Conversation No. 816-1

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: 2:46 pm - 2:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule
- Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
- Timing
  - The President’s forthcoming meeting [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]

Butterfield left at 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 816-2

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 2:52 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Greetings

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:52 pm.

Conversation No. 816-3

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: 2:52 pm - 5:32 pm
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President’s forthcoming meeting [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]

Kissinger’s interview with Oriana Fallaci, November 2 and 4, 1972
- Purpose
  - Fallaci’s article on the President
    - Italian Ambassador [Egidio Ortona]
    - Possible correction
    - Influence
    - Thesis
    - Liberals

Kissinger’s statements about the President
- Solitary methods of work
- Decisions
- Courage
  - Appointment of Kissinger
    - 1968 campaign
      - Primaries
    - US interest
  - Fallaci’s alleged distortions
    - Kissinger’s self-aggrandizement
    - “Cowboy” question
      - John F. Kennedy
    - Kissinger’s actual response
      - US public opinion
        - Movie stars
        - Analogy to Gary Cooper in *High Noon*
      - Liberals
  - Kissinger’s press relations
    - Kissinger’s self-aggrandizement
    - Kissinger’s relationship with the President
      - Independence

Vietnam negotiations
- The President’s meeting with Duc and Phuong
  - Duc’s personality

Kissinger’s interview with Fallaci
Vietnam negotiations
- The President’s forthcoming meeting with Duc
  - Tone
  - Message for Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Presidential letters
  - Settlement agreement
    - Time table
      - Forthcoming meeting
      - Signing
        - December 22, 1972
      - Announcement
        - December 20, 1972
  - Negotiations
    - December 7, 1972
  - South Vietnamese independence
  - Alleged split between the President and Kissinger
    - State Department
    - Consequence
      - Delay
    - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s schedule
    - Message delivery to Saigon
  - US aid to South Vietnam
    - Congressional relations
  - Continuation of war
    - Congressional relations
      - Supplemental defense budget
      - Kissinger’s conversation with Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Settlement agreement
    - South Vietnamese demands
      - North Vietnamese troop withdrawals
        - Timing
      - Political provisions
        - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      - Nguyen Van Thieu’s letter
      - North Vietnamese Infiltration
        - Cambodia
        - Laos
  - Duc’s personality
Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:52 pm.

The President’s forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
  -Time

The President’s recent trip to New York
  -Play
    -*The Gentlemen of Verona*

The President’s forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
  -Timing
  -Haig

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
    -North Vietnam
      -Problems
      -US aid to South Vietnam
        -The President’s forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
          -Possible leak
          -Congressional relations
          -Possible articles by William F. Buckley, Jr.
            -Kissinger’s recent lunch with Buckley
          -View of agreement
            -Thieu
  -Quality
  -October 8, 1972 agreement
  -Importance
    -US support
      -Issue for South Vietnam

Kissinger’s schedule
  -Trip to Florida
  -Meeting with President
    -Length
      -Ronald L. Ziegler’s possible press release
        -Kissinger’s relationship with the President
          -South Vietnamese view
Vietnam War
- US bombing
- Civilians
- Settlement agreement
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  - Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese
    - Purpose
  - October 8, 1972 agreement
    - Political prisoners
      - Changes
    - Kissinger’s recent meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

US-Soviet Union relations
  - Kissinger’s recent meeting with Dobrynin
    - Embassies accord
    - Possible invitation to Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox to Moscow
      - Lunch
    - Leonid I. Brezhnev
  - North Vietnamese complaint to Soviet Union
    - The President’s message
      - US bombing
        - Timing
    - US-Soviet Union summit

Vietnam negotiations
  - Settlement agreement
    - North Vietnamese
      - Dobrynin’s possible role
        - Political prisoners

US-Soviet Union relations
  - Possible summit
    - Brezhnev’s visit to US
      - Timing
    - Announcement
      - Timing
        - 1973 Inauguration

Haig, Duc, and Phuong entered at 3:05 pm. The White House photographer and members of the
press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introduction

Haig’s forthcoming assignment
  -US army

Seating

Translator

Photograph session
  -Conversation
  -Reporters

Kissinger’s schedule

[Photograph session]
  -Room temperature
  -Lighting

[General conversation]

Zozimo T. Monson entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

Refreshments
  -Tea, coffee, Pepsi Cola
  -Consumme
  -Paris food

Monson left at an unknown time before 5:52 pm.

The President’s welcome

Vietnam negotiations
  -Kissinger’s return to Paris, December 3, 1972
  -Current status
  -The President’s goals
    -US-South Vietnamese relations
    -The President’s previous efforts
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Demonstrators
-Congressional opposition
-Political and military fight
  -South Vietnamese independence
-Prisoners of War [POWs]

-Current status
  -US-South Vietnam relations
-South Vietnamese views
  -Kissinger’s return to Paris
  -The President’s forthcoming meeting with Kissinger, December 1, 1972
    -Florida
    -The President’s written instructions
-Conflicts with US
  -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  -Resolution
    -Communication
  -Beneficiary
    -US left wing
  -Betrayal allegation by Saigon
    -Kissinger’s instructions
- Criticism
  -Consequences
    -Destruction
      -US and South Vietnamese casualties
  -US public support
-Sources
  -Radio Saigon, media, South Vietnamese government
- The President’s support for government of South Vietnam [GVN] and Thieu
- US press
  -Hostility to South Vietnam
  -Left wing orientation
- Current meeting
  -Exchange of views
    -The President’s forthcoming instructions for Kissinger
- Greetings from Thieu
-South Vietnamese gratitude to the President
-Vietnamization
  -Effect on South Vietnam
  -Strength, self reliance
-North Vietnam’s Spring offensive, March 30, 1972
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Vietnamization
-Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnamese interest
  -Thieu’s views
    -Instructions to Duc
    -Kissinger’s instructions
      -Press attacks
    -Duc’s wire to Saigon from Paris
    -Source
    -South Vietnamese government denial
      -Saigon Radio reporting
-US press in South Vietnam
  -Hostility to South Vietnam
-White House press
  -Hostility to South Vietnam
-Press relations
  -Need for care
  -Predictions of South Vietnam failure
  -Support for North Vietnam
-Thieu
  -Statements about the President
    -Lack of expression and confidence
      -Effect
      -Hostility to South Vietnam in US
  -Hostility to South Vietnam in US
  -US-South Vietnam relations
    -Conflict between Thieu and the President, Kissinger, Haig
      -Private expression compared to public expression
-Radio Hanoi
  -October 8, 1972 agreement
  -South Vietnam’s response
    -Necessity
-Cease-fire
  -Preparations
    -Thieu’s handling
    -Psychological aspect
-Settlement agreement
  -Psychological aspect
    -Victory claims by North and South Vietnam
      -Consequences
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Thieu
  -Public relations [PR] sense
  -Tone
    -Aid for South Vietnam
    -Congressional relations
-Press relations
  -Saigon press
    -Relationship with GVN
-Purpose of Duc visit
  -Informing the President
  -Thieu’s recent letter to the President
  -Presentation
    -Reply to possible questions from the President

[No conversation-The President read Thieu’s recent letter]

Smoking
  -The President’s friends
  -Kissinger’s habits
    -Eating, drinking

[No conversation-The President resumes reading Thieu’s recent letter]

Vietnam negotiations
  -Thieu’s recent letter
    -The President’s views
      -Duc’s conversations with Kissinger in Paris
  -Communism
    -The President’s approach compared to Thieu’s
      -South Vietnam’s interest
    -South Vietnamese civilian and military casualties
    -Effect on North Vietnam
      -The President’s tour of refugee camps in 1956
    -South-bound traffic
    -Liberation claim
  -North Vietnam
    -Negotiating stance
      -Tone
      -Withdrawal of troops
      -Political prisoners
Vietcong [VC]
US position
Tone
Cease-fire

Political settlement
Thieu’s concerns
Coalition government
Public statements
Principle of unanimity
Veto

October 8, 1972 agreement
Thieu’s tenure
The President’s January 25, 1972 proposals
North Vietnam’s position

National Council of Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
Need for unanimous agreement
Psychological compared to practical effect

US military and economic aid
The President’s personal alliance with Thieu
1972 election
Thieu’s tenure

The President’s role
Responsibility
The President’s approval of Haig’s and Kissinger’s comments
Haig’s trip to Saigon
Kissinger’s trips to Paris
Written instructions
Kissinger’s return to Paris
Substance
Compared to cosmetics
Cables
Secret channels
Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese in Paris
Thieu’s changes
Importance
Current meeting
Forthcoming meeting with the President in Florida
Current meeting
Thieu
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s return to Paris
  -Forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese
  -Directions
  -Authority
  -Conversations with South Vietnamese delegation
    -Phuong’s schedule
  -Progress

-Settlement agreement
  -Goals
    -US
    -South Vietnam
      -Independence compared to imposition of communist government

-Thieu’s recent letter
  -Vietnamization
    -Success
  -South Vietnamese forces’ efforts
    -US air support and mining
      -Effect on North Vietnamese
  -Continuation of war
    -Predictions
      -North Vietnamese capitulation or withdrawal

-Continuation of war
  -The President’s view
    -Congressional relations
  -Congressional relations
    -The President’s recent meetings and conversations with Senators and Congressmen
      -“Hawks”
  -Recent votes
    -Margins
  -93rd Congress
  -Settlement agreement
    -POWs
      -Return
        -Timing
          -Christmas 1972
  -Terms
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -Bombing, mining
Conversations No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-The President’s January 25, 1972 proposals
-Deadline
-Cut off of funds
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-Timing
-1972 election, US-Soviet Union summit
-Cease-fire, return of POWs, South Vietnam independence
-October 8, 1972 agreement
-South Vietnamese resistance
-Congressional relations
-Congress’ power of the purse
-The President’s visits to Vietnam
-South Vietnam
-Visit to Hanoi in 1953
-North Vietnamese government
-Effect on people
-Settlement agreement
-South Vietnamese resistance
-Congressional relations
-Goals
-Cease-fire, return of POWs
-Thieu’s retention
-Commissions
-NCRC
-Thieu’s possible expectation
-The President’s mobilization of public support
-Bombing, mining
-North Vietnamese troop withdrawals from South Vietnam
-Settlement agreement
-Political provisions
-Breaking by Communists
-Quality
-North Vietnamese troop withdrawals from South Vietnam
-Coalition government
-NCRC
-Thieu’s view
-US support
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Congressional and public support of the President
  -Bombing
    -Communist violations of agreement
  -Commitment
    -Current meeting
-South Vietnam acceptance
  -Congressional relations
    -Appeal for funds
      -Timing
      -Economic and military aid
        -Replacements
      -Budget
      -Cease-fire
      -POW's
    -Political provisions
  -The President’s commitments to South Vietnamese
    -Military and economic assistance
    -US bases in Thailand, Philippines
      -Possible North Vietnamese violations
        -Resumption of bombing
    -Support of Thieu
    -US influence with Soviet Union, People’s Republic of China [PRC], and North Vietnam
    -Military and economic assistance
      -Congress
      -Resumption of bombing against North Vietnam
        -Instructions for Kissinger
        -Cambodia
        -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    -The President’s relationship with Thieu
    -Thieu’s stance
      -North Vietnamese withdrawal from South Vietnam
    -Political provisions
      -Role to enemy
      -Elections
        -NCRC
    -Improvement to agreement
    -South Vietnamese security
      -US support
        -Economic and military aid
-Changes
  -US political realities
-Congressional relations
  -The President’s possible appearance before joint session, January 4, 1973
  -“Doves”
    -J. William Fulbright
    -Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
  -“Hawks”
    -John C. Stennis
    -Barry M. Goldwater
    -Gerald R. Ford
    -Recent meeting with the President
-Limits to US support
  -Ford’s recent meeting with the President
    -Ford’s predictions on Congressional vote
    -POWs for withdrawal
  -Mood of Congress
-Thieu’s
-Public mood
  -1972 election
    -The President’s evaluation
-South Vietnam’s survival
  -US aid
  -Separate peace
  -South Vietnamese and US casualties
  -US aid
  -Congress’ power of the purse
  -POWs
-South Vietnam’s and US effort
-Thieu’s position
-The President’s sympathy for South Vietnamese
  -1966 visit
    -Girl amputee in South Vietnamese hospital
    -VC
-US interest
-South Vietnamese resistance
-Congressional relations
  -Time table
  -Signing
Constitutional Monarchy

-December 22, 1972
-Cut off of funds
-Resolution
-January 3, 1973
-Veto option
-Rider
-POWs
-"Doves" and "hawks"

-The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
-Terms
-Acceptance of settlement
-US and GVN unity
-North Vietnamese violations
-Consequences
-The President’s possible public statement
-US support for South Vietnam
-US public opinion
-George H. Gallup poll
-POWs for withdrawal

-The President’s goals
-Cease-fire
-Political settlement
-Thieu’s retention
-Coalition government
-The President’s opposition
-North Vietnam’s position
-Congress’s power of the purse
-South Vietnamese acceptance
-Kissinger’s return to Paris
-The President’s instructions
-Thieu’s possible statement
-Expression of confidence in the President
-Effect
-Congressional relations
-Economic and military aid
-Funding
-US bombing
-1972 election
-Gallup poll

-Congressional relations
Public statements
- US negotiating position
- Thieu
- Time table
- Sheriff metaphor
- The President’s trips to PRC, Soviet Union
- Kissinger’s trips to Paris
- “Doves”
- Meetings with the President
  - Mansfield
  - Fulbright

Terms
- Quality
- GVN’s survival
- Correspondence between Thieu and the President
- The President’s goals
  - End to war
  - Prevention of communist unity
- North Vietnamese acceptance
  - Bombing, mining, US resolve
  - US economic and military aid
  - “Hardware”
    - Compared to “software”
    - Bombing
      - Lyndon B. Johnson
        - The President’s view
          - 1968 bombing halt

US operations
- Cambodia
- Laos
- Bombing and mining
- US public
  - Acceptance
    - Support for the President
- South Korea
  - Survival
    - US troop presence
    - US military and economic aid
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
[National Security]
[Subject: Korea]
[Duration: 13s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4
*********************************************************************
-North Vietnamese infiltration
  -Troops in South Vietnam
    -Withdrawal
      -Possible understandings
        -Kissinger
    -Risk
  -Principles
    -South Vietnamese view
      -Cease-fire, return of POWs, South Vietnamese
        independence
    -Presentation as GVN victory
      -PR
  -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  -Political provisions
  -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    -Importance of issue
    -Invasion
    -Lack of right
    -Provision for withdrawal
      -Absence
        -Effect on morale of South Vietnamese
          military and public
  -Effect on post-settlement election
    -Freedom of choice of voters
    -Elections
      -Timing
        -Thieu
    -Thieu’s approval
    -Demobilization
      -Paragraph 13
    -US support for South Vietnam

Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)
Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

-Violations
   -US response
   -Demobilization
-‐The President’s anti-‐communism
   -Bureaucracy
   -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
   -National Security Council [NSC]
-Cambodia and Laos
   -Ho Chi Minh Trail
   -Laotian settlement
-North Vietnamese Army [NVA] reinforcements in South Vietnam
   -Principle denying right to be in South Vietnam
   -Proof
      -The President’s view
      -Notes
      -Commitments
      -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
      -US monitoring of agreements
      -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -Empathy for South Vietnamese concerns
-‐Enforcements
   -US intelligence operations
   -Thailand
   -United Nations [UN]
   -International supervisory groups
      -Communist participation
   -Poland
   -US intelligence operations

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
[National Security]
[Subject: Intelligence]
[Duration: 7s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8
*********************************************************************
-Violations
  -US retaliation
    -Justifications
      -Compared to 1955
      -DMZ
      -Cambodia, Laos neutrality
      -Cease-fire
      -Prohibition of reinforcements
    -US meeting with North Vietnamese allies
      -Costs for North Vietnamese
        -South Vietnam’s military performance
          -Haig’s view
            -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
              -Bombing and mining
  -North Vietnam
    -Claim of right to be in South Vietnam
Conversations No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Denial
-Priniciples
  -Compared to Shanghai Communique and Manila
  Proclamation
  -Tone
  -Withdrawal of non-South Vietnamese troops
    -US troops
    -Foreign troops
  -Armed forces remaining within national borders
  -South Vietnamese confidence and morale
    -Specific reference to North Vietnamese troops

-Saigon’s changes
  -Kissinger’s meeting with North Vietnam
    -Principle
      -Armed forces remaining within national borders
        -Hanoi’s position
          -Denial of presence of North Vietnamese in
            South Vietnam
          -Time spent on issue
          -Disclaim of right to use force
        -“Software” compared to “hardware” (steel and bombs)
      -Importance
      -Interpretations
        -US-South Vietnam agreement
          -The President’s forthcoming meeting with Thieu
            -Impact on Hanoi, Soviet Union, PRC, South Vietnamese
              people
            -Timing
              -Failure of past summits
                -The President’s conversation with Dobrynin
                  -Camp David, Geneva, Vienna
                  -Kennedy
                  -Dwight D. Eisenhower
                  -Johnson
                    -Glassboro

-Reason

-US-South Vietnam relations
  -The President’s concerns
  -Thieu’s letter to the President
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-The President’s instructions to Kissinger

-Congressional relations
   -Reconvening date
     -January 3, 1973
   -Cut off funds
     -“Hawks”
     -October 8, 1972 agreement
       -Possible communist violation
       -Terms
       -POWs
       -Cease-fire
       -Thieu’s retention
       -South Vietnam (GVN)
       -South Vietnamese independence

-Phrasing
   -Mysticism
     -The President’s Quaker background
   -Responses to violations
     -US military aid to South Vietnam

-Breakdown
   -Responsibility of Thieu and the President
     -South Vietnamese defeat
   -Aid to North Vietnam
   -Congressional relations
     -US withdrawal from war

-US-South Vietnam relations
   -The President’s frankness
   -Mutual sacrifices
   -The President’s commitment of support
     -Economic and military aid
     -Resumption of bombing
     -North Vietnamese violations
   -Conditions
     -Congressional relations
     -POWs

-POWs
   -Thieu’s recent letter
     -Release of North Vietnamese political prisoners
     -US POWs

-Issue in US
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Continuation of US military operations
  -Thieu
  -Bombing, mining
  -Pressure on North Vietnamese
- Limitations
  -Congressional relations
  -Cut off of funds
    -Deadline
      -January 13, 1973
    -Hearing
    -Vote
    -Public reaction

-Support from “hawks”
  -Speeches
    -GVN
    -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
    -Press relations
  -The President’s recent meeting with Ford
    -Ford’s identity
      -Republican leader of House of Representatives
    -Cease-fire, return of POWs
    -Thieu’s retention, control of political process
    -The President’s support
      -Resumption of bombing

-Thieu’s and Duc’s point of view
  -US political realities
  -The President’s commitment

-The President’s commitment
  -Aid, bombing
  -Limitations
    -Need for public support
    -Congressional reaction to Thieu’s resistance
    -Cut off of aid

-Thieu’s resistance
  -Continuation of war
    -Bombing
    -Congressional relations
    -Cut off of funds
    -Duration
  -US public reaction
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

- Impact on Congress
  - North Vietnamese positions
    - POWs
    - Cease-fire
    - GVN
    - Elections
    - Veto
  - Past unreasonableness
    - Seven points of 1971
      - Troop withdrawal for POWs
      - Request for Thieu overthrow
  - The President’s position
    - Support for GVN
      - Television appearances
      - Number
    - North Vietnamese demand
      - Imposition of communist government on South Vietnam
    - Thieu’s recent letter
    - Agreement language
    - US threat against North Vietnam
  - NVA in South Vietnam
    - Possible language changes
      - “South Vietnamese armed forces”
      - Cease-fire
      - Principle

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:05 p.m.

The President’s schedule
  - Forthcoming meeting with black administration officials
  - Delay
    - John D. Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  - Settlement agreement
    - South Vietnamese meetings with Kissinger
      - Timing
      - Meetings with the President
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-The President’s schedule
  -Cabinet
  -Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
-Kissinger’s role in negotiations
  -Performances as the President’s spokesman
  -Qualities as negotiator
    -Tenacity
  -PRC, Soviet Union
-Kissinger’s role in negotiations
  -Performances as the President’s spokesman
  -Qualities as negotiator
  -Tenacity
  -PRC, Soviet Union
  -Adherence to the President’s views
  -Instructions
  -Support for South Vietnam
-NVA in South Vietnam
  -Claim of right to remain in South Vietnam
-NCRC
  -Non-governmental functions
  -Foreign, economic policies, district governments
  -State Department
    -Thieu’s tenure
    -The President’s support for Thieu
-Thieu’s retention
-Foreign, economic policies
  -Thieu
-Thieu’s retention
-The President’s role
-Demobilization
-Terminology
  -Description of organization, structure
  -Briefing
  -‘Coalition government,” “structure of power”
  -US lawyers, ambassadors
  -Political aspects
  -1972 election
  -US-South Vietnam agreement
    -Effect on world, North Vietnam, Soviet Union, PRC, South Vietnam
  -The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
  -Timing
    -Christmas, New Year’s Day
    -1973 Inauguration
    -State of the Union address, Inaugural address, budget
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Symbolism
-Press relations
-“Administrative”
-Removal
-Components
-Terminology
-Government
-Compared to commission
-Terminology
-Forthcoming explanation
-US support
-Thieu’s relationship with the President
-Press relations
-Public statements
-Compromises
-Unconditional surrender by North Vietnam
-The President’s counterfactual actions
-Military action
-Bombing
-Landing in Haiphong area
-GVN’s strength
-ARVN
-Air force
-Economy
-Role in Southeast Asia
-US support
-Comparison with Cambodia and Laos
-Vietnamese people
-Working ability
-Fighting ability
-Bravery
-US support for GVN
-Economic and military aid
-South Vietnamese resistance
-Congressional relations
-1972 election
-Senate losses
-House of Representatives gains
-Ford
-US-South Vietnam agreement
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

- The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
  - Timing
  - Disagreement
  - Effect
- US-South Vietnam relations
  - Congressional relations

- US military action
  - 1965
  - Escalation
  - Peace
  - Johnson’s views
    - Johnson’s meeting with the President
  - Bombing
    - The President’s view
      - The President’s 1965 trip to South Vietnam
      - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  - Mining
- Soviet Union protest
  - Kissinger’s recent threat to North Vietnamese in Paris
    - The President’s instructions
  - Bombing resumption
    - Compared to the President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  - US-Soviet Union summit

- US-South Vietnam relations
  - Thieu’s instructions
  - Hanoi’s view
  - Saigon’s “satellite” status

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

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

The President’s schedule
  - Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
  - Cancellation of appointment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Bull left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - US-South Vietnam relations
    - Division of issues
      - Military
      - US
      - Political
        - South Vietnam
    - Thieu’s recent letter
    - Timing
    - Kissinger’s return to Paris
      - Goals
    - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    - The President’s January 25, 1972 proposals
    - Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with Duc
    - Recent meetings
      - North Vietnamese posture
    - US strategy
      - Changes
        - The President’s opposition
- Political settlement
  - Issue of imposition by US on South Vietnam
    - Implementation
      - Thieu, Duc, Phuong
      - US support
      - North Vietnam
        - Troops
        - Psychological factors
      - Psychological factors
        - US-South Vietnam unity
    - Congressional relations
      - Funding
        - Economic and military aid
    - US public support
    - Thieu
Conversation No. 816-3 (cont’d)

-Opposition
  -US Congressional and public reaction
  -Cut off of funds

-South Vietnamese meetings with Kissinger
  -The President’s decision
    -Thieu’s recent letter
  -Points

-NVA withdrawal from South Vietnam
-PRC
-Post-World War II period
-PRC
-Vietnam
-NVA withdrawals from South Vietnam
  -Manila Proclamation
  -Simultaneous withdrawals
  -Principle
  -Terminology

-NCRC
  -Coalition government
  -Component government
  -Description of structure

-Necessity
-US support
  -Economic and military aid
  -US military response to North Vietnamese violations

-PRC
-PRC
-US influence
  -Extent
    -Normalization process
  -Shanghai Communiqué
    -Renunciation of expansionism
Well wishes

Kissinger’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong

Kissinger, Duc, Phuong and Haig left at 5:32 pm.

Bull entered and left at 5:32 pm.

Date: November 29, 1972 or November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:32 pm, November 29, 1972 and 8:34 am, November 30, 1972
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

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

Inquiry

The President’s location

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

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.
Unknown people met.

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

The President’s [?] location

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

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.

Conversation No. 816-6

Date: November 29, 1972 or November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:32 pm, November 29, 1972 and 8:34 am, November 30, 1972
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

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

[General conversation]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.