Date: November 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:50 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with unknown persons (Television and radio technicians).

The President’s desk

The President’s forthcoming speech
   -Text
   -Typing

Time of day

Readiness
   -The President

Count-down

The President's speech
   -Duration

Count-down
   -Presidential seal

The President delivered remarks on being re-elected to the Presidency between 11:54 pm and 11:56 pm.

[See Public Papers of the Presidents, 1972, pp. 1139-1140]

The President left at 11:56 pm.

   The President’s motorcade

   Television line technician’s departure
The President’s schedule
  -Shoreham Hotel

The President’s recent speech
  -Filming
    -Close-up
    -The President’s desk
  -Sitting

The unknown technicians left at unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:32 am and 8:34 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Greetings

White House mail
  -Repies to incoming letters
    -Copies
      -Xeroxes and originals
        -The President’s schedule
          -Florida
    -Carl B. Albert [?]
  -Drafts
    -The President’s suggestions
  -Folder

Zosimo T. Monson [?] entered at unknown time after 8:32 am.

Pens
  -Disposition
  -Damage
Monson [?] left at an unknown time before 8:34 pm.

White House mail
- Replies to incoming letters
  - Markings
  - The President’s notes
- The National League of Families of American Prisoners letter
  - Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Henry A. Kissinger’s office
- Arthur F. Burns
  - Note to the President
    - Reply
    - Timing
      - 1972 election
    - Reply

Pens
- Working condition
- Expense

Woods left at an unknown time before 8:34 am.

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 8:34 am - 9:15 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

Robert J. Brown

Pens
- Points
  - Wear
  - Change
  - Size
Notebook
- The President’s conversation with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Ann Duggan
- Refills
- Number
- Tricia Nixon Cox
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Placement
  - Camp David
  - Florida
  - California
- Notes

Office supplies
- Pens
  - Number
  - Quality
- Note pads
  - Size
    - Cabinet table
  - Duggan
  - Order

Mrs. Nixon
- Rose Bowl parade
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - University of Southern California [USC]
  - John Wayne
    - Grand marshal
- The President’s schedule
  - Honors
  - Florida
  - California
  - Family

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
  - Jack, Drown, Helene (Colesie) Drown
Monson [?] entered at an unknown time after 8:34 am.

     Pens
     - Points
     - Change

Monson [?] left at an unknown time before 8:50 am.
-Visit to the White House
-Visit to the White House
-Vietnam negotiations

BEGIN WITHDRAWN N ITEM NO. 2A
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2A

Visit of Californians
-Cocktail party
-The President’s plans
-Camp David
-Blair House
-Blue Room
-Response of visitors

White House remodeling
-Upstairs kitchen
-Mrs. Nixon
-San Clemente
-Third floor room
-Tricia Nixon Cox
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Décor
-Lyndon B. Johnson, Claudia A. (Taylor) (“Lady Bird”) Johnson
-Texas
-Tastes
-Family’s use

The President’s schedule
-Rose bowl
-Mrs. Nixon
-Florida trip
-Inauguration
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2B
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 16s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2B

-Christmas
  -Florida
  -California
-Relatives
  -Inauguration
  -F. Donald Nixon
  -Jack Drown, Helene Drown
  -Florida

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2C
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 22 s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2C

Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis
  -Trip to Soviet Union
  -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
    -Career
    -Writing
    -Los Angeles Times
  -Personality

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

Watergate
  -Gabriel Hauge’s letter to the President
    -The President’s reply
      -Underlining
Conversation No. 817-3 (cont’d)

-Taping
-The President’s appreciation
-Hauge’s previous letters
- Economic policy
  -Wage and price controls
- Vietnam
  -Cambodia
- Form

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Anthony R. (“Tony”) telephone call to Rose Mary Woods
- Clothes for inauguration
  - Arrangements

Benjamin Freeman
- Health

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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White House gifts
- Music boxes
  - Cost
- Song list
  - Typing
    - Marjorie P. Acker
    - The President's review
- Occasions
  - Christmas, 1973 inauguration
    - Songs
  - Cost
  - Possible recipients
    - Mrs. Nixon’s brothers [William and Tom Ryan]
    - The President’s brothers [Edward C. Nixon and F. Donald Nixon]
- 1973 Inauguration
- Possible recipients
Elmer H. Bobst
Contributors
- John A. ("Jack") Mulcahy
- John W. Rollins
- W. Clement Stone
- Richard Scaife
- C. Arnholt Smith
- Mulcahy

Song list
- The President's review
  - The President’s schedule
    - Meeting Ngyun Phu Duc
- Timing
- Acker
- Genres
  - Classical
  - Contemporary
    - *Old Black Joe* by Stephen C. Foster
- Mandolin
  - John M. ("Jack") Lynch
    - Possible telephone call from the President

Stephen B. Bull entered at 8:58 am.

Howard Hughes
The President’s file
The President’s schedule
  - Florida

Oval office furnishings
  - Japanese art work
    - Removal
    - Emil ("Bus") Mosbacher, Jr.
    - Replacement
      - Chinese jade ewer

Bull left at 8:59 a.m.
Book [For the President Personal and Secret [Correspondence between Franklin D. Roosevelt and William C. Bullitt]
- Bullitt
  - Orville H. Bullitt
  - Photograph

The President’s schedule
- Recent trip to New York
  - Ties
    - Ann [and Tom] Duggan
    - 1973 Inauguration
- Possible meeting with Pedro Beltran
  - Frank J. Shakespeare’s recent telephone call
    - Beltran’s schedule
    - New York
- Timing
  - Post 1973 Inauguration
  - Foreign visitors
- Shakespeare’s possible conversation with Beltran
- Beltran’s background
  - Peru Prime Minister
  - Editors, speaker
  - Relationship with the President
- William P. Rogers
- Henry A. Kissinger
- William J. Casey
  - Forthcoming appointment as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
    - Announcement
    - Timing
- Loyalty
- Forthcoming appointment
  - Latin America

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

Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Décor
Conversation No. 817-3 (cont’d)

- Elephant
- Baron Guido Zerilli-Marimo
- Pictures
- Mrs. Nixon

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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White House gifts
- State gifts
  - Quality
    - Mrs. Nixon’s view
- The Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s gifts
  - Quality
    - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- State gifts
  - Quality

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

White House social affairs
- Christmas Season
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Return to Washington, DC
    - Assistance
    - Mrs. Nixon
- Parties
  - Attendance

[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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White House social affairs
- First Family attendance
- Parties
  - Decorations
Conversation No. 817-3 (cont’d)

-Timing
  -Nights
  -First Family’s attendance
    -Press
    -White House staff, Cabinet

Executive Office Building [EOB]
  -Visits

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1973 Inauguration
  -F. Donald Nixon
    -Evelyn Dorn
      -Work
      -Roberta Dorn
  -Requests
    -Hotel bill
      -Jack Drown, Helene Drown
      -Larry Dorn, Evelyn Dorn [?]
      -Payment

  -Edward C. Nixon
    -Employment
      -Ned Sullivan
      -Roberta Dorn
      -Secretary
    -Nixon family
      -Arrangements
      -Discussion with Mrs. Nixon, Sullivan
    -Employment
      -Roberta Dorn
      -Secretary from 1972 campaign
      -Sullivan
    -Travel
    -The President’s relatives
      -Cousins
      -Plans
      -Letters
Conversation No. 817-3 (cont’d)

-Cousins
-Mrs. Nixon
-Priority
-Campaign contributors
-Sullivan
-Lists
  -Maurice H. Stans
  -Clark MacGregor
  -John B. Connally
  -Peter J. Brennan
  -Labor
  -New supporters
-The President’s relatives
-Contributors

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Appointments
-Untied Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] ambassadorship
  -[Ned Sullivan]
    -Louise Gore
    -Paris
    -Resignation
    -Identity
      -Mrs. Nixon’s second cousin
-Edward C. Nixon
  -Employment by government
    -White House
    -John W. Dean, III
    -Legal work
      -White House, Federal agencies

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Donald Nixon
Conversation No. 817-3 (cont’d)

-Personality
-Robert L. Vesco
-Call to Woods
  -Assistance
  -John D. Ehrlichman’s office
-Health
  -Ehrlichman’s investigation
  -Hyperactivity

Notebooks
-First family
  -Christmas gift
-Store
-Woods’ purchase
-New York

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 37s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

Ann Duggan
-Campaign contribution
-Wealth
-Mrs. Nixon
-Marriage
-England
-Sylvan Destreicher
  -Baseball team
  -Invitation to 1973 Inaugural

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Woods left at 9:15 am.
Conversation No. 817-4

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 9:17 am - 10:13 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule

Second term reorganization
- James D. Hogson
  - Possible foreign assignment
    - Paris
    - Recent meeting with Ziegler
      - Hodgson’s recent meeting with the President
      - Marcia (Denend) Hodgson
    - Announcement
    - Press relations
    - Press relations

H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 9:25 a.m.

- Plans
  - Private life
  - Leak
    - Labor Department
    - Geneva [European Economic Community] [EEC]
      - Washington Post story
    - New York Times story
  - Lack of interest

Tax reform
  Press story leak
    - Source
      - John D. Ehrlichman
      - George P. Shultz
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-Possible conversation with Charles E. Walker

-Authorization
- Congressional relations
- Wilbur D. Mills

-Source
-Ziegler’s forthcoming conversations with Ehrlichman and Shultz

-Veracity
- Congressional relations
- Mills

-Source
- Ehrlichman
- Shultz
- Washington, DC

Second term reorganization
- State Department
  - William P. Rogers
  - John N. (“Jack”) Irwin, II
    - Ambassadorship
    - Rogers
    - Possible retirement

-U. Alexis Johnson
- Retention
- Retirement
  - Timing
- Retention
- Reassignment
  - Ziegler's forthcoming announcement
  - Johnson’s background
    - Foreign Service Officer [FSO]
      - The President’s view
  - Retirement

- Shake-up
  - Ziegler's forthcoming announcement

-Ziegler’s forthcoming announcement
  - William J. Casey appointment [Under Secretary for Economic Affairs]
  - Review of positions
    - Ambassadorships, senior positions
  - Retentions
Conversations No. 817-4 (cont’d)

- Reassignments
  - Bureaucracy
- FSOs
  - Roger’s suggestion
- The President's reorganization policies
  - Senior positions
  - New personnel
  - Young personnel
    - Promotions
- Reassignment
- Young personnel
  - Promotions
    - The President’s policy
      - Compared to the Secretary’s
- FSOs
  - Opportunities
    - Departures
  - Need to attract able people
    - Rogers
  - Routine work
    - Stenographers, file clerks, escort officers for very important person’s [VIPs]
    - Senior positions
      - Reassignments
        - Rogers
        - Other Departments
          - Senior positions
            - Reassignments
- FSOs
  - Reassignments
    - Reason
      - Spokespeople for foreign countries
- The President’s view
  - The President’s travel as a Congressman
  - Appropriations
- Need for shake-up
  - Compared to other agencies
Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-Justice Department
-Paperwork
-Ziegler’s quoting the President
-Rogers
-Retention
-Continuity in foreign policy
-The President’s Camp David statement
-Personal praise
-Continuity in foreign policy
-Negotiations
-Middle East, Far East
-European Security Conference
-Rogers’ abilities
-Far East, European Security Conference
-Vietnam
-Far East
-Middle East, European Security Conference
-Personal praise
-Departures
-[David] Kenneth Rush, Casey
-Retentions compared to departures
-Rogers C. B. Morton
-George W. Romney
-Richard G. Kleindienst
-Casey
-State Department
-Casey
-State Department
-Importance of appointment
-State Department
-Foreign policy
-Economic affairs
-Common Market (EEC)
-Japan
-Soviet Union
-People's Republic of China [PRC]
Henry A. Kissinger entered at 9:36 am.

Second term reorganization
- Casey
  - Meeting with Kissinger
  - Role in State Department
    - Economic affairs

Budget meeting
- Announcement
  - The President’s schedule
    - Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]

Second term reorganization
Peter J. Brennan
- Public appearance
  - Response
    - Jacob K. Javits
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - William F. Buckley, Jr.
      - Statement
        - Hard hats

- Hard hats
  - The President’s quote
- Statement about the President at American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO] meeting
  - Defense of the President

Public relations [PR]
- Defense of the President
  - Democrats
    - Brennan
    - John B. Connally
  - Daniel (“Pat”) Moynihan
    - Emotion
- Democratic Presidents compared to Republican Presidents
  - Republicans
    - Press relations
Second term reorganization
  -John A. Volpe
    -Ambassadorship to Italy
    -Announcement
    -Timing
      -Importance of position
        -Ehrlichman’s forthcoming conversation with Volpe
  -Graham A. Martin
    -Director General of Foreign Service
    -William B. Macomber, Jr.
      -Ambassadorship
  -Macomber
    -Present job
      -Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with JCs
    -Announcement

Ziegler left at 9:41 am.

Second term reorganization
  -Martin
    -Loyalty
    -View of young personnel
    -Conflicts with FSO
    -Possible work with Casey
  -Macomber
    -Haldeman’s conversation with Casey
    -Replacement
      -Casey

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc
Vietnam negotiations
- Recent talks with North Vietnamese
  - State Department leak
  - Effect
  - Source
    - Unknown person
    - Recent North Vietnamese leak
      - Kissinger’s reaction
      - Defense Department
    - The President’s instruction to Haldeman
      - State and Defense Departments
    - The President’s request for a report
      - Timing
        - Meeting with JCS
    - Beecher
      - Contact with White House
    - William H. Sullivan
    - National Security [NSC]
- The President’s meeting with Duc
  - Changes in settlement agreement
    - Kissinger’s meetings with Duc
    - Paris
    - The President’s meeting with Duc
      - Tone
    - Kissinger’s meetings with North Vietnamese
      - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      - Neutrality of Laos and Cambodia
    - Timing
      - Meeting with JCS
- Duration
  - The President’s trip to Florida

The President's schedule
- Meeting with JCS
  - Kissinger’s paper
- Meetings with JCS chairman, service secretaries
  - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - Timing
      - Melvin R. Laird’s departure
Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-The President’s conversations with Elliot L. Richardson and William P. Clements, Jr
-Laird
-Meeting with JCS
  -Laird’s presence
  -Clements
  -Vietnam

Meeting with JCS
  -Vietnam negotiations
    -Debriefing of staffs
    -Possible leaks
    -Settlement agreement
      -Kissinger’s summary
      -Advocacy
        -Gen. William C. Westmoreland

Vietnam negotiations
  -National League of Families of American Prisoners letters
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      -Rose Mary Woods
      -Prisoners of War [POW] Wives
        -Removal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
  -Removal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
    -Kissinger’s conversation with Agnew
      -Settlement agreement
    -US bombing
      -Duration
      -PRC
  -Settlement agreement
    -Resumption of US bombing
      -Congressional approval
        -Necessity
          -The President’s meeting with Duc
          -Treaty violations
          -Possible public statement
          -Appropriations
        -Likelihood
          -The President’s commitment
          -North Vietnamese invasion
Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-Bluff
  -North Vietnamese response
  -Public approval
  -Congressional approval
-First North Vietnamese violations
  -US response
  -BOMBING
  -Scale
  -PR
-JCS meeting
  -Plans for post-agreement North Vietnamese violations
  -Plans for agreement collapse
  -Resumption of US bombing
-Kissinger’s meeting with Duc
  -South Vietnamese cables
    -[Nguyen Van Thieu’s] letter to the President
  -Kissinger’s meeting in Paris
-The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
  -The President’s meeting with Duc
  -Kissinger’s exploration
    -Delay by South Vietnamese
  -Kissinger’s schedule
    -Saigon, Hanoi
-Timing
  -Signing
-Kissinger’s trip to Hanoi
  -Reasons
    -Thieu
    -Post-war situation
-Kissinger’s conversation with Duc
-Condition
  -Changes
-LocAtion
  -Guam
  -Saigon
  -Guam
  -Midway
-Timing
  -Christmas, New Year’s Day
-LocAtion
Kissinger left at 9:57 am.

Tax reform
-Press story leak
-State Department leak
-Source
Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-Camp David
-Source
  -Ehrlichman
  -Shultz
  -Instruction for Haldeman
    -Ziegler
  -Ehrlichman
  -Treasury Department
  -Ehrlichman
    -Staff
-Leaks
  -Effect on negotiations

The President’s schedule
  -Helene (Colesie) Drown and Jack Drown
    -The President’s conversation with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  -Blair House reception honoring administration officials from California
    -Robert H. Finch
  -Possible invitation to Blue Room
    -Timing
      -Pre-dinner
      -The President’s trip to Camp David
        -Pre-dinner cocktail party
  -The President’s trip to Camp David
    -Attendance
      -Number
  -Haldeman’s conversation with Finch
  -Attire
    -Black tie
  -Camp David
    -Transportation
      -Helicopter
  -Attire
    -The President’s November 24, 1972 letter to Finch
      -Tone
  -Haldeman’s effort

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 817-4 (cont’d)

-Jack Drown
  -Camp David
    -Meetings
    -Mrs. Nixon
    -Helene Drown

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Second term reorganization
  -Herbert G. Klein
    -Departure
    -Woods
  -Mrs. Nixon
    -Staff
  -Klein
    -Departure
      -Announcement
        -Compared to Charles W. Colson
      -Conversation with Haldeman
        -Statement
      -Statement
        -Reassignment
        -Private life
        -Retention
          -1973 Inauguration
          -Future plans
            -Announcement
  -Colson

Watergate
  -Gabriel Hauge’s letter to the President
    -Reply
      -The President’s recent conversation with Woods
  -Others letters to Woods
    -Tone
    -Replies
Conversational No. 817-4 (cont’d)

The President’s schedule
- Cocktail party
  - Blue Room
  - The President’s attendance
  - Duration

Finch
- Campaign
- Finances

Second term reorganization
- Donald H. Rumsfeld
  - Geneva [EEC]
    - [North Atlantic Treaty Organization ambassadorship]
    - Timing
    - International Labor Organizations [ILO]
    - World Health Organization [WHO]
    - Advantages of job
      - Transfer
      - Prestige
    - Alternative
      - Problem
      - Changes
  - Peter G. Peterson
    - Job offer [The President’s Special Representative]
      - Acceptance
        - Deadline
        - Shultz
        - Kissinger
  - Rumsfeld

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:57 am.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with JCS
  - Location
    - Cabinet Room
  - Number
  - Location
    - Oval Office
Timings

The President’s telephone call

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:13 am.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican National Committee [RNC] Chairman
- Robert J. Dole
- Washington Post story
  - Source
  - Photograph
  - Meeting with the President
- Departure
  - Meeting with Haldeman
  - Replacement by George H. W. Bush
    - Meeting with John Mitchell
- Meeting with Bush
  - Handling
  - Kansas
    - Senate election
    - Meeting with Bush
    - United Nations [UN]
      - Middle East
        - John A. Scali appointment
        - Panama
- Departure
  - Timing
  - Meeting with Mitchell
    - Washington Post

Reaction to appointment
- Automobile
- Apartment
  - Rent
- Dole
  - Meeting with Mitchell
    - Campaign financing
    - European trip
CONVERSATION NO. 817-4 (cont’d)

- Chairmanship
  - Bush
  - Automobile
    - Peter G. Peterson

- Bush
  - Willingness
  - Agreement with Dole
    - Replacement
      - Timing

[End withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift]
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Haldeman left at 10:13 am.

CONVERSATION NO. 817-5

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 10:14 am - 11:34 am
Location: Oval Office


Greetings

Oval Office
  - Compared to Cabinet Room

Photograph session
  - Seating arrangements

[Photograph session]
  - [General conversation]
    - Unknown person
The press and the White House photographer left at an unknown time before 11:34 am.

Frequency of meetings
- Kissinger, Haig
- 1972 campaign

Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] and National Security Council [NSC]
- Foreign policy speeches
- Services to country

Purpose of meeting
- Vietnam contingency plans

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - Contingency plans
  - Note taking
  - Debriefings
  - Prohibition
    - Timing
    - Source
      - Defense Department
      - State Department
  - Accuracy
    - Paris
    - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      - Hanoi
  - Problems
    - Reaction to North Vietnam
    - North Vietnam’s leak
      - US reaction
  - Secrecy
    - The President’s meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc
  - Agreement collapse
  - Post-agreement North Vietnamese violations

- Status
  - Kissinger’s briefing
  - Laird
- Contingency plans
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-Secrecy
  -Congressional relations
    -Funding
      -Economic and military aid
      -Supplemental

-The President’s conversation with William C. Westmoreland
  -Timing
    -Abrams
    -Westmoreland’s views
      -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
      -Nguyen Van Thieu’s political concerns

-Congressional relations
  -Decline in support
  -Cut off of funds

-US public opinion
  -1972 campaign
    -George S. McCovern’s settlement offers
      -Compared to October 8, 1972 agreement
      -Surrender and humiliation
        -Reaction
          -Regret for undertaking war
          -Losing

-October 8, 1972 agreement
-Beijing Communiqué
-Prisoner of War [POWs], missing in action [MIAs] return
-South Vietnamese self-determination
-Coalition government

-October 8, 1972 agreement
  -Compared to May 8, 1972 terms
  -South Vietnamese and US objections

-Public knowledge
  -POWs return
  -Cease-fire
  -Political terms
    -Thieu’s retention
      -National Committee of National Reconciliation and Concord [NRC]
      -Government of South Vietnam [GVN]
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-Foreign and domestic policy control
-Public acceptance of terms
-Opposition to prolongation of war
-Widrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-South Vietnamese support
-Administration efforts in first term
-Congressional relations
-Reconvening date
-January 3, 1973
-Cut off of funds
-Military and economic aid
-US bombing and mining
-Duration
-Possible effect on North Vietnamese
-South Vietnam’s status
-Compared to May 8, 1972
-Pride in accomplishments
-Sacrifices
-South Vietnamese self-determination
-Vietcong [VC]
-Left’s view
-Fighting for nothing
-Sacrifices
-Quality
-Forthcoming negotiations
-North Vietnam
-Enforcement
-Treaty of Versailles
-World War II
-[Yalta]
-Soviet Union
-Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.’s view
-Yalta
-Korean War truce
-US troops remaining

-Conclusion
-Need to defend
-U.S. military
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

- Thieu
  - Criticism
  - North Vietnamese “cave-in”
  - US economic and military aid
  - US commitment
    - Reaction to North Vietnamese violations

- Summary
  - Complexity
  - Recent changes

- Terms
  - Cease-fire provisions
  - Reconnaissance flights
    - North Vietnam
      - Compared to South Vietnam
    - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] plan
      - South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, off-shore
  - Withdrawal of US forces
    - Time table
  - US Civilian personnel
    - Economic programs
  - Original draft
    - Paramilitary functions
      - Contractors, maintenance personnel
    - Effect of press stories
      - North Vietnamese demand
        - Withdrawal of maintenance, supply personnel
    - US military personnel
  - US bases
    - Dismantling
  - North Vietnamese troops

- Reinforcements
  - Military supplies
  - Additional troops
    - Effect on US
    - Effect on North Vietnam
      - Infiltration into South Vietnam

- Replacements
  - Ratio
    - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-Vietnamization
-Ratio
-Categories
  -Destruction, damage, worn-out, used-up
  -Stolen
  -Vice Admiral’s comment
-US equipment
  -The President’s conversation with Laird
  -Airplanes
  -Helicopters
  -Engines
  -Sappers
-Meaning of terms
-Ratio
-Quality
-Haig’s and Kissinger’s trip to South Vietnam
-North Vietnamese buildup
  -US statement
  -Tanks moving into South Vietnam
    -US tanks
  -Provocation
    -Military hostilities
  -People’s Republic of China [PRC], Soviet Union
  -US modernization program with South Vietnam
-Contingency plans
-Value
  -Communists
  -US Support for South Vietnam
    -Military and economic aid
    -Enforcement
-Resumption of war
  -PRC
  -Soviet Union
  -US-PRC and US-Soviet Union relations
    -Influence
      -Example
        -European Security Conference
          -North Vietnam
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-North Vietnam
  -US economic assistance
    -Precedents
    -Purpose
    -Influence
  -Value of contracts
    -The President’s law school experience
      -The President’s conversations with Rush
      -Bryan Bolich quote
  -Political mechanisms
    -International control groups [International Commission of Control
      and Supervisions] [ICCS]
      -Poland, Japan, India
      -Value
      -Compared to enforcement power
    -Washington Post
      -Peter Lisagor
    -New York Times
    -Time, Newsweek
    -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
    -Value
    -Kissinger’s role
  -Thieu’s concerns with language “cosmetics
    -Interpretations
      -Coalition government
      -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
        -Claim of right
    -JCS statements
      -Soviet Union and PRC roles
        -US-PRC and US-Soviet Union relations
        -Cooperation
    -US-PRC relations
      -The President’s meeting with Duc
        -Change in US policy toward PRC
        -Thieu’s view
          -US containment policy
            -The President’s trip to the PRC
            -Effect
            -PRC subversion,
aggression in Asia

- US influence with the PRC
  - Containment
    - Shanghai Communiqué
  - Use of force
- Change in US policy toward PRC
  - Effect on regional security
    - Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnamese
- Criticism of “Hawks”
  - The President’s hawkish identity
  - Thieu
    - Human Events
- Criticism of liberals
  - Joseph C. Kraft
- US influence on the PRC
  - Dialogue
  - US resistance to PRC military force
- US military aid
  - Replacements
  - Limits
    - Congressional relations
- POWs and MIAs return
  - Time table
    - US troop withdrawals
  - Ratio
  - Laos
  - Cambodia
    - North Vietnamese claim
  - Laos
    - Number
- Political prisoners in South Vietnam
  - Issue
    - Tone
  - Number
- US POWs
- South Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG] talks
  - US POWs
    - Release
      - Timing
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

- Thieu’s leverage
  - Withdrawal of North Vietnam troops from South Vietnam
- South Vietnam and PRG talks
  - North Vietnamese withdrawal of clause
    - Effect
      - Thieu’s leverage
      - Mix-up of civilian political prisoners with US POWs
    - Forthcoming talks
      - Paragraph X. E. [?]
        - Restoration
          - Prospect

- POWs, MIAs
  - Information about gravesites
    - Location
      - Exhumation
      - Repatriation
    - ICCS
      - Location
        - North Vietnam
        - Indochina
  - Provisions
    - Quality
  - Political prisoners in South Vietnam
    - Forthcoming talks
      - October 8, 1972 agreement
        - North Vietnamese withdrawal of clause
  - Terms
    - Political provisions
      - South Vietnamese self-determination
        - North Vietnam’s obligations
          - US and Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV]
        - Free elections
          - International supervision
        - Tendencies and personalities imposition
    - NCRC
    - NCRC
      - The President’s meeting with Duc
        - Thieu’s letter to the President
          - Objection
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-Coalition government
  -Foreign and domestic affairs
  -Political structure of South Vietnam
    -Elections
      -Veto

-Cease-fire
  -Geography
    -Compared to people
      -ARVN
      -VC

-GVN and Thieu
  -Retention
  -Domestic and foreign affairs

-Reconciliation, elections
  -Unanimous vote

-Reconciliation
  -Meaning

-July 19, 1972 resumption of talks
  -North Vietnamese proposals
    -Thieu’s resignation
    -Army, police disbanding
    -Political prisoners release
    -Coalition government

-Changes
  -Thieu’s retention
  -Thieu’s authority
    -GVN
    -Army, police, courts, proxies
    -Foreign policy

-Appointments
  -PRG, Thieu

-Operation
  -Unanimity
    -Lack of police, army, foreign policy

-Tasks
  -Promotion of signed agreement
    -Reconciliation
    -Elections
      -Terms
      -Institutions and timing
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-GVN and National Liberation Front [NLF]

- Thieu’s role
- Formation
  - Timing
- Thieu’s veto of election decisions
  - Procedures
- Coalition government
- Workability
  - Press commentary
    - Kraft
    - I. F. Stone
    - Thieu
- North Vietnam
  - Problems
    - Madame Binh
- US acceptance and promotion
  - State Department
  - US military
- Criticism
  - Sources
    - Critics of Thieu
- DMZ
  - Issue of boundary status
  - Reunification of Vietnam
    - Peaceful means
      - Annexation
      - Military pressure
  - Geneva Accords
    - Provisional line
      - Compared to political boundary
- Respect
  - Reunification
  - Statement in newspapers
    - Leak
      - North Vietnam
- Recognition of existence
- Respect
- International supervision
  - Chapter
    - Length
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

- Compared to political provisions chapter
- Two-party provisions
  - South Vietnamese parties
- Four-party provisions
- ICCS
  - Disagreements mediation
  - Independent investigation
- Two and four-party provisions
- Elaborate nature
- Timing
  - Protocols
  - ICCS, four and two-party provisions
  - Concurrent signing
- Laos and Cambodia
  - Reaffirmation of 1954 accords on Cambodia and 1962 accords on Laos
  - Withdrawal of foreign troops
  - Respect of territory
- Respect territory
  - Encroachment
  - Bases
- Withdrawal of foreign troops
- Importance of provision
- Laos
  - Cease-fire
  - Timing
  - Separate understanding
  - Souvanna Phouma’s view
    - North Vietnamese surrender
    - Thieu
- Terms
  - Quality
    - Absence of unconditional surrender
      - Compared to World War II or World War I
  - Promotion
- Political provisions
  - Demobilization of forces
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
    - Reinforcements
    - Rotations
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-DMZ, Cambodia, Laos infiltration

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  -North Vietnamese claim
    -Denial of troop presence

-DMZ
  -Violations

-Rotations
  -Introduction of military personnel
    -Reinforcements

-Thieu’s view
  -Duc’s view
    -Infiltration
      -Numbers

-North Vietnamese claim
  -Denial of troop presence
    -Replacements

-Replacements
  -Materiel
    -Compared to personnel
    -Possible loophole
      -Tanks
    -North Vietnamese claim
      -Denial of troop presence

-Legal aspects
  -North Vietnamese claim
    -Denial of troop presence
      -South Vietnamese

-Claim of right

-Violations
  -US military response
    -Thieu’s military response
      -ARVN

-Infiltration
  -DMZ, Cambodia and Laos, introduction of personnel provisions
  -The President’s conversation with Duc
    -US military response
      -Southeast Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO]

-US response
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-1954 Geneva Accords
  - Kissinger’s conversation with Duc
-SEATO
-Replacements
  - Material
    - Tanks
      - One-for-one
        - International supervision
    - DMZ, Laos infiltration
  - Accounting
    - International protocol
  - DMZ crossing points
  - Ports
  - Possible North Vietnamese claim
    - South Vietnamese forces
  - Ports

-Reinforcements
  - ARVN
- Rotations
- Offensive
  - Timing
    - March, April 1973
-Wave
  - Intelligence report
    - Gen. Vieh [First name unknown]
-Demobilization
  - Wave
  - North Vietnamese admission of presence
    - Wave
  - Collateral provisions
    - Effect
      - Reduction in forces
- Contingency plans
- Violations
  - South Vietnamese and US response
  - Legal restraints
    - Compared to Tonkin Gulf Resolution, SEATO
  - Diplomatic restraints
    - Soviet Union, PRC influence
  - Military restraints
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

- War damages
  - US bombing, mining
- Casualties
  - South Vietnam
    - Post-May 8, 1972
    - Compared to South Vietnamese
- Enforcement
- Duration
- Enforcement
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    - Timing
      - US-Soviet Union Summit
      - 1972 election
- Violations
  - DMZ, cease-fire, Laos and Cambodia
    - US response
      - “Mad man” term
- Contingency plans
  - Agreement collapse
  - Air Strikes
    - Three and six-day strikes
      - Escalation
    - Duration
    - Mining
    - Hanoi
      - B-52s
        - Public reaction
        - Originality
- Post-agreement North Vietnamese violations
  - Levels
  - Studies
  - Ground forces
  - Residual forces
    - US personnel
      - Quality
    - Thieu’s concerns
      - Quality
- Intelligence capability
  - Thailand
  - South Vietnam
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National Security]
[Duration: 65s ]
[Intelligence]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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-ICCS
  -Violations
  -Indonesia
    -Kissinger’s conversation with Lt. Gen. T.N.J. Suharto
      -Possible Indonesian military aid

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3
[National Security]
[Duration: 14s ]
[Indonesia]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

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Latin America
  -Military supplies
    -Mistakes
      -Defense Department
    -Civilian suppliers
    -Aircraft
      -French sources
    -Military attaches
  -Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America [Charles A. Meyer]
    -Departure
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

- Replacement
  - US equipment
  - Congressional relations
    - Frank F. Church
    - Laird’s and Moorer’s testimony
  - French aircraft
  - British ships
  - West German missiles
  - Foreign logistical support
    - Ammunition
  - European sources
    - Economic interests
      - The President’s conversation with an unknown person
  - Preference for US material
  - Bribery allegation
    - Unknown European government

Vietnam negotiations
  - Settlement agreement
    - Laird’s view
    - Support
      - Military buildup for South Vietnam
  - Congressional relations
    - Funding
      - Hawks
      - Response to Thieu’s refusal to sign
    - Cut off
      - Timing
    - Testimony
    - Military and economic aid
  - North Vietnamese compliance
  - Enforcement
    - Moorer’s recollection of 1968 Cabinet Room meeting
      - Cease-fire
  - Contingency plans
    - Retaliatory capability
    - US options
    - Agreement collapse
    - Post-agreement North Vietnamese violations
      - US response
- Costs
  - Congressional relations
  - Cease-fire

- Support
  - Kissinger’s return to Paris
  - Present meeting

- Publicity
  - The President’s meeting with Duc
  - Photographers, press
  - Public statements
    - Tone

Presidential gifts
  - Cuff links
  - Pins
  - Distribution
    - Instruction for Haig

Haig’s rank

[General conversation]
  - Christmas reception
  - Unknown person’s residence

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with black administration officials
    - Gen. Daniel (Chappie”) James, Jr.
    - James E. Johnson

Blacks
  - Military
    - Working conditions
    - Volunteers

Vietnam negotiations
  - Settlement agreement
    - Support
    - Limits
      - The President’s conversation with Westmoreland
        - Unconditional surrender
Conversation No. 817-5 (cont’d)

-Support

[General conversation]

Laird et al left at 11:34 am.

Zosimo T. Monson entered and left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 817-19

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people meet.

Inquiry

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 817-6

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc
  - Delay
  - Instruction for Henry A. Kissinger
- Trip to Florida
  - Timing
  - Helicopter
Bull left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Zosimo T. Monson.

The President's schedule
  - Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
    - Ehrlichman’s location
      - Roosevelt Room

Monson left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

Bull left and Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 11:34 am.

George P. Shultz
  - Butterfield’s office
  - Possible meeting with the President
Conversation No. 817-8 (cont’d)

-Florida
  -Timing
  -Departure with the President to helicopter

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 817-9

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with “Nguyen Phu Duc
    -Henry A. Kissinger
  -Meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox
    -Timing
    -Possible telephone call
  -Meeting with Kissinger
    -Telephone call

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:49 am

Conversation No. 817-10

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox
Conversation No. 817-10 (cont’d)

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 817-11

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:34 am and 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

Coffee

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:49 am.

Conversation No. 817-12

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 11:49 am - 12:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Tricia Nixon Cox.

Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule
- Trip to the Soviet Union
  - Accommodations
    - Walter H. Annenberg’s schedule
      - Embassy residence
    - Soviet Union aircraft
Conversation No. 817-12 (cont’d)

-Accommodations
  -Claridge’s Hotel
  -Expense
  -Annenberg

-Escort
  -US embassy officer
  -Translator duty
  -Soviet Union press
  -US press

-Public appearances
  -Egypt
  -Jeanne W. Davis
  -Tricia Nixon Cox’s suggestions
  -The President’s view

-Towns
  -Windsor Castle
  -University visits
    -Heckling
    -American University

-Meetings with embassy staffs
  -Athens
  -Cairo
    -Aswan Dam
    -Luxor
    -Aswan Dam
    -Temples
    -Aswan Dam
      -Tricia Nixon Cox’s previous visit

-Egypt
  -Anwar el Sadat

-Jordan
  [Hussein, King of Jordan] Hussein ibn Talal
    -Previous meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox

-Israel
  -Kibbutz
    -Child rearing

-Black Sea
  -Leningrad
    -Palace [Hermitage]
    -Guest house
-Moscow
  -Embassy residence
  -Kremlin
-Tashkent
  -Collective farms
-Samarkand
  -Genghis Khan
  -Location
    -Persia
-Jordan
  -Duration
    -Israel
-Departure time

Meeting with Davis

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:49 am.

Meeting with Davis

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:58 am.

Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule
  -Telephone call from Irini Dobrynin

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

************************************************************************
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3A
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 54s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3A
************************************************************************

-The President’s schedule
  -Camp David
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3B
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3B

-Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule
  -Trip to the Soviet Union
    -Irina Dobrynin
    -Public attention
    -Press and media relations
      -Press conferences
      -Public comments
      -Tricia Cox’s previous trip to Britain
    -Television [TV]
    -Edward R. F. Cox
    -Egypt
Conversation No. 817-12 (cont’d)

-Davis entered at 11:58 am.

Greetings

Introductions

Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule
  -Trip to the Soviet Union
    -Telephone call from Irina Dobrynin
  -Accommodations
    -Embassies
      -Walter and Leonore (Cohn) Annenberg
        -Relationship with the President
    -Egypt
      -Hotel
      -Spasso House
    -Tashkent
    -University visits
      -Moscow University
      -Building
      -Britain
    -Tashkent
    -Samarkand
      -Blue Temple
    -Alma Ata
    -Novosibirsk
    -Samarkand
    -Leningrad
      -Guest house
      -Irina Dobrynin
    -Bolshoi Theatre
    -Bolshoi Theatre
      -Compared to La Scala Opera House
    -Leningrad
      -Hermitage
    -Britain
Conversation No. 817-12 (cont’d)

-Historical sites
-Briefing books
  -Biographical sketches
  -Historical sites
  -Protocol
    -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    -State Department
-European stop overs
  -Wales
  -Scotland
  -Vienna
    -Tricia Nixon Cox’s previous visit
  -Warsaw
    -Beauty
  -Vienna
  -Spain
    -Tricia Nixon Cox’s previous visit
-Time constraints
  -1973 inauguration
-West Germany
-Edward Cox
-Rome
  -Vatican
    -Edward Cox
-Tricia Nixon’s Cox’s previous visits
  -Milan
  -Venice
  -Spain
  -Portugal
-Britain
-Press relations
  -Private trip
  -Itinerary
    -Britain
-Jordan
  -Duration
-Britain
-Cairo
  -Duration
  -Alexandria
Conversation No. 817-12 (cont’d)

-Luxor
  -Valley of Kings
  -Tricia Nixon Cox’s previous visit

-Britain

-Jordan
  -Duration

-Israel
  -Edward Cox
  -Tricia Nixon Cox’s previous visit
  -Historical sites
  -Duration

-Italy
  -Rome
    -Vatican

-Itinerary
  -Strictness
    -Britain
      -Hyde Park
    -Egypt
    -Britain
    -Greece
    -Cairo
    -Sight-seeing
      -Universities
      -Market places
      -Samarkand
    -The President’s 1967 trip

-Britain

-Rome
  -Compared to Paris, Berlin
  -Vatican
  -Antiquity
    -Athens

-Time frame

-Arrangements
  -Tricia Nixon Cox’s meeting with Davis
  -Irina Dobrynin
  -Unknown people
  -Ronald L. Zeigler’s announcement
  -Tricia Nixon Cox’s meeting with Davis
Davis left at 12:08 pm.

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon’s staff

Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule
  -Trip to the Soviet Union
    -Rome

Mrs. Nixon’s staff
  -Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart
    -Retention
  -William R. Codus
    -Press Secretary
    -East and West Wing liaison
  -Alexander P. Butterfield
    -Promotion
  -Codus
  -Bull
  -Codus
    -Trips
      -Protocol
        -Rose Bowl Parade
  -Lucy A. Winchester
    -Retention

White House gifts
  -Pin for Davis
    -Instruction for Bull
    -Oval Office visitors

Tricia Nixon Cox left at 12:10 pm.
Conversation No. 817-13

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:10 pm and 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

Folders for the President
-Unknown person
-Briefcase

The President’s schedule
-Trip to Florida
-Reading
-Meeting with George P. Shultz, Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 817-14

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:10 pm and 12:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods.

White House gifts
-Music boxes
-Song list
-The President’s review
-Marjorie P. Acker
-Orders
-Acker
-Recipients
-Cabinet officers
-Compared to ashtrays
-Cost
-Maurice H. Stans’ schedule
-Stans’ conversations with the President
Conversation No. 817-14 (cont’d)

-Recipients
-Contributors

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWAL ITEM NO. 1
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration 13s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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

Writing pads
- Purchase
  - Wood’s trip to New York
  - Quality

Conversation No. 817-15

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 12:15 pm - 12:16 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger’s schedule
- Meeting with [Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]
  - Message
    - Vietnam negotiations
    - Settlement agreement
    - Changes
Conversation No. 817-15 (cont’d)

-Bilateral deal
-Meeting with the President
-Kissinger meeting with Duc
-The President’s meeting with Duc

The President’s schedule
-Possible meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu
-Timing
-Settlement agreement
-Purpose
-Settlement agreement
-Negotiations
-The President’s retaliation commitment
-Kissinger’s meeting with Duc
-Negotiations

Kissinger left at 12:16 pm.

Conversation No. 817-16

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 12:17 pm -1:11 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican National Committee [RNC] Chairman
-George H. W. Bush
-Conversation with Robert J. Dole
-Dole
-Arrangements for departure
-Kansas
-Meeting with the President
-Bush
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Privacy]
[Duration: 2s ]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
- Support for Bush
   - John N. Mitchell
- Bush appointment
   - Announcement
[End of segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

The President's schedule
- Blair House reception honoring administration officials from California
  - Arrangements
    - Departure for Camp David
      - Helicopter
    - The President’s appreciation
      - Hand-shaking
      - Well-wishes for Robert H. Finch
Conversation No. 817-16 (cont’d)

- Departure for Camp David
  - Haldeman’s request
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Frederick V. Malek

Second term reorganization
- Malek
  - General Services Administration [GSA]
  - Donald H. Rumsfeld
    - Job offer
    - Louise Gore
  - Dr. James R. Schlesinger, Jr.
  - Conversation with Haldeman
    - [Central Intelligence Agency] [CIA]
    - Atomic Energy Commission [AEC] chairmanship
    - Defense Intelligence Agency [DIA]
    - Cuts
    - Future
    - Joint Chiefs of Chiefs [JCS]
      - Intelligence capability

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 12:22 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger's meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc
  - US policy toward South Vietnam
  - Bilateral deal
    - Prisoners of War [POWs] for US Withdrawal
    - Continuation of war
      - US military aid
        - Cut off of funds
        - Congressional relations
        - North Vietnamese demand
        - Cut off of funds
          - Congressional relations

The President’s schedule
- Request for [Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]

Haldeman left at 12:22 pm.
The President’s schedule
- Possible meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Midway
  - Kissinger’s meeting with Duc

Vietnam negotiations
- Hoang Duc Nha
  - Richard Wagnerian drama
- Settlement agreement
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Quality
  - Continuation of war
    - US economic aid
    - Cut off of funds
      - Congressional relations
      - Duc’s and Tran Kim Phuong’s understanding
- Congressional relations
- The President’s Meeting with Duc
  - Effect
- South Vietnamese delay
- The President’s schedule
  - Possible meeting with Thieu
- Conclusion
  - Presentation to South Vietnamese Representatives
  - The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
- Continuation of war
  - US economic aid
  - Cut off of funds
  - Kissinger’s meetings with the North Vietnamese
    - Message
- North and South Vietnamese parties
  - Possible breakdown in negotiations

Duc, Phuong and Haig entered at 12:26 pm. Stephen B. Bull and White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger's briefing of the President
- The President’s appreciation for Duc’s effort
-Settlement agreement
  -Bilateral deal
    -Continuation of war
    -Qualification
      -Three points of Thieu
      -Forthcoming talks
        -Possible North Vietnamese adamancy
    -Continuation of war
      -The President’s May 8, 1972 proposals
      -Thieu’s view
        -Immediate death
          -Compared to slow death
    -Possible military solution
      -POWs for the cessation of US bombing and mining
      -Cease-fire
      -Violations
        -Retaliation
      -Bombing and mining
        -Impact on North Vietnam
        -Cessation
          -Impact on South Vietnam
    -The President’s recent meeting with the JCS
      -Review of agreement
        -Violations
          -US responses
            -Legal bases
              -Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.’s view
              -North Vietnamese infiltration
                -Cambodia Laos provisions
                -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
                -US intelligence capability
            -Contingency plans
              -Air
              -Details
                -Revelation
    -Melvin R. Laird
      -Support for South Vietnam
      -Meetings with Congressional “hawks” on Armed Services Committees
Conversation No. 817-16 (cont’d)

-Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees
  -“Doves”
  -Agreement terms
    -Cease-fire, return of POWs
    -Political provisions
      -Thieu retention
      -Government of Vietnam [GVN] Control of foreign and domestic policy, veto over political process
  -Publicity
    -Cut off of funds

-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu’s concern
  -US economic and military aid
    -Cut off
  -GVN
    -Survival
      -Thieu’s view
  -US Support
    -Cease-fire, return of POWs
    -Political provisions
      -South Vietnamese self-determination
  -GVN
    -Retention

-Forthcoming talks
  -The President’s written instructions for Kissinger
    -The President’s meeting with Kissinger [in Key Biscayne]
  -Remaining point
    -Framework

-Conclusion
  -The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
    -Midway
    -Purpose
      -US military and economic support
      -US response to violations
        -Retaliation commitment
      -Interpretation
        -Press relations
        -Timing
        -Trip to Hanoi
-JCS
-Public relations
-Thieu's relationship with the President
  -The President’s judgment
  -Communists
  -Politics
-The President's support
-Quality
-The President's possible meeting with Thieu
  -Publicity
  -Saigon
-Signing
  -Timing
-Thieu’s possible rejection
  -The President’s disagreement
-Consequences
  -Termination of US economic aid
  -US withdrawal
  -Termination of US military aid
  -North Vietnamese violations
    -Termination of US retaliation commitment
-Congressional relations
  -Democrats
  -Thieu’s reasonableness
  -Changes
  -Termination of aid
  -Crisis
  -Constraints on the President
  -Hawks
    -Support for aid termination
-Thieu’s possible support
-Consequences
  -US economic and military aid
  -Enforcement
    -Violations
      -US retaliation
        -JCS contingency plans
-Thieu’s possible rejection
-Bilateral deal
-Separate peace
Conversation No. 817-16 (cont’d)

-Consequence
  -US assistance
    -Termination
-Repetition of arguments
  -The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
    -Midway
  -The President’s possible meeting with Thieu, Asian leaders
    -Timing
-Bilateral deal
  -Thieu’s relationship with the President
    -Trust in the President
    -Alliance with the US
  -The President’s commitments
    -Limits
    -Congressional termination of aid
-Forthcoming talks
  -North Vietnamese
-Three points of Thieu
  -Reference to Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG] as government
    -Text
    -Preamble
-Priorities
-Reference to PRG
  -Text
    -Compared to preamble
    -Possible North Vietnam claim
      -Two governments in South Vietnam
        -US unilateral statement
-Interpretation of text
  -US unilateral statements
    -Historical record
    -Strategic Arms Litigation Treaty [SALT]
      -US and Soviet Union
    -North Vietnamese protocols
    -Recognition of GVN
    -National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
      -Issue of governmental status
        -GVN sovereignty
-North Vietnamese view
  -Coalition government
    -Three components
      -Committee of National Reconciliation [CNR]
      -Appointments
    -Redundancy of statement
    -Effect of statement on South Vietnamese
  -Compared to US view
  -Article 8C
    -North Vietnamese request for withdrawal
    -Political prisoners in South Vietnam
    -Concessions
  -Provisions
    -Changes
      -Three components
    -Respect for territories
  -Interpretations
    -The President's statements
    -NCRC
      -Political repercussions in South Vietnam
  -Respect for territories
  -Priorities
  -PRG
    -Preamble
    -Respect for territories
  -South Vietnamese interpretation
    -Important Points
      -The President’s experience as a lawyer
      -Duc’s conversation with Kissinger and Haig
      -Thieu’s sixty-nine changes
        -Twelve changes
  -Thieu's rejection
    -Consequences
      -Termination of economic and military aid
      -Congressional relations
        -Continuation of war
        -Bilateral deal
        -Continuation of war
        -Return of POWs
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 817-16 (cont’d)

- US bombing, mining
- Time table
  - Laird’s view
    - Appropriations Committee
    - Committee organization
    - Cut off of funds
- Effect on US-GVN relations
- Bilateral deal
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 proposals
    - Continuation of bombing
    - Congressional relations
    - Cut off of funds
    - Effect on Laos, Cambodia

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 12:26 pm.

Presidential gifts
  - Cuff links
  - Pins for wives

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 1:02 pm.

The President’s schedule
  - Budget

Vietnam negotiations
  - The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
    - Midway
    - Settlement agreement
  - Settlement agreement
    - Success
      - US power
    - The President's political position
      - Strengths
      - Weaknesses

Presidential gifts
  - Cuff links
    - Presidential seal in flag
  - Pins
-Presidential seal on floor

Vietnam
-Settlement agreement
  -Success
  -US-GVN relations
    -Thieu’s relationship with the President
  -Congressional relations
  -The President's and Thieu’s enemies
    -Press
    -Interest in failure

Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule
  -The President's meeting with Haig

The President's meeting with Kissinger
  -Timing
    -Meeting with Haig

Duc, Phoung and Kissinger left at 1:02 pm.

Tricia Nixon Cox’s schedule

Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:02 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Trip to Florida
    -Departure time

Items for the President’s schedule
  -Alexander P. Butterfield

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

Kissinger
  -Health
    -Haig’s conversation with Haldeman
  -Vacation
  -Meeting with the President, November 29, 1972
    -Oriana Fallaci article
Tape Subject Log
(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 817-16 (cont’d)

-Explanation
  -The President’s disagreement

-Egotism
-Emotional highs and lows
  -Haig’s view
  -Haig’s conversation with Haldeman

Second term reorganization
  -State Department
    -William J. Casey
      -Recent meeting with Kissinger
    -Graham A. Martin
      -Loyalty
      -Deputy Under Secretary for Management
      -Replacement for William B. Macomber, Jr.
      -Trustworthiness
      -Work with Casey
    -William P. Rogers departure as Secretary of State
      -Timing
      -Informing Kissinger
    -Casey
      -Economic affairs
    -Frank C. Carlucci
      -Reports
    -Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
      -Brazil
    -Appointments

Tricia Nixon Cox's trip
  -The President’s meeting with Jeanne W. Davis
  -Arrangements

Vietnam negotiations
  Settlement agreement
    -Duc’s understanding
    -Thieu’s possible rejection
      -Thieu’s message
        -Kissinger’s view
          -Ultimatum
            -Continuation of war, bilateral deal
-Three principles
-The President’s May 8, 1972 proposals
   -Using mining and bombing cessation
     -Return to POWs
   -Cease-fire
     -Enforcement
-US-Soviet Union relations
-Possible breakdown
 -North Vietnamese message
   -Interest in settlement agreement
-Settlement agreement
 -Congressional relations
   -Gerald R. Ford
   -Barry M. Goldwater
   -Publicity
   -Response to South Vietnamese rejection
     -US aid
     -Cut off of funds
-The President's possible meeting with Thieu
   -Midway
   -Purpose
     -Negotiations
-Deadline

Haig’s schedule
-Vacation
-Timing

Kissinger
-Vietnam negotiations
-Difficulties
   -First Round
     -Paris
     -October 1972
     -Haig’s counsel
     -1972 election
-Saigon
   -Messages To North Vietnam
     -Dealings with Thieu
-Work last week
Vietnam negotiations
   - Kissinger’s meetings in Paris
     - Haig’s schedule
   - Haig’s schedule
     - Meetings
   - Settlement agreement
     - Delay
       - Thieu
       - Thieu's acceptance
         - The President’s meeting with JCS
       - Thieu’s rejection
       - Thieu’s acceptance
     - Conclusion
       - Communications
         - Timing
       - Thieu’s acceptance
         - Possible delay
         - Kissinger’s meetings in Paris
       - Thieu’s rejection
         - Bilateral deal
           - POWs for withdrawal, end of US mining and bombing
           - End of war
             - Termination of US economic aid

Haig left at 1:11 pm.

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: 1:11 pm - 1:19 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Ziegler’s press conference
   - The President’s recent meeting with Duc
     - Tone
Conversation No. 817-17 (cont’d)

- Compared to the President’s meeting with Duc, November 29, 1972
- State Department reorganization announcement
  - The President’s recommendations
  - United Press International [UPI]
  - Washington Star
    - George Sherman
  - American Broadcasting Corporation [ABC]
  - Quotes from the President
    - Stenographers, file clerks
    - Senior officials
    - Foreign Service Officers [FSO]
    - Embassies
  - William P. Rogers

Ziegler left and Stephen B. Bull entered at 1:12 pm.

The President’s schedule
  - Trip to Florida
    - Departure time

Alexander P. Butterfield entered and Bull left at an unknown time after 1:12 pm.

Coat

Items for the President’s signature
  - George P. Shultz

Briefcase

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 1:12 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
  - The President’s meeting [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]
    - Effect
    - Authority

Bull entered at 1:12 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Shultz
- Meeting with John B. Connally

Butterfield and Bull left at 1:13 pm.

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
  - Nguyen Van Thieu’s position
  - Recent GVN cable
  - The President’s meeting with Duc
  - Possible delay
- Thieu’s rejection
  - Bilateral deal
  - US mining, bombing cessation, withdrawal for prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Termination of US military and economic aid
    - South Vietnamese defeat, North Vietnamese defeat
- Congressional relations
  - The President’s meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
  - Senate vote
- The President’s achievements
  - The President’s conversation with Leonid I. Brezhnev [at US-Soviet Union Summit]
  - Lack of insistence on withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
  - Terms at that time
    - Election in South Vietnam
      - Thieu’s resignation
- North Vietnamese message
  - Meaning
    - Cancellation of meeting
    - Alternate meeting places
      - Avenue Kleber
- Cancellation of meeting
  - Breakdown of talks
    - Briefing
- Settlement agreement
  - Victory
    - Briefing
Conversation No. 817-17 (cont’d)

- The President’s meeting with Kissinger [in Key Biscayne]
- The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
  - Purpose
    - Settlement agreement
    - Negotiations
    - Assurances
    - Commitment

The President and Kissinger left at 1:19 pm.

Conversation No. 817-18

Date: November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:19 pm and 1:22 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President’s schedule

Unknown agent’s schedule

George P. Shultz

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:19 pm.

The President’s schedule
  - Weather

Unknown people and Bull left at an unknown time before 1:22 pm.