

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:00 pm and 6:20 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

[This recording began while the meeting was in progress]

```
Vietnam negotiations
```

-Breakdown

-Press relations

icss iciations

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-John B. Connally

-Richard A. Moore

-Connally

-Henry A. Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible television [TV] appearance

-Blame

-North Vietnam

-US, South Vietnam

-US military action

-Pace

-Civilians

-The President's message to Kissinger

-North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

-Prisoners of war [POWs]

-The President's previous TV appearances

-Troop withdrawals

-US military action

-Cambodia

-Bombing, mining

-Purpose

-Duration

-Outline

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Kissinger's schedule
-Record
-Necessity
     -North Vietnam, South Vietnam
     -Public relations [PR]
           -North Vietnam
           -George S. McGovernites
                 -South Vietnam
           -Possible domestic problem
                 -North Vietnam, McGovernites
                       -Blame on US
                             -Effect
                                   -Hardhats
                                   -1972 election
                                   -George H. Gallup polls
                                         -Reinhardt [sp?] [first
                                          name unknown]
                                         -Joseph L. Tauro
           -Settlement agreement
                 -Cease-fire
                       -Communist violations
                              -Louis P. Harris poll
```

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:56 pm.

```
[See Conversation No. 34-23]

[Conversation No. 386-1A]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election

-Vietnam negotiations

-Kissinger's press conference, October 26, 1972

-Reaction

-Tone

-Polls

-[Opinion Research Corporation] [ORC]

-Albert E. Sindlinger
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Watergate
-McGovern
-Tax reform
-Unemployment
-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] profile
-Whites
-Blacks
-Integration
-McGovern's speech on the economy
-Colson's conversation with Haldeman
-Timing
```

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible TV appearance

-The President's view

-Colson and Haldeman's views

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull between 2:56 pm and 2:57 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-24]

[Conversation No. 386-1B]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

-Reception for California administration officials

-The President's possible statement

-Robert H. Finch's recommendation

-California Republicans

-Talent

-TV poll

-Possible meeting in San Clemente

-Timing

The President talked with the White House operator at 2:58 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-25]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
[Conversation No. 386-1C]
```

[End of telephone conversation]

```
The President's schedule
     -Reception for California administration officials
           -Dinner
                 -Blair House
                 -Seating arrangements
                       -The President's experience as Congressman
           -Medals
                 -Presentation
                 -Gold
                       -Value
                 -Leonard K. Firestone
                 -Taft Schreiber
                 -Silver
                 -Gold
                       -Inscription
           -Finch
                 -Letter
           -Dinner
           -Camp David
           -Californians
                 -The President's role
                       -Hand-shaking, greetings
                       -Seating
                       -Clothing
                             -Black tie
                       -The President's possible remarks
                             -Vietnam War
                       -Departure
```

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:00 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations
-Breakdown
-Kissinger's recommendations
-Instruction for Ziegler, Haldeman, Colson
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

-Consultation

-Purpose -Dinner

-Clothing

-Jonathan Winters -[Foster Brooks]

-Medals presentation

-Black tie

-Brooks

-Entertainment

-Location

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Reading
Ziegler left at an unknown time before 3:10 pm.
       Second term reorganization
             -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
                  -Donald H. Rumsfeld
                        -Departure
                              -Timing
                  -Peter G. Peterson
                        -Departure
                              -Trip to Europe
                              -Rejection of ambassadorship-at-large
                              -Trip to Europe
                                   -Common Market
                                   -Japan
                                   -Brazil
       The President's schedule
             -Reception for California administration officials
                  -Finch's recommendation
                        -Blair House
                              -Dinner
                  -Medals presentation
                  -Tribute to Finch
                        -John D. Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz, Rumsfeld, Peter M. Flanigan
                              -Reception
                                   -Cocktails
                        -Entertainment
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-Winters

```
Second term reorganization
     -Rumsfeld
           -NATO
     -Peterson
           -Trip
                 -Study
                 -Ambassadorship-at-large
                      -Cabinet rank
                      -Shultz's recommendation
                 -Special representative
                 -Plane
                      -David M. Kennedy
                      -Japan
                      -Gas
                            -Cost
The President's schedule
     -Reception for California administration officials
           -Finch
                 -Conversation with Haldeman
                      -Camp David
           -Timing
           -Hand-shaking
           -Remarks
           -Speeches
           -Entertainment
           -Medals presentation
           -White House staff
           -California Republicans
                -Possible meeting in San Clemente
                      -Timing
                 -Ronald W. Reagan, Finch
                 -Politics
Second term reorganization
     -Finch and Rumsfeld
           -Compared to "Hamlet"
     -Rumsfeld
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-NATO

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 3:00 pm.

```
Haldeman's schdedule
-Ziegler
-Connally
-Meeting with the President
-Timing
```

Haldeman left at 3:10 pm.

```
Vietnam negotiations
     -Breakdown
           -Kissinger's recommendations
                -The President's possible TV appearance
                      -The President's previous TV appearances
                           -Cambodia
                           -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
                      -Enemy trickery
                      -US military action
                           -Duration
                                 -POWs
                      -PR
                           -US
                                 -North Vietnam, press relations
                           -Possible domestic problem
                                 -North Vietnam
                                 -McGovernites
                                 -Press relations
                                 -Washington, DC
                                 -Pressure on Kissinger
                                 -North Vietnam
                      -US bombing of North Vietnam
                           -B-52s
                      -PR
                           -Administration supporters
                           -Administration opponents
                           -Kissinger's possible statement
                                 -Tone
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Public expectations
```

- -Washington, DC
 - -Compared to Wall Street
- -Morale
- -North Vietnam
- -The President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union
- -Kissinger's resignation
- -Haldeman's and the President's view
- -Ziegler's view
 - -"Dramatic" effect
 - -US military action
 - -Pace
 - -Statements -18th and 19th Parallels
 - -Previous statements
 - -Kissinger's "peace is at hand" statement, October 26, 1972
 - -The President's address, "Look to the Future," November 2, 1972
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Signing

-Timing

- -US troops remaining in
 - South Vietnam
- -Draft
- -Casualties

- -Kissinger's possible statement
 - -North Vietnam's intransigence
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -South Vietnam
 - -Recess
 - -North Vietnam's intransigence
 - -POWs
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam
- -Kissinger's recommendation
 - -The President's possible TV appearance -PR
 - -"Peace is at hand"
- -Kissinger's possible statement

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-TV
     -US military action
           -Duration
                -POWs
-Kissinger's message
     -North Vietnam-South Vietnam relations
           -Vietnamization
-US bombing of North Vietnam
     -Haiphong, Hanoi
-North Vietnam
     -Settlement agreement
           -"Peace is at hand"
-Kissinger's possible statement
     -Duration
     -Le Duc Tho
     -North Vietnamese intransigence
           -Settlement agreement
                -Signing
     -POWs
     -Ouestions
-Kissinger's recommendations
     -The President's possible TV appearance
           -PR
                -Public interest in Christmas shopping, POWs
           -"Peace is at hand"
                -North Vietnam's reversion
```

Press relations

-Ziegler's announcement

-Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]

-Peterson's departure

-Leak

-Shultz

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Tone

-Previous statements

-Timing of signing of settlement agreement [November 2, 1972

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
statement]
                       -Compared to "peace is at hand"
           -POWs
                 -PR
                       -POW wives
                            -North Vietnam
                            -1972 campaign
                            -Honor
     -Kissinger's recommendations
           -Assessing blame
     -Honor
           -Statement
                 -US military action
     -Statement
           -Necessity
-North Vietnam's possible position
     -Kissinger's credibility
           -"Peace is at hand"
           -Settlement agreement
     -North Vietnam's possible subversion of South Vietnam
           -The President's message to South Vietnam
                 -Settlement agreement
                       -Congressional relations
                            -End of war
     -Kissinger's credibility
           -Kissinger's relationship with the President
     -Pressure on South Vietnam
     -Delays
           -Congressional relations
                 -1972 election
                      -The President's victory margin
-Breakdown
     -Kissinger's recommendations
           -The President's possible TV appearance
                 -Necessity
                 -Timing
                      -Christmas
                      -1972 election
                 -Tone
```

-Strategy

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Hanoi
-PR
-B-52 loss [November 22, 1972]
-Effect
-Kissinger's view
-Kissinger's possible statement
-Points
```

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:10 pm.

```
The President's schedule
-Camp David
-Reception for California administration officials
-Blair House
-Clothing
-Suit
-Zosimo T. Monson
```

Sanchez left and Connally and Haldeman entered at 3:30 pm.

```
Connally's schedule
     -Jetstar
Press relations
     -Ziegler's press conference
           -Second term reorganization
                 -Eugene T. Roussides's and Charls E. Walker's departures
           -The President's schedule
                 -Meeting with Walker
                       -The President's conversation with Shultz
                       -Camp David
                       -Ziegler's conversation with Shultz
                 -Camp David
                       -Return
           -Second term reorganization
                 -Peterson's departure
                       -Statement
                            -Shultz
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

Ziegler left at 3:35 pm.

```
Connally's schedule
```

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Shultz

US-Soviet Union Gas Deal

- -Kissinger
 - -US-Soviet Union Summit, 1973
- -Involvement
 - -Commerce and State Departments
 - -White House
- -Connally's responsibility
 - -Shultz
 - -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Conversation with Kissinger
 - -The President's conversation with Kissinger
 - -Florida
 - -Politics
 - -Kissinger
 - -Economics
 - -Shultz
 - -Costs
 - -Loan guarantees
 - -White House
 - -The President's conversations with Kissinger, Shultz
 - -Connally's conversation with Kissinger
 - -Kissinger's return from Paris
 - -Dobrynin
- -Announcement
 - -Timing
 - -US-Soviet Union summit, 1973
 - -May or June
 - -Arms control
 - -Dobrynin
 - -Soviet Union trade minister [Nikolai S. Patolichev]
 - -Possible meeting with Connally
 - -Pipeline companies
 - -Connally's role

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Connally's possible trip to Soviet Union
     -Connally's responsibility
     -The President's view
-Armand Hammer
     -The President's schedule
     -Capital
     -Credit
     -Investments
           -El Paso Company
-US interests
-Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank
-Joint East-West Bank
     -Loans
           -US underwriting
-Involvement
     -Secretary of Commerce
     -White House
           -Kissinger
                 -Politics
           -Flanigan
```

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:35 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:20 pm.

```
-Ex-Im Bank
-Gas prices
-Gamal Abdel Nasser
-Relations with US
-Diplomatic relations
-Peterson
-Successor
-Harry S. Dent
-South Carolina
-Loyalty
-Algeria
-Iraq
-Connally's possible trip to
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Saudi Arabia
           -Hammer
                 -[Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia] Malik Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz-al-Saud
                      -Possible message from the President
                            -Haldeman
                            -Kissinger
                 -Concessions
           -Iran
                 -[Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
           -Algeria
           -President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Committee [PFIAB]
           -Hammer
                 -Concessions
           -The President's experience as Vice President
                 -World trip
                      -Donald McI. Kendall
           -Timing
                 -January 1973
     -Connally's contacts
           -[David] Kenneth Rush
           -Shultz
           -William J. Casey
                 -Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
                 -Relationship
Second term reorganization
     -State Department
           -Casey
                 -Conversation with Ehrlichman
     -William P. Clements, Jr.
           -Conversation with Connally
                 -Oil deal lawsuit
                      -Argentinians
           -Senate Armed Services Committee
     -H. Ross Perot
           -Vietnam War
                 -Cease-fire
                      -POWs, missing in action [MIAs]
                            -Records
```

-Commission

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-MIAs

-International organization

-POWs and families

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Connally's view

-Details of October 1972 agreement

-Kissinger's messages

-PR

-Cease-fire

-Translation excuse

-Alternative

-Ziegler's view

-Previous statements

-"Peace is at hand"

-Compared to timing of signing of settlement agreement [November 2, 1972 statement]

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Pace

-Effect

-Ziegler's view

-Draft

-Casualties

-Timing

-Connally's view

-Recess

-North Vietnamese intransigence

-South Vietnam

-The President's meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc

-Settlement agreement

-Changes

-North Vietnam

-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from

South Vietnam

-Congressional relations

-US aid to South Vietnam

-Cut off

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- -POWs
- -Cease-fire
- -South Vietnam's self-determination
- -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- -Cease-fire
- -North Vietnam
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Cut off of US aid
- -North Vietnamese intransigence
 - -October 8, 1972 agreement
 - -Thieu
 - -US presence in South Vietnam
 - -Compared to October 26, 1972 agreement
 - -Changes
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Cut off of US aid
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Christmas
 - -Announcement
 - -B-52s
 - -Civilian casualties
 - -Status of negotiations
 - -October 1972
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Coalition government
 - -Communists
 - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - -Kissinger's possible statement
 - -Tone
 - -October 26, 1972 agreement
 - -"Peace is at hand"
 - -Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - -October 26, 1972 agreement
 - -Congressional relations
 - -US funds for US military action and military and economic aid to South
 - Vietnam
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -South Vietnam
 - -Impasse

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Consultations
     -Resumption of talks
-Kissinger
     -Emotions
     -Resignation
           -The President's trips to the PRC and the
            Soviet Union
           -Timing
-Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
     -Kissinger's efforts
     -Consultations
     -Resumption of talks
     -US military action
           -Pace
     -Kissinger's possible statement
           -Length
                 -Ziegler's view
           -Tone
           -Translation excuse
           -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
           -Coalition government
                 -National Council of National
                  Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
                        -Thieu's veto
           -US bombing of North Vietnam
                 -Pace
                        -"Hawks"
                 -Duration
                        -POWs
                              -McGovern
                                   -R. Sargetn Shriver
                              -Connally's TV speech,
                               October 20, 1972
```

-PR

-Peace with honor

-McGovern

-Details

-Christmas

-Economy

-Retail sales

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- -Kissinger's messages
 - -Kissinger's outlook
 - -Kissinger's possible statement
- -Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - -Initiative
 - -Recess
 - -Consultations
 - -Return to Washington, DC

-PR

- -Delays
- -Translation
 - -"Organization"
- -Administration opponents
- -Administration supporters
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Duration

-POWs

- -The President's previous statements
 - -Cambodia
 - -Supplies
 - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - -US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
- -Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - -Kissinger's possible statement
 - -Tone
 - -The President's meeting with Connally
 - -North Vietnamese intransigence
 - -October 26, 1972 agreement
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Funds
 - -Haldeman's conversations with others
 - -Connally
 - -"Hawks"
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Funds
 - -Consultations
- -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - -Kissinger's trip to the Soviet Union
 - -Kissinger's return

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-Kissinger's meeting with Connally

-North Vietnam

-US-Soviet Union summit

-Cancellation

-Speech

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-US-Soviet Union summit

-Breakdown

-North Vietnamese intransigence

-Cut off of arms to North Vietnam and South Vietnam

-US-Soviet Union and US-PRC relations

-Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]

-Europe

-Dobrynin

-Paris

-Kissinger's recommendations

-The President' possible TV appearance

-Kissinger's morale

-North Vietnam

-Blame

-US military action

-Resumption of talks

-Terms

-October 8, 1972 agreement

-PR

-Congressional relations

-Funds

-Continuation of war

-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal

-POWs

-Cessation of US mining and bombing of North Vietnam

-Cut off of US military and economic aid to South Vietnam

-Thieu

-Congressional relations

-Cut off of US military and economic aid to South Vietnam

-Vietnamization

-Responsibility

-Thieu

-Haldeman's message to Kissinger

-Timing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-The President's possible TV appearance

1972 election

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

-New chairman

-Robert S. Strauss

-Possible actions

-Traits

-George S. McGovern supporters

-Hubert H. Humphrey

-Attitudes

Politics

-Democrats and Republicans

-Connally's view

-Third party

-Liberals, conservatives

-Connally as candidate

-Ability to win

-California

-Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown nomination

-Ronald Reagan nomination

-John V. Tunney

-Third party

-American National Party

-American Independent Party

-Koch [?] [first name unknown]

-Ken Moore [?]

-Public reaction

-Vietnam war

-Leadership

- -Elections
- -Connally's proposals
- -Money [?]
- -Nelson A. Rockefeller

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-New York
                -1972 election
                     -1968 election
                     -John N. Mitchell
                     -Florida
                     -Texas
                     -Georgia
                     -Texas
                          -Blacks
                -Voting habits
                -Registration
                -Party selection
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-Presidency
                -Public opinion
                     -William Benton
                          -Lyndon B. Johnson's home
                          -Connecticut
                          -Conversation with Connally
                               -Possible meeting in New York
                     -H(uey) Paul Simon
                          -Dallas
                          -Conversation with Connally
                     -Responsible liberals
                          -Democratic Party
                     -1972 election
                          -California
                     -Charles D. ("Tex") Thornton
                          -Conversation with Connally
                               -Litton Industries
                                     -Roy L. Ash
                                    -William Proxmire
                                    -Debt
                                     -California
                                          -Asa V. Call, Sizemore [first name unknown]
```

Connally

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Ehrlichman, Dent
                 -Republican Party
*************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      Politics
           -Third party
           -Republican Party
                 -Strength
                      -Compared to Democratic Party
                 -Liberals
                      -Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
                      -Charles H. Percy
           -Democratic Party
                 -Presidential nominations
                 -Liberals
                 -Strauss
                      -Blacks
                 -Attitudes
           -Republican Presidential nominees
                 -Rockefeller
                 -Reagan
                 -Percy
                 -Mathias
                 -William E. Brock, III
                -Rockefeller
           -Third party
                 -Compared to Republican Party
                      -New Majority
                      -Name change
                      -Characteristics
                      -Structure
                      -Haldeman's view
```

-Kissinger's view -Agnew

Congress

-William E. Timmons

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- -Gerald R. Ford
- -1972 election
 - -Ford
- -Democratic members compared to Republican
 - -Number
 - -Usefulness to Republicans
- -George H. Mahon

Republican Party

- -Traits
- -Assistance to the President
- -Haldeman's view
 - -Control
- -John C. Stennis
- -Russell B. Long
- -J. Strom Thurmond
- -Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
- -James O. Eastland
- -John L. McClellan
- -Seniority in Congress
 - -Attrition
 - -Mathias
 - -Mahon
- -The President's supporters
- -Presidential nominees for 1976 election
 - -Rockefeller
 - -Reagan
 - -Traits
 - -Chances for success
 - -Future elections
- -Connally as candidate
 - -Duration of office
 - -California primary
 - -Strategy
- -Dwight D. Eisenhower campaign
- -Connally as candidate
 - -Chances for success
 - -Democratic Party nomination
 - -Compared to Republican Party
 - -Support in California

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

-Radicals -Moderates -Firestone Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Republican primary
               -Republican primaries
                    -New Hampshire
                    -Colorado
               -Spiro T. Agnew
               -Reagan
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
          -Winton M. ("Red") Blount
          -Peterson
               -NATO
               -Economics
          -NATO
               -Rumsfeld
                    -Frederic V. Malek
          -Peterson
               -Paper
                    -Cabinet rank
                    -Washington, DC
                    -Ambassador at large
                    -Europe, Japan
                    -Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]
                    -NATO
                    -Japan
                    -Shultz
                    -Commerce Department
                    -European Economic Community [EEC]
                         -Report
                              -Spring 1973
                              -US relations
                                  -Recommendations
               -Departure
                    -Kissinger
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-State Department
                -Rush
                -William J. Casey
                -William J. Porter
           -Ambassadorships
                -Walter H. Annenberg
                -Chad
                -West Germany
                     -Martin J. Hillenbrand
                -John A. Volpe
                     -Italy
                     -Loyalty
           -Justice Department
                -Richard G. Kleindienst
                     -Announcement
                     -Loyalty
           -Edward L. Morgan
           -Schedule C
           -Kleindienst
           -John N. ("Jack") Irwin, II
           -Justice Department
                -John N. Mitchell
                -Judges
                     -US
                     -Supreme Court
           -Irwin
           -Supreme Court
                -South
                -Age
                -South
                -Age
                     -Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
      Connally
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Politics

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-Connally as candidate
```

- -Change in party
- -Grass roots movement
- -Timing
- -Strategy
 - -Change in party
- -Republican Party
 - -High-level delegation
- -Strategy
 - -Democratic Party
 - -Presidential nomination
 - -Momentum
 - -Past tactics
 - -Success
 - -Timing
- -DNC
- -Independents
- -Democratic Party
 - -Republican nomination
 - -Connally's departure
 - -Independents
- -Strauss
- -Independents
- -Coalition
- -Third party
- -Liberals
 - -Robert M. LaFollette
- -Republican Party
 - -Voting habits
 - -Political orientation
 - -Polls
 - -La Follette
 - -Minnesota Farmer Labor party
- -West Virginia
- -Republican Independent Coalition
 - -The President's supporters
 - -Public reaction
 - -Senate
 - -Chances for success
- -Republican Party

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- -Eisenhower
- -The President's experience
- -Need for change
- -Republican Independent Party
 - -Youth
- -Republican demographics
 - -Compared to Democrats
- -Voting habits
- -Democrats
 - -Compared to Republicans
 - -Definition
 - -James O. Eastland
 - -Bella S. Abzug
 - -Compared to Republicans
 - -Reagan
 - -Jacob K. Javits
- -Third party
 - -New name
 - -Independents
 - -Conservatives
 - -Coalition
 - -Name
 - -Republicans
 - -Independents
 - -Anne L. Armstrong [?]
 - -Inclusiveness
 - -Future
- -Connally as candidate
 - -Motivations
 - -Democrats
 - -Republicans
- -Spiro T. Agnew
 - -Competition with Connally
 - -The President's view
 - -Democratic Party
 - -The President's conversation with Edward Bolland [?]
 - -Traits
 - -Vice Presidential experience
 - -Connally-Agnew contest
 - -Need to avoid

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

```
-California Republicans
           -Rockefeller
                -Nominee
           -Agnew
                -Motivations
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
***************************
      Presidency
           -The President's schedule
                -Trips to Florida
                -Agnew
                -Shultz
                     -Economic expertise
                -Foreign policy
                     -Kissinger
                -Cronies
                -Secret Service
                -Staff relations
                     -Cronies
                          -Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo, Robert H. Abplanalp
                     -Lunches, dinners, social contact
                     -Secret Service
                          -Social contact
                     -Franklin D. Roosevelt
                     -Dwight D. Eisenhower
                          -Sherman Adams
                          -W. Alton ("Pete") Jones
                          -Charles S. Jones
                          -Compared to the President
                               -Haldeman, Ehrlichman
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
```

Politics

-George C. Wallace [?]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- -Republicans
 - -Youth
 - -Organization
- -Connally as candidate
- -Democrats and Republicans
 - -Voting
- -1976 Presidential nominee
 - -Rockefeller
 - -Compared to Agnew
 - -Vulnerabilities
 - -Reagan
 - -Chances for success
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -Traits
 - -Polls
- -Robert J. Dole [?]
- -Telephone calls
- -1962 gubernatorial race
 - -California
- -Republican Party
- -Connally as candidate
 - -Rationale
 - -Alternatives
 - -Chances for success
 - -Liberal intellectuals
 - -Support from Republicans
 - -1932 election
 - -Herbert C. Hoover
 - -Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - -Connally's view
 - -Support
 - -George W. Romney
 - -Liberal
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -New voters
 - -Third party
- -Lyndon B. Johnson
- -George H. W. Bush
- -Roosevelt
 - -Senate

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Connally's career -Per-hour salary

Connally and Haldeman left at 6:20 pm.

Conversation No. 386-2

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:20 pm and 6:29 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Zosimo T. Monson.

The President's schedule
-Reception for California administration officials
-Folder
-Location
-Bedroom

Monson left at an unknown time before 6:29 pm.

Conversation No. 386-3

Date: December 5, 1972 Time: 6:29 pm - 6:30 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-3 (cont'd)

Chair

-Placement

The President's schedule

-Reception for California administration officials

Item for the President's signature

- -Desk
- -Timing

Butterfield left at 6:30 pm.

Conversation No. 386-4

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Vietnam negotiations

- -Haldeman's message to Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Breakdown in talks
 - -Kissinger's recommendation
 - -The President's possible television [TV] appearance
 - -Compared to impasse
 - -Consultations
 - -Recess
 - -Kissinger's possible statement
 - -Tone
 - -US military action
 - -Duration
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Resumption of talks
 - -The President's possible TV appearance
 - -Breakdown in talks
 - -North Vietnamese intransigence

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

-Doves

-Haldeman's conversations with "hard liners"

-John B. Connally

-Possible effect on Kissinger

-Breakdown in talks

-Initiative

-North Vietnam

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:30 pm.

The President's schedule
-Telephone call from Tricia Nixon Cox
-Manolo Sanchez

Message to Kissinger

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:43 pm.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:30 pm and 6:43 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-148]

[Conversation No. 386-4B]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox between 6:43 pm and 6:44 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-26]

[Conversation No. 386-4A]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations
-Breakdown
-Kissinger's recommendation
-The President's possible TV appearance
-Connally's view

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

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-Public relations [PR]
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Pace
-PR
-Charles W. Colson's view
-Boston
-Harvard University
-Princeton University
-Announcement
-Kissinger's possible statement
-Timing
-Kissinger's return to Washington, DC
```

The President's schedule

- -Reception for California administration officials
 - -Haldeman's schedule
 - -Home
 - -Robert J. Dole
 - -Robert H. Finch's recommendation
 - -California Republicans
 - -Possible meeting in San Clemente
- -George H. W. Bush
- -Oval Office
- -Telephone calls
 - -Ronald W. Reagan
 - -Herbert G. Klein
 - -Strom Thurmond's birthday
 - -Harry S. Dent
 - -Private line
 - -Compared to wire
 - -Timing
 - -Apollo XVII astronauts
 - -Launch
 - -Timing
 - -Camp David
- -Harry S. Truman
 - -Health
 - -Lyndon B. Johnson
 - -Telephone call
 - -Death

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

-John A. Volpe

-Ambassadorship to Italy

-Announcement

-Timing

-John D. Ehrlichman

Connally

-Presidency

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Vietnam negotiations

-Haldeman's message to Kissinger

-Breakdown in talks

-Option

-Congressional relations

-Funds

-The President's view

-Breakdown in talks

-Kissinger's return

-California

-Press relations

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Necessity

-Ehrlichman's and Colson's views

The President's schedule

-Reception for California administration officials

Zosimo T. Monson entered and Haldeman left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

The President's schedule

-Reception for California administration officials

Monson left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-5

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

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

Vietnam negotiations
-Haldeman's message to Henry A. Kissinger
-Kissinger's resignation
-The President's and others' view

Conversation No. 386-6

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Camp David
-Helicopter
-Timing

Sanchez and Bull left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-7

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-7 (cont'd)

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-8

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Camp David
-Helicopter
-Reception for California administration officials
-Dinner
-Seating arrangements
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Hand-shaking
-Haldeman

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-9

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

<u>Unknown</u> people met.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-9 (cont'd)

The President's schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]	

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.