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]

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
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.
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
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
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
Conversation No. 387-4 (cont’d)

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
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
-US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Weather
  -20th Parallel
  -Weather
    -B-52s
  -20th 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
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
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.
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]
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
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
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”
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
Translation problems
-Kissinger’s possible statement
-Background
-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
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
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
      - 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
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
        -POW's
          -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
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

*****************************************************************
[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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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
-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
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
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
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
The President’s role

-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
    - [Louis] 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
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
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
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
-Receipt 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]
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”
-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
Conversation No. 387-7 (cont’d)

-Steel
  -[or with] 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 intellects
  -Business
  -Professors
  -1972 election
    -McGovern supporters
    -Economists
      -Newspaper advertisement
  -Rinfret
    -PR
    -Conversation with Shultz
    -Interest in administration position
      -Visibility, status, perquisites, access to the President
  -Importance
    -The President’s view
-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
-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
Second term reorganization
   -Treasury Department
      -Charls 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
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
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
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
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
-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
-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.
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
    - Attaché 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
Constitution No. 387-7 (contd)

-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.

Constitution No. 387-8

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-147]

Constitution 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]
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]
Conversation No. 387-11 (cont’d)

-Call to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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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
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]
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]
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
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
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
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
      -20th Parallel
      -Hanoi
      -18th or 19th Parallel
Conversation No. 387-13 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s view
-North Vietnam’s military
-20th 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.
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
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.]