: 5:18 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-41]

Conversation No. 416-25

Date: March 3, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:18 pm and 5:30 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 37-42]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-26

Date: March 3, 1973 Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 6:16 pm Location: Executive Office Building The President dictated a memorandum for the file. [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] Embassy takeover in Sudan -Administration response -President's statement -Ambassadors Visit of Israeli officials -Golda Meir -Success Memorandum -Dictation Conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -List -Robert ("Charles") Hill [?] -Lyndon B. Johnson [?] [End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************* **

Conversation No. 416-27

Date: March 3, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 6:16 pm

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-27 (cont'd)

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

President's schedule

- -Departure
- -Meeting with Sammy Davis, Jr.

Conversation No. 416-28

Date: March 3, 1973

Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 6:16 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Quadriad meeting

-Arthur F. Burns

Henry A. Kissinger

-Comment of Versailles Treaty

John Lodge

- -Reassignment
- -Loyalty

Israel

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log (rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-29
Date: March 3, 1973 Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 6:16 pm Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Dog [?]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Sanchez left at 6:16 pm.
Conversation No. 416-30
Date: March 5, 1973 Time: Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:55 pm Location: Executive Office Building
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Request
Time

[Pause]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-30 (cont'd)

Shirts [?] -State Department [?] -Florida [?]
-Silk
-John F. Kennedy [?]
-Spain -Hong Kong
End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
anchez left at an unknown time before 2:55 pm.
Conversation No. 416-31
Pate: March 5, 1973 Time: Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:55 pm ocation: Executive Office Building
he President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
President's schedule
End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:55 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-32

Conversation No. 416-33

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: 9:20 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-115]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-34

Date: March 15, 1973 Time: 9:22 pm-10:05 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

-Clark R. Mollenhoff

```
Watergate
     -Problems
           -Donald H. Segretti
     -Peter M. Flanigan
           -Investigation
     -John W. Dean, III
           -Questions about Ervin Committee appearance
                 -Response
                       -Henry A. Kissinger
                       -Constitution
                            -Separation of powers
     -John D. Ehrlichman
           -Testimony
     -Dean's letter
           -Testimony to committee by staff
                 -Kissinger
           -Ehrlichman
           -Dean's responsibilities
     -Dwight L. Chapin
     -Ziegler's statement
           -President's confidence in White House staff
     -Press questions for President
           -Past investigations
           -President's possible answers
     -Chapin
           -Charges against
           -White House statements
     -President's final statement
     -Ziegler's game plan to questions
           -Segretti
           -Chapin
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-34 (cont'd)

```
-Further questions
```

-President's answers

-Dean

-Dealings with Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

-L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III

-Ervin Committee

-Dealings with Dean

-Cooperation

-Dean

-FBI information

-Committee to Re-elect the President [CRP]

-Testimony to committee

-Congressional relations

-White House staff

-Depositions

-Ervin Committee hearings

-Dean

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-Testimony

-Subpoena

-Cross examination

-Separation of powers

-Cooperation of White House

-Haldeman testimony

-Richard G. Kleindienst hearings

-Flanigan

-Answers to questions from press

-Cooperation with committee

-Right to cross-examine White House staff

-Ehrlichman, Kissinger

-Ziegler's statements to press

-Confidence in Chapin

Trade legislation

Watergate

-CRP

-Testimony

-Dean

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-34 (cont'd)

- -Ehrlichman, Ziegler
 -Chapin
 -Answers to press
 -Washington Post stories
 -Grand jury proceedings
 -Chapin
 -Segretti
 -Allegations
 -Chapin's denials
 -Herbert W. Kalmbach testimony
 -Dean
 -Position for Ervin Committee
- President's meeting with Kissinger

-Separation of powers

-Chapin

Ziegler's statements for press

- -Legislation for Indians
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan [?]

-Statements for press

- -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- -Rogers C. B. Morton

Executive privilege

- -Statement by Ziegler
- -Statement by President

Press conference

- -Handouts
- -Preparations

Ziegler left at 10:05 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-35

Date: March 15, 1973 Time: 10:39 am-10:55 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Top experts

- -John H. Holdridge
- -Language abilities
- -Trips to PRC

Dollar crisis

- -George P. Shultz
 - -Instructions from President
 - -Europe
 - -Intervention

John T. Downey

- -Captivity in PRC
- -Two Americans on mission
 - -Questions
 - -Whereabouts

Vietnam settlement

- -Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Escapees, absent without leave [AWOL]
 - -Asylum
 - -Condition after release
 - -US note to North Vietnam
- -Quality
- -North Vietnam's acceptance
 - -Economic aid
 - -South Koreans
 - -Military equipment to South Vietnam

Laos

-Souvanna Phouma

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-35 (cont'd)

```
-Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
```

- -Clifton Daniel
- -Most Favored Nation [MFN] status [?]

Mansfield Amendment

- -Democratic caucus
 - -Vote
- -Impact on foreign policy
 - -Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy [?]

Message for President

- -Arrival
 - -Press conference

Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev

- -News summary
- -Negotiations
- -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Meeting with President

Willy Brandt visit

-Date

Nuclear Treaty

- -Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
- -Kissinger's letters
 - -Soviet Union's responses
- -Soviet Union
 - -Relations with North Vietnam
 - -President's letter to Brezhnev

[Pause]

Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan's conversation with Indira Gandhi -Restraint

Kissinger left at 10:55 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-36

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's press conference
-Press relations

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 416-37

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

Instructions on delivery of an item

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 416-38

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President dictated a letter to Robert C. ("Bob") Wilson.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-38 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Answer to letter of March 14

- -Appreciation for work for Republic Party
 - -1950 campaign
 - -1956 campaign
 - -1960 campaign
 - -Contribution to party
 - -Congressional races
- -Fortunes of Republican Party
 - -Congressional majorities
 - -1958 recession
 - -1970 economic downturn
 - -Impact on election

1974 election

- -Republican gains
- -Wilson's role
 - -Leadership

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 416-39

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-119]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-40

Date: March 15, 1973

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez. An unknown man can be heard in the background.

Dictabelt to Rose Mary Woods for transcription

Situation

Sanchez and the unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 416-41

Date: March 15, 1973 Time: 2:48 pm-2:49 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 37-120]

Conversation No. 416-42

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 11:15 am and 11:25 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

President's schedule
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:25 am.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43

Date: March 17, 1973 Time: 11:25 am-12:23 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Uniform

```
Vietnam settlement
```

- -Absent without leave [AWOL]
 - -Charges
 - -Elliot L. Richardson [?]
 - -Policy
- -Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Performance
 - -Handling by networks, press corps

Gridiron Club

-Patriotism

Vietnam settlement

- -Infiltration
 - -Henry A. Kissinger
- -Laos
- -Strikes against Ho Chi Minh trail
 - -Purpose
 - -Risks
 - -US withdrawal
- -US purposes
 - -Withdrawal
 - -Duration of peace
- -US strikes
 - -Prospects for damage
 - -Symbolism
 - -Soviet Union, People's Republic of China [PRC]
- -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Kissinger
 - -President's message

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

```
-Soviet Union's position
-PRC
     -Position
-North Vietnam
     -Economic aid
-US options
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] assessment
     -Infiltration
           -Decline
-Bureaucratic attitudes
     -CIA
           -James R. Schlesinger
                 -Toughness
           -Military intelligence services
           -Military control
           -Schlesinger
                 -Ruthlessness
                 -Richard M. Helms
                       -Softness
-North Vietnam's motives
     -Purpose of infiltration
           -CIA
           -Resumption of war
                 -Failure of past negotiations
                       -Pham Van Dong
                       -Economic aid
                       -Improved US-North Vietnam relations
           -Lam Son
           -Kissinger's evaluation
                 -Dobrynin
                 -Brezhnev
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National security]

[Duration: 9s]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

```
-Resumption of war

-US-Soviet Union summit

-May 8, 1972 decision

-Brezhnev

-Assistance of Soviet Union

-Infiltration

-Decline

-US strikes

-Cease-fire violations

-Pretexts

-Kissinger

-Tactics
```

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:25 am.

-December 1972 bombing

-Risks

Haig's duties at Pentagon

END WITHRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Cuba

-Fidel Castro -CIA

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12;28 pm.

```
Vietnam settlement
-Reports
```

-Accuracy

-Kissinger

-Attitude towards settlement

-Longevity

-Vietnamization

-Gen. Creighton W. Abram, Jr.'s and Melvin R. Laird's optimism -An Loc, Quang Tri

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

```
-South Vietnamese chances of survival
     -North Vietnam
           -Effects of bombing
           -Capabilities
                 -Offensive
-Soviet Union, PRC
     -Relations with North Vietnam
-Kissinger
     -Attitude toward settlement
     -Preference for tough policies
           -December 1972 bombing
                 -Recommendation
-Bombing
     -Results
           -POW release
           -Domestic reaction
     -Ho Chi Minh trail
     -Hanoi
           -POW release
                 -POW reaction to bombing
                 -Public reaction
                      -Nguyen Van Thieu
-POWs
     -Risks
-Past risks
     -Correct decisions
           -William P. Rogers
                 -Paris
           -Kissinger
           -Halt of mine removal
           -Halt of withdrawals
           -Tough note
           -Impact on North Vietnam
           -Necessity
-Possible bombing
     -Preparations
           -Targets
                 -North Vietnam
           -Military posture
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

- -Aircraft carriers
- -POW release
- -Impact on US public
- -Impact on press critics
- -North Vietnam provocations
 - -Public reactions
 - -Belief in "peace with honor"
 - -Press
 - -South Vietnam's fate
 - -Fall to communists
 - -Timing
 - -Compared to China in 1940s
 - -Support for President
- -Press
 - -Criticism of President
 - -Visits with Brezhnev and Chou En-lai
 - -Anticommunism
 - -Public attitudes
 - -POWs
- -US public attitudes
 - -Political future of Vietnam
- -North Vietnam
 - -Possible actions
- -Kissinger
 - -Reaction to controversy
 - -Reaction to violations
- -Bombing
 - -Tactics
 - -POW release
 - -Compromise
 - -Reaction to delay of POW release
 - -Soviet Union, PRC
- -Assessment of violations
 - -Haig's discussion with Abrams
 - -Intelligence estimates
 - -Judgments on North Vietnam
- -North Vietnam's possible actions
 - -US options
 - -Public attitudes

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

```
-Violations
-Justification for retaliation
-Infiltration
-Compared to offensive
-Concerns
-Thieu
-Kissinger
-Southeast Asia
-US goodwill, credibility
-Cambodia [?]
-New York Times article
-Intelligence
-Quality
-May 8, 1972
-Assessment of North Vietnam
```

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

[National Security] [Duration: 3m 1s]

INTELLIGENCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

Vietnam settlement

- -Kissinger
 - -Attitude towards settlement
 - -Personal attachment
- -Bureaucracy
 - -Soft-line position
 - -Vindication of hard-line policies
- -Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW]
- -Congress members
 - -Support for President
 - -Patriotism

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

-POWs

-Credit for release

- -Possible US strike
 - -US public support
 - -Resumption of war
 - -North Vietnam's reaction
 - -POWs
 - -Bombing of Hanoi
 - -Kissinger [?]
 - -Abrams
 - -Judgment on South Vietnamese capabilities
 - -Kissinger
- -South Vietnam
 - -Guns
 - -Tanks
 - -III Corps area
 - -Artillery positions
 - -Purpose
- -Soviet Union, PRC
 - -Influence on North Vietnam
 - -Relations with US
- -US-Soviet Union relations
 - -Brezhnev
 - -Summit
 - -PRC-Soviet Union relations
 - -SALT [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks] treaties
 - -Nuclear treaties
- -Congressional relations
 - -Resolutions
 - -Unilateral force reduction
 - -Europe
 - -Arms
 - -Military base closure
 - -Impact on US foreign policy
 - -Impact on Vietnam settlement
 - -North Vietnam's interpretation
- -US action
 - -Cambodia, Laos
 - -US public attitudes

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

-North Vietnam's reaction

-Kissinger

-New intelligence reports

-Evaluation of situation

Henry Brandon's book

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-William L. Safire

-Portrayal of President

-Kissinger's press relations

-William P. Rogers, Melvin R. Laird

-Negative portrayal

-Sources

-Consequences

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[National Security] [Duration: 20s]

GREAT BRITAIN

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Brandon

-Czech Jew

-Laird, Rogers

-Reactions to book

-Jack N. Anderson

-Sources of leaks

-Congress members

December 1972 bombing of North Vietnam

-Kissinger's accusations against Haig

-Disloyalty

-Kissinger's opposition

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

-James B. ("Scotty") Reston -Joseph C. Kraft -Conversation with Haig

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time between 11:25 am and 12:23 pm.

[Conversation No. 416-43A]

President's meeting with William Warnock

- -Ambassador from Ireland
- -Timing
- -Ambassador from Great Britain

White House social affairs

- -Haldeman
- -Music
- -Young people
- -White House staff
- -Other functions
- -Cabinet
 - -Rogers's attendance at state dinners
 - -Kissinger
 - -George P. Shultz

[End of telephone conversation]

December 1972 bombing of North Vietnam

- -Kissinger's accusations against Haig
 - -Disloyalty
 - -Press relations
- -President's role
 - -Restraint
- -Critical day

John A. Scali

- -Press relations
 - -Skill

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-43 (cont'd)

Daniel Ellsberg

- -Testimony
- -Trial
- -Kissinger
- -[Unintelligible name]
 - -Bay of Pigs
 - -Testimony

Vietnam settlement

- -Kissinger
 - -Handling
- -Decision on US action
 - -POWs
- -North Vietnam
 - -Possible aggression
 - -Reaction to bombing
 - -Intelligence assessments
 - -Violations of cease-fire -Thieu's charges

Meeting with Haig

Weather

Haig left at 12:23 pm.

Conversation No. 416-44

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 2:10 pm and 3:05 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's schedule

-Meeting with Thomas Hart

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-44 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 416-45

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 2:10 pm and 3:05 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

President's schedule
-Time

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Conversation No. 416-46

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

President's meeting with Theodore H. White -Timing

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:40 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-47

```
Date: March 17, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building
The President dictated a memorandum for the file.
*************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      President's meeting with William Warnock
           -Ambassador from Ireland
      President's meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
           -Ronald L. Ziegler
           -Conclusions
           -Speech
      President's schedule [?]
           -Dr. Samuel Chase [?]
           -Ziegler [?]
      Ambassadors [?]
      Blacks [?]
      John W. Dean, III
      President's meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr. [?]
           -Disloyalty
           -Press relations [?]
                -Sources
```

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-48

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Theodore H. White's arrival

Dictabelts

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:40 pm.

Conversation No. 416-49

Date: March 17, 1973

Time: Unknown between 3:05 pm and 3:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-141]

Conversation No. 416-50

Date: March 17, 1973 Time: 3:40 pm-6:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Theodore H. White and Ronald L. Ziegler.

White's book
-Completion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

```
Smoking
     -Request to smoke
     -Cigarettes
           -North Carolina
           -Impact on health
                 -[Unintelligible name]
                       -Cigarette advertising
                       -America Tobacco
                       -Cancer
US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations
     -President's initiative
     -Henry A. Kissinger
     -William P. Rogers
     -Significance
           -Watergate
     -History
     -Chou En-lai
           -Message
                 -President's response
     -PRC's intentions
     -Liaison office
           -Appointment
     -PRC's ambassador to France
           -Oualities
     -Chief of Protocol
           -Abilities
     -Liaison office appointments
     -US representative
     -Formal contacts
           -Trade
           -Private channels
```

The White House operator talked with the President at 3:47 pm.

[Conversation No. 416-50A]

[See Conversation No. 37-142]

-Paris

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

[End of telephone conversation]

An unknown man entered at 3:47 pm.

Refreshment

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

White's book

-Dedication

US-PRC relations [?]

Ambassadors

- -France
- -Germany [?]
- -Symbolism
- -Europe
 - -Common market
 - -[Unintelligible name]
 - -Background

-Lawyer

Issues of President's administration

- -Domestic issues
 - -Vietnam settlement
- -Return trip to PRC
- -Vietnam settlement
 - -Pandering
 - -May8, 1972 bombing
 - -Hanoi decision
 - -December 1972 bombing

The Making of the President, 1968

- -1968 campaign
- -President's role in domestic affairs
 - -Cabinet

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

Domestic issues

- -Liberals
- -National leadership
 - -Cost of living
 - -Unemployment
 - -Crime
 - -Drugs
 - -Busing
 - -Government reorganization
 - -Transportation
 - -Environment
- -Excitement
 - -Question and answer [Q&A]
 - -Experience as vice president
 - -Domestic budget
 - -Experts
 - -Revenue sharing
 - -Secretary of State
 - -Columnists writers

Presidential candidates

- -Qualifications
 - -Foreign affairs
 - -Knowledge
 - -Impact of failure
 - -Need for President to make decisions

Domestic issues

- -Economy
 - -Strengths
 - -Role of President
 - -Impact
- -Consequences of mistakes compared to foreign policy

Presidential leadership

- -Presidential candidates for 1976
 - -Strengths in foreign policy
 - -Domestic issues
 - -Importance

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Henry Fairlie's book on John F. Kennedy
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson
 - -Interesting points
 - -Public interests
 - -Foreign policy
 - -Unity
 - -Domestic issues
- -Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration
 - -Crises
- -Great Presidents
 - -Role of crises
 - -Theodore Roosevelt
 - -Reasons for greatness
 - -Woodrow Wilson
 - -First term
 - -World War I
- -Foreign policy
 - -First year
 - -Ecuador's fisheries
 - -Central Africa
 - -Denmark
 - -President's handling
 - -State Department responsibilities
- -Latin America, Africa, South Asia
 - -Important issues
 - -Concentration on certain issues
 - -Delegation
- -Johnson's administration
 - -Insistence on making all decisions
 - -Target selection
- -Role of President in foreign policy
- -Role of presidency in domestic affairs
 - -Burden of work
 - -Reorganization of the government
 - -Reduction of number of committees
 - -Roy L. Ash
 - -Freeing president for important issues
- -Need for free time for discussion, thought
 - -Kissinger

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Foreign policy
 - -PRC, Soviet Union
 - -Middle East
- -Domestic issues
 - -Government reorganization
- -Important problems
 - -Need for fewer counselors
- -Herman Kahn
- -Face-to-face meetings
- -Government reorganization
 - -Purpose
 - -President's time
 - -Important problems
 - -Reduction of President's decision making
 - -Involvement with advisory groups
 - -Science
 - -Medicine
 - -Space
 - -Civil Aeronautics Board [CAB] decision
 - -Johnson
 - -Need for lower level decisions
 - -Antitrust decisions
 - -Justice Department
 - -Cable television [TV]
 - -Licensing
 - -ACTION
 - -Staff contact with President

President's priorities

- -Energy Crisis
- -Illegal immigration
- -Presidential elections
- -Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - -Study
- -Energy
 - -Enormity of problem
 - -Foreign policy issue
 - -Soviet Union
 - -Pipeline

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Middle East
- -Domestic implications
- -Need for White House attention
 - -Coordination within the government
 - -Oil import
 - -Gas prices
- -Desegregation of schools in South
 - -Achievements
 - -Criticism
 - -Civil rights activists
 - -Public accusations
 - -Racism
 - -Blacks
 - -Effects
 - -Establishment of committee
 - -George P. Shultz
 - -South Carolina
 - -Alabama
 - -North Carolina
 - -Peaceful resolution
 - -Supreme Court's decision
 - -Respect for law
 - -Compared to Northern schools
 - -Demagoguery
 - -Goals of administration
 - -Shultz
 - -Role in desegregation
 - -President's role
 - 1968 campaign
 - -Black and white leadership
 - -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
 - -Limitations
 - -White Southerners

Economy

- -Labor-management relations
 - -Problems
 - -Presidential attention
 - -Laws and regulations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Cost of Living Council [COLC]
 - -John T. Dunlop
- -Council of Economic Advisers [CEA]
 - -Herbert Stein
- -Phase III
 - -Wage and price controls
 - -Farm prices freeze
 - -Food prices freeze
 - -Problem of supply
 - -Decision on gasoline prices
 - -Dunlop
 - -Impact
 - -Energy crisis
 - -Foreign policy implications
 - -Import quotas
 - -Tariffs
 - -Agricultural policy
- -Stockpiling of goods
 - -Impact on foreign nations
 - -Bolivia, Malaysia
 - -Tin
 - -Price pressures
- -Welfare system
 - -Working poor
 - -Politics
 - -Prices
 - -Need for reform
 - -Public reluctance
 - -President's proposals
 - -Work bonus
 - -Public reaction
- -Important issues
 - -Energy
 - -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] series
 - -Environment
 - -Water, parks
 - -Attraction of issue
 - -Energy
 - -Public interest

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

```
-Alaska
                        -Middle East
                        -Soviet Union
                        -Other sources
                              -Nuclear energy
                              -Oil shade
                              -Coal
                              -Relation to environment
                        -Need for presidential attention
                        -White House, Interior Department, Defense Department, State
Department
       Trade
            -Relation to jobs, raw materials, overseas markets
            -Importance of issue
            -Imports
                  -Jobs
                        -Organized labor
                              -George Meany
                  -Need for imports
                        -Export trade
            -Foreign policy
                  -Japan
                        -Sensitivity
                  -Europe
                        -Toughness
                        -Political concerns
                  -Latin America
                  -Third World
                        -Trade preferences
       Budget
            -Enormity of problem
            -Impact on economy
                  -Heath
                        -Inflation
```

-Supplies -Pipelines

-Canada

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

-Role of government

-Social areas

-Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]

-Dispersal of functions

-Manpower training

-Labor Department

-New Deal programs

-Agricultural Assistance Administration [AAA], National Recovery Act

[NRA]

-Effectiveness

-Social Security

-Community action programs

-OEO

-Creation of bureaucracy

-Franklin D. Roosevelt

-Trickle-down theory

-Family Assistance Program [FAP]

-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

-Income strategy

-Bureaucrats, social workers

-Percent of funds to bureaucracy

-Reasons for reduction

Revenue sharing

-Special revenue sharing

-General revenue sharing

-Definition

-Tax collection abilities of federal government

-Impact on localities

-Special revenue sharing

-Aid to cities, counties, and states

-Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]

-Increases in funds

-Congressional role

-Philosophy

-Federalism, people power, local control

-Expert opinion

-Distrust of local competence

-Emphasis on Washington, DC

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Corruption
- -Administration's approach
 - -Funds to localities
 - -"Nixon Doctrine" in domestic affairs
 - -Vietnamization analogy
 - -Emphasis on self-reliance
 - -Local choices
 - -Gymnasium
 - -Police
 - -Housing projects
 - -Consequences of mistakes by Washington, DC compared to localities
 - -California
 - -Rockefeller and New York
 - -Wyoming
 - -Room for innovation
 - -Rockefeller's approach
 - -Emphasis on local self-government
 - -Risks

Impoundment

- -Congressional relations
- -Johnson
 - -Amount
 - -Compared to President's amounts
- -Reasons
 - -Inflation, taxes
- -Power of presidency
 - -Special revenue sharing
 - -Divestiture of power

Power in Washington

- -Paradox
 - -New Deal philosophy
- -Presidential power
 - -Centralization
 - -Foreign policy
- -Desegregation
 - -President's statements
 - -Busing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

```
-Congress
-Spending
     -Increases
           -Qualitative improvements
     -Objections by Congress
           -Divestiture of power
                 -New Deal
                 -Wheat
                 -Rural Electrification Administration [REA]
                 -Model cities
           -Subcommittees
-Congress
     -Conflicts with administration
-Bureaucracy
     -Cabinet
     -Interests in status quo
           -Resistance to change
                 -Labor-saving devices
```

Mao Tse-tung

-White's meeting in 1944

-Parochial outlook

-Qualities

-Congress

- -Interview for *Time*
- -View of outside world
 - -Ignorance
 - -Knowledge of Chinese politics

-Need for larger outlook

- -Analysis of US
- -Remarks on American Revolution
 - -George Washington
 - -British advantages
 - -Technology
 - -Analogy with Chinese Revolution
 - -Historical specifics

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:40 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

-Compared to Chou

```
Mao Tse-tung
     -Meeting with President
           -Questions about US
           -Kissinger
                 -White's draft on PRC trip
           -Substance of discussion
     -Interest in US
     -Types of politician
           -Poets, professionals
     -Compared to Chou
           -Grasp of power complexities
     -"Poet"
           -Revolutionary leaders
                 -George Washington
                       -Conservative nature
                 -Qualities
                       -Poetry, philosophy
                       -Dreamers
           -Outlook
                 -Strengths
                 -Conceptualist
           -Understanding of different societies
                 -Detailed knowledge
                 -Meaning for the world
                 -US
                 -Japan
                 -PRC
                 -Soviet Union
                 -Third World nations
           -Understanding of people
     -Difference from average western statesman
           -Factual knowledge
                 -Population, economy, military, trade policies
           -Understanding of political dynamics
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

- -Statesman qualities
- -Knowledge of world
- -Trivia
- -Great forces
- -US-PRC relations
 - -Mao's attitudes
 - -Chou
 - -Realist
 - -Areas of cooperation
 - -"Big plans"
- -Knowledge of President
- -Compared to other heads of state
 - -Technical details, trivia
 - -Leaders
 - -Necessity for broader term discussions
- -US-PRC relations
 - -Basis of relations
 - -Trust
 - -Understanding of interests
 - -Compared to affection
 - -Kissinger's views
 - -Compared to President
 - -Background
 - -Poverty
- -Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - -Background
 - -Compared to President
 - -Political leadership
 - -Writers
 - -Trivia
 - -Polls
 - -Focus on great forces of history
 - -Compared to President's background
 - -Soviet Union
 - -Discussions with President
 - -Chou
 - -Philosophical subjects

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

```
-Winston S. Churchill
           -World outlook
     -Gen. Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle
           -Leadership
                 -France
           -Understanding
     -Gen. Douglas MacArthur
           -World outlook
           -Interview with White during World War II
                 -MacArthur's view of US Navy
                      -Philippines
           -View of Gen. George C. Marshall, Franklin Roosevelt
           -Changing views
     -Churchill
     -Chou
           -Communist press [?]
           -Pragmatism
                 -Discussions with President
                      -Great Wall
                            -Roads
Mao
     -President's meeting
     -Kissinger's meeting
     -Health
     -Evaluation of President
           -US-PRC relations
                 -Subtlety
                 -Japan
                 -Vietnam
           -Community of interest
                 -Trust
     -Individual qualities
           -Compared to ideology
     -National interest
```

December 1972 bombing of North Vietnam -Compared to May 8, 1972 decision

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

```
-Difficulty of decision
-World War I, World War II
     -Wilson
     -Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Compared to May 8, 1972 decision
     -Reasons
           -Soviet Union
                 -Summit
                 -North Vietnam's offensive
                 -Soviet leaders
                      -Brezhnev
     -Impact
           -Mining
           -Bombing
           -South Vietnam morale
           -Summit
           -Risks
                 -1972 election
     -Necessity
           -Defeat of offensive
           -Respect
     -Impact
           -US-Soviet Union negotiations
                 -Productivity
-Difficulty of decision
-Expectations
-Kissinger's "Peace is at hand" statement
     -Political statement
     -President's reaction
-North Vietnam's delay in negotiations
     -1972 elections
     -Message
     -President's confidence
     -Demarcation line
     -US reaction
           -Nguyen Van Thieu
```

-North Vietnamese expectations -1972 election -US opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 416-50 (cont'd)

-Peace

-Kissinger

- -South Vietnam
- -North Vietnam
 - -Terms of settlement
- -Bombing halt
- -Mining
- -Congressional recess
- -Influence of 1972 election
- -Compared to May 8, 1972 decision

This conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.