



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-1

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: 7:57 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-16]

Conversation No. 387-2

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 7:57 am and 8:10 am  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

Buchanan's health

- Arthritis
- Whirlpool bath

Press relations

- New York Times* article on monograph, "The Dirtiest Campaign in History Against a President"
- Reaction
  - 1972 campaign
  - George S. McGovern
  - Frank F. Mankiewicz
  - R. Sargent Shriver

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Press relations

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-2 (cont'd)

- Analysis of 1972 campaign
  - Virginia [?]
  - Charles W. Colson
  - Herbert G. Klein
- Sidney Brookes
- Max Lemer
- Harrison Salisbury
- 1972 campaign
  - George S. McGovern
    - Criticism
    - Salisbury
    - Edward M. Kennedy's candidate

Democratic National Committee [DNC] chairman

- Robert S. Strauss
- Division in Party
- Compared to Republicans in 1964
  - Dean Burch, Ray C. Bliss
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower's roll

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift

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Buchanan left at an unknown time before 8:10 am.

[There is no Conversation No. 387-3.]

Conversation No. 387-4

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 8:10 am - 9:50 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

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

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

- Henry A. Kissinger's report from Paris
  - Kennedy's conversation with Kissinger
- Meeting
  - Timing
- Kissinger's outlook
- Congressional relations
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Congressional relations
    - Funding for US aid to South Vietnam
- South Vietnam's position
  - US withdrawal for POWs
- North Vietnam's position
  - US withdrawal for POWs
  - Cessation of US bombing, mining
  - Congressional relations
    - Cut off of US military funds
    - Continuation of war
      - US bombing, mining
      - Timetable
  - Settlement agreement
- Kissinger's conversation with Kennedy
  - Postponement of meeting
  - Kennedy's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Kennedy's conversation with Dobrynin
  - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
  - October 26
  - Dobrynin's message to North Vietnamese
    - Moscow
    - Reply
- Soviet Union's role
  - US-Soviet Union relations
    - Breakdown in talks
- People's Republic of China [PRC] role
- Timetable
  - Congressional reconvention
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Air Force
- US bombing of North Vietnam

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Effect on US-PRC and US-Soviet Union relations
  - North Vietnam's posture
    - Dobrynin
    - Compared to March 30, 1972
      - Intransigence
      - US-South Vietnam relations
      - US-Soviet Union summit
        - Leonid I. Brezhnev
          - The President's meeting with Nikolai S. Patolichev
          - North Vietnam's offensive
- Settlement agreement
  - Enforcement
  - October 8, 1972 agreement
    - North Vietnam
    - Possible effect on Thieu
      - Press relations
        - Late October 1972
        - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
          - North Vietnam's March 30, 1972 invasion
  - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
    - North Vietnam
    - US public opinion
      - POWs
      - Cease-fire
      - Louis P. Harris poll
        - Kissinger
        - Settlement agreement

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 8:10 am and 8:26 am.

[Conversation 387-4A]

[See Conversation No. 34-17]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

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

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- White House polls
  - US withdrawal
- Congressional relations
  - Michael J. Mansfield
  - Committees
    - Organization
    - Meetings
    - Statements
  - US military action
    - Recess
- US bombing of North Vietnam
  - Psychological effect
    - Compared to military effect
      - The President's plan
        - Compared to the Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] plan
        - B-52s
          - Civilian targets
  - Timeframe
  - Pace
  - Cambodia
  - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
  - US bombing, mining
    - North Vietnam's reserves

The President talked with Charles W. Colson between 8:26 am and 8:27 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4B]

[See Conversation No. 34-18]

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls

- Colson

Vietnam negotiations

- US military action
  - Kennedy's conversation with Kissinger
    - Messages
- Kennedy's communications with Kissinger

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**  
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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Open line
  - “Double talk”
  - Soviet Union
  - France
- Secure line
  - Embassy chancery
  - Residence
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
- The President’s conversation with Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

Colson entered at 8:29 am.

Polls

- Colson

Vietnam negotiations

- Harris polls
  - Settlement agreement
    - Cease-fire
    - South Vietnam
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - Peace
    - Communists
  - POWs
  - Cease-fire
    - International supervision
  - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
    - South Vietnam
    - Representation
      - Communists
    - Election
    - Thieu
- Peace treaty
  - POWs exchange
- Settlement agreement
  - Thieu
    - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
    - Relations with US
- Cease-fire in place
  - Compared to North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- “Doves”
  - George S. McGovern
- Settlement agreement
  - Terms
    - Compromise
    - Violation by Communists
    - US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Effect
- October 1972 agreement
  - North Vietnam
    - Changes
      - Kissinger
  - Changes
    - Thieu
      - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
      - NCRC
        - Governmental compared to administrative function
        - Interpretation
        - Veto
      - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
      - South Vietnamese military action
- Cease-fire
  - North Vietnam’s interest
    - Victory
      - Thieu
    - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
      - Thieu
        - Vietcong [VC]
- Kissinger
  - Instructions
  - Morale
  - Outlook
    - October 8, 1972 agreement
    - 1972 election
    - Consultations with South Vietnam
  - Option two
- Continuation
- Breakdown
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
  - Pace

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- US bombing of North Vietnam
  - Weather
  - 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - Weather
    - B-52s
  - 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
    - Shift
    - B-52s
      - Protection
  - B-52s
    - Hanoi
      - Weather
      - SAMs
    - North Vietnam
      - Plan
        - Timing and duration
        - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Loss
      - SAM
      - Airmen
        - Bail-out
    - Haiphong, Hanoi
      - Distinguished Flying Crosses
        - Air Force
        - Oak leaf medals
        - Navy
      - Plan
        - Timing
        - Kennedy's conversation with Moorer
          - The President's conversation with Moorer
            - Secretary of Defense [Melvin R. Laird], JCS
            - Timing
            - Breakdown in talks
  - Kissinger's report
  - Meeting
    - Timing
    - Postponement
  - Kissinger's report
    - Kennedy's call to Kissinger



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Kennedy's possible call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Kennedy's call to the President
  - The President's schedule
  - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Possible messenger to Kissinger
- Kissinger's possible return for consultations with the President
  - Duration
  - Effect
    - Breakdown in talks
    - Speculation

Kennedy left at 8:45 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- Harris poll
  - Question
    - Thieu's position
  - Settlement agreement
    - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  - Coalition government
    - Elections
  - Reconciliation
    - Elections
    - Offer
      - Coalition government
      - NCRC
        - Functions
        - North Vietnam
      - Communist-held areas
  - Xerox copy
- North Vietnam's position
  - Tone
  - October 8, 1972 agreement
  - October 26, 1972 agreement
- South Vietnam's position
- Settlement agreement
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - Legal right
  - US public opinion
  - Thieu

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- South Vietnamese
- Non-communist government
- Breakdown

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger's message

The President and the unknown person left at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

The President entered at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- North Vietnam's position
- Tone

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- Public relations [PR]
- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendations
  - The President's possible television [TV] appearance
  - The President's November 3, 1969 speech
  - Cambodia
  - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
  - Hanoi, Haiphong
  - Settlement agreement

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

Item for the private file

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Translation problems

- US bombing of North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's possible return

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Stalemate

-North Vietnam's intransigence

-1972 election

-Action

Kennedy talked with the President between 8:56 am and 8:59 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4C]

[See Conversation No. 34-19]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's efforts

-1972 election

-The President's conversations with Kissinger

-Polls

-October 8, 1972 agreement

-Saigon

-Paris

-North Vietnamese

-Thieu

-1972 election

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-North Vietnam's message, November 4, 1972

-McGovern

-PR

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's "peace is at hand" statement
  - North Vietnam's publication of settlement agreement
  - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
  - Kissinger's credibility
  - North Vietnamese reneging
  - US reneging
- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendations
    - The President's possible TV appearance
    - The President's credibility
      - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
      - Kissinger
  - Timing
    - Christmas
    - 1972 election
    - Playoffs
  - Tone
    - The President's credibility
      - "Peace is at hand"
      - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
      - Timing
        - 1972 election
  - Press relations
    - Kissinger

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 9:01 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendation
    - The President's possible TV appearance
    - PR
      - Anti-war sentiment
      - POWs
        - Christmas
        - US mining, bombing of North Vietnam
- Kissinger's message
  - Haldeman's reading
    - Tone
    - Content

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 9:43 am.

Press relations

-*New York Times* article on monograph, "The Dirtiest Campaign in History Against a President"

-1972 campaign

-The President's conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan

-Distribution

-Mailings

-Editors

-Republican leaders

-Congressmen

-Purpose

-Frank F. Mankiewicz

-Historical record

-Editors

-Newspapers

-Mailings

-James Schurz

-James Keogh

-Monographs

-"Things They Would Like to Forget"

-"RN Won It!"

-McGovern

-Reaction

-Double standard

-Schurz

-Distribution

-Mailings

-Letter

-1972 campaign

-Publishers

-*New York Times*

-*Time*

-*Washington Post*

-Unknown person

-Columbia University

-Assistant

-Research

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

- Robert S. Strauss
- Buchanan
  - Governors
- Edmund S. Muskie
- McGovern
  - Statement
    - 1972 election
- Governors' endorsements
- Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis [?]
- Southerners
- Labor
- Jews
- Labor
  - Frank E. Fitzsimmons
  - Peter J. Brennan
  - William S. White

Republican National Committee [RNC]

- Chairman
- South
  - Southern strategy
    - Brennan
    - Blacks
    - Busing
    - Welfare

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Press relations

- Monographs
  - Buchanan
  - “Things They Would Like to Forget”

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendation

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Settlement agreement

-Polls

-Republicans

-George H. Gallup

-Harris

-Gallup

-Cease-fire

-Harris

-Public opinion

-McGovernites

-POWs

-Stock market

-POWs

-Kissinger's credibility

-The President's conversation with Haldeman

-Kissinger's message

-Compared to the President's credibility

-“Peace is at hand”

-Settlement agreement

-North Vietnam

-US bombing

-Compared to the President's credibility

-The President's address, “Look to the Future”

-“Peace is at hand”

-1972 election

-Peace

-Settlement agreement

-Politics

-“Peace is at hand”

-December 6, 1972 talks

-Kissinger

-Haldeman's view

-PR

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Pace

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Translation problems
- Kissinger's possible statement
  - Backgrounder
  - Briefing
  - Previous negotiations
  - Translation problems
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  - Thieu
  - Settlement agreement
  - Tone
    - Kissinger's emotions
      - Mea culpa*
      - Resignation
        - The President's trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
        - Berlin
        - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
    - North Vietnam
- Withdrawal of US forces
  - Thieu
  - Residual forces
  - US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  - South Vietnam
    - Thieu
  - Kissinger
- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendation
    - The President's possible TV appearance
      - Escalation
    - Kissinger's return from Paris
      - Settlement agreement
        - North Vietnam
    - Kissinger's possible statement
      - Backgrounder
    - North Vietnam's possible statement
      - Settlement agreement
        - Thieu
    - North Vietnam
      - Kissinger's possible statement



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- PR
  - Withdrawal of US forces
- Withdrawal of US forces
  - Announcement
    - Timing
      - Christmas
    - North Vietnam
    - Casualties
  - Timing
    - POWs
      - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
      - Residual forces
      - Connally's view
      - Residual forces
- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's possible statement
    - Kissinger's credibility
      - “Peace is at hand”
    - Kissinger's press relations
      - Press conferences
        - William P. Rogers
        - Mistakes
        - Consultations
          - Haig
          - The President
            - Points
            - Process
        - Briefing
      - Oriana Fallaci interview
        - Effect
    - Kissinger's recommendation
      - The President's possible TV appearance
        - North Vietnam
      - The President's previous statements
  - PR
    - Press relations
      - Christmas
      - POWs
        - Families
    - Stock market

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

-Washington, DC

-PR

- David T. Dellinger
  - Chicago Seven
    - Demonstrations
    - Christmas vigil
    - 1973 Inauguration
      - Press relations
    - 1968
    - Mobilization
- Issues
  - Vietnam War
    - Ground troops
    - TV
    - Draft
      - Volunteer armed forces
      - Casualties
      - Airplanes
        - Aircraft carriers
  - TV
  - Girl
    - Napalm
- Kissinger's possible TV statement
  - North Vietnamese
  - National honor
- Demonstrations
  - Mobilization
  - Dellinger
- 1972 election
  - McGovern
- The President's possible TV appearance
  - Kissinger's view
    - North Vietnam
  - The President's possible conversation with Dobrynin
    - Tone
  - Press relations
    - Kissinger's view
      - The President's press conferences
        - Effect on the enemy
  - Effect on Dellinger and anti-war activists

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

-Effect on the enemy

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- 1972 election
  - McGovern
  - Margin of victory
  - Congressional relations

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President's schedule

- National Governor's Conference
  - Compared to Republican Governors Conference
  - Agnew's attendance

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendation
    - The President's possible TV appearance
    - POWs
      - Possible executions
      - US response
    - North Vietnam
      - Reaction
      - PR
        - Expectations
    - Congressional relations
      - US aid to South Vietnam
        - Cut off
    - The President's message to Thieu
      - Communists, spies
- Kissinger's view
  - Settlement agreement
    - Difficulty
    - North Vietnam

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- US staying in war
- South Vietnam
- US withdrawal

New establishment

- The President's recent conversation with Haldeman
- Colson's role
  - Labor
  - Democrats
    - Italian-Americans
- Blacks
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Leonard Garment
- Press relations
- Business community

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- 1972 election
- The President's supporters
  - Top 100 contributors
- Press
  - Editors
    - The President's supporters
- Peter M. Flanigan
- Updated lists
  - 1972 campaign
  - Distribution
- Colson's responsibility
- Haldeman's role
- Flanigan
- Colson's meetings
  - Flanigan
  - Frederic V. Malek
  - Donald McI Kendall

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

White House social affairs

-Invitations

-Rose Mary Woods

-Colson

-Parties

-Blair House

-Church services

-State dinners

-Quotas

-Blair House

-Friends, military, Cabinet officers, Congress

-Congressional relations

-William E. Timmons

-Ronald L. Ziegler

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-The President's supporters

-Southerners

-Republicans

-Colson's responsibility

-Republicans

-1972 election

-Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

-Charles H. Percy

-Southerners

-Mathias

-Agnew

-Paul Hall

-Kendall

-David Packard

-Los Angeles

-Edward W. Carter [?]

-Chicago

-Ohio

-Florida

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- 1972 election vote
- Democrats for Nixon
  - Southern strategy
    - Harry S. Dent
- John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
  - The President's box
    - Political supporters
      - White House staff
      - Cabinet

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Second term reorganization

- Leaks
  - Peter G. Peterson
  - John N. Mitchell
    - Kevin Phillips's article
      - Frederic V. Malek
        - Cabinet
        - Personnel
        - Under Secretaryship
- James T. Lynn
- Peterson
  - Trade
- Commerce Department
  - South
    - Archibald K. Davis of North Carolina
      - Wachovia Bank
    - Frederick B. Dent of South Carolina
      - Textile industry
      - Republican Party
- Phillips's article
  - Buchanan
- Mitchell
- Washington Post*
- Washington Star*
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]

-Rogers

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- John A. Scali
  - 1972 election
    - Italian-American vote
  - Background
  - Education
    - Boston University
    - Canton, Ohio

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- George H. W. Bush
  - Compared to Rogers

1972 election

- Voters
  - Italian-Americans
    - Percentage
  - Catholics
    - Percentage
    - Italian-Americans
    - Irish-Americans
    - New York
- Harris poll
  - Results

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Colson left at 9:43 am.

Second term reorganization

- Leaks
  - Haldeman's reaction
  - Peterson
    - Washington Post* article
    - Haldeman's conversation with Ziegler
    - George P. Shultz

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Economics "czar" position
- Shultz's conversation with Peterson
- Haldeman's conversation with Ziegler
  - Washington Post*
  - Washington Star*
  - David S. Broder

Tricia Nixon Cox talked with the President between 9:44 am and 9:45 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4D]

[See Conversation No. 34-20]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization

- Leaks
  - Peterson
    - Washington Post* article
    - Ziegler
  - Compared to Dent
  - Opportunism
    - Frank F. Church
- Cabinet and White House staff
  - Unknown man
  - Loyalty

The President's schedule

- California
  - Kitchen work
    - Deadline
      - Herbert W. Kalmbach
      - Pool
- Camp David
- White House
- Reception for California administration officials
  - Dinner
    - The President's attendance
      - Camp David
      - Cocktails



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Dress
  - Business suit
- White House
  - Vietnam negotiations
    - Kissinger
    - US military action
      - Plans
    - Moorer
- Camp David
  - Ziegler's announcement
  - Compared to White House
    - Vietnam negotiations
      - Kissinger's return from Paris
      - Settlement agreement or breakdown
    - Peter M. Flanigan
    - Messages
- Christmas
  - The President's conversation with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
    - Lucy A. Winchester
    - Stephen B. Bull
  - Plans
    - Winchester and Bull meeting
      - Haldeman's role
      - Mrs. Nixon
      - Edward C. Nixon [?]
      - Talking paper
      - Haldeman's conversation with the President
  - Tree lighting ceremony
    - The President's role
    - 1971
      - Rex W. Scouten
    - Message
      - Thanksgiving
      - Radio message
      - Timing
      - Duration
    - Mrs. Nixon
    - Guests
      - Groups

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Size
- Clean-up
- The President's role

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Invitations
  - 1972 campaign workers
    - Clark MacGregor
    - William Matthew [?]
  - Speeches
- The President's schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President's schedule

- Shultz's meeting with the President
  - Ehrlichman's presence
    - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III.
    - HUD
    - Kissinger
  - Shultz's position as Assistant to the President
- Kissinger's meetings with the President
- Ehrlichman's meetings with the President
- Agnew's meetings with the President

Watergate

- John J. Sirica
  - Handling of case
    - [Pre-trial conference, December 4, 1972]
    - Story
  - Indictments
  - Meeting
- John W. Dean, III, report
  - Draft
- White House staff

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Announcement
- Donald H. Segretti
  - Ehrlichman
  - Edward M. Kennedy
  - Subpoenas
  - Staff investigations
  - Mitchell's efforts with James O. Eastland

Second term reorganization

- Peterson
- Richard M. Helms
  - Ambassadorship to Iran
    - Rogers
      - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
      - Joseph S. Farland
      - William H. Sullivan
  - George H. W. Bush's conversation with Rogers
    - Haldeman's possible conversation with Bush
- Colson
  - Italian-Americans
- Confirmation
  - Foreign policy
  - Rogers
  - Congressional relations
    - Nomination
  - Colson, Bush
  - Foreign policy

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendation
    - The President's possible TV appearance
    - PR
  - Vietnam War as issue
- Resumption
- Impasse, postponement
- Resumption
  - Kissinger's possible statement
- Breakdown
  - Washington, DC

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Congressional relations
- Instructions for Haldeman
- Ehrlichman, Shultz
- Judgment

The President's schedule

- White House
- Kissinger
- Helene (Colesie) Drown
- Blair House

Haldeman left at 9:50 am.

Conversation No. 387-5

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 10:13 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-21]

Conversation No. 387-6

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:15 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Horacio Rivero
- Duration
- Photograph opportunity
- Credentials

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-6 (cont'd)

- Spain
- Photograph opportunity
  - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Meeting with Henry O. Dormann
  - National Enquirer*
  - Photograph session
- Meeting with Leroy S. Zimmerman and M. Harvey Taylor
  - Timing
- Meeting with John B. Connally
- Reception for California administration officials
  - Dinner
    - Timing
      - Blair House
      - Cocktails
- Meeting with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
  - Duration
  - Interruption

Bull left at 10:15 am.

Conversation No. 387-7

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 10:15 am - 11:38 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Economy

- Cost of living
- Wage and price controls
  - Shultz's message from the President
  - Arthur F. Burns
  - Shultz's conversations with John B. Connally, Burns, and Pierre Rinfret
  - Public relations [PR]

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Food prices
  - Burns
  - Congressional relations
  - Meat import quotas suspension
  - Increase of oil import quotas
  - Rice
- Guidelines
- Construction industry
- Medical care
- Food prices
- Government action
- Food prices
  - The President's conversation with Gerald R. Ford
  - Meat import quotas suspension
    - Earl L. Butz
    - Cattlemen
  - Structure of controls
- Inflation
  - Big companies and unions
- Food prices
- Medical care
- Food prices
  - Rinfret
    - Construction industry
- Shultz's memorandum
  - Donald F. Rumsfeld
  - Burns
    - Conversation with Shultz
- Food prices
  - Quotas
  - Price Commission
  - Term-limit price controls
- Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
  - Enforcement
- PR
  - Decontrol
  - Inflation fight continuation
  - Controls change
  - Phase III
    - Inflation fight "continues"

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Substance
- Decontrol
- Cost of Living Council [COLC]
  - John T. Dunlop
    - Conversation with Shultz
      - Rumsfeld
    - Labor unions
- Food prices
  - Rinfret
- Rinfret's support
  - 1972 campaign
- Labor relations
  - George Meany, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Leonard Woodcock
    - Disputes
      - Settlement
      - Strikes
  - Peter J. Brennan
- Milton Friedman's view
  - Tightened controls
  - April 1973
  - End of controls
- Psychological effect
- Labor relations
  - Avoiding conflict
  - Business council
  - Frederick B. Dent
    - Confirmation
    - Profit system
- Consultations
  - Meany
    - Brennan
  - Fitzsimmons
- Productivity Commission
  - Meany
  - John H. ("Jack") Lyons
  - Phase II
  - Dunlop
  - Peter G. Peterson
- Meany's view
  - Industry labor-management groups

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

-Steel

-I[lorwith] W[ilbur] Abel

-Shultz's role

-Brennan

-Confirmation

-Dent, Brennan

-Timing

-State of the Union address

-1973 Inauguration

-Pre-January 1, 1973

-Christmas

-Congressional reconvention

-Christmas

-Productivity Commission meeting

Commission on Industrial Peace

-Dent, Brennan

-Timing

-Membership

-Names

-Size

-Experience

-George S. McGovern supporters

-Labor relations

-Woodcock

-Productivity Commission

-Neutral intellectuals

-Business

-Professors

-1972 election

-McGovern supporters

-Economists

-Newspaper advertisement

-Rinfret

-PR

-Conversation with Shultz

-Interest in administration position

-Visibility, status, prerequisites, access to the President

-Importance

-The President's view



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Meany's view
- Labor-management relations
- Membership
  - Charles W. Colson's lists
    - Business, labor
    - Donald McI Kendall
  - Frederic V. Malek
  - Roy L. Ash
  - Labor, management
- Congressional relations
  - Philip M. Landrum – Robert P. Griffin Act
  - Farm labor bill

**Economy**

- Wage and price controls
  - Timing
    - Christmas
    - Sales
- PR
  - Inflation
  - Budget
  - Inflation
    - Phases
  - Phase III
  - Continuation of law
  - Method
  - Speculation
  - Phase III
  - Budget
    - Spending ceiling
  - Phase III
    - Christmas
  - Continuation of law
  - Inflation fight continuation
  - Congressional relations
  - Comprehensiveness
    - Voluntarism
- Labor relations
  - Meany, Fitzsimmons, Brennan, Dent
  - Shultz's role

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- John B. Connally's view
  - Politics, psychology
- Labor relations
  - Business
    - Conflict
    - Pay Board, Price Commission
  - Meany
- Colson's role
  - Politics
  - Conflict
- Announcement
  - Timing

Revenue sharing

- Issuance of first check
  - Timing
- Congressional relations
  - Treasury Department briefing
- Announcement
- Information update
  - Customer and tax packets
- Congressional relations
  - Democrats
    - House of Representatives
    - Senate
  - Republicans
  - Southern Democrats
- James E. Smith
- Charles H. Percy
- Amounts
  - Change
    - Data
  - New York City
    - Suburban areas
  - Chicago
  - Indianapolis
    - Richard G. Lugar
  - Los Angeles County
    - Samuel W. Yorty
- Congressional relations

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- Treasury Department
  - Charles E. Walker and Eugene T. Rossides
    - Announcement
    - Timing
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Walker
  - Congressional relations
  - Lobbying activities
    - Relations with administration
  - Possible meeting with the President
    - Handshake
    - Expression of gratitude
    - Photograph session
- Treasury Department
  - William E. Simon
    - Announcement
    - Solomon Brothers
      - Resignation
      - Conflict of interest
      - Fraud
  - Edward L. Morgan
    - Rossides
  - Edwin S. Cohen

Congressional relations

- Shultz's possible trip to Arkansas
  - Wilbur D. Mills
  - Russell B. Long
  - Shultz's conversation with Mills
    - House Ways and Means Committee agenda
      - Trade
      - Taxes
      - Health
      - Pension portability
      - Unemployment insurance
      - Tax credits for private schools

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Property taxes, tax reform
- Health
- Trade
  - Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
  - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]
  - Restrictions
    - MFN
      - Soviet Union
    - Compared to liberalization
    - GATT
    - Europe
  - Oil prices
  - Liberalization
- International monetary relations
  - Tariff reduction
    - Presidential discretion
  - General resolution
    - Treasury Department
    - Deals
      - Ratification
        - Effect on negotiations
  - Concessions
- International economic relations
  - Trade
    - Countervailing duty legislation
      - Michelin
      - Canada
        - Announcement
        - State Department
      - Japanese
        - Electronics
      - South Koreans
        - Sneakers [tennis shoes]
        - Surplus
        - Henry A. Kissinger
          - Politics
        - William J. Casey
      - Japan
        - Economic, political, military considerations

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Kissinger
- “QT”
- Canada
  - Jobs
  - Auto pact
    - Negotiations
      - Agreement
        - Cancellation
        - Duration
      - Michelin
- Latin America
  - Expropriations
    - Peru
      - Company worries
        - David Packard
      - New government
        - January 1973
        - Settlement
        - Loans
        - National Security Council [NSC]
- Chile
  - Hardline
- Multilateral organizations
  - Latin America
  - World Bank
    - Robert S. McNamara
      - Replacement
  - Inter-American Development Bank [IADB]
    - Pledge
      - Emilio Garrastazu Medici of Brazil
    - Increments
  - Congressional relations
    - Appropriations
      - Continuing resolution
- Review
- Compared to bilateral agreements
  - US relations
    - Control
- Latin America
  - IADB

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Asian Development Bank
- IADB
- United Nations [UN]
  - Budget cuts
    - Effect
  - UN Development Program
  - Rudolph A. Peterson
- US foreign policy
- World Bank
  - McNamara
- Latin America
  - IADB

Second term reorganization

- Peter G. Peterson
  - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - Ambassadorship to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld
    - David M. Kennedy
    - Need for full-time person
    - Cabinet rank
      - “Super ambassador”
      - Rumsfeld
      - UN ambassadorship
  - Job performance
    - Soviet Union
  - Departure
  - Leaks
    - Washington Post*
      - Dent
      - James T. Lynn
      - Ehrlichman
  - Departure
    - Means
      - Kissinger's view
      - Living abroad
      - Personal reasons
  - Possible trip
    - East-West negotiations
    - Soviet Union, Poland

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Report
- European Economic Community [EEC], Soviet Union, Poland
- Role as President's special representative
- Poland
- EEC
- Japan
- East-West trade
- Moscow
- US-Soviet Union gas deal
  - Kissinger
- Soviet Union
  - US-Soviet Union summit
- Europe, Japan
- East-West trade
- US-Soviet Union gas deal
  - Peter M. Flanigan
  - Connally
  - Commerce Department
  - Shultz
  - Kissinger
  - White House
    - Connally
    - Kissinger
      - Armand Hammer
      - Economics
  - Companies' interests
    - Government guarantees
    - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank
  - Connally
  - Commerce Department
- Soviet Union
  - Connally
- Europe, Japan
- East-West trade
- Role as President's special representative
- EEC, Japan
- Recommendations
- Speeches, press conferences
- Contacts
  - Shultz, Flanigan, Kissinger

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Rumsfeld
  - Ambassadorship to NATO
- Peterson's possible trip
  - EEC-NATO ambassadorship
    - [Joseph A. Greenwald]
      - State Department
    - Feasibility
    - Rumsfeld
      - Departure
  - US economic representation in industrial countries
    - William J. Casey
      - Rogers
    - Soviet Union
    - Maurice H. Stans
    - Europe
    - Japan
    - Asian countries
    - Latin America
      - Brazil
      - Mexico
    - Japan
    - Philippines
    - Indonesia
    - Casey
      - State Department
  - East-West trade
    - US-Soviet Union summit
  - US economic representation
    - Public statements
  - Purpose
    - Recommendations on broad policy
      - EEC, Asia
  - European community

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:15 am.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:38 am.



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- Peterson's possible trip
  - Recommendations
  - EEC-NATO ambassadorship
  - James D. Hodgson
  - US economic representation
  - US policy
    - Cartels, anti-trust
    - Report
  - Duration
  - Timing
    - Confirmation of Secretary of Commerce
    - Spring 1973
  - Announcement
    - Speculation
  - Sally (Hornbogen) Peterson
  - Travel
    - Presidential plane
      - Kennedy
    - Commercial
    - Special plane
      - Europe
        - Paris
    - Attache planes
    - Japan, Indonesia
  - NATO
  - US economic representation
  - Consultations
    - Rogers
    - [David] Kenneth Rush
    - Casey
    - State Department
    - Shultz
    - Kissinger
    - Flanigan
  - Role as President's special representative
    - Ambassadorship
- Ehrlichman's schedule
  - Meeting with Warren E. Burger
  - Robert H. Bork

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Experience
  - Erwin N. Griswold
  - Richard G. Kleindienst
  - Charles S. Rhyne
- Supreme Court
  - Age
    - Paul Klein [?] [sp?]
    - McGovern
  - John B. Davis, Jr. [?]
  - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
  - Clifford P. Case

Shultz and Ehrlichman left at 11:38 am.

Conversation No. 387-8

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: 1:09 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-147]

Conversation No. 387-9

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: 1:09 pm - 1:10 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 34-22]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-10

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

\*\*\*\*\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Dictation

The President's schedule  
-Meeting with Charles W. Colson  
-Timing

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*\*\*\*\*

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-11

Date: December 5, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm  
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

\*\*\*\*\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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

Conversation No. 387-11 (cont'd)

-Call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*\*\*\*\*

Interview

-News story

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-12

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Charles W. Colson

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-13

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 2:00 pm - unknown before 3:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

Press relations

- Colson's conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan
- Monographs
  - "Things They Would Like to Forget"
  - Purpose
    - Eastern elite
- Administration supporters
- Columnists
- Editorial writers
- Buchanan
  - New York Times*
- Administration supporters
- Editors
- Congressmen
- Senators
- Republican National Committeemen
- 1972 campaign
  - News summaries
    - The President's reading
  - Life*
    - Letters
      - "*Soc et tuum*"
  - Photographs
    - Joe Scherschel
    - Wisconsin
  - Time*
- Colson
  - Washington Post* article, December 5, 1972
    - John A. Scali
    - Tone
    - Interview with Patricia Ann (Hughes) Colson
      - Sally Quinn
      - Margaret Pearson
      - Colson's conversation with Scali
- William S. Paley
  - Meeting with Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead

\*\*\*\*\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

1972 election

- Victory margin
  - Percentages
  - Reporting
    - Deadline
- Percentages

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

\*\*\*\*\*

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 2:05 pm.

Press relations

- Colson
  - Washington Post* article
    - Tone
- Scali

\*\*\*\*\*

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election

- Victory margin
  - Percentages
    - Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
  - Reporting
    - Missing states
- John B. Connally
- Wire services
  - Press relations
    - Jim Schurz
- Votes
  - Certification
    - Secretary of States
    - Count

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

\*\*\*\*\*

Vietnam negotiations

- Henry A. Kissinger's message
  - Colson's reading
- Breakdown
  - Kissinger's recommendation
    - The President's possible television [TV] appearance
      - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
        - US-Soviet Union summit
        - US foreign relations
        - 1972 election
    - Second term
    - The President's view
      - 1972 election
    - Kissinger's possible statement
      - Explanation of details
    - Kissinger's return
      - Report to the President
    - Kissinger's possible statement
      - Untelevised
      - Attribution
      - Duration
      - Questions and answers [Q&A]
  - Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Public relations [PR]
    - Reescalation of war
      - US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Kissinger's possible statement
      - "Snag"
      - North Vietnam
        - Translation problems
      - US military action
      - North Vietnam's statements
  - Colson's view
  - 1972 election
  - Economy
  - Christmas
  - Playoffs

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Retail sales
- Second term
- “Peace is at hand”
- US-Soviet Union summit
  - Kissinger’s return [from Moscow]
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  - Cancellation
    - The President’s recommended TV appearance
    - John B. Connally’s view
      - Victory in Vietnam
    - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
      - North Vietnam’s offensive
- Kissinger’s return from Paris
- Translation problems
- North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- US action
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Pace
    - B-52s
    - Nuclear option
  - Cambodia
- Kissinger’s message
  - Settlement agreement
    - Cease-fire
- Confession of failure
- Kissinger’s message
  - Vietnamization
    - Government of Vietnam [GVN]
  - US withdrawal
  - Military settlement
    - Hanoi
  - Prisoners of War [POWs] return
    - US military action
- Offer
  - South Vietnam
    - Communist domination
    - Self-defense
  - POWs
    - Cessation of US bombing of North Vietnam



**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- US withdrawal
  - Effect on South Vietnam
  - George S. McGovern's position
- Settlement agreement
- US allies
- POWs
- US withdrawal
  - Honor
- Cambodia
- Administration supporters and opponents
- The President's May 8, 1972 decision
  - Administration opponents and supporters
- US action
- Kissinger's missions
  - Failure
- Kissinger's messages
  - Nguyen Van Thieu, North Vietnam
- PR and Congressional relations
- US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
  - Duration
    - Settlement agreement
    - PR and Congressional relations
  - Cost
    - Budget
      - The President's meeting with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
- Breakdown
  - North Vietnam's position
    - The President's message to Thieu
      - Continuation of war
        - Congressional relations
      - Infiltration of Thieu's government
    - Settlement agreement
      - Kissinger
    - Bargaining tool
    - Delay
      - POWs
        - Reparations
    - Congressional relations
    - Thieu

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- The President's possible TV appearance
- Kissinger's recommendations
  - The President's possible TV appearance
    - The President's November 3, 1969 speech
      - US troop level
      - Honor
    - Vietnamization
    - Kissinger
      - Failure
      - Resignation
        - The President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and Soviet Union
        - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s view
  - The President's credibility
    - Compared to Kissinger's credibility
      - The President's address, 'Look to the Future'
        - Timing
        - 1972 election
  - Details
  - Coalition government
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - Right
  - US military action
    - PR
      - "Hawks"
        - Bombing of dikes, destruction of Hanoi
        - Honor
        - Haldeman's view
  - Settlement agreement
  - US withdrawal
    - POWs
  - South Vietnam's self-determination
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Pace, location
    - PR
      - Story
        - Jo Anne (Horton) Haldeman
      - 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
      - Hanoi
      - 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Parallel

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's view
- North Vietnam's military
- 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
- Iowans
- Timing
  - 1972 election
- Kissinger's possible statement
  - Kissinger's emotions
    - The President's possible efforts
      - Sarah Bernhardt
        - Alternatives
          - William P. Rogers
          - Ziegler
          - Rogers
            - Relationship with Kissinger
- Format
  - Exposition, Q&A
  - Duration
- Kissinger's briefings
  - Efforts to "dazzle"
  - Length of comments
  - Effect
- Kissinger's resignation
  - Career
- Haig
- Col. Richard T. Kennedy
  - Messenger role
  - Kissinger
- Second term reorganization
  - Kissinger's resignation
  - Timing
    - India-Pakistan War

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

Refusal of offer

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:00 pm.

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Advice

-Haldeman's possible conversation with Rogers

-Rogers's schedule

-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

-Connally

-[David] Kenneth Rush

-Melvin R. Laird

-Schedule

-NATO

-Connally

-Meeting with the President

-Rush

-Reading of Kissinger's messages

-Rogers

-PR

-Rush

-Ziegler

-“Hawks”

-Ehrlichman

-Ziegler

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-Resumption of talks

-Timing

-North Vietnam

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

Honorable peace

-North Vietnam

-PR

-Credibility

-Daniel Yankelovich

-Dovishness

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's and the President's views

**NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM**

**Tape Subject Log**

*(rev. July-08)*

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's recommendations
  - Kissinger's return from Paris
    - Report to the President
  - The President's possible TV appearance
    - US action
      - US military action
        - Duration
          - POWs
        - Right
        - Left
      - McGovern's position
        - R. Sargent Shriver
          - POWs
- POWs
- PR
  - US surrender
- Cessation of US mining and bombing, US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
  - Effect on South Vietnam's survival
- POWs
  - North Vietnam
    - US economic aid
- PR
  - Communists
  - Settlement agreement
- Vietnamization
- North Vietnam's position
  - Bargaining tool
    - POWs
      - US aid to Hanoi
- Congressional relations
  - Settlement agreement
    - October 8, 1972 agreement
      - South Vietnam
- Settlement agreement
  - McGovern's or allies' possible role
    - Delay
    - Congressional relations

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 3:00 p.m.]