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
(rev. Mar.-09)

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

Anne L. Armstrong
  - Conversation with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Surrogate operation
-Budget cuts
-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
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
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
      -Questions
         -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.
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
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 [?]

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

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.

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

Bull left at 3:36 pm.

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 [?]
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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 segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

[End of dictation]

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

President’s signature
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]
******************************************************************************

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
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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
The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 37-22]

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]

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]

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
-Next meeting
-Dictation machine
-Malfunction

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]

Refreshment

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.

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]
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 5:40 pm.

Date: March 1, 1973
Time: 5:40 pm-6:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Yitzhak Rabin's birthday

Rose Mary Woods [?]
- President’s tenure
- Term length

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

-Smith
  - Connally's support
  - Background
  - Support for President
    - Texas
- Webster
  - Problems
  - Other job
    - Qualifications
    - Treasury Department
    - General Counsel
    - Shultz's preference
- President's decision
- Discussion with Colson
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
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Conversations 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.
-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
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 [?]

Ziegler left at 6:20 pm.
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
- 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
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
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
Haldeman left at 6:40 pm.

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
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.

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
Sanchez left at 4:10 pm.

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.
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]
The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

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 [?]
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]
******************************************************************************
Date: March 3, 1973
Time: Unknown between 5:30 pm and 6:16 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Dog [?]

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

Sanchez left at 6:16 pm.

Date: March 5, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:55 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Request

Time

[Pause]
Shirts ?
  -State Department ?
  -Florida ?
  -Silk
  -John F. Kennedy ?
  -Spain
  -Hong Kong

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversations No. 416-30 (cont’d)

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

Date:  March 5, 1973
Time:  Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:55 pm
Location:  Executive Office Building

The 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.
Date: March 5, 1973
Time: Unknown between 2:16 pm and 2:55 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Dogs
- Feeding
  - Type of food
  - Little dog
  - King Timahoe

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************
**
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:55 pm.

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]
The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

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
     -Clark R. Mollenhoff
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
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Tape Subject Log
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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
-Sepertion of powers
  -Statements for press
  -Chapin

President's meeting with Kissinger

Ziegler's statements for press
  -Legislation for Indians
    -Patrick J. Buchanan [?]
    -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.
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
-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.
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.
[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. 416-38 (cont’d)

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]
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.

---

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]

---

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.
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
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 9s]

INTELLIGENCE
-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
    -December 1972 bombing
    -Risks

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

Haig’s duties at Pentagon

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

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.
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]
******************************************************************************
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
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
    -Qualities
  -Chief of Protocol
    -Abilities
  -Liaison office appointments
  -US representative
  -Formal contacts
    -Trade
    -Private channels
    -Paris

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

[Conversation No. 416-50A]

[See Conversation No. 37-142]
[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
      -May 8, 1972 bombing
      -Hanoi decision
         -December 1972 bombing

The Making of the President, 1968
   -1968 campaign
   -President’s role in domestic affairs
      -Cabinet
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
-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
-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
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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
-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
Conversation No. 416-50 (cont’d)

-Supplies
-Pipelines
  -Canada
  -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

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
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
-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
-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
-Congress
-Parochial outlook
-Need for larger outlook

Mao Tse-tung
-White’s meeting in 1944
-Qualities
-Interview for Time
-View of outside world
-Ignorance
-Knowledge of Chinese politics
-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.
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

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
- Compared to Chou
-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

Leadership
-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
    -Time
      -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
-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
-Needessity
  -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
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.