

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-1

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:25 am and 11:30 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's foot
-Refusal to see a doctor

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:30 am.

Conversation No. 382-2

Date: December 16, 1972 Time: 11:30 am - 12:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Second term reorganization
-John A. Scali appointment

-Announcement

-Italian-Americans

-Changes

-Press relations

-The President's conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-William P. Rogers
```

- -Retentions
  - -Richard G. Kleindienst
  - -Rogers
  - -George P. Shultz
- -Number
- -Scali
- -Number of Catholics in Cabinet
  - -Roy L. Ash
  - -Claude S. Brinegar
- -Regional representation
- -Sub-Cabinet
  - -Lyndon B. Johnson
    - -Conversation with John B. Connally
      - -Marianne H. Means
      - -Post-1964 election
      - -Schedule C
  - -Press relations
    - -Ray Cromley article
    - -Washington, DC, reporters
- -White House staff cuts
  - -Press relations
    - -The President's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - -Announcement
- -Symbolism
- -Public relations [PR]
  - -Plan
- -News summaries
  - -Patrick J. Buchanan and Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin
    - -Compilation
- -PR
- -Bureaucracy
- -Peter J. Brennan's conversation with the President
  - -Brennan's visit to Labor Department
    - -Display of the President's portrait
      - -Labor offices
      - -Shultz
      - -James G. Hodgson
      - -Brennan's view
      - -Rogers's office

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

-State Department

- -Press relations
- -Brennan's Democratic Party affiliation
- -Politicans as managers
  - -John G. Veneman
    - -Performance as Under Secretary [of the Department of Health,

Education and Welfare] [HEW]

- -George W. Romney
  - -Compared to Brennan
  - -Governorship of Michigan
- -John A. Volpe
  - -Performance
    - -Colson's meeting with insurance people
    - -Truckers
    - -White House staff
  - -Loyalty
- -Volpe
  - -Ambassadorship to Italy
    - -Secretary of Transportation
      - -Interest in retention
    - -[John A. Volpe, Jr.]
  - -Exhaustion
- -Politicians as managers
  - -Robert H. Finch
    - -Performance as HEW Secretary
- -Changes
  - -PR
  - -Compared to other Presidents
    - -Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, Dwight
    - D. Eisenhower in 1956
  - -Lower level positions
    - -Rogers C. B. Morton, Shultz
      - -Under Secretaries
    - -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
    - -Rogers
  - -PR
- -Herbert G. Klein
- -Announcements
  - -Press relations
    - -Buchanan's and Allin's view

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-Brennan
                            -Scali
     -1972 election
           -George S. McGovern results
     -Blacks
     -Jews
Domestic issues
     -Democratic Party
           -Blacks
                 -Reception
                 -Welfare
                      -Colson's conversation with Peter Fosco
Second term reorganization
     -Black ambassador
           -Need to appoint
Domestic issues
     -Blacks
           -Welfare, busing
           -Robert J. Brown
Second term reorganization
     -Brennan
           -Confirmation
                 -Effect
     -PR
           -Colson's work with Kenneth W. Clawson, Richard A. Moore, William L.
            Safire
           -Safire's work on historical research
                 -Publicity for second term changes
     -James T. Lynn
           -Commerce Department
           -Political background
New Majority
     -Press relations
```

-Helen Thomas

-Reception

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-Democrats
```

-Colson

- -Reception
  - -Colson's conversation with an unknown woman reporter
    - -Aristocracy
  - -International Brotherhood of Teamsters
  - -Unknown person
    - -Teamsters
    - -Philadelphia
    - -Children
    - -Italian-Americans, Catholic background
  - -Women reporters
- -Christmas
- -Visits to White House
  - -Analogy to "Age of Jackson"
    - -Republican President
  - -Labor leaders, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans and Democrats
    - -Church service
    - -Republican President
      - -Thomas
    - -Church service
      - -Guest list
        - -Duplication
  - -Richard M. Scammon
  - -Labor leaders

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election

- -Richard M. Scammon
- -Results
  - -Arizona
  - -Missouri

New Majority

- -The President's view
  - -Compared to Republicans
    - -Arrogance

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

- -Peter H. Dominick
- -Clark MacGregor
- -Republican candidates
  - -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia Nixon Cox, and other surrogates
  - -Campaign support
- -White House Christmas tree lighting reception for the President's supporters
  - -Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
  - -Donald F. Rodgers
  - -Salvatore Provenzano [?]

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

\*

# Second term reorganization

- -Mickey Gardner
  - -White House staff
  - -Public Information Officer [PIO]
- -PIO officers
  - -Executive Office Building [EOB]
  - -Gardner
- -William J. Baroody, Jr.
  - -The President's conversation with Haldeman
  - -Background check
  - -Labor groups
  - -Lobbies
  - -Conservatism
    - -Colson's conversation with William P. Rogers

## Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am.

Haldeman's schedule

Vietnam negotiations

-Henry A. Kissinger's press conference

-Timing

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:11 pm.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
Second term reorganization
-Baroody
-Conservatism
-Intelligence
-The President's trip to the People' Republic of China [PRC]
-Managerial skills
-Frederic V. Malek
-Typical manager
-Harvard University business school
-Loyalty to the President
-Unknown Polish-American lawyer
-Compared to White Anglo-Saxon Protestant [WASP]
-Education
```

-Loyola University

### Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:30 am.

```
The President's schedule
-Kissinger's briefing
-Timing
-Haldeman's schedule
-Meeting with Kissinger
-Timing
-Kissinger's briefing
-Duration
-Possible telephone calls
```

## Bull left at an unknown time before 12:11 pm.

```
Harvard University

-John F. Kennedy Center

-Teachers

-Background

-McGovern supporters

-Republican participation

-John D. Ehrlichman

-Conversation with Colson

-American Enterprise Institute [AEI]

-Colson's efforts

-Funding
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
Press relations
     -Columbia Broadcasting Company [CBS]
           -Colson's conversation with William S. Paley
                 -Haldeman
                 -Paley's request for a meeting
                      -Timing
           -Dan Rather, Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
           -Rowland Evans
           -Peter A. Diamond
                 -Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT]
                 -Political orientation
     -Social events
           -Coverage
                 -Women reporters
                 -Reception
     -Reception
           -Patricia (Hughes) Colson's comments comparing coverage of the President
            to Kennedy
                 -Human interest
     -CBS
           -Cronkite
Second term reorganization
     -Agencies and Departments
           -Loyalty to the President
                 -Colson's work with Brennan, unknown person
                 -Brennan
                      -Labor Department
     -Shultz
           -Conversation with Colson
                 -Morton
     -Laurence H. Silberman
           -Judgeship
     -Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
           -EOB
     -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
           -George D. Webster
                 -Confirmation
                 -Conversation with Colson
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-Confirmation
```

- -Tennessee farm
- -Howard W. Cannon
- -Howard H. Baker, Jr.
- -Background check

# The President's official portrait

- -Colson's conversation with Haldeman
- -Embassies
- -Distribution
  - -Public buildings
    - -Government Service Administration [GSA]

#### Press relations

- -"Things They Would Like to Forget"
  - -US Information Agency [USIA]
    - -James Keogh
      - -Conversation with Colson
        - -McGovern
  - -Accuracy in Media [AIM] report
    - -Distribution
      - -Congressmen, editors
- -White House press corps
  - -Ralph Nader article
    - -Response
- -Nader's taxes
  - -Audit
    - -Webster's assignment

### Connally

- -Conversation with Colson
- -Schedule
  - -Cabinet dinner

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:30 am and 12:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-2A]

[See Conversation No. 34-96]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
[End of telephone conversation]

Connally's schedule

-Cabinet dinner
```

The President talked with Alexander P. Butterfield between 12:11 pm and 12:12 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-2B] [See Conversation No. 34-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

```
Press relations
     -AIM
          -News summary
          -Article about bias
                -Unknown New York businessman
                     -Xerox copy
                -US mining of Haiphong Habor
                -CBS
                -Distribution
                     -Editors
                     -Xerox copy
                          -Unknown New York businessman
                -CBS
                -Newsweek
                -CBS
                     -George S. McGovern
               -US mining of Haiphong
                     -New York Times
                     -Washington Post
```

1972 election
-The Left
-Reaction

\*

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
Edward M. Kennedy's speech

-Relations with moderate Democrats
-McGovern

-Change of party affiliation by Democrats

-Patrick J. Buchanan, Michael J. Maye

-Need to establish momentum

-Frank L. Rizzo

-Ethnics

-Robert S. Strauss

-John B. Connally

-Future plans

-Conversation with Colson
```

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

```
Vietnam War
     -Negotiations
           -Kissinger's press conference
                 -North Vietnam's delays
                       -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                 -Casualties
                       -US, North and South Vietnam
                 -Settlement agreement
                 -North Vietnam's delays
                       -Offensive
                 -Follow-up
                       -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
                              -Hanoi, Haiphong
     -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -US public opinion
           -Effect on North Vietnam
           -Limitation
                 -Effect
     -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
           -Views
                 -Congressional relations
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

-Cut off of US aid to South Vietnam

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Letters from the President

- -Negotiations
  - -Continuation
- -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Kissinger
  - -Congressional relations
  - -Le Duc Tho
    - -Statement

-Tone

- -Domestic reaction
- -Duration
  - -January-February 1973
- -Kissinger
- -Negotiations
  - -Pressure on North Vietnam
- -Congressional relations
  - -Cut off of US aid to South Vietnam
    - -Agnew's view
      - -Charles McC. Mathias, Charles H. Percy
    - -House of Representatives, Senate
    - -Supplemental spending bill
    - -Military

-Pentagon

- -Vietnamization
  - -Announcement
    - -January 1973
- -Settlement agreement
  - -North and South Vietnam
  - -Cease-fire
  - -POWs
  - -McGovern's view
  - -Thieu
  - -Public opinion
    - -POWs
      - -Honor
    - -Cease-fire
      - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - -Thieu's retention

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-Vietnamization
     -Congressional relations
     -US withdrawal and cessation of US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
           -POWs
                 -North Vietnam's possible demand
                       -Cut off of US aid to South Vietnam
                             -Congressional relations
     -North Vietnam's demands
           -US public opinion
-The President's May 8, 1972 decision
     -Domestic reaction
           -The President's advisers' view
-Breakdown in negotiations
     -North Vietnam's responsibility
           -Kissinger's press conference
-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
     -Compared to the President's May 8, 1972 decision
           -North Vietnam's invasion of South Vietnam
     -POWs
-US public opinion
     -Communists
     -Thieu
     -POWs
           -Honor
-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
     -Effect on North Vietnam
           -Negotiations
                 -Tone
                 -The President's first term
                       -Passive
                 -1972 election
                       -Results
                       -McGovern
                             -"Doves"
                 -Congressional relations
```

### Second term reorganization

-PR

- -Ronald L. Ziegler
- -Clawson

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

```
-Carryovers
-The President's official portrait
-Labor Department
-Brennan
-Robert Armayo
-1972 campaign
-Kennedy photographs, US flags
-Hodgson
-Shultz
```

Shultz's views
-Liberalism
-Sidney Hook

Second term reorganization
-Bureaucracy
-Colson's conversation with Louis P. Harris

### Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:12 pm.

```
The President's schedule
-Kissinger's press conference
-Completion
-Haldeman
-Kissinger
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
```

## Bull left at an unknown time before 12:45 pm.

```
Second term reorganization
-Colson's conversation with Harris
-Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS]
-Unemployment statistics
-Albert E. Sindlinger
-Press relations
-New personnel
-Historical significance
-Second level appointees
-Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans
-Ambassadors
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-2 (cont'd)

-Labor

-James Suffridge and Einar Mohn -Advantages -Symbolism

Labor relations

-George Meany

Press relations

-William S. Paley

-Buchanan

-Colson

-Washington Post article

-John A. Scali

-Garnett D. ("Jack") Horner's interview with the President

-Announcements

-Washington Star, Washington Post

-Scali

-Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead

-Networks

-Coverage

-Fairness

-Vietnam War

-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

Colson left at 12:45 pm.

Conversation No. 382-3

Date: December 16, 1972 Time: 12:45 pm - 1:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler, Henry A. Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam War

-Henry A. Kissinger's press conference -Ziegler's view

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

- -Tone
- -Settlement agreement
  - -Conditions
    - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - -No coalition government
    - -Cease-fire
    - -US withdrawal
    - -October 1972
  - -South Vietnam's position
    - -The President's position
      - -Signing
  - -North Vietnam's position
    - -Decision
- -Press relations
  - -Negotiations
    - -Linguistic changes
    - -Settlement agreement
      - -Conditions
      - -Question and answer [Q & A] session
      - -Wires

-Cease-fire

- -Tone
  - -Kissinger's "peace is at hand" comment, October 26, 1972
- -Negotiations
  - -Status
    - -Progress
- -Settlement agreement
  - -North Vietnam's duplicity
- -US military action
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -News reports [media and press relations]
    - -B-52s
    - -Reseeding mines
    - -Public Information Officers [PIOs]
    - -South Vietnam
    - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
    - -Prevention of enemy buildup and offensive
  - -Gen. Frederick C. Weyand
  - -Reseeding mines
  - -Press relations

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

```
-Settlement agreement
-The President's May 8, 1972 decision
-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
-October 23, 1972
-B-52s
-Hanoi
-Haiphong
-The President's May 8, 1972 decision
-Negotiations
-Defense Department
-State Department
-State Department
-South Vietnam
-Kissinger's press conference
-Press relations
-Telephone calls
```

-National Security Council [NSC]

### Ziegler left at 12:55 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations

-The President's letters

-Haig's trip to Saigon

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-Notification

-The President's letter

-Draft
```

### An unknown man entered at an unknown time after 12:55 pm.

-Follow-up stories

Refreshment

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 1:25 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations
-Thieu
-The President's letter
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's trip
-Purpose
-Settlement agreement
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

```
-October and week of November 20, 1972
           -Saigon radio
           -North Vietnam
                -Concessions
                      -Demands
-Kissinger's press conference
     -Press relations
           -Comparison to US action in Cambodia and Laos
           -Misleading US people
           -"Peace is at hand"
           -Thieu
                -Agnew
           -Settlement agreement
                -The President's intentions
                      -Guarantees
                            -Cease-fire
                            -Free elections
           -Helen Thomas
           -Peter Lisagor
     -Timing
     -Options
           -Kissinger's press conference
           -Scale
                -US public opinion
                      -Number of sorties
                -Effect on North Vietnam
           -North Vietnam's delays
           -Agnew
           -William P. Rogers
           -Melvin R. Laird
                -Settlement agreement
           -Duration
                -B-52s
                      -Number
                            -Effect on North Vietnam
                -Kissinger's view
                      -Vietnamese intransigence
                -Christmas pause
```

-Breakdown

-North Vietnam

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

- -North Vietnam's strategy
  - -Settlement agreement
    - -Timing
      - -1973 Inauguration
- -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Duration
    - -Effect
    - -Christmas
    - -Possible North Vietnam message
    - -Settlement agreement
      - -Signing
    - -Targets
    - -Settlement agreement
      - -North Vietnam's delays
        - -Number of sorties
  - -North Vietnam's air defense
    - -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
      - -Transport
        - -Messages
      - -Ellsworth F. Bunker
  - -US domestic reaction
    - -Sophisticates
    - -Press relations
      - -Resumption of bombing
      - -PIOs
    - -North Vietnam
      - -Propaganda
- -Kissinger's message to North Vietnam
  - -US bombing
  - -Thanksgiving [November] understandings
  - -"Administrative structure"
  - -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Moonshot analogy
  - -Public relations [PR]
    - -Cambodia invasion, the President's May 8, 1972 decision
  - -Congressional relations
    - -Michael J. Mansfield, Charles H. Percy, Charles McC. Mathias
- -Thieu

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

```
-Meeting with Haig
     -Agnew's trip
           -Advisability
                 -The President's meeting with Agnew
           -Relations with US
                 -The President's letters
                 -Ambassador briefings
                       -Saigon Radio
     -Laird
-Options
     -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
     -Nuclear weapons
     -Soviet Union
     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
     -North Vietnam
     -US bombing, mining
     -North Vietnam's offensives
     -Vietnamization
     -US withdrawal
           -POWs
                 -George S. McGovernites
                       -Mansfield Amendment
                 -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
                 -Bilateral deal
                       -US interests
                 -US aid to South Vietnam
                       -Laos, Cambodia
                       -Settlement agreement
                       -Thieu's survival
-South Vietnam
     -Ambassador briefings in Paris
           -Leaks to North Vietnam
                 -Congressional relations
                 -US military involvement
                 -Nguyen Phu Duc
                 -Bunker
-US withdrawal
     -POWs
           -US domestic reaction
           -South Vietnam
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

```
-North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, Laos
                 -PRC
-October 1972 agreement
     -Effect
     -Clauses
           -DMZ
     -Thieu
     -Surprise
-Settlement agreement
     -North Vietnam
           -Delays
                 -Kissinger's possible trip
                       -Effect
                             -US bombing
                             -Incentive
                 -Kissinger's previous trips
                 -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
-Status
     -Soviet Union, PRC
     -Kissinger's message to the PRC
           -Reply
                 -Forthcoming briefing
                       -Timing
                       -Florida
     -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
           -Transcript of December 13, 1972 talks
                 -Tone
           -Conversation with Kissinger
                 -The President' possible action
                       -Timing
                             -Christmas
-Haig's conversation with an unknown Chinese
-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
     -"Doves"
           -McGovern
           -1972 election
           -Congressional relations
           -Thieu
                 -November 1972
     -Kissinger's press conference
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-3 (cont'd)

-Press relations -Tone

Haig and Kissinger left at 1:25 pm.

Conversation No. 382-4

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:26 pm and 1:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

### The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-Possible meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
-Timing

Sanchez left at 1:26 pm.

Conversation No. 382-5

Date: December 16, 1972 Time: 1:26 pm - 1:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

## The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Possible meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
-Issues
-Cabinet dinner
-Seating arrangements
-Guest list
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Size
-Possible additions

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-5 (cont'd)

-Dr. Edward E. David, Jr. [?]
-Leonard Garment
-Herbert G. Klein
-Size
-Seating arrangements

Butterfield left at 1:35 pm.

Conversation No. 382-6

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:35 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with an unknown person.

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Television [TV] set -Football game

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 3:25 pm.

Conversation No. 382-7

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:35 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

## Tape Subject Log

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-7 (cont'd)

See deed of gift log

Miami Dolphins football game -Score

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:25 pm.

Conversation No. 382-8

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:35 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-98]

Conversation No. 382-9

Date: December 16, 1972 Time: 3:25 pm - 3:28 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 34-99]

Conversation No. 382-10

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:28 pm and 3:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-10 (cont'd)

### The President talked with John D. Ehrlichman.

Federal budget
-Defense
-Revenue sharing
-General
-Special
-Cost
-Youth Conservation Corps
-Cost
-Summer Youth Programs

Conversation No. 382-11

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:28 pm and 3:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with an unknown person.

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

Conversation No. 382-12

Date: December 16, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:28 pm and 3:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-12 (cont'd)

### The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Rose Mary Woods's schedule
-New York
-Item for Woods's desk
-Woods's correspondence

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:45 pm.

Conversation No. 382-13

Date: December 16, 1972 Time: 3:45 pm - 5:25 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

```
White House renovation
      -Bowling alley
           -Driveway
           -Locker room, whirlpool, sauna, shower
           -Costs
                 -Donations
                 -Construction
                       -Sauna, pool
                 -Maintenance
                       -Air conditioning, electrical, CO<sub>2</sub> system, satellite [?] systems,
                        fire protection
                 -Construction
                 -Donations
                       -Sauna, whirlpool
                 -White House
                       -Maintenance
                             -Air conditioning
                 -Donations
                       -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
                             -Funds
                                   -Whirlpool, sauna
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

## -Locker room facility

#### Second term reorganization

- -Announcement
- -Agency heads and Under Secretaries
- -Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
  - -John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
    - -George P. Shultz
      - -Ehrlichman
    - -Departure
    - -Ehrlichman's view
- -National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
  - -[John C. Fletcher]
    - -Ehrlichman's view
- -AEC
  - -[Dixy Lee Ray]
- -Anne L. Armstrong
  - -Conversation with Haldeman
  - -Intelligence
  - -View of organization chart
    - -Positions of Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Henry A. Kissinger
      - -Compared to Counselors to the President
        - -Donald H. Rumsfeld
        - -Robert H. Finch
  - -Counselor to the President
    - -Cabinet rank
  - -Withdrawal
  - -Italian-American
    - -Ehrlichman's view
  - -Rumsfeld
  - -Bryce N. Harlow
  - -Responsibilities
    - -Bicentennial
    - -Prisoners of War [POWs] and Missing In Action [MIAs]
    - -Voluntarism
    - -Ehrlichman
  - -Women
    - -White House staff
    - -Concerns

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Counselor to the President
-Peter M. Flanigan
-Shultz
-Treasury Department
-Counselors to the President
-Armstrong
-Staff
-Kissinger
-National Security Council [NSC]
-Armstrong
-Announcement
-Timing
-Women's group meeting
-Ray
-Leak
```

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:45 pm and 4:27 pm.

Haldeman talked with Ronald L. Ziegler at an unknown time between 3:45 pm and 4:27 pm.

```
[Conversation No. 382-13A]
```

[See Conversation No. 34-100]

```
Second term reorganization
-Armstrong
-Responsibilities
-Bicentennial
-POWs
-Announcement
```

[End of telephone conversation]

```
Second term reorganization
-Statistics on appointments of women
-Instruction for Ziegler
-Announcement
-Alexander P. Butterfield
-Federal Aviation Administration [FAA]
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

#### Press relations

- -Ziegler
- -Barbara Walters
  - -"Today Show"
- -Ziegler's possible conversation with Virginia Sherwood [of American Broadcasting Corporation] [ABC]

#### The President's schedule

- -Elmer H. Bobst
  - -Recommended telephone call from the President
  - -Library dedication
    - -Cabinet members' schedule
      - -Cancellation
  - -Birthday party
    - -White House

### Rose Mary Woods's schedule

- -1972 campaign
- -Oval Office

### Vietnam negotiations

- -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - -The President's view
  - -Possible trip to Saigon
    - -The President's letter [to Nguyen Van Thieu]
    - -The President's conversation with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - -Haldeman's view
  - -Possible telephone call from Ronald W. Reagan

### Second term reorganization

- -Status of Cabinet in second term
- -Armstrong
  - -Counselor to the President
  - -Responsibilities

### Manolo Sanchez [?] entered at an unknown time after 3:45 pm.

Refreshments

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

## Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:27 pm.

```
Second term reorganization
     -Armstrong
           -Status
                 -White House staff
                 -Protocol
           -Responsibilities
                 -POWs, MIAs
                      -Announcement
                 -Recruiting of women
                 -Bicentennial
                      -Agnew
           -Counselor to the President
                 -Special assignments
                      -Policy
                            -Work with the President and Cabinet
                            -Women
                                  -Interests
                                  -Role in government
                 -Credibility
     -Blacks
     -John A. Scali
           -Ambassadorship to United Nations [UN]
                 -Press relations
                 -UN
                 -Press relations
                       -Qualifications
                 -Qualifications
                      -William P. Rogers
                            -Conversation with Haldeman
                      -ABC
                      -Diplomatic correspondent experience
                      -The President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
                        and the Soviet Union
```

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 3:45 pm and 4:27 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-13B]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
[See Conversation No. 34-101]
[End of telephone call]
       Second term reorganization
            -Armstrong
                  -Counselor to the President
                        -Meetings
                        -Compared to Finch
                        -Role as spokesperson
                        -Staff
                              -Size
                              -Barbara H. Franklin
                              -Administrative assistant
                  -Schedule
       The President's schedule
            -Cabinet dinner
                  -Seating arrangements
                        -Armstrong
                        -Josephine (Brickley) Brennan
                        -Carol (Girard) Simon
                        -Instruction for Butterfield
                        -Cabinet
                              -Sub-Cabinet
                        -Armstrong
                              -Announcement
                                   -Press relations
                                   -The President's possible remarks
             -Edward R. G. Heath
                  -Visit to US
                        -Timing
                              -1973 Inauguration
       1972 campaign funds
            -Surplus
                  -Disposition
                        -The President's meeting with Maurice H. Stans
```

-Confidentiality

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

-Disposition

-Alternatives

-Republican National Committee [RNC] debts

-Stans's view

-Return to contributors

-Carry over

-1974, 1976

-Republican National Command Committee

-Senate and House campaign committees

-Republican state committees

-Congressional and Senatorial candidates' debts

-GOP endowment fund

-Income

-Use

-Recruitment

-Bicentennial

-Reporting

-Campaign clean up fund

-Timing

-December 1972

-Post-campaign expenses

-Litigation

-Taxes

-Stock sales

-Refunds

-Appointments

-Nixon Foundation

-Tax deductions

-Campaign committees

The White House operator talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 3:45 pm and 4:27 pm.

[Conversation No. 381-13C]

[See Conversation No. 34-102]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 campaign funds

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Post-campaign expenses
     -1974 campaign
           -Stans
-Peter H. Dominick, Bob Wilson
     -Conversation with Stans
           -Congressional campaign funds for incumbents or challengers
-Herbert Brownell
     -Daniel K .Ludwig
     -Dan Evans
           -Washington State
     -Jack Eckerd
           -Florida
     -Thomas Spencer Shore
     -Wiley Buchanan
           -Ohio
-Stans
-Contribution amounts
     -Compared to pledges
     -Refunds
     -Clifford Folger
     -Stans
     -Charles W. Colson, John B. Connally
     -Stans
-Surplus
     -Disposition
           -Candidates
                -1970
           -Clean up fund
                -The President's meeting with Stans
                -Reporting
                      -RNC
                      -January 1973
                -Liabilities
                -1968 campaign
-Nixon Foundation
     -Fundraiser
           -Capitol Hill Club
           -Dwight D. Eisenhower Center
                -Nixon wing
                -Library
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

# Ziegler entered at 4:27 pm.

```
Armstrong's location
```

Ziegler's press conference
-Timing

## Second term reorganization

-Armstrong

-Counselor to the President

-Leak

-Cabinet rank

-Responsibilities

-Work with the President, Cabinet

-Women

-Interests

-Bicentennial

-Agnew

-Politics

-Donald H. Rumsfeld, Finch

-Bryce N. Harlow

-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

-Arthur F. Burns

-Special assignments

-EOB office

-Cabinet rank

-Leak

-Texas

-Dallas Morning News

-Jackson B. Krueger

-Dallas Times Herald

-John Taylor [?]

#### -Press

-Houston

-San Antonio Light

-Houston Chronicle

-Dallas newspapers

-Hearst newspaper

-San Antonio Light

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

-1972 election
-Texas newspapers
-Washington Star
-Washington Post
-Morning editions

# Vietnam negotiations

-Kissinger's press conference

-Press relations

-Kissinger's "peace is at hand" comment, October 26, 1972

-News summary

-Ziegler's view

-Tone

-Format

-Paragraph

-The President's memoranda

-Ziegler's efforts

-Points

-Prisoners of War [POWs]

-Cease-fire

-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

#### Press relations

-Washington Star

-Washington Post

# Ziegler left at an unknown time before 5:25 pm.

Press relations

-Leaks

-Ziegler

-Washington Post

### The President's schedule

-Cabinet dinner

-Armstrong

-Church service

-Meeting with Stans

-Meeting with William D. Ruckelshaus

-Meeting with Richard G. Kleindienst

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

- -Ehrlichman's recommendation
- -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
- -Loyalty
- -Personality

## Second term reorganization

- -Patrick J. Buchanan's and Lyndon K. ("Mort") Allin's analysis
  - -News summary
- -The President's conversation with Colson
- -Personalities
- -Changes
  - -Ziegler, Colson
  - -Compared to Theodore Roosevelt, 1904
  - -Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1936
  - -Eisenhower, 1956
- -Rogers
- -Cabinet
- -Labor Department
- -Rogers C. B. Morton
- -Kleindienst
- -Press relations
  - -Labor Department, Agriculture Department, State Department
  - -Ambassadorships
  - -Agencies

### The President's schedule

- -Cabinet dinner
  - -Seating arrangements
    - -Armstrong
      - -Carol Simon
    - -Josephine Brennan

## New Majority

- -Snobs
  - -The President's constituency
    - -Compared to intellectual elite
    - -Suburbanites
- -The President's conversation with Colson
  - -Church service
  - -Reception for 1972 election supporters

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Andrew Jackson analogy
                     -Democrats
                     -Previous visitors to the White House
                     -Receiving line
                          -Red, white, and blue attire
                               -Press relations
                               -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      Party affiliation
           -Connally
                -Robert S. Strauss
           -Potential Presidential candidates
                -Agnew
                -Charles H. Percy
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
The President's schedule
           -Appointments and commissions
                -Vietnam War
                     -US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -Diplomatic credentials
           -Surrogates reception
                -Number of guests
           -Surrogates
                -Departures
                     -Sally (Hornbogen) Peterson
           -Cabinet dinner
                -Seating arrangements
                     -Sally Peterson
                -Under Secretaries
                -Cabinet
                -Young voters
                     -Volunteers and staff
```

-Surrogates reception

-White House staff

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Cabinet dinner

-The President's role

-Hand-shaking
-Surrogates reception

-Young voters

-The President's possible comments
```

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Role in 1972 campaign
-Celebrity
-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
-Personality
-Tricia Nixon Cox
```

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
The President's schedule
-Physical examination
-Mrs. Nixon's schedule
-Tea
-Diplomatic children's reception
-The President's role
-Hand-shaking
-Vietnam War
-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
-The President's telephone calls
-Howard R. Hughes
```

-Birthday

Second term reorganization
-Compared to 1968
-Campaign advance men
-Recruitment
-Who's Who

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Cabinet
                 -Assistant Secretaries
                       -Introductions
                       -Checking
                 -Staffing
                       -Harry S. Flemming
                            -Compared to Frederic V. Malek
     -Cabinet transitions
           -Malek's role
     -Surrogates
           -Departures
                 -1972 campaign
     -James M. Beggs
           -Transportation Under Secretary
                 -Cabinet dinner
           -Mary Elizabeth (Harrison) Begg's role in 1972 campaign
                 -Organization of wives
           -Departure
     -Fundraising
The President's schedule
     -Cabinet dinner
           -Herbert G. Klein
           -Colson
                 -Reception for 1972 election supporters
Second term reorganization
     -William J. Baroody, Jr.
           -Haldeman's view
                 -The President's conversation with Colson
           -Physical appearance
                 -Compared to William J. Baroody
                 -Lebanese-American background
           -Personality
                 -Compared to Colson
           -Politics
                 -Previous work with Melvin R. Laird
           -White House staff
                 -Adversary role
                       -Policy
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
*************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 campaign
          -Mrs. Nixon
          -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
          -Tricia Nixon Cox
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
          -Michael J. Balzano, Jr.
               -Ehrlichman's view
                   -1972 campaign
                        -Michigan
      1972 campaign
          -Balzano's role
               -Compared to John C. Whitaker
               -Michigan
                   -Colson's view
                        -Colson's conversation with Ehrlichman
                        -Busing
          -Michigan
               -Busing
                   -Colson's role
                   -Martin S. Hayden's view
                   -Edwin L. Harper's view
                        -Ehrlichman staff
                   -Robert P. Griffin's view
     Second term reorganization
          -Balzano
               -Haldeman's view
               -The President's view
```

-Education

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Compared to Donald F. Rodgers
     -Rodgers
           -Haldeman's conversation with Colson
Public relations [PR]
     -Administration performance
           -Credit
                -Ehrlichman's view
                      -Eisenhower administration
                -Eisenhower's administration
                -Ehlrichman's staff
                      -Whitaker
                      -Balzano
     -Finch
           -Work in 1960 campaign
                -Leonard Hall
           -Value
                -Travel
     -Herbert G. Klein
           -Managerial ability
           -Possible departure
                -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
                      -Colson
Press relations
     -CBS
     -Washington Post
     -New York Times
     -Washington Post
           -Effect
                -Congressmen and Senators
                -Compared to CBS, New York Times
                -Congressmen and Senators
                      -News summaries
                           -Colson's view
     -News summaries
           -Tone
                -Buchanan
                -1972 election
                -Cartoons
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

#### -Hebert L. Block

#### Personnel

-Vacations

-The President's conversation with Ehrlichman

#### Speeches

-1973 Inauguration

-William L. Safire

-Theodore Roosevelt's Inaugural address -Length

#### Second term reorganization

-Budget

-Revenue sharing

-Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger

-Ehrlichman

-Summer Youth Program

-Agnew

-Weinberger

-Ehrlichman

-Weinberger

-Defense Department

-Elliot L. Richardson, William P. Clements, Jr.

-Duplication

-Research and development [R & D]

-Air Force

-Haig

-Dr. James R. Schlesinger

-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]

-Budget

-Defense Intelligence Agency [DIA]

-"Washington cocktail set"

-Meeting with John C. Stennis

-Timing

-Stennis's meeting with Richardson

-Harry S. Dent

-Relationship with Stennis

-Meeting with Stennis

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
-Richard M. Helms
```

#### -Helms

- -Cabinet dinner
- -Ambassadorship to Iran
  - -The President's conversations with Kissinger and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
- -Saudi Arabia
  - -Connally's location

#### The President's schedule

- -Cabinet dinner
  - -Toast
    - -Rogers
    - -Christmas
    - -1972 election
    - -Cabinet, wives
    - -New Majority
    - -Peter J. Brennan
      - -Reaction

#### The President left and entered at an unknown time before 5:25 pm.

The President's schedule

- -Cabinet dinner
  - -Toast
    - -Armstrong
    - -Moynihan
    - -Scali
    - -Armstrong

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 4:27 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-13D]

[See Conversation No. 34-103]

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 5:25 pm.

[End of telephone conversation]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
The President's schedule
     -Cabinet dinner
           -Toast
                -Rumsfeld
                -George H. W. Bush
                -Armstrong
                -Moynihan
                -Harlow
                -Moynihan
PR
     -Bowling alley
           -Harry S. Truman
                -Basement
           -Pool
The President's schedule
     -Cabinet dinner
           -Toast
                -Armstrong
                -Moynihan
```

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:27 pm.

Request for Manolo Sanchez

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 5:25 pm.

```
White House
-Bowling alley
-Costs
-Donations
-Rebozo
```

Haldeman talked with Armstrong at an unknown time between 4:27 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-13E]

[See Conversation No. 34-104]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

```
[End of telephone conversation]
```

The President's schedule
-Cabinet dinner
-Toast

-Armstrong

-Conversations with Haldeman and the President

-Agnew

Haldeman talked to an unknown person [Lawrence M. Higby] at an unknown time between 4:27 pm and 5:25 pm.

[Conversation No. 382-13F]

The President's schedule

-Cabinet dinner

-Seating arrangements

-Armstrong

-Armstrong's schedule

-Transportation

-Mayflower Hotel

-Young voters

-Greetings by the President and Mrs. Nixon

-Hand-shaking

-East Room

## [End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

-Cabinet dinner

-Armstrong's schedule

-Transportation

-Hand-shaking

Second term reorganization

-Armstrong

-Counselor to the President

-Responsibilities

-Politics

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-13 (cont'd)

-Women
-POWs
-Organization chart
-Haldeman
-Compared to Finch, Rumsfeld

Haldeman left at 5:25 pm.

Conversation No. 382-14

Date: December 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:19 pm and 2:24 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez [?].

\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Football game broadcast -Channel

-Radio station

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*

Sanchez [?] left at an unknown time before 2:24 pm.

Conversation No. 382-15

Date: December 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:19 pm and 2:24 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-15 (cont'd)

#### The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Draft of the President's letter to Nguyen Van Thieu -Delivery to a secretary

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:24 pm.

Conversation No. 382-16

Date: December 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:19 pm and 2:24 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

### The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Draft of the President's letter to Nguyen Van Thieu
-Completion by secretary
-Request for a meeting with Haig
-Manolo Sanchez

Conversation No. 382-17

Date: December 17, 1972 Time: 2:24 pm - 2:45 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

### The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam War

-Haig's schedule

-Trip to Saigon

-Departure

-Timing

-Draft of the President's letter to Nguyen Van Thieu

-Meeting with Thieu

-Duration

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-17 (cont'd)

-Interpreter

-Tone

-Thieu's view

-US-North Vietnam relations

-Henry A. Kissinger's press conference

-The President's letter to Thieu

-Tone

-Haig's trip to Saigon

-Negotiations

-US-South Vietnam relations

-Bilateral deal

-Negotiations

-Kissinger's press conference

-US-South Vietnam relations

-Thieu

-Bilateral deal

-Thieu's view

-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Hanoi

-North Vietnam

-Haig's view

-Statement, December 16, 1972

-October 1972

-Response to Kissinger's press conference

-Distribution

-Pentagon

-US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-B-52s

-Weather

-TACAIR

-Escorts

-Surface to air missiles [SAMs]

-Possible problems

-Necessity

-North Vietnam's possible reactions

-The President's letter to Thieu

-Haig's reading

-Tone

-Kissinger

-Haig's reading

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 382-17 (cont'd)

```
-Final paragraph
     -Final paragraph
           -Negotiations
                -US-South Vietnam relations
                      -Ultimatum
                      -Cooperation
                      -Settlement agreement
     -Radio Hanoi
     -Thieu
     -Tone
     -Thieu
           -The President
-Haig's meeting with Thieu
     -Senators' views on settlement agreement
           -Barry M. Goldwater
           -John C. Stennis
           -"Hawks"
     -Thieu
           -Midway meeting with the President
           -Relationship with the President
           -Congressional relations
                -Cut off of US funds
           -South Vietnam survival
-Haig's schedule
-Haig's meeting with Thais, Cambodians, Laotians
     -Cambodia
           -Thieu
                -Settlement agreement
           -US ambassador
                -Emory C. Swank
```

The President's schedule

Haig left at 2:45 pm.

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. June-08)

Conversation No.382-20

Date: December 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:45 pm and 3:11 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-115]

Conversation No. 382-18

Date: December 17, 1972 Time: 3:11 pm - 3:13 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 34-116; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

Conversation No. 382-19

Date: December 17, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:13 pm and 3:16 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 34-117; one item has been withdrawn from the conversation]