Conversation No. 411-1

Date: February 20, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 3:01 pm and 3:12 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.  
[See Conversation No. 43-115]

Conversation No. 411-2

Date: February 20, 1973  
Time: Unknown between 3:01 pm and 3:12 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with the White House operator.  
[See Conversation No. 43-116]

Conversation No. 411-3

Date: February 20, 1973  
Time: 3:12 pm - 3:13 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.  
[See Conversation No. 43-117]
Conversation No. 411-4

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: 3:14 pm - 3:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 43-118]

Conversation No. 411-5

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: 3:17 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 43-119]

Conversation No. 411-6

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: 3:18 pm - 3:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Patrick J. Buchanan.

[See Conversation No. 43-120]
Conversation No. 411-20

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:22 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

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

Delivery [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:15 pm.

Conversation No. 411-7

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:22 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull [?].

President’s schedule
- Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
  - Location

Bull [?] left at an unknown time before 4:15 pm.
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Conversation No. 411-8

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:22 pm and 4:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Food

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:15 pm.

Conversation No. 411-9

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: 4:15 pm - 6:10 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

President's malfunctioning equipment

Kissinger’s trip

President's schedule

-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time after 4:15 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-9A]

[See Conversation No. 43-121]

[End of telephone conversation]

President's schedule
- Meeting with Congressional leaders
  -Press release

The President talked with William E. Timmons between 4:17 pm and 4:18 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-9B]

[See Conversation No. 43-122]

[End of telephone conversation]

President’s schedule
  - William E. Timmons

Kissinger talked with an unknown person at an unknown time before 6:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-9E]

President’s schedule
  - Timmons
  - William P. Rogers

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger’s telephone call to Rogers
US-PRC relations
-Message
-Kissinger’s message to Mao Tse-Tung
  -Chou En-Lai [?]
-Mao
  -Conversation with Kissinger
    -Differing interests
    -Cooperation
      -Necessity
    -Communist threat

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:18 pm.

Equipment removal

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:51 pm.

US-PRC relations
-Mao
  -Conversation with Kissinger
    -Soviet Union
      -Military build-up
-Soviet Union
  -Europe, Asia
  -Strategic forces
    -SS-11s
    -Tests
-Europe
  -Foreign ministers
  -Elections

US-France relations
-Georges J. R. Pompidou
  -Press relations
    -Europe
    -Francois M. Mitterrand
  -Cable
Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

- Assistance with Vietnam settlement
- State visit to France [?]
- Election

US-PRC relations
- Mao [?]
  - Compliment to President
  - Diplomatic relations
  - Germany
  - Western Europe
- Sweden
  - Alaf Palme [?]
    - Left wing arguments
  - Foreign minister
- Norway
- Mutual and balanced force reduction [MBFR]
- Barry M. Goldwater
- Japan
  - 1950s
  - Nationalism
  - Presence of US forces
- Mao
  - President’s leadership regarding PRC
    - Compared to other world leaders
      - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto [?]
  - Personal message to President
    - Press coverage
      - Japan
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Conversation with Kissinger
    - Japan-Soviet Union relations
    - Thailand
    - Middle East
      - Arabs
      - Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Persian Gulf
      - Military aid [?]
    - Iraq, Syria
      - Soviet Union’s influence
Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

- Israel
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - Nusrat Ispatiari Bhutto
  - Beauty
- India
  - Soviet Union
  - Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan

Vietnam settlement
  - Mao
  - Laos
    - Cease-fire
    - North Vietnam
  - Provisions
    - Press coverage
    - President’s inquiries to Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft
    - Vientiane, Hanoi
    - Troop withdrawal
    - B-52s
- President’s conversation with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Prisoners of war [POWs]
  - Bombing
  - Laos
    - Cease-fire
    - North Vietnam
      - Bombing
      - Role of PRC
      - Pathet Lao
    - Troop withdrawal
    - Bombing halt
- Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
- William F. Buckley
- Goldwater
- Aid for Vietnam
  - George S. McGovern, Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
  - Press coverage
The President talked to the White House operator at an unknown time after 4:18 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-9C]

[See Conversation No. 43-123]

[End of telephone conversation]
US-PRC relations
  -Mao
  -Soviet Union
    -Military actions
    -Manchuria

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:18 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:46 pm.

PRC-Soviet Union relations
  -Kissinger’s conversation with Mao
  -Attack by Soviet Union
  -Nuclear treaty
  -Chou

The President talked with Ormandy between 4:46 pm and an unknown time before 4:51 pm. Kissinger talked with Ormandy at an unknown time between 4:46 pm and 4:51 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-9D]

[See Conversation No. 43-124]

[End telephone conversation]

Ormandy and Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra’s trip to PRC
  -Excitement
  -Announcements
  -Support for President
  -Soviet Union

Kissinger’s visit to PRC
  -Musical entertainment
    -Opera
    -Western symphony
- Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

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Tape Subject Log
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-Ludwig Van Beethoven’s 6th symphony
-Chinese songs
-Piano concerto
-Pianist
-“Home on the Range”

-Meeting with Chou
-Details
-Health

-Communiqué
-One Details for press

-Thailand

-Arrangements for liaison offices
-Appointments
-State Department
-John L. Jenkins, John H. Holdridge
-Status of office
-Compared to Great Britain

-Norodom Sihanouk
-Cambodia
-Neutrality
-Soviet Union’s role
-India’s role
-North Vietnam’s role
-Mansfield

-Mansfield’s trip
-Aid to Vietnam
-Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson

-Cambodia
-Form of government
-North Vietnam
-Soviet Union
-Bombing

-Kissinger’s visit to Hanoi
-Effects of bombing
-Accuracy
-B-52s
-Respect
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Sep. 2010)

Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

-Souvanna Phouma
-Cambodia
  -Compared to Laos
  -PRC
-US-North Vietnam relations
  -Economic aid
    -Le Duc Tho [?]
    -Soviet Union compared to US
    -Congressional appropriation
    -Reparations
  -Cambodia, Laos
  -Effect on cease-fire
  -North Vietnam’s leaders
    -PRC’s leaders
    -Paranoia
  -Hanoi
    -Atmosphere
      -Compared to Moscow
    -Physical appearance
      -Saigon
  -Economic aid
    -Editorials
    -Marshall Plan
- cease-fire
  -Duration
  -Presumption of war
    -US choice
  -Violations

Vietnam settlement
  -POWs’ return
  -Public opinion
  -POWs’ statements
    -Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
  -Letters to President from POWs
    -President’s election
    -McGovern
    -Pride
-Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
-POWs
  -Effects of December 1972 bombing
-POW families
  -Col. Robinson Risner
  -Capt. James A. Mulligan, Jr.’s wife
  -President’s policy in Vietnam
    -Appreciation
-POWs

Public relations
  -Downey’s release
    -President’s telephone call
      -William Downey
      -Mother
-POW wives
  -Mulligan’s wife
-Preparation for Kissinger’s public statements
  -PRC
  -Vietnam

Vietnam settlement
  -Aid for North Vietnam
    -Congressional reaction
      -Republicans
        -Soviet Union and PRC’s contribution
    -State Department
      -World Bank
    -Multilateral aid
-Press relations
  -Preparation for public statements
    -Press conference
  -Time
  -Praise
  -Credit for servicemen
  -Budget
    -Domestic programs
      -National security
-Emphasis on aid
-Normalization of relations
-Reparations
-Compared to post-World War I and World War II
-Aid for North Vietnam
-Investment
-Critics
-Compared to amnesty
  -Abraham Lincoln, US Civil War analogy
-Source of funding
-Soviet Union

Kissinger’s trip to PRC
-Mao

Foreign relations
-France
  -Pompidou
  -Message
  -Forthcoming election
    -Assembly
    -Socialists, communists, Gaullists
    -Prime Minister, President
    -Francois Mitterrand
    -Runoffs
    -Party allignees
    -Election analysis
    -Kissinger’s conversation with ambassador
-South Vietnam
  -Nguyen Van Thieu’s visit to US
    -President’s schedule
    -Congress
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s trip
  -San Clemente compared to Washington, DC
  -Security arrangements
  -National Press Club
  -Thieu’s abilities
    -Handling of cease-fire
-Pham Van Dong
  -Potential visit
  -POWs

-Laos, Cambodia
  -POWs
    -Cease-fire
    -Guerilla Camps
    -Brutality of Vietnamese as a people
    -Compared to Laotians
  -Souvanna

Vietnam settlement
  -North Vietnam
    -Kissinger’s visit [?]
  -Soviet Union, PRC
    -Editorial
      -Aid
    -POWs
  -Cease-fire
  -Negotiations on South Vietnam
    -President’s policy
      -Opponents
        -Thieu, Coalition government in South Vietnam
        -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
        -Congress members
        -US war dead
        -Honor
        -Troop withdrawal
        -Cambodia
        -Washington Post
        -US bombing during World War II
          -Germany
          -Japan
          -Civilian deaths

Opposition to Vietnam War
  -Washington Post, Chester R. Huntley, David Brinkley, Sevareid
  -World War II stance against Germany
Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

- Compared to support for North Vietnam
- Failure of settlement
- POWs
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:15 pm.

Malfunctioning Dictaphone machine
- Electric current

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:10 pm.

Foreign relations
- Negotiations with PRC
- Korea
  - United Nations [UN]
    - Commission on Unification
    - Australia
- Australia
  - Poll
    - Softness
- Allies
  - France, Great Britain
- William P. Rogers
  - Briefing
    - PRC
    - Vietnam

Hubert H. Humphrey
- McGovern
- Edmund S. Muskie
- Thomas E. Dewey
  - Election loss
  - Statesman
- Herbert C. Hoover
  - Humanitarian
- Harry S. Truman
- Lyndon B. Johnson
Congressional relations
- Vietnam settlement
  - Negotiations
  - President’s meeting with bipartisan Congressional leaders
- National reconciliation
  - Amnesty
  - POWs
  - Public attitudes
- Opponents to President’s Vietnam policies
  - John F. Kennedy’s policies
  - Troop withdrawals
  - Republicans

US-Soviet Union relations
- Briefing for President
  - Soviet strategic program

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6
[National security]
[Duration: 12 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 6

-Rogers
  - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

US-PRC relations
- Chou’s statement
  - Toast
- PRC’s attitude toward President’s leadership
- Translations
- Film of visit by PRC’s ping pong team
  - Portrayal of US
Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

-President’s meeting with team members

Taiwan
-Transport troops
-Vietnam
-Liaison office [?]
-Trade, cultural exchange
-South Vietnam
-Federation
-Chiang Kai-Shek
-Possible visit by President and family
-Soviet Union

US-Japan relations
-Kissinger’s meetings with Japanese
-Kakuei Tanaka, Masayoshi Ohira
-Tanaka’s political future
-North Vietnam
-Laos
-Diplomatic recognition

US-Europe relations
-Howard K. Smith
-Soviet Union, PRC
-News summary
-Focus to Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy
-Japan
-PRC
-Charter
-National Security Council [NSC]
-European leaders’ skill
-Chou
-Radicalism
-World leaders

US-Japan relations
-Nationalism
-PRC
-US ambassador
Conversation No. 411-9 (cont’d)

Personnel
- Moorer
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Division Commander
- Gen. William C. Westmoreland
- Haig
  - Army Chief of Staff
- Moorer

Instructions for Kissinger to call Rogers
- Testimony
- Lunch
  - State Department

Kissinger left at 6:10 pm.

Date: February 20, 1973
Time: Unknown after 6:10 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

An unknown woman met with an unknown man.

Inquiry after a person [?]

Farewell [?]

The unknown woman and man left at an unknown time after 6:10 pm.
Conversation No. 411-10

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 1:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Food

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:22 pm.

Conversation No. 411-11

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:22 pm and 2:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Salmon
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:22 pm.

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 2:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 43-166]

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: 2:22 pm - 2:24 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 43-167]
CONVERSATION NO. 411-14

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: 2:24 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 43-168]

CONVERSATION NO. 411-15

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: 2:25 pm - 2:26 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Thomas Hart.

[See Conversation No. 43-169]

CONVERSATION NO. 411-16

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:26 pm and 2:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

President’s schedule
-Forthcoming meeting
February 22, 1973
Unknown between 2:26 pm and 2:35 pm
Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 43-170]

February 22, 1973
2:35 pm - 4:04 pm
Executive Office Building

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Weather
- Washington, California

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

White House social affairs
- Sammy Davis, Jr.
  - Evening at the White House
  - Astronauts
- Irving Berlin tribute
  - Lawrence Welk
  - 1973 inauguration
  - Les Brown
The President talked with Carl B. Albert between 2:45 pm and 2:47 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18A]

[See Conversation No. 43-219]

[End of telephone conversation]
Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:47 pm and 3:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18B]

Requested Timmons be called

[End of telephone conversation]

Maurice H. Stans's hearing

Haldeman talked with Timmons at an unknown time between 2:47 pm and 3:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18C]

President's meeting with Baker

[End of telephone conversation]

Stans's hearing
- Timing
  - Compared to L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III

Watergate
- Jeb Stuart Magruder
  - Dean
  - White House position
  - Bicentennial Commission
  - Vulnerability
  - Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
  - John N. Mitchell
Perjury
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - Kenneth W. Clawson
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - White House spokesman during hearings
- Richard G. Kleindienst
- Mitchell
- Henry Peterson
- Length of stay as Attorney General [AG]
- Justice Department
- John B. Connally
- Meeting with President
- Dean
- Ehrlichman
- Baker
- Buchanan
  - DeVan L. Shumway
- Richard A. Moore
- Ervin Committee
  - Television [TV] coverage
  - Viewer interest

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 3:00 pm.

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Congressional leaders meeting
    - Attendance
  - Meeting with Kissinger
    - Briefing

Laos
  - North Vietnam’s action after cease-fire
    - Seizure of town
    - Souvanna Phouma
    - Bombing
    - US reaction
  - Civilian population
  - Cease-fire violation
-Plantation

Press relations
- Kissinger’s meeting with Joseph W. Alsop
  - Vietnam settlement
    - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - [Unintelligible name]
    - Meg Green field
    - Column
      - Liberals
      - Aid
      - Sources
  - Telephone call by Alsop to Ziegler
  - Book [?]
  - *Washington Post*
  - Reactions to President’s policies
    - Soviet Union
    - PRC [?]
    - Vietnam settlement
    - Soviet Union
      - Meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev

Agnew
- Congressional leaders meeting
  - Hugh Scott, Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
  - Questions, anecdotes
  - President’s experience as Vice President
    - Trips
  - Superficiality
  - Kissinger’s telephone call
  - Jerry Persons, Sherman Adams

US-PRC relations
- Eugene Ormandy announcement
  - Ormandy’s press conference
  - Scott
  - Pittsburgh
- Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
-Ice shoe

Agnew
-Briefing regarding Kissinger’s trip
-Compared to President’s vice presidency
  -John Foster Dulles
  -National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  -Cabinet meeting

Air strikes
-Laos and Cambodia
-Order

Kissinger left at 3:15 pm.

Watergate [?]
-Kleindienst

The President talked with the White House operator at 3:16 pm.

[See Conversation No. 43-173]

[Conversation No. 411-18D]

[End of telephone conversation]

Watergate
-Ervin Committee Hearings
-Donald H. Segretti
-Investigation

The President talked with Bull between 3:16 pm and 3:17 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18E]

[See Conversation No. 43-174]

[End of telephone conversation]
President's schedule
  -EOB
  -Ehrlichman
  -Camp David
  -George P. Shultz
  -President’s dinner preference

Watergate
  -Ervin Committee Hearings
    -Duration
    -Report date

President’s schedule
  -Richard M. Helms
    -Meeting
  -Executive privilege statement
    -Timing of release
      -Press conference

Congressional relations
  -Republican leaders
    -George H. W. Bush
    -Robert H. Michel
    -Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
    -Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown

Politics
  -Leftover campaign money
    -States
    -Bush's plan
      -Congress
        -New Majority initiative
    -Staff expenses
    -Districts
    -Senate campaign committee
    -Scott
    -William E. Brock, III
Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:17 pm and 4:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18F]

Call to Timmons

Haldeman talked with Timmons at an unknown time between 3:17 pm and 4:04 pm.

Thompson

[End of telephone conversation]

Timmons
  -Webster
Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:17 pm and 4:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 411-18G]

Call to Dean

Haldeman talked with Dean at an unknown time between 3:17 pm and 4:04 pm.

Background paper on Watergate
  -Timmons
  -Baker

[End of telephone conversation]

Politics
  -Bush
    -Districts to receive Nixon campaign money
    -Brock

Personnel appointments
  -Robert H. Finch
    -Patricia R. Hitt
      -ACTION
    -Future candidacy in California
      -State Department position
        -Presentation of President's foreign policy

accomplishments
  -PRC announcement
    -Ehrlichman
    -Robert J. Hitt
    -Anne Armstrong's position as Counselor to President
    -Rose Mary Woods

Watergate
-Ervin Committee Hearing
  -Timing
  -Mitchell

Personnel appointments
  -Richardson
    -Congressional liaison
    -“Hawks”

Agnew
  -Invitation to event
  -Conceit

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Connally
  -Colson

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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President's schedule
  -Press conference

Public relations
  -Speech by President
    -Ehrlichman
    -Atlantic City
    -Philadelphia
    -New York
    -Convention hall
  -Previous American Medical Association [AMA] experience
    -Crowd
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Conversation No. 411-18 (cont’d)

-Frank Farley
-School administrators
-Human resources
-Budget cuts
-Moore
-Educators’ group
   -Michigan
   -Ehrlichman as surrogate for President
      -Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
-Helicopter
-Agnew’s attendance at reception
   -Receiving line

Watergate
   -Hearings
      -Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.

Press relations
   -Press conference

Personnel appointments
   -Veterans Administration [VA]
      -American Legion
      -Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW]
      -Fred B. Rhodes
      -Colson
      -Raymond Gallagher
      -Arthur F. Sampson
      -[First name unknown] Stella
      -Robert Lonigan
      -Donald E. Johnson
      -Ehrlichman
      -Cutbacks
      -Loyalty
      -VFW
         -Support for President’s policies
            -Budget
            -Vietnam War
Conversation No. 411-18 (cont’d)

-Ehrlichman
-VA
-Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
-Donald Johnson’s political future
-VFW
-Rhodes
-Colson

Agnew
-Briefing by Kissinger
-Ziegler
-Attendance at Congressional leaders briefings, breakfasts
-Compared to the President's experience as Dwight D. Eisenhower's Vice President
-Role of Vice President as President of Senate

Haldeman left at 4:04 pm.

Conversation No. 411-19

Date: February 22, 1973
Time: Unknown between 4:04 pm and 4:54 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Howard H. Baker, Jr.

President’s Executive Office Building [EOB] office
- President’s birthday gift
  - Robert H. Abplanalp

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:04 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:54 pm.

Watergate
- Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. Committee
An unknown woman entered and the President and Baker left at an unknown time after 4:04 pm.
Frustration [?]

The recording was cut off at an unknown time before 4:54 pm.