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
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
Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

-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.
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
Second term reorganization
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Future

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s schedule
  - Receptions
    - Hand-shaking
    - Christmas lights
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  - Cabinet dinner
  - Camp David
  - Cabinet dinner
  - White House church services
    - New Majority
    - John Cardinal Krol
    - Terence Cardinal Cooke’s schedule
      - 1973 Inauguration
    - Krol
    - New Majority
  - Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
    - Diplomatic children’s reception
  - Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
    - Candlelight tour
-Christmas events
  -Staff open house and tour
  -Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
    -White House staff
      -Dwight L. Chapin
      -Gordon C. Strachan
      -Domestic Council
    -National Security Council [NSC]
  -White House staff families
  -Press
    -Candlelight tour
    -White House staff families
  -Candlelight tours
    -Congressional relations
-New Majority
-Reception for 1972 election supporters

Vietnam negotiations
-Haig
  -Location
  -Role
    -Kissinger
-Kissinger’s cable
  -US bombing south of 20th Parallel
  -Ellsworth F. Bunker
-Thieu
  -Possible meeting with Thieu
-Settlement agreement
-Thieu’s rejection
  -The President’s conversation with Haig
  -Overthrow of Thieu
  -Bunker
  -William P. Rogers
  -Agnew
  -George S. McGovern
  -Agnew
  -Effect
    -South Vietnam
  -Overthrow of Thieu
-US public opinion
Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

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

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

  -Kissinger’s role

NSC
  -Haig’s possible role
    -Army background
    -Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
    -Kissinger’s possible departure
    -Foreign policy
    -Bureaucracy
      -Army background

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

Second term reorganization
Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

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

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

Vietnam negotiations
  -US bombing south of 20th Parallel
    -Pace
      -The President’s conversation with Haig
      -Compared to the US bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong area
        -B-52s
        -Criticism
      -Military purpose
    -Kissinger’s view
Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

-Minutiae
-Kissinger
-Negotiator
  -“Peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
    -Effect
    -The President’s possible TV statement
      -Blame on North Vietnam
    -Settlement agreement
    -North Vietnam
      -US-South Vietnam relations
    -The President’s message to Kissinger
      -North Vietnam’s intransigence
        -Effect
          -Congressional aid to South Vietnam
-US position
-Public opinion
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -The President’s possible TV statement
      -Haldeman’s view

Second term reorganization
  -Schlesinger’s confirmation
    -Helms’s assistance
      -Stennis
      -The President’s meeting with Stennis
        -Possible difficulty
  -Confirmation
    -Press relations
      -Washington, DC
      -Examples
        -Supreme Court, Attorney General
        -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]

Congressional relations
  -Edward M. Kennedy’s statement
    -News summary
    -The President’s trip to the PRC
    -Public opinion
      -Partisanship
    -Watergate
1972 election
-Cooperation
   -The President’s trip to the PRC

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

The President’s schedule
   -Possible meetings with black leaders
     -Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
     -Leonard Garment’s role
     -Jordan
     -Black caucus
       -Liberals
     -Administration supporters
     -Roy Wilkins
     -Jordan
     -Previous meetings
       -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan

Vietnam negotiations
   -Kissinger
     -Work habits
       -Effect
         -Emotional strain
     -Expectations of success
     -Kissinger’s recommendations
       -US bombing of North Vietnam
       -The President’s conversations with Haig
       -Absence of objectivity
   -Haig
Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

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

Public relations [PR]
  -Rogers
    -Mail
    -The President’s trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
    -Compared to Kissinger

Second term reorganization
  -Kissinger’s role
  -Appointments
    -Defense Departments
    -Ambassadorships
  -Valve
  -Foreign Service Officers [FSOs]
  -Veto
  -Unknown person
  -Foreign affairs
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Conversation No. 381-1 (cont’d)

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

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

Haldeman left at 12:25 pm.

Conversation No. 381-2

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:25 pm and 12:28 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Request for a meeting with Haig
Conversation No. 381-3

Date: December 13, 1972
Time: 12:28 pm – 1:12 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule
- Return from Paris
- Timing
- Headwinds

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

Refreshment

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

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger
- Haig’s role
- Decision making authority
  - The President’s delegation
  - Cambodia invasion
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
- Negotiator
  - Emotion
  - Caution, objectivity
  - Record
  - Blame on others
- Settlement agreement
  - 1972 election
- Objections
  - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - The President
  - Haig
  - Saigon
  - Messages
  - Tone
Conversation No. 381-3 (cont’d)

- Breakdown in talks
  - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
  - Nguyen Van Thieu’s position
  - North Vietnam

- Cease-fire
  - Thieu
    - Pressure on North Vietnam
    - Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon

- Cease-fire
  - Timing
    - Christmas
    - The President’s meeting with Haig and Kissinger

- US mining of North Vietnam
  - Reseeding
    - Timing
    - Thieu
    - Supplies
    - Timing
      - Reconnaissance
      - Signal to Hanoi
      - Reaction
      - Protective reaction

- US bombing of North Vietnam South of 20th Parallel
  - Kissinger’s scenario
    - The President’s view
  - Military value
  - Tone
  - Haig’s conversation with Kissinger

- Haig’s conversations with Kissinger
  - Options
    - Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
    - Contingencies

- Kissinger
  - Future
    - Kissinger’s interview with Oriana Fallaci
    - Press relations
    - William P. Rogers
  - “Peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
  - India-Pakistan War
    - US-Soviet Union relations
Effect
-Need to focus on problem
-Recommendations
-Need for suspicion
-Emotions
-Emotions
-Effect on work
-Expectations
-Settlement agreement
-Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
-Policy making
-Theory
-National Security Council [NSC]
-State Department
-Mental health
-Current status compared to recent past
-Trip to Saigon
-Haig’s location
-Messages
-Timing
-1972 election
-Long Tien
-Previous trips to Saigon
-Haig’s schedule
-Post-October 8, 1972
-Return from Paris
-Haig’s schedule
-Thieu’s rebuff
-Return from Paris
-Settlement agreement
-October 8, 1972 draft
-Hanoi
-Thieu
-Previous messages to Hanoi
-Settlement agreement
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-The President’s return from Camp David
-Compromise
-1972 election
-Return from Saigon
-Haig’s trip to Saigon
-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu’s view
  -Thieu’s relationship with Kissinger
    -Kissinger’s trip to Saigon
      -Back channels
      -Haig
      -Ellsworth F. Bunker
-Thieu
  -Relationship with Kissinger, the President, Haig
    -Trust
  -Speech, December 12, 1972
    -US theorists, quotation
    -Relationship with the President
      -Trust
  -US-South Vietnam relations
    -State Department
      -Corruption issue
-Kissinger
  -Schedule
    -Return from Paris
  -“Martyr complex”
  -Resignation
    -Advisability
      -Haig’s role
-Kissinger
  -Return from Saigon
  -Hanoi’s public statement
  -“Peace is at hand” statement
    -Timing
      -1972 election
  -Message from Hanoi
    -The President’s schedule, November 4, 1972
      -Greensboro, North Carolina
        -The President’s statement
  -“Peace is at hand” statement
    -The President’s pull-back
    -Haig’s reaction
    -Caution
    -The President’s reaction
Conversation No. 381-3 (cont’d)

- Politics
  - Haig’s conversation with Kissinger
- Press conference, October 26, 1972
  - Technical aspects
  - Settlement agreement
  - 1972 election
- Press relations
  - Fallaci interviews
    - Italian ambassador
    - Haig’s location
      - Saigon
    - Timing
      - 1972 election
  - Italian government request
- Taping
  - Haig’s viewing
  - Reproduction
    - Washington Star
    - Washington Post
- Quotes
  - Context
    - Kissinger’s relationship with the President
  - Legal suit threat
  - Tape
    - Quotes
      - Context
  - James B. (“Scotty”) Reston’s article
- Meeting with the President
  - Rogers
  - Melvin R. Laird
  - Rogers’s and Laird’s view
- October 8, 1972 agreement
  - Rogers’s, Laird’s and Agnew’s views
- Haig’s meetings with Kissinger
  - Timing
  - Rogers
  - Laird
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
  - Agnew
  - “Game Plan”
Conversation No. 381-3 (cont’d)

-Breakdown
  -Congressional relations
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Timing
      -Christmas
  -Statements
  -October 8, 1972 agreement
    -US action
    -North Vietnam
      -Violations
      -Coalition government
  -South Vietnam
    -Thieu
  -North Vietnamese position
    -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
      -Effect
        -Settlement agreement
          -Timing
  -Settlement agreement
    -Kissinger
    -Messages
    -Timing
      -Christmas
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Haig’s view
    -Thieu
      -Settlement agreement
      -Reseeding of mines
      -US position
        -Credibility
        -Signals
  -Thieu [South Vietnam]
    -US economic and military aid
    -US military aid
      -Laird’s view
        -Carriers
        -Sorties
        -Effect
    -US economic aid
      -Credit
-Conversion of Piasters
-Balance of payments
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-The President’s meeting with Kissinger
-Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
-Advisability
  -Pressure on Hanoi
  -Possible ultimatum to Thieu
  -Settlement agreement
    -Necessity to Thieu
  -Thieu
    -The President’s resolve to support
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Effect
  -Soviet Union
  -Thieu
-Victory
-Effect
  -Psychological and military aspects
-Targets
  -Power and communications stations
  -Marshalling yards
-B-52s
-Cessation
-Effect
  -Timing
  -South of 20th Parallel
  -Laotian Trail
    -Haig’s conversation with Moorer
-Reseeding of mines
-Effect
-Reconnaissance
-Settlement agreement
  -Unseeding of mines
-Statement
  -“Routine reseeding”
    -Means
-Settlement agreement
  -Unseeding of mines
-Haig’s meeting with Kissinger
-Kissinger’s schedule
  -Return from Paris
    -Rest
    -Kissinger’s reaction
-Recursive 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.

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

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.

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

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

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

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 381-11

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:14 pm and 1:15 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President talked with the White House operator.

[Conversation No. 381-A]

[See Conversation No. 34-126]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President’s schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:15 pm.
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Ronald L. Ziegler.

[See Conversation No. 34-127]

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]

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:18 pm and 1:20 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Weather

The President’s schedule

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

Refreshment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*********************************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:20 pm.

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: 1:20 pm – 1:40 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press

Ziegler’s press conference
- Duration
- Second term reorganization
  - Anne L. Armstrong
    - Counselor to the President
  - Cabinet rank
    - Woman
      - Oveta Culp Hobby
    - The President’s choice
    - Senate confirmation
      - Requirement
        - Secretary of Department in Executive Branch
  - The President’s choice
  - Semantics

- Tone
- Second term reorganization
  - Armstrong
    - Counselor to the President
    - Tokenism
- Counselor to the President
  - First term
    - Robert H. Finch
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld
    - Patrick P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
Conversation No. 381-15 (cont’d)

-Bryce N. Harlow
-Arthur F. Burns

-White House staff cuts
  -Finch
  -Return to California
  -Rumsfeld
  -Ambassadorship to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
  -Counselor to the President
  -Peter Lisagor’s comment
-Commerce and Transportation Department
  -White House staff
  -Departures
    -Desmond J. Barker
    -Gen. Robert L. Schulz
    -John C. Whitaker
    -Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
    -Charles W. Colson
    -Rumsfeld
  -Reduction
    -Executive Office

-Vietnam negotiations
  -US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
    -Melvin R. Laird’s statement
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 speech
  -Settlement agreement
  -Enemy buildup
    -Offensive action
  -Settlement agreement
  -Prolonging the war
    -Henry A. Kissinger’s press conference
  -Settlement agreement
    -North Vietnam
  -Preventing enemy buildup
    -Offensive in South
      -The President’s May 8, 1972 speech
  -Kissinger’s press conference
    -Ziegler
  -Press relations
    -Lead story
      -The President’s May 8, 1972 speech
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Conversation No. 381-15 (cont’d)

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

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

Ziegler’s press conference
  - Press relations
    - Washington Post
    - The President’s recent conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Philadelphia Bulletin
    - Baltimore Sun
    - Unknown newspaper
    - Dallas Times Herald
    - Washington newspaper
    - Washington Star
Conversation No. 381-15 (cont’d)

David C. Hoopes entered at 1:31 pm.

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

Hoopes left at 1:32 pm.

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

Vietnam War
Conversation No. 381-15 (cont’d)

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

Ronald Ziegler left at 1:40 pm.

Conversation No. 391-16

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

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

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

Conversation No. 381-17

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

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

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

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

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

The President’s schedule
Conversation No. 381-17 (cont’d)

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

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

Second term reorganization
  -Maurice H. Stans
    -Ambassadorship to Cambodia
    -Health

The President’s schedule
  -Guest lists
    -Duplication
      -Charles W. Colson
      -Reception
      -Christmas tree lighting
      -Church services
      -Colson
      -Rose Mary Woods
        -1973 Inauguration
      -Colson

Item for the President’s signature
  -Ehrlichman

The President’s schedule
  -Guest lists
    -Duplication
    -Woods
Conversation No. 381-17 (cont’d)

-Colson
-Handling
-Groups
-Political
-Stans
-Republican National Committee [RNC]
- Robert J. Dole
- Church service
-Stans
- Church service
-Haldeman’s conversation with Woods
- Cabinet
- Church services, dinner
- Heads of state

-Receptions
- Public relations [PR]
- New Majority
- Recognition of supporters
- 1972 election
- Christmas events
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Supporters
- Hard hats, Republicans
- Italian-Americans
- American Legion hat
- Disabled American Veterans head [Jack O. Hicks]
- Flag lapel pin
- Republicans

-Social events
- Cabinet dinner
- Josephine (Brickell) Brennan
- Toasts
- William P. Rogers
- Anne L. Armstrong
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-Rogers’s toast
- Mrs. Nixon
- Armstrong
- Agnew
- Rogers’s toast
Conversation No. 381-17 (cont’d)

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
New York

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger’s “peace is at hand” statement
  - Effect
    - 1972 election
    - Polls

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

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

The President’s schedule
- Richard G. Kleindienst

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

Haldeman and Bull left at 2:05 pm.
Conversation No. 381-18

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: 2:06 pm – 2:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

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

Insurance
  -Golf

Golf
  -Hole-in-one
    -Kleindienst’s photograph in newspaper

Second term reorganization
  -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
    -L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
      -Schedule
        -Connecticut
        -Meeting with Kleindienst
    -Health
      -Florida
      -Delay of meeting with the President
    -Gen. Walter R. Tkach
    -Habits
      -J[ean] Paul Getty
        -Telephone call from the President
          -Age
          -Wealth
          -Habits
    -Retention
      -Negatives and positives
        -Kleindienst’s conversation with John N. Mitchell
    -Confirmation hearings
      -Watergate
        -Possible testimony

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

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

Second term reorganization
- FBI
  - Gray
    - Confirmation hearings
    - Watergate
    - Politics
      - Cronyism charge
      - Watergate
      - Edward M. Kennedy
      - Possible Presidency
        - Post-Presidency
          - Republican
          - Liberal Democrat
    - Reform
      - Field offices
      - Discipline
      - Timing
      - Peter J. Pitchess
        - Relationship with Kleindienst
        - Qualities
        - Age
        - Political ability
        - Age
        - 1976 election
          - Republican
          - Kennedy
      - Richard G. Ogilvie
        - Attorney General
        - Political ability
          - Background as governor
          - Law firm
          - Compared to Pitchess, Gray
      - Pitchess
        - Background
Conversation No. 381-18 (cont’d)

-Barry M. Goldwater’s California campaign chairman, 1964
-Los Angeles
-Compared to Gray

-Trust
-Gray

-Confirmation hearings
  -Kennedy
  -Birch E. Bayh, Jr.
  -John V. Tunney
  -G. Harrold Carswell
  -1972 election
    -1976 election
  -Kennedy’s speech
-Conversation with the President
-The President’s conversation with Mitchell
-Confirmation hearings
  -Senate Judiciary Committee
    -James O. Eastland
-Confirmation hearings
  -Kennedy, Bayh
  -Commitments
-Conversation with the President
  -The President’s schedule
  -Florida

-Matthew Byrne
  -Political orientation
    -Democrat
-Los Angeles
-US attorney
-Objectivity

-Time article, November 6, 1972
-Source
  -Unknown woman reporter
    -Field offices
      -Gray’s effort
-W. Mark Felt
  -Gray’s view
  -1972 election
  -Mitchell’s view
  -Gray
Conversation No. 381-18 (cont’d)

- Conversation with Kleindienst
  - Kleindienst’s view

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

Second term reorganization
  - Narcotics
    - Allocation and use of resources
    - Addicts
      - US
        - Compared to France
        - Seale
        - Epidemic
          - Compared to France, Japan, Britain, Spain
    - Customs
      - Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs [BNDD]
  - Roy L. Ash
    - Recommendation
    - Outsider status
      - Kleindienst’s schedule
    - Study
      - Narcotics
      - Ash
    - John F. Gallagher [?]
      - Budget
    - Ash
      - The President’s conversation with Kleindienst
  - Customs
    - Border Patrol
    - Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]
    - Investigations
    - Treasury Department
    - Investigations
      - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
    - Investigations
Conversation No. 381-18 (cont’d)

-BNDD
  -Justice Department
  -FBI
    -J. Edgar Hoover
-FBI
  -Hoover’s view
    -Automobile thefts, kidnapping, organized crime, drugs, campus riots
    -Controversy

Hoover
  -Late career
  -Image
  -Kleindienst’s view
  -Departure
    -Death
      -The President’s breakfast meeting with Hoover, September 20, 1971
  -Gray’s view
    -Speeches
    -The President’s meeting with Hoover
      -John Mitchell’s schedule
      -John Mitchell’s view

-Public relations [PR]

Professional football
  -Washington Redskins playoff game
    -Washington Post reporter
      -Reference to “Negroes”
        -Black, “Afro-Americans”

-Media relations
  -Television [TV] blackout of playoff games
    -Kleindienst’s viewing
    -Kleindienst’s possible suit
      -Edward Bennett Williams

-National policy
  -Kleindienst’s conversation with Alvin R. (“Pete”) Rozelle
    -Rozelle
      -FBI
    -Sellouts
      -Super Bowl I
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Conversation No. 381-18 (cont’d)

-Redskins-Buffalo Bills game
-Denver
-St. Louis
  -Busch Stadium
-Redskins-Bills game

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

Second term reorganization
-The President’s conversation with Gray
-Deputy Secretary of Treasury
  -Peter M. Flanigan
-Gray
  -Qualifications
  -Withholding of nomination
    -Reasons
Date: December 18, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:35 pm and 2:43 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building  

The President met with John D. Ehrlichman.
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.

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.

Date: December 18, 1972
Time: 2:45 pm – 5:50 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

Media relations
  - Colson’s lunch with William S. Paley
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - Job offer to Colson
    - Law practice
    - White House
  - Berrington brothers
  - Paley’s relationship with the President
    - 1960 campaign
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news
  - Klein
    - National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
      - John Chancellor
    - American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
      - John A. Scali
  - Chancellor
    - Voice of America
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Edward R. Murrow
    - Voice of America
  - Colson’s trips to New York
  - The President’s view
  - 1960 campaign
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

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

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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George Meany

Vietnam War
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - Timing
  - Labor relations
  - Media relations
    - Henry A. Kissinger
    - Ronald L. Ziegler’s press conference
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Public relations [PR]
  -Colson’s view
    -B-52s
    -Hanoi, Haiphong
    -Stock market

-Congressional relations
  -Thomas F. Eagleton
  -Mining
  -George S. McGovern’s statement
    -1972 election

-Kissinger’s “Peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972

-The President’s conversation with Colson
-Settlement agreement

-PR
  -Christmas
  -Albert E. Sindlginer
  -Economy
  -B-52s
    -Losses
  -Air warfare
    -Compared to ground warfare
      -Volunteerism
      -Media relations
        -Television [TV]
    -Duration

Colson’s health
  -Finger injury
    -Explanation
      -Christmas tree trimming

The President’s health
  -Foot injury
    -Timing

Colson’s health

Press relations
  -Reception
    -“Tony” story
The President talked with Marjorie P. Acker at an unknown time between 2:45 pm and 3:23 pm.
Vietnam War
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- PR
  - Sindlinger
    - Timing
  - Timing
  - Kissinger press conference
    - Colson’s reading
    - Colson’s view
  - Ronald L. Ziegler’s press conference

The President’s schedule
- Kissinger
- Colson

The President left and entered at an unknown time before 3:23 pm.
Vietnam War
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - Congressional relations
    - McGovern’s statement
    - Eagleton’s statement
    - Jacob K. Javits
    - Caution
  - PR
    - 1972 campaign
  - Press relations
    - Nicholas P. Thimmesch article
      - Kissinger’s reaction
        - Kissinger’s conversation with Thimmesch
    - The President
    - Kissinger’s conversation with Thimmesch
  - News magazines
    - Negotiations
      - Newsweek
        - Photographs of Kissinger
          - “Peace is at hand”
          - Tone
    - Negotiations
      - Kissinger’s “Peace is at hand” statement
      - Colson’s experience as a lawyer

White House staff
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

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

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

Colson’s assignments
-Request by Kissinger
-Harvard University
-Dirty tricks
-Labor relations

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

Colson’s assignments
-Dirty tricks

Colson left at 3:26 pm.

Vietnam War
-Negotiations
-Technical experts meeting
-Xuan Thuy
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-William J. Porter
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-PR

-Unknown person
-The President’s conversation with Haldeman
-Kissinger’s schedule
-The President’s schedule
-Florida
-Timing
-Kissinger’s schedule
-Timing
-Christmas
-Colson’s view
-Haig’s and Kissinger’s schedules
-Florida
-Helicopter
-Kissinger’s schedule
-California
-Palm Springs
-Haig’s schedule
-Populated areas
-Hanoi
-French embassy

-B-52s
-Losses
-Number
-Maneuverability
-Compared to fighters
-Targets
-Surface to air missiles [SAM] II
-Hanoi
-Weather
-F-111
-Loss
-Losses
-Administration reaction
-White House
-Melvin R. Laird
-Kissinger’s conversations
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

- William P. Rogers
- Notification
  - Compared to Cambodia invasion
  - Haig
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
- Duration
  - Air Force
  - Christmas
    - Pause
  - B-52s
    - Losses
    - Hanoi
    - North Vietnam
    - Weather
    - Sorties
    - Targets
    - SAMs
    - Waves
      - Losses
- Alternatives
  - Moorer
  - Ideas
    - North Vietnam
- Timing
  - 1972 election
    - Negotiations
      - North Vietnam
- Proprietary
- Timing
  - Negotiations
    - Delays
      - Kissinger’s possible message
      - Congressional relations
- The President’s reputation
- Winston S. Churchill quotation
  - Battle of the Marne
  - Audacity and caution
- Reactions
  - Press relations
    - Cambodia
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

- Government bureaucracy
  - Press relations
    - B-52s
      - Losses
  - PR
    - B-52s
      - Losses
      - Compared to helicopters
    - B-52s
      - Losses
    - PR
      - Hanoi
      - Communist propaganda
      - Civilian casualties
    - North Vietnam
      - Breakdown in negotiations
      - Compared to impasse
      - Confusion
        - Press relations
      - PR
    - PR
      - Telegrams to Kissinger
        - Tone
        - “Hawks”

- Negotiations
  - The President’s letter to Thieu
  - Possible leak
  - Settlement agreement
    - October 1972
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      - 17th Parallel
      - Geneva Agreement
      - Thieu’s position
      - Effect
  - Thieu’s position
    - November 1972
    - North Vietnam
    - DMZ
    - Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Bombing halt
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

Shanghai Communique
  -US-People’s Republic of China [PRC] relations
    -Effort
      -Hangechow
      -Drafts
      -Treaties

Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
    -Bilateral deal
      -Effect
        -South Vietnam
      -US economic and military aid
    -US reaction
    -North Vietnam
      -Resumption of talks
        -South Vietnam
        -May 31, 1971 proposal
  -Thieu
  -Timing
-January 2-3, 1973
  -Congressional relations
  -Resumption
    -North Vietnam
  -US options
    -Thieu
      -Haig’s possible report
      -Possible TV speech by the President
    -Settlement agreement
      -New offer
  -Media relations
    -The President’s accomplishments
      -Trips to the People’s Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
      -1972 election
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Delays
  -PR
    -Opposition and support for the President’s policies
      -Harvard University telephone call to Kissinger
  -Breakdown
    -Cambodia
    -Record
      -1972 election
      -North Vietnam
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
    -Duration
      -Hanoi
      -Settlement agreement
    -Cessation
      -US-South Vietnam relations
  -Press relations
    -Washington Star article
      -North Vietnam’s announcement
        -Timing
      -US military and diplomatic action
        -Haig’s trip to Saigon
        -Agnew
      -Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
    -The President’s meeting with Agnew and Kissinger
      -Agnew’s comments
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Thieu
-Congressional relations
-US funding for South Vietnam
-Lack of perception
-Thieu, North Vietnam

-Advisability
-Settlement agreement
-US-South Vietnam relations
-World War II allied correspondence
-Churchill-Josef V. Stalin
-Roosevelt-Stalin
-The President’s schedule
-Possible meeting with Thieu
-Midway
-San Clemente
-Timing
-Christmas

Second term reorganization
-Ambassadorships
-South Vietnam
-Change
-Timing
-January 1973
-Graham A. Martin
-Cable to Kissinger
-William B. Macomber, Jr.
-John A. Volpe
-Italy
-State Department
-Rogers
-Timing
-Ellsworth F. Bunker
-Volpe
-Italy
-Recess appointment
-France
-Pakistan
-India
-Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Importance
-Joseph J. Sisco
-Philippines
-William H. Sullivan
-Marshall Green
-Indonesia
-Green
-Businessman
-Green
-Military
-Age
-Career ambassadors
-Foreign service
-Val Peterson
-Adolph W. Schmidt
-Departure
-Walter H. Annenberg
-Retention
-Martin
-Jacob A. Beam
-Ridgway B. Knight
-Leonard J. Saccio
-Columbia
-Clinton E. Knox
-Haiti
-Walter P. McConaughy
-Walworth Barbour
-Departure
-Henry J. Tasca
-Indonesia
-Tasca
-South Korea
-Aid
-Greece
-Turkey
-Macomber
-Indonesia
-Tasca
-Compared to businessman
-Qualifications
Kissinger’s schedule
- Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meeting
- Lyndon Johnson [?]
- Forthcoming dinner
- Unknown woman

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

Kissinger left at 4:13 pm.

The President’s schedule
- John D. Ehrlichman

Vietnam War
- PR
  - Kissinger
  - Support for the President’s policies
    - The President’s November 3, 1969 speech

- The President’s schedule
  - Physical
  - Ehrlichman’s schedule

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

Second term reorganization
- Ehrlichman’s agenda
  - Under Secretaries
    - Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]
      - Frank C. Carlucci
        - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger’s recommendation
      - Italian-American background
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

- Possible meeting with the President
  - George W. Romney
- Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Outsiders
  - Conrad Calvert Knudsen
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Security and Exchange Commission [SEC] Chairman
    - William J. Casey
  - Robert Egelston
    - California
  - Joseph F. Alibrandi
    - California
- Black candidate
  - Frederick B. Dent
  - Ambassadorships
  - Thomas A. Wood
    - Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
- Dent
  - Need for administrative assistance
- Robert W. Fri
  - Environmental Projection Agency [EPA]
    - William D. Ruckelshaus
      - Speeches
- Age
- Kansas
- Education
  - Rice University
  - Harvard University
    - M.B.A.
- Kansas
- Dent
- Donald B. Marron
  - Age
  - Mitchell Hutchins & Company
  - Investment banking
  - Compared to Fri
    - Government experience
- Former officials
  - Dent
  - Maurice H. Stans
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Rocco C. Siciliano
-James T. Lynn
-Peter G. Peterson
-Compared to Stans

-Fri
-Dent
-Jim Cleary
-William D. Eberle

European Economic Community [EEC]
-James D. Hodgson
-Call from Ehrlichman
-Thomas W. (“Teddy”) Gleason
-Wood
-Multinational leasing company [TAW International Leasing, Inc.]
-Africa

-Wood
-SEC
-FTC
-Systems engineering, computer programming
-Decision Systems, Inc.
-FTC
-US Ordnance Tank Automotive Center
-Chase Manhattan Bank
-SEC
-Electrical engineering

-Defense Department
-Army, Navy, Air Force Secretaries
-Louis] Patrick Gray, III
-John W. Warner
-John A. Love
-Howard H. (“Bo”) Calloway
-West Point graduate
-Alibrandi
-Catholic, Italian-American background
-Thomas E. Hanigan
-W. R. Grace & Co.

-EC
-Hanigan
-Peterson
-Hodgson
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Geneva
- Hodgson
-Hodgson
-Rogers
  -Joseph A. Greenwald
-Defense Department
-Service Secretaries
  -Warner
    -Ehrlichman’s view
    -Retention
-Calloway
  -Army
  -Identity as Southerner
-Anne L. Armstrong
-Calloway
-Love
  -Partisanship
  -Commission
-Air Force
  -Academy
  -Love
  -Frank Borman
-Chief of Protocol
  -Borman
    -Wife
    -Travel
-Defense Department
  -Air Force Secretary
    -Michael Collins
-Frank Borman
  -Chief of Protocol
-Astronauts
-General Counsel positions
  -Agencies and commissions
    -FTC
    -Defense Department
      -Strom Thurmond
    -Federal Power Commission [FPC]
    -FTC
    -SEC
Conversations No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Appointments
-FTC
  -Chairmanship
    -Lewis E. Egnman
    -Age
-Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  -William A. Carey
    -General Counsel, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC]
    -Illinois lawyer
    -Foster College
-Civil Aeronautics Board [CAB]
  -Robert D. Timm
    -John B. Connally
    -Republican Party state chairmanship [Washington]
    -Seattle
    -Public utilities commission
    -Connally
-White House social events
  -Dinner, December 16, 1972
    -The President’s table
      -Sue Krogh
        -Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr.
      -Carol (Girard) Simon
      -Adele (Langston) Rogers
      -Barbara (Masters) Laird
    -Guests
      -Texas
      -California
-Elections
-Connally
-CAB
  -Timm
  -Muriel Siebert
    -Muriel Siebert & Company
    -New York Stock Exchange
    -Aviation
-ACTION
  -Carey
    -Illinois
The President left and Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:13 pm.

Sanchez’ schedule

-Florida

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

Second term reorganization

-EXOP

-Changes

- President’s Science Advisory Committee [PSAC]
  -National Science Foundation [NSF]
- Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy
  -Romney
- President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
  -National Security Council [NSC]
  -Kissinger
- Office of Science and Technology [OST]
  -NSF
  -Science Advisor to the President
- Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
  -Departure
    -Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
    -Private industry
- Mary Beggs
  -Part-time commissions
    -Wives
    -Art
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Special Trade Representative
  -Eberle
-Space Council
-Eberle
  -EC
-Hodgson
-Space Council
-Eberle
  -Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
    [OECD]
  -EEC
  -Donald H. Rumsfeld
  -Compared to Hodgson
-Hodgson
  -Geneva
-Space Council
  -Transfer to National Aeronautics and Space Administration
    [NASA]
    -Reorganization plan
    -Congressional approval
    -James C. Fletcher
    -Staff reduction
-Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]
-Office of Emergency Preparedness [OEP]
  -Division of duties
    -Disaster relief
      -HUD
    -Mathematical computer lab
    -General Service Administration [GSA]
-Underground facility
  -Defense Department
-Stockpile facility
  -GSA
  -[Gray]
  -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
-Vacancy
-NSC
  -Armstrong
    -Possible duties
      -Stockpile policy
CONVERSATION NO. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10
[National Security]
[Duration: 53s]
[Subject: National defense]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

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

-OEO
-Staff size
-Division of duties
-Budget

-Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Protection
-Ash
-Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
-Dr. Robert L. DuPont

- Presidential Protective Division
-Robert H. Taylor
-Departure
-Richard E. Kaiser
-William L. Duncan
-Rank
-Compared to Kaiser
-Taylor

-Harold G. Thomas
-Duncan
-Compared to Kaiser
-Secret Service
-James J. Rowley
-Retirement

-David B. Grant
-Ronald M. Pontius
-Wilson Livingood
-Alfred Wong
-Duncan
-Position
-Background
-Training school
-Omaha Special Agent
-Training division
-1967

-Kaiser
-Background
-St. Louis
-Indiana University
-Criminology
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

-Mankato State University
  -Economics, Education, History
-Duncan
-Secret Service
  -Rowley
  -Deputy Director
    -Lilburn E. Boggs
      -Charles E. (“Bebe”) Rebozo’s view
-Field offices
  -New York
-Rowley
  -Deputy
  -Retirement
    -Timing
    -1973
  -Promotion to Deputy
    -Compared to Haig
    -Edward L. Morgan
-Kaiser
-Duncan
-Secret Service
  -Kaiser
    -Compared to Duncan
-Duncan
  -Relationship with the President
-Ambassadors
  -List
  -Meeting

The President’s schedule
   -Possible meeting with Apostolic delegate
     -[Pope Paul VI] Giovanni Battista Motini’s message on peace
     -Timing
-Productivity Commission
  -Possible meeting with business and labor groups
    -Cabinet Room
    -George P. Shultz’s recommendation
-Instruction for Haldeman, Ehrlichman
  -Shultz’s schedule
  -Kissinger
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

1972 election
  -Colson’s information
    -Errors in McGovern’s favor
      -New Jersey, Pennsylvania
    -The President’s results
      -Compared to Johnson’s results
    -West Virginia
  -Errors in McGovern’s favor
    -Richard M. Scammon’s view
      -Arch A. Moore, Jr.
    -Colson’s possible telephone call to Moore

Second term reorganization
  -Assistant Secretaries, General Counsels
    -Frederic V. Malek
    -Political input
      -Colson
      -Harry S. Dent
      -Malek
    -Alan R. Miller
    -Richard B. Ogilvie
      -Law practice
        -Attorney General
          -Richard G. Kleindienst
    -Commissions
Conversation No. 381-21 (cont’d)

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

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