



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log (rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-1

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 10:54 am – 12:25 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

[The conversation was in progress when the recording began]

Vietnam negotiations

- Public relations [PR]
 - Paris
 - Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Press relations
 - Photographs
 - Xuan Thuy
 - Response
 - Haldeman
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Effect
- Haldeman’s conversations with Kissinger

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 11:25 a.m.

Second term reorganization

- First Lady’s staff
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Ziegler’s telephone call to Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
 - Ziegler’s schedule
 - Press briefing
 - Constance M (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
 - Ziegler’s meeting with Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Mrs. Nixon
 - Tone
 - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Assistant to the First Lady
 - Press Assistant to the First Lady

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Helen Smith
- Ziegler's role
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Press relations
 - Initiative
- Job description

The President talked with Haig.

[Conversation No. 381-1A]

[See Conversation No. 34-62]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Assistant to the First Lady
 - Job description
 - Duties
 - Compared to assistants to the President
 - East Wind, residence
 - Staff
 - Press Office
 - Social office
 - Residence
 - Work with the President's staff
 - White House events
 - State Department Protocol Office
 - Compared to Haldeman
 - Meeting with Ziegler and Mrs. Nixon
 - Press Assistant to the First Lady
 - Ziegler's role
 - Press office
 - Briefings
 - Frequency
- Press relations
 - Betty Beale
 - Mrs. Nixon's role
- Meeting with Ziegler and Mrs. Nixon

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Press relations
- Schedule
 - Trip
 - Christmas
 - Stuart
 - Departure
- 1973 Inauguration
- Departure
 - Ziegler's conversation with Mrs. Nixon

Ziegler's press conference

- Kissinger's schedule
 - Return from Paris
 - Meeting with the President
 - Purpose
 - Consultation
 - Timing
- Vietnam negotiations
 - Kissinger's communications with Le Duc Tho
 - Meetings
 - Technical experts
 - Status
 - Possible breakthrough
 - "No comment" response
 - Hanoi, Saigon
 - Haig's conversation with Kissinger
 - Ambivalence
 - Exchange of messages
 - Kissinger and Le Duc Tho
 - Phrasing

Press relations

- Kissinger
 - James B. ("Scotty") Reston's article
 - The President's view

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

- Ziegler

Ziegler left at 11:40 am.

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 11:40 am and 12:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 381-1B]

The President's schedule

- Meetings
 - George P. Shultz
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Shultz

[End of telephone conversation]

- Pre-Blair House meetings
 - Military compared to political aides
 - Receptions
 - Identification of supporters
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Charles W. Colson's role
 - Reception for 1972 election supporters
 - Reception for 1972 election supporters
 - Unknown person
 - Example
 - Southern Ohio
 - Colson's letter
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
 - Labor leaders, Democrats
 - New Majority
 - Hosts
 - John A. Volpe
 - Peter J. Brennan
 - Colson
- Volpe
 - Reception for 1972 election supporters
 - Hosts
 - Volpe
 - Colson
 - Introduction of supporters
 - Symbolism

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Second term reorganization
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Future

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- House purchase
- Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
- Pool
- Privacy
- Georgetown
- Foxhall Road
- Specifications
- Virginia

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- The President's schedule
- Receptions
 - Hand-shaking
 - Christmas lights
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Cabinet dinner
- Camp David
- Cabinet dinner
- White House church services
 - New Majority
 - John Cardinal Krol
 - Terence Cardinal Cooke's schedule
 - 1973 Inauguration
 - Krol
 - New Majority
- Mrs. Nixon's schedule
 - Diplomatic children's reception
- Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
 - Candlelight tour

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Christmas events
 - Staff open house and tour
 - Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
 - White House staff
 - Dwight L. Chapin
 - Gordon C. Strachan
 - Domestic Council
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - White House staff families
 - Press
 - Candlelight tour
 - White House staff families
 - Candlelight tours
 - Congressional relations
- New Majority
- Reception for 1972 election supporters

Vietnam negotiations

- Haig
 - Location
 - Role
 - Kissinger
- Kissinger's cable
 - US bombing south of 20th Parallel
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - Thieu
 - Possible meeting with Thieu
- Settlement agreement
 - Thieu's rejection
 - The President's conversation with Haig
 - Overthrow of Thieu
 - Bunker
 - William P. Rogers
 - Agnew
 - George S. McGovern
 - Agnew
 - Effect
 - South Vietnam
 - Overthrow of Thieu
- US public opinion

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Louis P. Harris polls
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - Cease-fire
 - Free elections
 - South Vietnam
 - Clause
 - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]

- Kissinger
 - Mood
 - The President's conversation with Haig
 - Behavior
 - Haig's view
 - Negotiator
 - Self-interest compared to national interest
 - Reston article

US-Soviet Union and US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations

- Kissinger's role

NSC

- Haig's possible role
 - Army background
 - Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
 - Kissinger's possible departure
 - Foreign policy
 - Bureaucracy
 - Army background

Congressional relations

- The President's attempted to telephone call to [Carl B. Albert]
 - Message
 - William E. Timmons
 - Albert's Secretary, Mrs. [Thomas] Hale Boggs
- Relationship with John C. Stennis
 - Relationship with Dr. James R. Schlesinger
 - Haldeman's conversation with Schlesinger
 - Possible meeting

Second term reorganization

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Richard M. Helms
 - Ambassadorship to Iran
 - Condition
 - Schlesinger confirmation [as Director of Central Intelligence Agency]
 - Outsider status
 - Press relations
- Ambassadors
 - Age questions
 - Foreign service
 - Promotions
 - Retirement age
 - Dr. David K. E. Bruce
 - Career ambassadors
 - U. Alexis Johnson
 - Johnson
 - Possible Ambassador at Lodge
 - Health
 - Saigon
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Saigon
 - Kissinger
 - Japan [?]

Kissinger

- Behavior
- Conversation with Haig
- Television [TV] statement
 - Haig's view
- Relationship with Haig

Vietnam negotiations

- US bombing south of 20th Parallel
 - Pace
 - The President's conversation with Haig
 - Compared to the US bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong area
 - B-52s
 - Criticism
 - Military purpose
- Kissinger's view

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Minutiae
- Kissinger
 - Negotiator
 - “Peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
 - Effect
 - The President’s possible TV statement
 - Blame on North Vietnam
 - Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - The President’s message to Kissinger
 - North Vietnam’s intransigence
 - Effect
 - Congressional aid to South Vietnam
- US position
- Public opinion
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - The President’s possible TV statement
 - Haldeman’s view
- Second term reorganization
 - Schlesinger’s confirmation
 - Helms’s assistance
 - Stennis
 - The President’s meeting with Stennis
 - Possible difficulty
 - Confirmation
 - Press relations
 - Washington, DC
 - Examples
 - Supreme Court, Attorney General
 - Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
- Congressional relations
 - Edward M. Kennedy’s statement
 - News summary
 - The President’s trip to the PRC
 - Public opinion
 - Partisanship
 - Watergate

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- 1972 election
- Cooperation
 - The President's trip to the PRC

Second term reorganization

- Congressional relations
- Need for drama
 - Cabinet changes
 - Announcements
 - George P. Shultz
 - Press relations
 - Change in Executive Branch structure
 - Timing
 - First half of second term
 - Cabinet departments

The President's schedule

- Possible meetings with black leaders
 - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
 - Leonard Garment's role
 - Jordan
 - Black caucus
 - Liberals
 - Administration supporters
 - Roy Wilkins
 - Jordan
 - Previous meetings
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

Vietnam negotiations

- Kissinger
 - Work habits
 - Effect
 - Emotional strain
 - Expectations of success
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - The President's conversations with Haig
 - Absence of objectivity
- Haig

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Treatment of NSC staff
- Relationship with Haig
- Mental health
 - Haig's view
 - Timing
 - Pressures
- Rogers
 - Departure
 - Timing
 - Settlement agreement
 - Acceptance
 - Rogers's conversations with Haldeman and the President
- Informing Thieu
 - Haig's view
 - Cables
 - Cables
 - Contingencies
- Cables
 - Challenge
 - Conversations
 - Tone
- Haig
- Trip to Moscow

Public relations [PR]

- Rogers
 - Mail
 - The President's trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
 - Compared to Kissinger

Second term reorganization

- Kissinger's role
 - Appointments
 - Defense Departments
 - Ambassadorships
 - Valve
 - Foreign Service Officers [FSOs]
 - Veto
- Unknown person
- Foreign affairs

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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont'd)

- Elliot L. Richardson
- Liberals
 - Resignations
 - Cambodia invasions
- Defense Department

The President's schedule

- Diplomatic reception
 - Location
 - West Wing
 - Oval Office
 - Roosevelt Room
 - Lobby
 - Oval Office
 - Christmas decorations
- Diplomatic Reception Room
- Invitations
 - List
- Meeting with Schlesinger
- Meeting with Shultz
 - Edwin S. Cohen

Haldeman left at 12:25 pm.

Conversation No. 381-2

Date: December 13, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:28 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Request for a meeting with Haig

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-3

Date: December 13, 1972

Time: 12:28 pm – 1:12 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule

-Return from Paris

-Timing

-Headwinds

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 12:28 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:12 pm.

Vietnam negotiations

-Kissinger

-Haig's role

-Decision making authority

-The President's delegation

-Cambodia invasion

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Negotiator

-Emotion

-Caution, objectivity

-Record

-Blame on others

-Settlement agreement

-1972 election

-Objections

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

-The President

-Haig

-Saigon

-Messages

-Tone

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Breakdown in talks
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
 - Nguyen Van Thieu's position
 - North Vietnam
- Cease-fire
 - Thieu
 - Pressure on North Vietnam
 - Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
- Cease-fire
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - The President's meeting with Haig and Kissinger
- US mining of North Vietnam
 - Reseeding
 - Timing
 - Thieu
 - Supplies
 - Timing
 - Reconnaissance
 - Signal to Hanoi
 - Reaction
 - Protective reaction
- US bombing of North Vietnam South of 20th Parallel
 - Kissinger's scenario
 - The President's view
 - Military value
 - Tone
 - Haig's conversation with Kissinger
- Haig's conversations with Kissinger
 - Options
 - Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
 - Contingencies
- Kissinger
 - Future
 - Kissinger's interview with Oriana Fallaci
 - Press relations
 - William P. Rogers
 - "Peace is at hand" statement, October 26, 1972
 - India-Pakistan War
 - US-Soviet Union relations

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Effect
- Need to focus on problem
- Recommendations
 - Need for suspicion
 - Emotions
- Emotions
 - Effect on work
- Expectations
 - Settlement agreement
 - Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
- Policy making
 - Theory
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - State Department
- Mental health
 - Current status compared to recent past
 - Trip to Saigon
 - Haig's location
 - Messages
 - Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Long Tien
- Previous trips to Saigon
 - Haig's schedule
 - Post-October 8, 1972
 - Return from Paris
 - Haig's schedule
 - Thieu's rebuff
 - Return from Paris
 - Settlement agreement
 - October 8, 1972 draft
 - Hanoi
 - Thieu
- Previous messages to Hanoi
 - Settlement agreement
 - Cessation of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - The President's return from Camp David
 - Compromise
 - 1972 election
- Return from Saigon

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Haig's trip to Saigon
- Settlement agreement
 - Thieu's view
 - Thieu's relationship with Kissinger
 - Kissinger's trip to Saigon
 - Back channels
 - Haig
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
- Thieu
 - Relationship with Kissinger, the President, Haig
 - Trust
 - Speech, December 12, 1972
 - US theorists, quotation
 - Relationship with the President
 - Trust
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - State Department
 - Corruption issue
- Kissinger
 - Schedule
 - Return from Paris
 - "Martyr complex"
 - Resignation
 - Advisability
 - Haig's role
- Kissinger
 - Return from Saigon
 - Hanoi's public statement
 - "Peace is at hand" statement
 - Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Message from Hanoi
 - The President's schedule, November 4, 1972
 - Greensboro, North Carolina
 - The President's statement
 - "Peace is at hand" statement
 - The President's pull-back
 - Haig's reaction
 - Caution
 - The President's reaction

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Politics
- Haig's conversation with Kissinger
- Press conference, October 26, 1972
 - Technical aspects
 - Settlement agreement
 - 1972 election
- Press relations
 - Fallaci interviews
 - Italian ambassador
 - Haig's location
 - Saigon
 - Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Italian government request
 - Taping
 - Haig's viewing
 - Reproduction
 - Washington Star*
 - Washington Post*
 - Quotes
 - Context
 - Kissinger's relationship with the President
 - Legal suit threat
 - Tape
 - Quotes
 - Context
 - James B. ("Scotty") Reston's article
- Meeting with the President
 - Rogers
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Rogers's and Laird's view
- October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Rogers's, Laird's and Agnew's views
- Haig's meetings with Kissinger
 - Timing
 - Rogers
 - Laird
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Agnew
 - "Game Plan"

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Breakdown
 - Congressional relations
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - Statements
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - US action
 - North Vietnam
 - Violations
 - Coalition government
 - South Vietnam
 - Thieu
- North Vietnamese position
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Effect
 - Settlement agreement
 - Timing
 - Settlement agreement
 - Kissinger
 - Messages
 - Timing
 - Christmas
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Haig's view
 - Thieu
 - Settlement agreement
 - Reseeding of mines
 - US position
 - Credibility
 - Signals
- Thieu [South Vietnam]
 - US economic and military aid
 - US military aid
 - Laird's view
 - Carriers
 - Sorties
 - Effect
 - US economic aid
 - Credit

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Conversion of Piasters
- Balance of payments
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - The President's meeting with Kissinger
- Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
 - Advisability
 - Pressure on Hanoi
 - Possible ultimatum to Thieu
 - Settlement agreement
 - Necessity to Thieu
 - Thieu
 - The President's resolve to support
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Effect
 - Soviet Union
 - Thieu
 - Victory
 - Effectf
 - Psychological and military aspects
 - Targets
 - Power and communications stations
 - Marshalling yards
 - B-52s
 - Cessation
 - Effect
 - Timing
 - South of 20th Parallel
 - Laotian Trail
 - Haig's conversation with Moorer
- Reseeding of mines
 - Effect
 - Reconnaissance
 - Settlement agreement
 - Unseeding of mines
 - Statement
 - “Routine reseeding”
 - Means
 - Settlement agreement
 - Unseeding of mines
- Haig's meeting with Kissinger

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Conversation No. 381-3 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's schedule
 - Return from Paris
 - Rest
 - Kissinger's reaction
- Haig's meeting with Kissinger
 - Kissinger's resignation
 - Accomplishments
 - Future
- Thieu's speech
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - North Vietnam's view
 - Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
- Thieu
 - Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
 - Advisability
 - Settlement agreement
- Settlement agreement
 - Hanoi
 - Stalling tactics, delays
- Kissinger's schedule
 - Return from Paris
 - Meeting with the President
 - Timing

Haig left at 1:12 pm.

Conversation No. 381-4

Date: December 13, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator [?].

Telephone call to an unknown man

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Conversation No. 381-5

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

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

Conversation No. 381-6

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-John D. Ehrlichman

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

Conversation No. 381-7

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-Oval Office

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Conversation No. 381-7 (cont'd)

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

Conversation No. 381-8

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

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

Conversation No. 381-9

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

Oval Office

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

Conversation No. 381-10

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 2:48 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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Conversation No. 381-10 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Conversation No. 381-11

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 1:15 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 381-A]

[See Conversation No. 34-126]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 381-12

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: 1:15 pm – 1:16 pm

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Conversation No. 381-12 (cont'd)

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 34-127]

Conversation No. 381-13

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: 1:17 pm – 1:18 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 34-128]

Conversation No. 381-14

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 1:20 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Weather

The President's schedule

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 381-14 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:20 pm.

Conversation No. 381-15

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: 1:20 pm – 1:40 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press

Ziegler's press conference

- Duration
- Second term reorganization
 - Anne L. Armstrong
 - Counselor to the President
 - Cabinet rank
 - Woman
 - Oveta Culp Hobby
 - The President's choice
 - Senate confirmation
 - Requirement
 - Secretary of Department in Executive Branch
 - The President's choice
 - Semantics
- Tone
- Second term reorganization
 - Armstrong
 - Counselor to the President
 - Tokenism
 - Counselor to the President
 - First term
 - Robert H. Finch
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Patrick P. ("Pat") Moynihan

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Conversation No. 381-15 (cont'd)

- Bryce N. Harlow
- Arthur F. Burns
- White House staff cuts
 - Finch
 - Return to California
 - Rumsfeld
 - Ambassadorship to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Counselor to the President
 - Peter Lisagor's comment
- Commerce and Transportation Department
 - White House staff
 - Departures
 - Desmond J. Barker
 - Gen. Robert L. Schulz
 - John C. Whitaker
 - Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Rumsfeld
 - Reduction
 - Executive Office
- Vietnam negotiations
 - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
 - Melvin R. Laird's statement
 - The President's May 8, 1972 speech
 - Settlement agreement
 - Enemy buildup
 - Offensive action
 - Settlement agreement
 - Prolonging the war
 - Henry A. Kissinger's press conference
 - Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - Preventing enemy buildup
 - Offensive in South
 - The President's May 8, 1972 speech
 - Kissinger's press conference
 - Ziegler
 - Press relations
 - Lead story
 - The President's May 8, 1972 speech

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Conversation No. 381-15 (cont'd)

- Enemy offensive
- Cessation of US bombing North of 20th Parallel
- Timing

Vietnam negotiations

- US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
 - Press relations
 - Tass* report
 - Hanoi
 - Fires
 - Continuation
 - Cessation North of 20th Parallel
 - Timing
 - October 1972
 - Kissinger's view
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - The President's conversation with Kissinger
 - Public opinion
 - Ziegler's press conference
 - Tone
 - Kissinger's mood
 - B-52 losses
 - Ziegler's conversation with Kissinger
 - Press and media relations
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Ziegler's conversation with Kissinger
 - Press relations
 - Kissinger's "Peace is at hand" statement, October 26, 1972

Ziegler's press conference

- Press relations
 - Washington Post*
 - The President's recent conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - Philadelphia Bulletin*
 - Baltimore Sun*
 - Unknown newspaper
 - Dallas Times Herald*
 - Washington newspaper
 - Washington Star*

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 381-15 (cont'd)

David C. Hoopes entered at 1:31 pm.

- Dan Rather's question
- Unknown reporter
- Thomas E. Jarriel
- Watergate

Hoopes left at 1:32 pm.

- Current representation
- White House social events
 - Cause celebre*
- Local newspapers
 - National administration
- Ziegler's conversation with Helen Thomas
- Questions
 - Ziegler's handling
 - Emotions
 - Objectivity
- The President's conversation with Kissinger
 - National administration
- Carroll Kilpatrick
- Pool
 - Dorothy McCardle
 - Ziegler's view
- Christmas tree lighting
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - The President's conversation with Ziegler
 - Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart
- Church services
 - Candlelight tour
 - Children
- Mrs. Nixon
- Elinor I. (Judefind) Agnew
- McCardle
- San Antonio Light*
- Kansas City Star*
- Baltimore Sun*

Vietnam War

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 381-15 (cont'd)

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Timing
 - Congressional relations
 - Thomas F. Eagleton's and Jacob K. Javit's statements
 - Public relations [PR]
 - Number of plans
 - Hanoi
- Ziegler's press conference
 - Use of "enemy"

Ronald Ziegler left at 1:40 pm.

Conversation No. 391-16

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: 1:43 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

- Request for a meeting with Haldeman
 - Timing
 - The President's schedule

Conversation No. 381-17

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: 1:43 pm – 2:05 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

- The President's schedule
 - Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler

Ziegler's press conferences

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-17 (cont'd)

- Ziegler's handling
 - Emotions
 - Henry A. Kissinger
- December 18, 1972
 - Counsellors to the President
 - Robert H. Finch
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- Ziegler's demeanor
 - Post-1972 election
 - "Cockiness"
- Performance
- December 18, 1972
 - Press relations
 - Washington Post*
 - White House social events
 - Christmas tree lighting
 - Pool

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Kissinger's concern
 - The President's conversation with Kissinger
 - The President's possible television [TV] statement
 - Kissinger's conversation with Haldeman
 - Kissinger's cables
 - Effect
 - "Hawks"
 - Cause and effect
 - Domestic crisis
- Vietnam negotiations
 - Press relations
 - Ziegler's view
 - Credibility
 - "Peace is at hand" statement, October 26, 1972
 - "Peace is at hand"
 - The President's view
- Kissinger's mood
 - Support

The President's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-17 (cont'd)

- Possible meeting
 - Kissinger
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Timing

Congressional relations

- Ambassador-at-large
 - John Sherman Cooper
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's recommendation
 - Defense, foreign policy votes
 - Haldeman's conversation with Thomas C. Korologos, William E. Timmons
 - Office
 - Debt
 - State Department

Second term reorganization

- Maurice H. Stans
 - Ambassadorship to Cambodia
 - Health

The President's schedule

- Guest lists
 - Duplication
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Reception
 - Christmas tree lighting
 - Church services
 - Colson
 - Rose Mary Woods
 - 1973 Inauguration
 - Colson

Item for the President's signature

- Ehrlichman

The President's schedule

- Guest lists
 - Duplication
 - Woods

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-17 (cont'd)

- Colson
 - Handling
- Groups
 - Political
 - Stans
 - Republican National Committee [RNC]
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Church service
 - Stans
 - Church service
 - Haldeman's conversation with Woods
 - Cabinet
 - Church services, dinner
 - Heads of state
- Receptions
 - Public relations [PR]
 - New Majority
 - Recognition of supporters
 - 1972 election
 - Christmas events
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Supporters
 - Hard hats, Republicans
 - Italian-Americans
 - American Legion hat
 - Disabled American Veterans head [Jack O. Hicks]
 - Flag lapel pin
 - Republicans
- Social events
 - Cabinet dinner
 - Josephine (Brickell) Brennan
 - Toasts
 - William P. Rogers
 - Anne L. Armstrong
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
 - Rogers's toast
 - Mrs. Nixon
 - Armstrong
 - Agnew
 - Rogers's toast

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-17 (cont'd)

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule
- New York

Vietnam negotiations

- Kissinger's "peace is at hand" statement
- Effect
 - 1972 election
 - Polls

The President's schedule

- White House staff's schedule
- Vietnam War
 - US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - Christmas
 - New York
 - California
 - Children
 - Florida
 - Criticism
 - Crisis
 - Public relations [PR]
- Haldeman's telephone call to Mrs. Nixon
 - Private dinner party [?]
- Kissinger
 - Telephone call from the President

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:43 pm.

The President's schedule

- Richard G. Kleindienst

Golf [?]

- Hole-in-one
- Unknown woman

Haldeman and Bull left at 2:05 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: 2:06 pm – 2:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Richard G. Kleindienst and John D. Ehrlichman.

Insurance

-Golf

Golf

-Hole-in-one

-Kleindienst's photograph in newspaper

Second term reorganization

-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

-L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III

-Schedule

-Connecticut

-Meeting with Kleindienst

-Health

-Florida

-Delay of meeting with the President

-Gen. Walter R. Tkach

-Habits

-J[ean] Paul Getty

-Telephone call from the President

-Age

-Wealth

-Habits

-Retention

-Negatives and positives

-Kleindienst's conversation with John N. Mitchell

-Confirmation hearings

-Watergate

-Possible testimony

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:06 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

Temperature in office

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:35 pm.

Second term reorganization

-FBI

-Gray

-Confirmation hearings

-Watergate

-Politics

-Cronyism charge

-Watergate

-Edward M. Kennedy

-Possible Presidency

-Post-Presidency

-Republican

-Liberal Democrat

-Reform

-Field offices

-Discipline

-Timing

-Peter J. Pitchess

-Relationship with Kleindienst

-Qualities

-Age

-Political ability

-Age

-1976 election

-Republican

-Kennedy

-Richard G. Ogilvie

-Attorney General

-Political ability

-Background as governor

-Law firm

-Compared to Pitchess, Gray

-Pitchess

-Background

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

- Barry M. Goldwater's California campaign chairman, 1964
- Los Angeles
- Compared to Gray
- Trust
- Gray
- Confirmation hearings
 - Kennedy
 - Birch E. Bayh, Jr.
 - John V. Tunney
 - G. Harrold Carswell
 - 1972 election
 - 1976 election
 - Kennedy's speech
- Conversation with the President
- The President's conversation with Mitchell
- Confirmation hearings
 - Senate Judiciary Committee
 - James O. Eastland
- Confirmation hearings
 - Kennedy, Bayh
 - Commitments
- Conversation with the President
 - The President's schedule
 - Florida
- Matthew Byrne
 - Political orientation
 - Democrat
 - Los Angeles
 - US attorney
 - Objectivity
- Time* article, November 6, 1972
 - Source
 - Unknown woman reporter
 - Field offices
 - Gray's effort
 - W. Mark Felt
 - Gray's view
 - 1972 election
 - Mitchell's view
 - Gray

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

-Conversation with Kleindienst
-Kleindienst's view

Mitchell

- Martha (Beall) Mitchell
 - Health
 - Watergate
 - Responsibility
 - Health

Second term reorganization

- Narcotics
 - Allocation and use of resources
 - Addicts
 - US
 - Compared to France
 - Seale
 - Epidemic
 - Compared to France, Japan, Britain, Spain
 - Customs
 - Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs [BNDD]
- Roy L. Ash
 - Recommendation
 - Outsider status
 - Kleindienst's schedule
- Study
 - Narcotics
 - Ash
- John F. Gallagher [?]
 - Budget
- Ash
 - The President's conversation with Kleindienst
- Customs
 - Border Patrol
 - Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]
 - Investigations
 - Treasury Department
 - Investigations
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- Investigations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

-BNDD

-Justice Department

-FBI

-J. Edgar Hoover

-FBI

-Hoover's view

-Automobile thefts, kidnapping, organized crime, drugs, campus riots

-Controversy

Hoover

-Late career

-Image

-Kleindienst's view

-Departure

-Death

-The President's breakfast meeting with Hoover, September 20, 1971

-Gray's view

-Speeches

-The President's meeting with Hoover

-John Mitchell's schedule

-John Mitchell's view

-Public relations [PR]

Professional football

-Washington Redskins playoff game

-*Washington Post* reporter

-Reference to "Negroes"

-Black, "Afro-Americans"

-Media relations

-Television [TV] blackout of playoff games

-Kleindienst's viewing

-Kleindienst's possible suit

-Edward Bennett Williams

-National policy

-Kleindienst's conversation with Alvin R. ("Pete") Rozelle

-Rozelle

-FBI

-Sellouts

-Super Bowl I

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

- Redskins-Buffalo Bills game
 - Denver
 - St. Louis
 - Busch Stadium
 - Redskins-Bills game
- Redskins-Bills game
 - Ehrlichman's attendance
 - O[renthal] J[ames] Simpson
 - Billy Kilmer
- Dallas Cowboys-New York Giants game
- Redskins-Bills game
 - Ehrlichman's attendance
 - George Allen
- Media relations
 - TV blackout of playoff games
 - The President's instructions
 - Kleindienst's forthcoming conversation with Rozelle
 - Kleindienst's meeting with the President
 - Possible suit
 - Kleindienst's possible conversation with Williams
 - Rozelle
 - US District Court
 - Injunction
 - Compared to networks and re-runs
 - The President's efforts
 - Hollywood
 - National policy
 - Kleindienst's conversation with Williams
 - The President's schedule
 - Florida
 - Washington, DC voters

Second term reorganization

- The President's conversation with Gray
- Deputy Secretary of Treasury
 - Peter M. Flanigan
- Gray
 - Qualifications
 - Withholding of nomination
 - Reasons

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-18 (cont'd)

- International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
- Oil [Policy Committee order]
- Nomination
 - John Mitchell's concern

Watergate break-in

- John Mitchell's concern
 - Republican National Committee [RNC]
- White House involvement
 - RNC

Second term reorganization

- Gray
 - Nomination
 - Kennedy, Tunney, Bayh

Professional football

- TV blackout of playoff games
 - Kleindienst's call to Rozelle
 - Kleindienst's conversation with Williams
- Possible suit

Kleindienst and Ehrlichman left at 2:35 pm.

Conversation No. 381-19

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:35 pm and 2:43 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Personal returnable]

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-19 (cont'd)

[Duration: 1m 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's schedule

- Meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Timing

Second term reorganization

- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Frank L. Rizzo
 - Francis L. Dale [?]
 - Ehrlichman's instruction to William E. Timmons
- Narcotics
 - White House
 - Roy L. Ash
 - Myles J. Ambrose
 - Ash

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:35 pm.

Ehrlichman left at 2:43 pm.

Conversation No. 381-20

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:43 pm and 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

- Request for a meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Henry A. Kissinger
- Timing

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-20 (cont'd)

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:43 pm.

Request for a meeting with Charles W. Colson

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:45 pm.

Conversation No. 381-21

Date: December 18, 1972

Time: 2:45 pm – 5:50 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Media relations

- Colson's lunch with William S. Paley
 - Herbert G. Klein
 - Job offer to Colson
 - Law practice
 - White House
 - Berrington brothers
 - Paley's relationship with the President
 - 1960 campaign
 - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news
 - Klein
 - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
 - John Chancellor
 - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
 - John A. Scali
 - Chancellor
 - Voice of America
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Edward R. Murrow
 - Voice of America
 - Colson's trips to New York
 - The President's view
 - 1960 campaign

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Robert H. Finch
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Paley's [?] interest in ambassadorship to France
- Paley's view of the President
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Watergate report
 - Stations
 - Duration
 - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
 - Edward M. Kennedy
- Berrington brothers
- Klein

Second term reorganization

- Klein
 - Value
 - Departure
 - Timing
 - Age
 - Conversation with Colson
 - Departure
- Scali
 - Press relations
- Press relations
 - Anne L. Armstrong
 - Counselor to the President
 - Importance
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
 - Bryce N. Harlow
 - Finch
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Arthur F. Burns
- Value

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election

- Time* magazine

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Final results
 - Richard M. Scammon
 - Christopher S. ("Kat") Bond
 - Missouri
 - Analysis
 - Secretary of the Senate
 - Statistics
 - Arizona
 - Alabama
 - New York
 - Pennsylvania
 - Kansas
 - George S. McGovern
 - Missouri
 - Arch A. Moore, Jr.
 - Black lung bill
 - Compared to 1964 election
 - Johnson
 - Compared to 1936 election
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Scammon
 - Alabama
 - Inaccurate count
 - Missouri
 - Roosevelt
 - Certification

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-George Meany

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Timing
 - Labor relations
 - Media relations
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's press conference

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Public relations [PR]
 - Colson's view
 - B-52s
 - Hanoi, Haiphong
 - Stock market
- Congressional relations
 - Thomas F. Eagleton
 - Mining
 - George S. McGovern's statement
 - 1972 election
- Kissinger's "Peace is at hand" statement, October 26, 1972
- The President's conversation with Colson
- Settlement agreement
- PR
 - Christmas
 - Albert E. Sindlginer
 - Economy
 - B-52s
 - Losses
 - Air warfare
 - Compared to ground warfare
 - Volunteerism
 - Media relations
 - Television [TV]
- Duration

Colson's health

- Finger injury
- Explanation
- Christmas tree trimming

The President's health

- Foot injury
- Timing

Colson's health

Press relations

- Reception
- "Tony" story

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- International Brotherhood of Teamsters
- Children
 - Support for the President
- Colson's schedule
 - Visit with Frank E. Fitzsimmons
 - Fitzsimmons's children
 - Gonzaga University
- Society pages
 - Washington, DC
- Wires
- Helen Thomas
- Reception
 - 1973 Inauguration
 - Invitees
 - Kenneth W. Clawson
 - Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Analogy to Andrew Jackson
 - 1972 campaign
 - George S. McGovern
 - Fundraising
 - Buchanan

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - McGovern's reaction
 - Constituency
- PR
 - Sindlinger
 - “Doves”
- The President's possible TV appearance
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Effect
 - Press relations
 - “Doves” and “Hawks”
 - Negotiations
 - North Vietnam

The President talked with Marjorie P. Acker at an unknown time between 2:45 pm and 3:23 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 381-21A]

Request

-Rose Mary Woods

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 53s]

[End of telephone call]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Vietnam War

-US bombing north of 20th Parallel

-PR

-Sindlinger

-Timing

-Timing

-Kissinger press conference

-Colson's reading

-Colson's view

-Ronald L. Ziegler's press conference

The President's schedule

-Kissinger

-Colson

The President left and entered at an unknown time before 3:23 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election final results

- Landslide victory
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Percentage of votes
- Scammon
 - Admirer
 - Reaction

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Congressional relations
 - McGovern's statement
 - Eagleton's statement
 - Jacob K. Javits
 - Caution
 - PR
 - 1972 campaign
 - Press relations
 - Nicholas P. Thimmesch article
 - Kissinger's reaction
 - Kissinger's conversation with Thimmesch
 - The President
 - Kissinger's conversation with Thimmesch
 - News magazines
 - Negotiations
 - Newsweek*
 - Photographs of Kissinger
 - “Peace is at hand”
 - Tone
- Negotiations
 - Kissinger's “Peace is at hand” statement
 - Colson's experience as a lawyer

White House staff

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
- Performance
- Alexander M Haig, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations

- Haig
- Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Kissinger's press conference
 - Ziegler's press conference
- North and South Vietnam's positions
 - Ziegler's press conference

Kissinger and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 3:23 pm.

Colson's assignments

- Request by Kissinger
 - Harvard University
- Dirty tricks
- Labor relations

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - McGovern's statement
 - 1972 campaign
 - “Peace is at hand”
- Criticism
 - 1972 campaign
 - Senate “doves”
- National Security Council [NSC]
- Haldeman's view

Colson's assignments

- Dirty tricks

Colson left at 3:26 pm.

Vietnam War

- Negotiations
 - Technical experts meeting
 - Xuan Thuy

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- William J. Porter
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - PR
 - Unknown person
 - The President's conversation with Haldeman
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - The President's schedule
 - Florida
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - Colson's view
 - Haig's and Kissinger's schedules
 - Florida
 - Helicopter
 - Kissinger's schedule
 - California
 - Palm Springs
 - Haig's schedule
 - Populated areas
 - Hanoi
 - French embassy
- B-52s
 - Losses
 - Number
 - Maneuverability
 - Compared to fighters
 - Targets
 - Surface to air missiles [SAM] II
 - Hanoi
 - Weather
 - F-111
 - Loss
 - Gen. John W. Vogt, Jr.
 - Losses
- Administration reaction
 - White House
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Kissinger's conversations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- William P. Rogers
- Notification
 - Compared to Cambodia invasion
 - Haig
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Duration
 - Air Force
 - Christmas
 - Pause
 - B-52s
 - Losses
 - Hanoi
 - North Vietnam
 - Weather
 - Sorties
 - Targets
 - SAMs
 - Waves
 - Losses
- Alternatives
 - Moorer
 - Ideas
 - North Vietnam
- Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Negotiations
 - North Vietnam
- Proprietary
- Timing
 - Negotiations
 - Delays
 - Kissinger's possible message
 - Congressional relations
- The President's reputation
- Winston S. Churchill quotation
 - Battle of the Marne
 - Audacity and caution
- Reactions
 - Press relations
 - Cambodia

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Government bureaucracy
- Press relations
 - B-52s
 - Losses
- PR
 - B-52s
 - Losses
 - Compared to helicopters
- B-52s
 - Losses
- PR
 - Hanoi
 - Communist propaganda
 - Civilian casualties
- North Vietnam
 - Breakdown in negotiations
 - Compared to impasse
 - Confusion
 - Press relations
 - PR
 - PR
 - Telegrams to Kissinger
 - Tone
 - “Hawks”
- Negotiations
 - The President's letter to Thieu
 - Possible leak
 - Settlement agreement
 - October 1972
 - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
 - 17th Parallel
 - Geneva Agreement
 - Thieu's position
 - Effect
 - Thieu's position
 - November 1972
 - North Vietnam
 - DMZ
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Bombing halt

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- October Agreement
 - Press relations
 - Coalition government
 - Kissinger's trip to Saigon
 - Thieu
 - Retention
 - US military and economic aid
 - Possible effect
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - Thieu's reaction
 - Coalition government
 - Thieu
 - Retention
 - US economic aid
 - Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - May 8, 1972 terms
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - Guarantees
 - Thieu's reaction

Shanghai Communique

- US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations
- Effort
 - Hangechow
 - Drafts
- Treaties

Vietnam negotiations

- Settlement agreement
 - Bilateral deal
 - Effect
 - South Vietnam
 - US economic and military aid
 - US reaction
 - North Vietnam
 - Resumption of talks
 - South Vietnam
 - May 31, 1971 proposal
- Thieu
- Timing

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- January 2-3, 1973
 - Congressional relations
- Resumption
 - North Vietnam
- US options
 - Thieu
 - Haig's possible report
 - Possible TV speech by the President
 - Settlement agreement
 - New offer
- Media relations
- The President's accomplishments
 - Trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
 - 1972 election
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- Delays
- PR
 - Opposition and support for the President's policies
 - Harvard University telephone call to Kissinger
- Breakdown
 - Cambodia
 - Record
 - 1972 election
 - North Vietnam
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Duration
 - Hanoi
 - Settlement agreement
 - Cessation
 - US-South Vietnam relations
- Press relations
 - Washington Star* article
 - North Vietnam's announcement
 - Timing
 - US military and diplomatic action
 - Haig's trip to Saigon
 - Agnew
- Agnew's possible trip to Saigon
 - The President's meeting with Agnew and Kissinger
 - Agnew's comments

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Thieu
- Congressional relations
 - US funding for South Vietnam
- Lack of perception
- Thieu, North Vietnam
- Advisability
 - Settlement agreement
- US-South Vietnam relations
 - World War II allied correspondence
 - Churchill-Josef V. Stalin
 - Roosevelt-Stalin
 - The President's schedule
 - Possible meeting with Thieu
 - Midway
 - San Clemente
 - Timing
 - Christmas
- Second term reorganization
 - Ambassadorships
 - South Vietnam
 - Change
 - Timing
 - January 1973
 - Graham A. Martin
 - Cable to Kissinger
 - William B. Macomber, Jr.
 - John A. Volpe
 - Italy
 - State Department
 - Rogers
 - Timing
 - Ellsworth F. Bunker
 - Volpe
 - Italy
 - Recess appointment
 - France
 - Pakistan
 - India
 - Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Importance
- Joseph J. Sisco
- Philippines
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Marshall Green
- Indonesia
 - Green
 - Businessman
 - Green
 - Military
- Age
 - Career ambassadors
 - Foreign service
 - Val Peterson
 - Adolph W. Schmidt
 - Departure
 - Walter H. Annenberg
 - Retention
 - Martin
 - Jacob A. Beam
 - Ridgway B. Knight
 - Leonard J. Saccio
 - Columbia
 - Clinton E. Knox
 - Haiti
 - Walter P. McConaughy
 - Walworth Barbour
 - Departure
 - Henry J. Tasca
- Indonesia
 - Tasca
 - South Korea
 - Aid
 - Greece
- Turkey
 - Macomber
- Indonesia
 - Tasca
 - Compared to businessman
 - Qualifications

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Economy
- Commerce

Kissinger's schedule

- Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting
- Lyndon Johnson [?]
- Forthcoming dinner
- Unknown woman

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Meeting with the President, December 7, 1972
 - Strategy
 - Haig

Kissinger left at 4:13 pm.

The President's schedule

- John D. Ehrlichman

Vietnam War

- PR
 - Kissinger
 - Support for the President's policies
 - The President's November 3, 1969 speech

-The President's schedule

- Physical
- Ehrlichman's schedule

Ehrlichman entered at an unknown time after 4:13 pm.

Second term reorganization

- Ehrlichman's agenda
- Under Secretaries
 - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
 - Frank C. Carlucci
 - Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger's recommendation
 - Italian-American background

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Possible meeting with the President
 - George W. Romney
- Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
 - Outsiders
 - Conrad Calvert Knudsen
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Security and Exchange Commission [SEC] Chairman
 - William J. Casey
 - Robert Egelston
 - California
 - Joseph F. Alibrandi
 - California
- Black candidate
 - Frederick B. Dent
 - Ambassadorships
 - Thomas A. Wood
 - Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
- Dent
 - Need for administrative assistance
- Robert W. Fri
 - Environmental Protection Agency [EPA]
 - William D. Ruckelshaus
 - Speeches
 - Age
 - Kansas
 - Education
 - Rice University
 - Harvard University
 - M.B.A.
 - Kansas
 - Dent
- Donald B. Marron
 - Age
 - Mitchell Hutchins & Company
 - Investment banking
 - Compared to Fri
 - Government experience
- Former officials
 - Dent
 - Maurice H. Stans

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Rocco C. Siciliano
- James T. Lynn
- Peter G. Peterson
- Compared to Stans
- Fri
- Dent
- Jim Cleary
- William D. Eberle
- European Economic Community [EEC]
 - James D. Hodgson
 - Call from Ehrlichman
 - Thomas W. ("Teddy") Gleason
 - Wood
 - Multinational leasing company [TAW International Leasing, Inc.]
 - Africa
- Wood
 - SEC
 - FTC
 - Systems engineering, computer programming
 - Decisions Systems, Inc.
 - FTC
 - US Ordnance Tank Automotive Center
 - Chase Manhattan Bank
 - SEC
 - Electrical engineering
- Defense Department
 - Army, Navy, Air Force Secretaries
 - Louis Patrick Gray, III
 - John W. Warner
 - John A. Love
 - Howard H. ("Bo") Calloway
 - West Point graduate
 - Alibrandi
 - Catholic, Italian-American background
 - Thomas E. Hanigan
 - W. R. Grace & Co.
- EC
 - Hanigan
 - Peterson
 - Hodgson

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Geneva
 - Hodgson
- Hodgson
 - Rogers
 - Joseph A. Greenwald
- Defense Department
 - Service Secretaries
 - Warner
 - Ehrlichman's view
 - Retention
 - Calloway
 - Army
 - Identity as Southerner
 - Anne L. Armstrong
 - Calloway
 - Love
 - Partisanship
 - Commission
 - Air Force
 - Academy
 - Love
 - Frank Borman
- Chief of Protocol
 - Borman
 - Wife
 - Travel
- Defense Department
 - Air Force Secretary
 - Michael Collins
- Frank Borman
 - Chief of Protocol
- Astronauts
- General Counsel positions
 - Agencies and commissions
 - FTC
 - Defense Department
 - Strom Thurmond
 - Federal Power Commission [FPC]
 - FTC
 - SEC

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Appointments
- FTC
 - Chairmanship
 - Lewis E. Egnman
 - Age
- Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
 - William A. Carey
 - General Counsel, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC]
 - Illinois lawyer
 - Foster College
- Civil Aeronautics Board [CAB]
 - Robert D. Timm
 - John B. Connally
 - Republican Party state chairmanship [Washington]
 - Seattle
 - Public utilities commission
 - Connally
- White House social events
 - Dinner, December 16, 1972
 - The President's table
 - Sue Krogh
 - Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
 - Carol (Girard) Simon
 - Adele (Langston) Rogers
 - Barbara (Masters) Laird
 - Guests
 - Texas
 - California
- Elections
- Connally
- CAB
 - Timm
 - Muriel Siebert
 - Muriel Siebert & Company
 - New York Stock Exchange
 - Aviation
- ACTION
 - Carey
 - Illinois

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- White House Fellow
- Weinberger's recommendation
- Walter C. Howe, Jr.
- Service Secretaries
- Assistant Secretaries, Under Secretaries, General Counsels
 - Pentagon jobs
 - Businessmen
 - Advance men
 - 1968 campaign
- Executive Office of the President [EXOP]
 - Trimming staff

The President left and Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:13 pm.

- Sanchez' schedule
 - Florida

Sanchez left and the President entered at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

- Second term reorganization
 - EXOP
 - Changes
 - President's Science Advisory Committee [PSAC]
 - National Science Foundation [NSF]
 - Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy
 - Romney
 - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Kissinger
 - Office of Science and Technology [OST]
 - NSF
 - Science Advisor to the President
 - Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
 - Departure
 - Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
 - Private industry
 - Mary Beggs
 - Part-time commissions
 - Wives
 - Art

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Special Trade Representative
 - Eberle
- Space Council
 - Eberle
 - EC
 - Hodgson
- Space Council
 - Eberle
 - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]
 - EEC
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Compared to Hodgson
- Hodgson
 - Geneva
- Space Council
 - Transfer to National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
 - Reorganization plan
 - Congressional approval
 - James C. Fletcher
 - Staff reduction
- Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
- Office of Emergency Preparedness [OEP]
 - Division of duties
 - Disaster relief
 - HUD
 - Mathematical computer lab
 - General Service Administration [GSA]
 - Underground facility
 - Defense Department
 - Stockpile facility
 - GSA
 - [Gray]
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- Vacancy
- NSC
 - Armstrong
 - Possible duties
 - Stockpile policy

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Staff size
- GSA
- Disaster relief
 - Staff size
- Mathematical computer lab
 - Staff size

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security]

[Duration: 53s]

[Subject: National defense]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

- Staffing
 - NSC
 - Armstrong
 - Counselor to the President
- Consumer Affairs
 - Counselor for Human Resources
 - HEW
 - Reduction in force [RIF]
 - Virginia H. Knauer
 - Weinberger
 - Salary
 - Compared to Deputy Director
- Environmental Quality Council [EQC]
- Counselor for Natural Resources
 - Staff size
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Earl L. Butz
- Environment
- Consumer Affairs
- Reporting to the President
 - PFIAB
- Consumer Affairs

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Congressional relations
 - Knauer
- OEO
 - Staff size
 - Division of duties
 - Budget
- Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Protection
 - Ash
 - Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
 - Dr. Robert L. DuPont
- Presidential Protective Division
 - Robert H. Taylor
 - Departure
 - Richard E. Kaiser
 - William L. Duncan
 - Rank
 - Compared to Kaiser
 - Taylor
 - Harold G. Thomas
 - Duncan
 - Compared to Kaiser
 - Secret Service
 - James J. Rowley
 - Retirement
 - David B. Grant
 - Ronald M. Pontius
 - Wilson Livingood
 - Alfred Wong
 - Duncan
 - Position
 - Background
 - Training school
 - Omaha Special Agent
 - Training division
 - 1967
- Kaiser
 - Background
 - St. Louis
 - Indiana University
 - Criminology

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Mankato State University
 - Economics, Education, History
- Duncan
 - Secret Service
 - Rowley
 - Deputy Director
 - Lilburn E. Boggs
 - Charles E. ("Bebe") Rebozo's view
 - Field offices
 - New York
 - Rowley
 - Deputy
 - Retirement
 - Timing
 - 1973
 - Promotion to Deputy
 - Compared to Haig
 - Edward L. Morgan
 - Kaiser
 - Duncan
 - Secret Service
 - Kaiser
 - Compared to Duncan
 - Duncan
 - Relationship with the President
 - Ambassadors
 - List
 - Meeting
 - The President's schedule
 - Possible meeting with Apostolic delegate
 - [Pope Paul VI] Giovanni Battista Motini's message on peace
 - Timing
 - Productivity Commission
 - Possible meeting with business and labor groups
 - Cabinet Room
 - George P. Shultz's recommendation
 - Instruction for Haldeman, Ehrlichman
 - Shultz's schedule
 - Kissinger

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Ehrlichman
- Peter M. Flanigan
- Kissinger
- International economies
- Commissions
- Congressional relations
 - Robert P. Griffin
 - Leslie C. Arends
 - Leadership
 - Michael J. Mansfield
 - Briefing
 - Reorganization plans
 - Timing
 - Memorial Service for [Thomas] Hale Boggs

1972 election

- Colson's information
 - Errors in McGovern's favor
 - New Jersey, Pennsylvania
 - The President's results
 - Compared to Johnson's results
 - West Virginia
- Errors in McGovern's favor
 - Richard M. Scammon's view
 - Arch A. Moore, Jr.
- Colson's possible telephone call to Moore

Second term reorganization

- Assistant Secretaries, General Counsels
 - Frederic V. Malek
 - Political input
 - Colson
 - Harry S. Dent
 - Malek
- Alan R. Miller
- Richard B. Ogilvie
 - Law practice
 - Attorney General
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
- Commissions

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Miller
- CAB
 - Siebert
- Wood
 - OEP
 - Armstrong
 - NSC
 - Black appointees
 - AEC
 - Dixie Lee Ray
 - David
 - Fletcher
 - Budget
 - Flanigan
- Ambassadorships
 - Sweden
 - Black appointees
 - John Sherman Cooper
 - Ambassador at large
 - Norway
 - Vincent De Roulet
 - Sweden
 - Black appointees
 - De Roulet
 - Black appointees
 - US-Norway relations
 - Denmark
 - Philip K. Crowe
 - Ireland
 - John D. J. Moore
 - John A. ("Jack") Mulachy

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.]