Conversation No. 229-1

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:22 pm and 6:29 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

[The recording began while the conversation was in progress]

Second term reorganization
-Defense Department [?

Haldeman left at 6:29 pm.

Conversation No. 229-2

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:29 pm and 6:49 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with an unknown person.

The President's schedule
-Meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman
-Haldeman’s location
-Time
-New York trip

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:49 pm.
Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:29 pm and 6:49 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 155-20]

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: 6:49 pm - 6:50 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 155-21]

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 9:00 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President dictated a memorandum.

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
  -Cabinet
    -Meetings with the President
    -Cabinet meetings
Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:50 pm, November 20, 1972.

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:24 am, November 21, 1972.

The President dictated a memorandum.

Republican party
- John B. Connally
- Conservatives

Social services
- Quality
- Debate

Second term reorganization
- Unknown person
- Resignation
- Retention
- George P. Shultz
-Congress

State Department
- Ambassador
- Compliments

The President’s schedule
- Trip to New York
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Arrangements

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 6:50 pm.

Football game
- Television [TV]
  - Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox
  - Timing
  - Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:00 pm.

1972 election
- Ronald L. Ziegler

Vietnam negotiations
  - Henry A. Kissinger’s report from Paris

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 229-6 (cont’d)

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:15 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

Unknown people met.
Thanksgiving

Unknown people met before 7:15 pm.

Date: November 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:15 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with an unknown man.

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

Dinner
   - Fish

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

The unknown man left at unknown time before 7:15 pm.

Date: November 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:10 am and 9:24 am
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 155-22]
Date: November 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:10 am and 9:24 am
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Instruction

Washington Post
-Sports page
-Football

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:24 am.

Date: November 21, 1972
Time: 9:24 am - 9:25 am
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon.

[See Conversation No. 155-23]
Date: November 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:25 am and 10:35 am
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

The President's schedule
   - November 24, 1972
   - Dr. William O. Chase
   - George W. Romney, John A. Volpe
     - Possible delay

******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
- Dentist
- Haircut
   - Trip to New York
   - Dentist

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

The President talked with the Camp David operator at an unknown time between 9:25 am and 9:28 am.

[Conversation No. 229-11A]

[See Conversation No. 155-24]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
   - Haircut
   - Meeting with Volpe
     - Preparations
The President talked with Rose Mary Woods between 9:28 am and 9:32 am.

[See Conversation No. 155-25]

[Conversation No. 229-11B]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization
   -Rumsfeld
      -Recent meeting with the President
      -Ehrlichman
   -White House staff
   -Job offers
      -Republican National Committee [RNC]
      -Plans
   -Recent meeting with the President
      -Ehrlichman

The President's schedule
   -Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope
      -Recent telephone call to the President
         -Possible telephone call from the President
   -Visit to Washington, DC
      -Shoreham Hotel
      -Purpose
         -Haldeman’s recent conversation with Hope
         -Possible meeting with the President
         -Hope’s possible trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
   -Henry A. Kissinger
   -Possible telephone call from the President
   -Trip to Camp David
      -Dinner
      -Timing
         -November 21, 1972
Republican National Committee [RNC] Chairmanship
- Dole’s replacement
  - Press coverage
- George H.W. Bush
  - Call to Ehrlichman
  - Job Offer
    - Barbara Bush
    - Change from United Nations [UN]
    - John N. Mitchell
- Haldeman’s conversation with Mitchell
  - Mitchell’s support for Bush
  - Talking points

- Dole
  - Mitchell
  - Bryce N. Harlow

- Removal
  - Rationale
    - Full-time chairman
- Telephone calls
  - Charles W. Colson
  - Harlow
  - Mitchell
  - Lee R. Nunn
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Congressional Campaign Committees
-Press coverage
-Mitchell’s advice
-Timing
-Meeting with the President
-Bush
-Acceptance of offer
-Announcement
-Dole
-Removal
-Pressure
-Gerald R. Ford
-Hugh Scott
-William E. Timmons

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

Second term reorganization
- Meeting with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Cabinet
- Sub-Cabinet
- Lower-level appointments
  - Frederic V. Malek
- The President's schedule
  - Herbert Stein
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - Councils
    - Marina von N. Whitman
    - Unknown person
    - Russell E. Train
    - David
- Cabinet appointments
- Departures
  - Incoming appointees
- Volpe
  - Meeting with the President
    - Preparation
      - Ehrlichman
The President talked with Woods between 9:43 am and 9:48 am.

[Conversation No. 229-11C]

[See Conversation No. 155-26; one item has been withdrawn from this conversation]

[End of telephone conversation]

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

[Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 9:48 am and 10:35 am.

[Conversation No. 229-11D]

-Hope]
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Meeting with the President
  -Timing
  -Trip to Camp David
  -Transportation
  -Helicopter

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's image
  -Kindness
    -William P. Rogers
    -Rumsfeld
      -Recent meeting with the President
    -Richard M. Helms

Second term reorganization
  -Helms
    -[Ambassadorship to Iran]
  -Rumsfeld
    -Recent meeting with the President
      -Agenda
        -Senate race
        -Foreign travel
      -Ehrlichman
  -Senate race
    -Possible problems
  -Unknown book

Soviet Union
  -Message from Anatoliy Dobrynin to Henry A. Kissinger in Paris
    -Possible trip by Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox
      -Timing
        -Forthcoming message
  -Soviet Union position on Vietnam

Vietnam negotiations
  -Message from Kissinger
    -Re-typing
    -Summary
    -Tone
    -Kissinger’s conversation with Le Duc Tho
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
-Proposed changes
  -Number
  -Cease-fire
    -Timing
  -Laos, Cambodia
-Military action
-Settlement agreement
  -Timing
  -Schedule

-Current status
  -Kissinger message
  -Dealings with Le Duc Tho
    -[log within “Kissinger’s conversations….”]
  -Proposed changes
    -Request for US assurances
      -Hanoi, Moscow, Peking
  -North Vietnam’s reaction of inflexibility, ultimatum
    -Continuation of War
      -Duration

-Later meeting
-Report

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election
  -Patrick J. Buchanan
  -Monographs
    -New York Times
  -Harrison E. Salisbury
  -Op-ed
    -“Dirtiest Campaign Ever”
  -Reliability

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************
1973 Inauguration
  -Pavilion
    -Design
      -Contractor
    -Modern design
      -The President’s view
        -1969 design
      -Haldeman’s view
    -Origins
      -Nancy Hanks, Leonard Garment
    -Competition
      -Metropolitan Washington chapters of American Institute of Architects [AIA]
        -Jury selection
          -Winner
        -Winner
      -Possible Conflict
        -Washington chapter of AIA
          -Jury selection
        -Rejection
          -J. Willard (“Bill”) Marriott, Jr.
            -The President's role
        -Selection of design
          -Planning
            -Capitol building
        -Acceptance
          -The President’s disapproval
    -Modification
      -Possible conflict
      -Traditional design
        -Expense
        -Possible conflict
        -Acceptance
          -The President’s disapproval

Modern art
  -National Endowment for the Humanities [NEH]
    -Garment
    -Hanks
    -Budget art
Bicentennial Commission
   - Frank Stanton
     - Attitude toward administration
     - Public statements

Second term Reorganization Commission
   - Stein
     - Meeting with the President
   - Shultz
     - Meeting with Pierre Rinfret
     - Rinfret’s possible role
       - Rinfret’s work in 1972 campaign
   - Stein
   - Rinfret
   - Garment
   - The President’s old friends
     - Peter M. Flanigan
   - Klein
   - Treatment
   - Garment
     - Work for law firm Mudge, Stern, Baldwin and Todd
       - 1963 salary
       - 1964, 1966
     - Rinfret
     - 1972 campaign
     - Campaign work
     - Compared to Flanigan
       - 1960, 1968 campaign
   - Finances
   - Flanigan
     - Assistant to the President
   - Title
     - Special consultant to the President
       - Salary
         - Compared to Flanigan
       - Status
         - Automobile
     - Change in office
       - Title
The President's schedule
   -The President’s letter to Lyndon B. Johnson
   -Dictation

Second term reorganization
   -Meeting with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
   -Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
   -Frederick B. Dent
   -Peterson
   -Schultz
   -Peterson
   -Plans
   -Commerce Department
   -Departure
   -Contributions to administration
   -Loyalty
   -Relationship with Charles H. Percy

Press relations
   -Nicholas P. Thimmesch
   -Possible meeting with the President
   -Effect on book
Second term reorganization
  -George D. Webster
    -Internal Revenue Service [IRS] appointment
  -John A. Scali
  -United Nations [UN] ambassadorship
    -Appointment
    -Ehrlichman
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Intelligence
    -Possible conflicts with Kissinger
    -Controversy

Press relations
  -Kissinger
    -Vietnam negotiations
    -Secret meetings
    -Time
    -Life
      -[Exclusion from White House]
  -Man of the year award
    -Time Man of the Year award
      -Possible interview
      -The President’s accomplishments
        -PRC trip
        -May 8, 1972
        -Soviet Union trip
        -1972 campaign
        -Vietnam negotiations
        -1971
          -The President’s interview
          -Cooperation
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Interviews
  -Hugh S. Sidey
  -Roger’s view
  -Oriana Fallacci, November 2 and 4, 1972

- *Time* Man of the Year award
  -Announcement
  -Timing
  -The President
    -Two-time winners
      -Johnson [1964, 1967]
    -Accomplishments
      -1972 election, Soviet Union trip, PRC trip, Vietnam negotiations and settlement agreement

The President’s schedule
  -Trip to New York
    -Hotel accommodations
      -Presidential suite
      -Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
      -The President’s Family

Second term reorganization
  -Cabinet
    -Scali
    -Italian-American
      -[HUD]
      -Quality of candidates
    -Webster
    -Schultz
  -The President’s schedule
    -Webster
    -Peter J. Brennan
      -Appointment
    -Claude S. Brinegar
      -Background
        -Los Angeles
        -Irish-Catholic
      -HUD Transportation Department
      -Interior Department
      -Problem
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Union Oil Company
-HUD Qualifications
-Compared to Peterson
-Interview
-Earl L. Butz
  -Problem
    -Independence
  -Changes in Agriculture Department
    -Ehrlichman
-Rogers C. B. Morton
  -Changes in Interior Department
    -Ehrlichman
    -National Park Service
  -Retention
    -Meeting with the President

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Nelson A. Rockefeller
  -Rockefeller’s recent dinner with Mitchell
  -Elliot L. Richardson
    -Defense Department
      -Kissinger
      -Rockefeller’s view
        -Richardson’s trustworthiness, presidential ambition
      -Rumor
        -Possible source
          -Kissinger
          -Ehrlichman, Haldeman
        -Mitchell’s advice

Second term reorganization
  -Colson
    -Plans
      -Announcement
      -Timing
        -White House Staff, Cabinet
          -Colson’s recent conversation with Haldeman
      -Departure
        -Timing
  -Malek
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Job offer
  -Cabinet appointment
  -Interior Department
  -[Office of Management and Budget] [OMB]
  -OMB
  -Work with Roy L. Ash

John V. (“Jack”) Brennan [?] entered at an unknown time after 9:48 am.

Information

Brennan left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Second term reorganization
  -Malek
  -Plans
    -Retention
    -Stein

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

RNC
  -Bush
  -Reorganization
    -Jimmy Allison
      -William E. Brock III, Barber B. Conable, Jr.
  -Meeting with the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Second term reorganization
  -Butz
    -Changes in Agriculture Department
      -Ehrlichman
  -Job titles
    -Super Cabinet
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Use of term by Ehrlichman, Shultz, Butz
-Counsellor
  -Congressional relations
  -Responsibilities
  -Lack of *ex officio* designation

-Shultz
  -Move to White House
  -Title
    -Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs
-Ehrlichman
  -Title
    -Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs
-Areas of division
  -Economic, domestic, foreign affairs
  -Economic affairs
    -Domestic, foreign affairs

Kissinger
-Meeting with Haldeman
  -Timing
    -Vietnam negotiations
    -Second term reorganization
    -Key Biscayne meetings
-Sources of conflict
  -Economic, domestic, foreign affairs
  -Economic affairs
  -Domestic, foreign affairs

-Holdings
  -Meeting with Haldeman
  -Departure from administration
    -Timing
    -Relations with other staff members
  -Meeting with Haldeman
  -Timing
  -Relations with Rogers
  -Reorganization of State Department
    -Roger’s management style
  -Source of conflict
    -Credit
    -Departures
      -Timing
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s conversations with the President
-Rogers's departure
-Timing and conditions
  -Haldeman’s conversations with Kissinger
-Departure of Rogers

Second term reorganization
-State Department
  -Rogers’ departure
    -Possible firing
      -Justification
        -Change of administration
    -Timing
      -January or June 1973
  -Control
  -Secretary
  -David Kenneth Rush
  -John B. Connally
-Connally
  -Possible title
    -Assistant President
  -Presidential ambitions
    -The President’s recent conversation with Colson
      -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -Haldeman’s and the President’s role
    -The President’s signals
      -Harry S. Dent, Colson
  -Secretary of State
  -Assistant President
-State Department
  -November 20, 1972 meeting
  -Rush
    -Deputy Secretary of State
    -Ambassadorship to France
    -Roger’s departure
    -Secretary
  -William J. Casey
    -Deputy Secretary of State
  -Rush
  -Casey
-Under secretary for Administration
-Delegation of responsibilities from Rush
-Rush
  -Cooperation with the President
  -Departure
    -Age
  -Roger’s departure
  -Work with Casey
    -Casey's responsibilities
-Casey
  -Promotion
    -Deputy Secretary of State
-Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs
  -Robert S. Ingersoll
    -Ambassadorship to Japan
-V. Alexis Johnson
  -Job Officer
    -Ambassadorship to Japan
    -Ingersoll
  -Age
  -Departure
    -Medal of Freedom
  -Previous positions as Under Secretary of State, Ambassador
    -Ambassadorship
-Kissinger
  -Role in appointments
  -Exclusion
    -Communication
  -Mitchell
-Connelly
  -Cabinet
    -Interest
      -Mitchell’s view
    -Presidential ambitions
      -1976
        -Mitchell’s view
      -Age, reading
        -Rockefeller’s view
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
  -Dr. James r. Schlesinger
Conversation No. 229-11 (cont’d)

- Energy
  - Flanigan
    - Energy problems
      - Ehrlichman
        - Tod R. Hullin
        - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
        - Whitaker
    - International aspects
      - Schultz
  - Toughness
    - Schultz
  - Position in [Council on International Economic Policy] [CIEP]
    - Energy
    - Publicity
    - The President’s conversation with Flanigan
  - Duration
  - Promotion
    - Senate information
      - Scandal
        - [International Telephone and Telegraph] [ITT]
        - Colson
  - Rumsfeld
    - Recent meeting with the President
  - Klein
    - Forthcoming meeting with Haldeman
      - White House Staff
        - 1972 campaign
    - Office of Communications
      - Press Office
      - Ziegler's responsibilities
      - Streamlining
      - Colson’s departure
      - Role
      - Frank Dale
    - Departure
      - Cabinet position
      - Job offer
        - Ambassadorship to Mexico

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:48 am.
The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:35 am.

Second term reorganization
  -Klein
    -Forthcoming meeting with Haldeman
      -Job offer
      -Difficulty
    -Departure
      -The President's decision
      -Flanigan
        -Retention
          -Robert H. Finch
          -Responsibilities
    -Klein
      -Colson
        -Departure
          -Conflict with Klein
          -Return to private life
        -Departure
          -Timing
            -Klein’s initiative
      -Conflicts with Colson
    -The President's plans
      -Implementation
        -Date
        -Congressional schedule
      -Departure
        -The President’s decision
      -Job offer
        -Ambassadorship to Mexico
        -Current position
          -Downgrade
            -1972 campaign
        -RNC position
        -Work outside administration
Haldeman left at 10:35 am.

Date: November 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 12:44 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.

1972 election
- Women surrogates [?]
  - Post-election let-down
  - Husbands

Donald H. Rumsfeld
- Recent meeting with the President
  - The President’s recent conversation with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Conduct
  - The President’s support for Senate candidacy
  - Interest in Cabinet position
  - Previous meeting with Ehrlichman
    - Change of statements
  - Opportunism
  - Cabinet position
  - Peter G. Peterson
    - Rumsfeld’s relations with Ehrlichman
  - Foreign trips
  - Previous meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Tone
  - Job offer
    - White House staff work
  - Politics
    - Gubernatorial nomination
      - Chances
    - Supporters
      - Fund-raising
        - W. Clement Stone
Second term reorganization
  -Forthcoming meeting with Nelson A. Rockefeller
  -State and Defense Departments
    -Henry A. Kissinger
    -New Federalism
    -National Security
  -Kissinger
    -Relations with Rogers
      -The President’s recent conversation with Haldeman
      -Rogers’ retention
      -Rogers’ departure
        -Timing
      -Kissinger’s conduct
      -Source of conflict
        -Departures
        -Timing
    -Rogers’ departure
      -Firing
      -Press relations
      -Rogers’ cooperation
      -Staff [National Security Council [NSC]
        -Leaks
      -Kissinger

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

RNC
  -Bush
    -The President’s conversation with Haldeman
      -Mitchell
      -Conversation with Ehrlichman
    -Departure
      -Resistance
      -Benefits

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
The President’s schedule with Rockefeller
-Timing

Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 12:44 pm.

Date: November 21, 1972
Time: 12:25 pm – 12:43 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

Second term reorganization
- Herbert G. Klein
- Job offer
  - US Information Agency [USIA]
- Financial situation
- Departure
  - Retirement
  - Work outside administration
  - Age
  - Business world
  - Recent meeting with Haldeman
- Money making
- Justification
  - Avoiding appearance of firing
- Retention
- Meeting with President
- Pressure from Haldeman

John D. Ehrlichman entered at an unknown time after 10:35 am.

The President’s schedule
- Nelson A. Rockefeller
-Arrival
Ehrlichman left at an unknown time before 12:44 pm.

Second term reorganization
- Klein
  - Pressure from Haldeman
  - Retention
    - Office
    - Changes
  - Departure
    - New job
  - Procrastination
  - Departure
    - Timing
  - Recent meeting with Haldeman
    - Retention
    - 1973 inauguration
    - Justification
      - Internal operations, running office
    - Retention
      - 1973 inauguration
        - Editors
  - Retention
    - Vietnam settlement agreement
      - Public relations [PR]
      - Editors in Peoria
  - Charles W. Colson
    - Departure
      - Announcement
        - Clients
          - Compared to Klein
            - Effect on future
  - Job offer
    - USIA
      - Effect on future
  - Ambassadorship to Mexico
    - Leon Parma
      - Background
      - Spanish speaking ability
        - James J. Reynolds
Conversation No. 229-13 (cont’d)

-Nixon
-Klein
-Reynolds
  -Spanish speaking ability
  -Father’s residence
    -Mexico City
-Kissinger
  -Relations with Rogers
    -Source of conflict
    -Departures
      -Timing
  -Departure
  -Retention
    -Conditions
-Social life
  -Publicity
    -Football games, theaters
    -Signing autographs
    -Waving to crowds
  -Status as celebrity
-Relations with Rogers
-Relations with Elliot L. Richardson
  -Comments to Rockefeller
-Schedule
-Role in ambassador selections
-[National Security Council staff] [NSC]
  -Quality
  -Leaks
-Role in ambassador selections
-Activities
  -Expansion
    -Present time compared to 1970
  -Need for restraint
    -Negotiations
    -Haldeman’s possible meeting with Kissinger
  -Possible meeting with Haldeman
-Press relations
  -Oriana Fallaci interview, November 2 and 4, 1972
    -Reaction to article
      -Substance
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 229-13 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s relations with the President
  -Private comments compared to public comments
  -Strategic arms limitation treaty [SALT] II
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  -Schedule
    -Return from Paris
      -Victim negotiations
    -Relations with the President

Second term reorganization
-Kenneth Rush
  -Job offer
  -State Department
    -Under Secretary
-State Department
  -William J. Casey
    -Assistant Secretary for Administration
  -Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs
-U. Alexis Johnson
  -Ambassadorship to Japan
    -Kissinger
      -Haldeman’s forthcoming telephone call to Rogers
        -Johnson’s age, health
        -Robert S. Ingersoll
  -Rogers
    -Vetting candidates
    -Under Secretary
      -Rush
    -Casey
    -Administrative responsibilities
      -Rush
-Frank C. Carlucci

Haldeman left at 12:43 pm
Date: November 21, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:35 pm and 2:09 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with John V. ("Jack") Brennan.

The President’s Schedule
  - Meeting with Dr. James R. Schlesinger

Brennan left at an unknown time before 2:09 pm.