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

Governors' meeting
- Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- Edmund S. Muskie
  - Linwood Holton
  - Budget
  - Press

President's schedule
- Meetings
  - Steven B. Bull
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Meeting with governors

Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- Dr. James R. Schlesinger
  - Politics
The President talked with the White House operator at 12:30 pm.

[Conversation No. 414-1A]

[See Conversation No. 37-7]

[End of telephone conversation]

- Helms
  - Cooperation
  - CIA reorganization

- President's schedule
  - Regularity of meetings
    - Weekend vacation
    - Weather
  - Cabinet members
    - Bimonthly contact
  - Domestic Council
  - National Security Council [NSC], Domestic Council
    - Monthly meetings
  - Regularity of meetings
The White House operator talked with the President at an unknown time between 12:30 and 12:41 pm.

[Conversation No. 414-1B]

[See Conversation No. 37-8]

[End of telephone conversation]

President’s schedule
- Counselors to President
  - Bimonthly meetings
  - John D. Ehrlichman
    - Compared with Cabinet, NSC, Domestic Council
- Press conference
- White House staff
  - Haldeman, George P. Shultz, Ehrlichman
  - Taxes impoundment
  - Weekly frequency

The President talked with Richard M. Helms between 12:41 and 12:43 pm.

[Conversation No. 414-1C]

[See Conversation No. 37-9]

[End of telephone conversation]

President’s schedule
- Ehrlichman
  - White House staff meetings
  - Memorandum
    - Staff meetings with Congress members
      - Hugh Scott
      - Compared with committees

Government reorganization
- Personal
Conversation No. 414-1 (cont’d)

-Appeals
-1972 election
-Camp David meetings
-Scott [?]

President’s schedule
-Meetings
  -Cabinet, NSC
  -Shultz’s attendance
  -Foreign policy issues
  -Nuclear test ban treaty
  -White House staff
  -Congress members, “outsiders”, governors
  -Staff briefings

Bryce N. Harlow, Clark MacGregor, George H. W. Bush
-Meetings with Haldeman
  -Congress

President’s schedule
-Republican leaders in Congress meetings
  -William E. Timmons
  -Bimonthly compared with monthly
  -Scott, Gerald R. Ford
- Bipartisan leaders in Congress
  -Frequency
  -Trade meetings
  -Unannounced meetings
-Social affairs
  -American Cancer Society [ACS]
-Republican leaders in Congress
  -Pressure
  -Vetoes
  -Republican Congress members
    -Complaints
  -Reports
-Cabinet meeting
-Counselors, staff meetings
Conversations No. 414-1 (cont’d)

-Ehrlichman’s attendance
-Social affairs
  -Worthiness
    -Obligations
  -Ehrlichman’s and Haldeman’s advice
  -Christmas
    -White House staff
    -Harry S. Truman’s funeral
      -Effects on events
  -White House staff functions
  -Congress
    -Evenings at the White House
      -Sammy Davis, Jr.
    -Church services
    -White House dinners
-Meetings with Congress members
-Effects of meetings
-Cabinet members
  -Richardson
-Meeting schedule
  -Staff, Congress members
  -Kissinger
-Telephone calls
-Cabinet, staff meetings
-Diplomatic credentials
-Meetings with President
  -Congress members
    -Republican leaders
    -Bipartisan leaders
    -Vietnam
    -Budget office
-Effects
  -MacGregor’s and Harlow’s opinions
-Thinking time
  -Effect on decision making
-President’s schedule compared to other Presidents
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower
  -Lyndon B. Johnson
-Number of meetings
- Unscheduled time
- President’s use of Camp David

Congressional relations
- Democrats
  - Supporters of President
  - Vietnam reception attendees
  - Admiration for Presidency
- President’s attendance at meetings with Congress members
  - Ehrlichman
  - Energy policy briefing
- Counselors
- Republican committee members
- Electoral politics
  - Meetings with candidates
- President’s meetings
  - Republican leaders, bipartisan leaders, Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield, Carl B. Albert, freshmen, Wilber D. Mills, Russell B. Long
  - Chowder and Marching
- Buddy system
  - Agencies, departments, staff
  - Freshmen, loyalists
- Loyalists
  - Trade issues
    - Protectionalists
    - Jacob K. Javits, Charles H. Percy
    - Meeting
- Individual compared with group meetings
  - Mills
  - Leadership group
    - Harold R. Collier [?], Marjorie S. Holt
    - Freshmen
    - Jack F. Kemp, Bill Archer, John J. Flynt, Jr. [?], John Y. McCollister, [First name unknown] Dunn [?], Goodloe E. Byron
    - Sophomores
Conversation No. 414-1 (cont’d)

- New Senate Leadership
  - Fourth term
  - Old leadership
- [First name unknown] Barnes [?], John W. Stanton, David E. Satterfield, III
  - Fifth term
- Meetings with President
  - Trade
  - Leadership
    - Wildcard
    - Bipartisan leaders
    - Timing
  - New leadership

Gallup poll
  - President’s position on amnesty
  - Amnesty poll
  - Budget poll

  - News summary
  - Publishing history
  - Subjects
    - Bay of Pigs
    - Cuban Missile Crisis
  - Public expectations
  - President’s decision compared with John F. Kennedy
    - Prisoner’s of war [POWs]
    - Mistake
    - May 8, 1972 decision, December 1972 bombing
  - President’s statement on International Conference on Vietnam negotiations
    - Press conference
    - Mining, troop withdrawals
    - Kissinger’s recommendations
      - Escalation
      - Ronald L. Ziegler
      - Kennedy
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Mar.-09)

Conversation No. 414-1 (cont’d)

- Public relations effect
  - Kennedy’s handling of Berlin, Cuba, and Laos
    - Nikita S. Khrushchev
    - Berlin Wall

President's schedule
  - Public relations compared with private deliberation

Rhetoric
  - Public reactions
  - President compared with Kennedy
    - “Peace with honor” compared to “the status of Berlin is non-negotiable”

Polls
  - 1969 month by month
    - Decline
      - Vietnam
      - Asia trip, Apollo moon landing, Vietnam, California hiatus
      - Television [TV], State of the Union, veto, press conference
      - 1970 month by month
        - Decline
          - Mid-west tour, State of the World, TV, economy
        - Rise
          - Cambodia, election month rating
    - 1971
      - Decline
        - Laos, economy

    - People's Republic of China [PRC] announcement, August economic action
    - Issues not affecting polls
      - 1969
        - Europe trip, Korea airline incident
      - 1970
        - G. Harold Carswell’s nomination, Cambodia, Kent State, Walter J. Hickel, press conference, trips, Apollo 13, POW raid, withdrawals
    - Issues affecting polls
      - 1971
        - Vietnam announcement, Europe trip
    - Issues not affecting polls
-1971
- TV, State of the Union, revenue sharing
- Retreat, protest march
- Pentagon Papers, PRC announcement
- New Economic Program, freeze
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] announcement
- Kissinger’s trip to Peking
- Phase II price controls
- Vietnam peace proposal, Europe trip

-1972
- Rise
  - Vietnam, TV, PRC trip
- Decline
  - International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
- Rise
  - May 8, 1972 decision
- Decline
  - Watergate, 1972 campaign, Vietnam
- Gallup compared with Haldeman’s polls
  - Currency
  - Timing
    - Cease-fire

POWs
- Public reaction
  - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
- Press conference or interview with POW [Col. Robinson Risher?]
  - Effect of domestic protests
    - Jane Fonda
  - December 1972 bombing
  - Carter Wall’s [?] letter
- Suffering

President’s poll ratings
- Public reaction
  - Presidential trips
    - Jacksonville
  - Compared with TV news conference
-President’s poll numbers compared with Dwight D. Eisenhower
  -Second term
  -Peak ratings
  -Cycles
-Effects of the economy
  -Salary
  -Budget
  -Cost of living

Recruitment of minorities and ethnics
  -Polish-American
  -Peter J. Brennan, Charles W. Colson
  -Bill Houska [?] 
  -Winton M. (“Red”) Blount
  -Willie J. Usery, Jr.

Evaluation of individuals for jobs
  -Bob Mosley [?]
  -Brennan
    -Appointees
  -Shultz
    -Ehrlichman
  -Maurice H. Stans, Peter G. Peterson

President’s poll ratings
  -Public perceptions of the Presidency
    -Competence, fun
  -President’s entertainment
    -Tricia Nixon Cox’s wedding
    -Edward K. (“Duke”) Ellington
    -Effects
  -Timing of poll
    -Pentagon Papers
    -Economy
  -Lou Harris, Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]
    -Questions
    -Colson
    -Liberal on social policy
Conversation No. 414-1 (cont’d)

-George H. Gallup
  -Support of President’s economic policy

President's schedule
  -Use of prime time television
  -John Ford salute
  -California trip
  -Baseball game
  -POWs

Public perception of the Presidency
  -Franklin R. Gannon’s study
    -Spiritual, personal, programmatic aspects
    -Balance
  -Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower
  -Patrick J. Buchanan

President's personal appeal
  -Public events
    -Dinners at the White House
      -Ellington
    -Frances A. (“Frank”) Sinatra
      -Italian-American
      -Nelson Ripple [?]
      -Orchestra
    -Sammy Davis, Jr.
      -William V. S. Tubman, Martin Luther King, Jr.
    -Accommodations at the White House
      -Compared with Sinatra

Hugh Scott
  -Public statements

Electoral politics
  -Carl T. Curtis
    -Poll numbers compared to President
  -George H. W. Bush, Robert J. Dole
Conversations:

**Conversation No. 414-1 (cont’d)**

- Haldeman left at 2:15 pm.

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**Conversation No. 414-2**

- Date: February 28, 1973
- Time: Unknown between 2:15 pm and 3:15 pm
- Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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**Conversation No. 414-3**

- Date: February 28, 1973
- Time: 3:20 pm-3:28 pm
- Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Thomas Hart.
Microphone set up for recorded message

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull between 3:20 pm and 3:21 pm.

[Conversation No. 414-3A]

[See Conversation No. 37-11]

[End of telephone conversation]

Birthday greetings for Edward K. Gaylord

Hart left at 3:28 pm.

Date: February 28, 1973
Time: 3:30 pm-3:43 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

President's schedule
- National Governors Conference attendees’ dinner
  - Toast
  - Linwood Holton
    - Republican chair
    - Rank
  - Seating arrangements for Governors' dinner
    - Mr. and Mrs. Holton, Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Mandel, Thelma C. (“Pat”)
  - Signature
Conversation No. 414-4 (cont’d)

- Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman, H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, George P. Shultz, Roy L. Ash

Bull left at 3:43 pm.

Conversation No. 414-5

Date: February 28, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:43 pm and 4:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

Analysis
  - Statistics

Conversation No. 414-6

Date: February 28, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:43 pm and 4:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Arrangements
  - Desk

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:22 pm.

Date: February 28, 1973
Time: Unknown between 3:43 pm and 4:22 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man [Stephen B. Bull?].

Schedule [?]
-Approval of something [Bull?]

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 4:22 pm.

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: Unknown between 8:02 am and 9:24 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-26]

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: Between 9:24 am and 9:27 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Patrick J. Buchanan.

[See Conversation No. 37-27]

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: Unknown between 9:24 am and 9:27 am
Location: Executive Office Building

An unknown person talked with the President.

Schedule

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: Unknown between 9:27 am and 9:31 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 37-28]
Conversation No. 414-12 (cont’d)

The President talked with Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.

[See Conversation No. 37-29]

Conversation No. 414-13

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: 9:40 am-10:25 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

International Conference on Vietnam
- Congressional delegation
  - Kissinger’s recommendations
  - William P. Rogers
  - Gerald R. Ford, Hugh Scott
- President’s statement
- International recognition
- Negotiations
  - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR], People’s Republic of China [PRC], Hanoi
  - Prearranged documents
  - Morning, afternoon sessions
  - Paris
  - State Department briefings
- Cease-fire agreement
  - Breach
  - Signatory’s response
    - Reconvocation of conference
- Compared with Geneva Conventions, United Nations [UN]
- US response
  - “De-Americanize the peace”
- Viet Cong
News summary
- Prisoners of war [POWs] release
  - North Vietnam compared to South Vietnam
  - Timing
  - President’s statement

Leaks
- Malcolm Smith’s book on John F. Kennedy

Kissinger
- White House dinner
- Farewell party
  - Roger Macon
  - Mrs. Roger Macon
  - Dwight Davis
  - Davis Cup
  - Frank [Marquis?] Childs
  - Editor of Sunday Times
  - Opinions of President
  - Conversation with Hugh S. Sidey
    - Article about President
    - Personality compared to John F. Kennedy

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 9:40 am.

Food

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:25 am.

- President’s foreign policy
  - Humaneness
  - National self-determination [?]
  - Support

The President
- Joseph C. Kraft
  - Comparison of President to George S. McGovern
Conversation No. 414-13 (cont’d)

- President’s progressive policies
- Domestic politics
  - Radicals as status quo
  - McGovern supporters
- Voter participation
  - Shopkeepers

World trends
- John M. (“Jack”) Lynch
  - Election
  - Left politics
- 1972 election in US
- US foreign policy
  - Communist states
  - Respectability
- Willy Brandt
  - Election victory
  - Disaster for US
  - US role
  - Statements
- Ostpolitik
  - President’s opposition
- 1969 election
  - Party politics
  - Results
  - Parliament

Vietnam negotiations
- Cease-fire violations
  - President’s statement
- Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam
  - Kissinger’s assessment
- Joint Economic Commission [?]

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 9:40 am.

Preparation for press briefing
Monetary information

L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III [?]

Ziegler’s press briefing
- Rowland Evans-Robert D. Novak column
- Office of Economic Opportunity
  - [First name unknown] Phillips
  - Staff
- John B. Connally switching parties

International Conference on Vietnam
- Agreement
- Paris
- Signature
  - Timing
  - President’s press conference

POWs' release
- Press reports

Length of President's upcoming press conference
- Frank Cormier

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 10:25 am.

Preparation for press conference
- POWs’ release
- Sudan
  - Blackmail
  - Retrieving hostages
- Middle East
  - Arms sales
  - Airplanes
  - Israel
  - Balance of power
Conversation No. 414-13 (cont’d)

-Press statement
  -Peace
    -John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson

-Golda Meir
  -Political ability
  -Age
  -Reelection

-Moshe Dayan
  -Election
  -Compared with Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
  -President’s preference
    -Yitzak Rabin

Social function attended by President
  -Jews [?]
  -R. Sargent Shriver [?], [First name unknown] Fischer
    -Jewelry
      -Value
      -President’s dinner conversation with Alice Walker [?], Irving Kristol, William F. (“Billy”) Graham

-Meeting with Meir
  -Policy
    -Joseph W. Alsop

Versailles Treaty
  -Retribution compared to reconciliation
  -Balance of power
    -Germany, Russia, Austro-Hungarian Empire
      -German rearmament
      -Balkanization
      -Russian Revolution
      -Britain’s withdrawal
      -France
        -Maginot Line
      -US neutrality
        -Kellogg-Briand Pact
Preparation for press conference
  - Vietnam negotiations
    - POWs’ release
  - Contingencies

Van Cliburn
  - Performance March 1, 1973
    - Frederic Chopin
  - USSR visit

President’s, Kissinger’s visit to Israel [?], Cairo
  - Reception in Israel

Middle East peace negotiations
  - Egypt
    - General principles

Lynch
  - Irish elections

French elections
  - Run-off election
    - Communist Party compared to Gaulist, Socialist parties

Ambassadorial appointments
  - Rogers [?]
  - Kissinger’s conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
    - Ambassador to Israel
    - Kenneth B. Keating’s appointment
      - President’s viewpoint
  - Exception
  - John Sherman Cooper
    - Impairments
    - Ceremonial country
  - Robert J. McCloskey
    - Mrs. Yitzhak Rabin
  - John Eisenhower [?]
Conversation No. 414-13 (cont’d)

-Book
-Compared with McCloskey and Keating

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Privacy]
[Duration: 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Israel
  -Tolerance
  -Pakistan

Kissinger left at 10:25 am.

Conversation No. 414-14

Date: March 2, 1973
Time: Unknown between 10:25 am and 11:00 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

  Prisoners of war [POWs] release
    -Vietcong
    -Timing
Date:  March 2, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 10:25 am and 11:00 am
Location:  Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown man.

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

Refreshments
-Tea

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The unknown man left at an unknown time before 11:00 am.