

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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. 381-21 (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. 381-21 (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. 381-21 (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. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Second term reorganization
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Future

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013]*

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

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- 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

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Candlelight tour
- 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- US public opinion
  - 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

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - Pace
    - The President's conversation with Haig
    - Compared to the US bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong area
      - B-52s
      - Criticism
    - Military purpose

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's view
  - 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

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Watergate
- 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

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Haig
- 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

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**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Foreign affairs
  - 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

Conversation No. 381-3

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

-Breakdown in talks

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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
    - Effect

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - The President's return from Camp David
  - Compromise
    - 1972 election
- Return from Saigon
- Haig's trip to Saigon

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - Politics

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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"
- Breakdown

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - Conversion of Piasters

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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
- Kissinger's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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

Conversation No. 381-5

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013*]

Refreshment

\*\*\*\*\*

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 talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 381-A]

[See Conversation No. 34-126]

[End of telephone conversation]

Conversation No. 381-22

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's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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  
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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

The President's schedule

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*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013]*

Refreshment

\*\*\*\*\*

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
      - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - Enemy offensive
  - Cessation of US bombing North of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - Timing

Vietnam negotiations

- US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
  - Press relations
    - Tass report
    - Hanoi
    - Fires
  - Continuation
  - Cessation North of 20<sup>th</sup> 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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*

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Church services
  - Candlelight tour
  - Children
- Mrs. Nixon
- Elinor I. (Judefind) Agnew
- McCardle
- San Antonio Light*
- Kansas City Star*
- Baltimore Sun*

Vietnam War

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

-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 20<sup>th</sup> 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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

- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Rose Mary Woods
  - 1973 Inauguration
- Colson

Item for the President's signature

- Ehrlichman

The President's schedule

- Guest lists
  - Duplication
    - Woods
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

The President's schedule  
-Richard G. Kleindienst

Golf [?]  
-Hole-in-one  
-Unknown woman

Haldeman and Bull left at 2:05 pm.

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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.

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Kennedy
- Richard G. Ogilvie
  - Attorney General
  - Political ability
    - Background as governor
    - Law firm
    - Compared to Pitchess, Gray
- Pitchess
  - Background
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

-Source

- Unknown woman reporter
  - Field offices
  - Gray's effort
- W. Mark Felt
  - Gray's view
  - 1972 election
  - Mitchell's view
  - Gray
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- The President's conversation with Kleindienst
- Customs
  - Border Patrol
  - Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]
  - Investigations
  - Treasury Department
  - Investigations
    - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
- Investigations
  - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 11/01/2019.  
Segment will remain closed.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[381-019-w001]

[Duration: 1m 2s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

\*\*\*\*\*

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.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

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]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Finch
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Arthur F. Burns
- Value

\*\*\*\*\*

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013]

1972 election

- Time magazine
- 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

\*\*\*\*\*

1972 election

-George Meany

Vietnam War

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

-Timing

-Labor relations

-Media relations

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Ronald L. Ziegler's press conference

-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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Finger injury
  - Explanation
  - Christmas tree trimming

The President's health

- Foot injury
- Timing

Colson's health

Press relations

- Reception
  - “Tony” story
    - 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 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - McGovern's reaction
  - Constituency

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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.

[Conversation No. 381-21A]

- Request
  - Rose Mary Woods

\*\*\*\*\*

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 11/01/2019. Segment will remain closed.]*

[Personal Returnable]

[381-021-w005]

[Duration: 55s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 5

\*\*\*\*\*

[End of telephone call]

- Vietnam War
  - US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - PR
    - Sindlinger

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013.*]

1972 election final results

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

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam War

- US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - Congressional relations
    - McGovern's statement
    - Eagleton's statement
    - Jacob K. Javits
    - Caution
- PR
  - 1972 campaign
- Press relations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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

- 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 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - McGovern's statement
  - 1972 campaign

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- “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
    - William J. Porter
- US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - 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”

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Negotiations
  - The President's letter to Thieu
    - Possible leak
  - Settlement agreement
    - October 1972
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      - 17<sup>th</sup> Parallel
        - Geneva Agreement
      - Thieu's position
      - Effect
    - Thieu's position
      - November 1972
      - North Vietnam
      - DMZ
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
        - Bombing halt
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
- Delays
- PR
  - Opposition and support for the President's policies
  - Harvard University telephone call to Kissinger
- Breakdown
  - Cambodia
  - Record
  - 1972 election
  - North Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Haiti
- Walter P. McConaughy
- Walworth Barbour
- Departure
- Henry J. Tasca
- Indonesia
- Tasca
- South Korea
- Aid
- Greece
- Turkey
- Macomber
- Indonesia
- Tasca
- Compared to businessman
- Qualifications
- Economy
- Commerce

Kissinger's schedule

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

Vietnam War

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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
      - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- Electrical engineering
- Defense Department
  - Army, Navy, Air Force Secretaries
    - L[ouis] 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
- 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
- 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]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log  
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

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

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-019. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 50x8 on 10/10/2018. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[381-021-w010]

[Duration: 53s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

\*\*\*\*\*

Second term reorganization

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

-EXOP

- Changes
  - 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
  - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
    - 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

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - 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

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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
  - Miller
  - CAB
    - Siebert
- Wood
  - OEP
    - Armstrong
    - NSC
  - Black appointees
  - AEC
    - Dixie Lee Ray
    - David
    - Fletcher
  - Budget
  - Flanigan
- Ambassadorships
  - Sweden

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. May-08)*

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont'd)

- 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.]