Conversation No. 820-24A

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown person.

Instruction to leave item

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Conversation No. 820-1

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Conversation No. 820-2

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Acknowledgment of instruction
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Date: December 12, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:57 am  
Location: Oval Office  

The President met with an unknown person.

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Date: December 12, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:50 am and 9:57 am  
Location: Oval Office  

The President met with an unknown woman.

The President’s schedule
Conversation No. 820-25 (cont’d)

- Mayor of Whittier, California [Blake Sanborn]
  - Scroll
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 9:57 am.

Conversation No. 820-4

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 9:57 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-51]

Conversation No. 820-5

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 9:57 am - 10:21 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations
  - Nguyen Van Thieu’s speech to the South Vietnam National Assembly
  - South Vietnamese conditions
  - Settlement agreement
    - US-North Vietnam
      - Rejection
  - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
  - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
    - Coalition government
  - North Vietnamese aggression against Indochina
Conversation No. 820-5 (cont’d)

-Counterproposal
-Counterproposal
-Time
-Time
-Christmas, New Year’s Day
-Release of North Vietnamese prisoners
-Local party talks

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:58 pm.

Press relations
-George P. Shultz’s statement on economic stabilization and federal spending
-Budget spending ceiling

Ziegler left at 9:59 am.

Vietnam negotiations
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Posture
-North Vietnam’s message
-Lack of instructions
-US options
-North Vietnamese intransigence
-Recess
-Consultations
-US military action
-Ellsworth F. Bunker’s recommendations
-Time
-Thieu’s recent speech
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip
-Thieu

-Thieu
-Kissinger’s view
-Memorandum
-Agnew’s possible trip
-Settlement agreement
-Risk
-Bunker’s view
-Thieu’s speech

-Recent speech
Conversation No. 820-5 (cont’d)

- The President’s view
  - Tran Van Lam’s statement, December 7, 1972
- Settlement agreement
  - Communists’ position
  - Continuation of war
  - North Vietnamese intransigence
  - Haig’s view
    - Agnew’s possible trip
- The President’s role
  - Possible meeting
- North Vietnam’s lack of instructions
  - Timing
  - Technical talks
- Thieu’s speech
  - Tone
- North Vietnam
  - Possible strategy
    - US-South Vietnam relations
  - Stalemate
    - Duration
      - Congressional reconvention
- Thieu
  - Cut off of aid

Thieu
- Relations with US
  - Cooperation
  - 1972 election
  - US funds
    - South Vietnamese military buildup
  - US honor
  - Tenure
  - Intransigence
    - Insistence on total victory
      - US policy
- Relations with US
  - North Vietnam
- North Vietnam’s intransigence
  - December 11, 1972 meeting
- Settlement agreement
Conversation No. 820-5 (cont’d)

- Thieu’s speech
  - Intransigence
    - Possible effect on North Vietnam
  - US-South Vietnam relations
    - South Vietnam’s “puppet” status
- US military assistance
  - Pace
  - Kissinger’s view
    - Agnew’s possible trip
      - Timing
      - Kissinger’s return from Paris
- Agnew’s possible trip
  - Ronald W. Reagan
  -Thieu
  - Right
- Schedule
  - Christmas
  - Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - The President’s view compared to Kissinger’s view
- US military action
  - Reseeding of mines, US bombing of North Vietnam
    - Effect
      - Breakdown in talks
  - North Vietnam’s instructions
    - Intransigence
  - Progress in talks
  - Recess in talks
    - Kissinger’s return from Paris
- Breakdown
  - North Vietnam’s instructions
    - Intransigence
  - Kissinger
  - North Vietnam’s possible statement
    - Effect
      - Kissinger
      - Intransigence
      - Kissinger’s return from Paris
    - Consultations
- US bombing of North Vietnam
-Statement
  -Tone
-Recress
  -Kissinger’s return from Paris
  -Consultation with the President and allies
  -Contact with North Vietnam
    -Channel
    -US military action
-Settlement agreement
  -1972 election
    -Deadline
      -Kissinger’s view
      -North Vietnamese concessions
    -Ultimatum
      -Timing
      -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Kissinger’s “peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
    -US position
      -Tone
-North Vietnam’s position
  -US mining and bombing of North Vietnam
    -Duration
    -Effect
    -Cessation
      -October 1972
    -Effect
    -Failure of Spring 1972 offensive
    -North Vietnam’s relations with the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Effect
-Bunker
-Message from Kissinger
  -Timing
    -Breakdown in talks
  -Meeting, December 13, 1972
    -North Vietnam’s instructions

Haig left at 10:21 am.
Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:21 am and 10:39 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Blake Sanborn and Donald Kemp.

Addresses
- Sanborn, Mayor of Whittier, California
- Kemp, President of Whittier Chamber of Commerce

1972 election
- Congratulatory messages
  - The President’s appreciation for scroll
  - Signatures of Whittier friends and neighbors
- Results
  - Whittier
- Congratulatory telegram (scroll) to the President
  - Whittier leaders
    - Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Republican Women
    - The President’s appreciation
- Scroll
  - Nixon Library
- Whittier’s people

End of dictation.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 10:39 am - 10:49 am
Location: Oval Office
The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule

Press relations
- [George P. Shultz’s statement on economic stabilization and federal spending]
  - Budget spending ceiling
    - Networks
    - Wire services
    - Newspapers
- US-Cuba relations
  - Negotiations on hijacking agreement
    - News summary
    - Ziegler’s press conference, December 11, 1972

The President’s schedule
- Christmas planning
  - Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
  - Health
- Ziegler’s meeting with Helen Smith
- Press relations
  - Washington Post directive
    - Receptions
    - Pools
    - Timing
- Invitation
  - Cabinet dinner
    - Entertainment
  - Church service
- Wires
- Receptions
  - Number of guests

Press relations
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s, Tricia Nixon Cox’s and Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedules
  - First term activities
    - Trip, speeches, appearances, dedications
    - Rose Parade
Second term reorganization
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    -Conversation with the President
    -Possible conversation with Ziegler
    -Research
    -Stuart
    -Ziegler’s staff
    -Record
  -Agriculture Department
    -Changes
      -J. Philip Campbell
        -Retention
    -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
      -[Ambassadorship to India]
    -Chairmanship of Republican National Committee
      -George H. W. Bush
      -Robert J. Dole
  -Change
    -Press relations
      -Peter J. Brennan
    -Public opinion
      -Secretary of Transportation
    -State Department, Justice Department

Press relations
  -Shultz’s statement
    -Performance
      -Appearance, mannerisms
    -Summary outline
    -Networks

Second term reorganization
  -Changes
  -White House staff
    -Counselors, assistants
    -Cuts
  -Peter G. Peterson
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-7 (cont’d)

-News magazines
-Henry A. Kissinger’s role
-Richard M. Helms, Peterson
-Stewart J. O. Alsop’s Newsweek article
-Accuracy
-Peterson, Helms departures
-Timing
-John B. Connally’s meeting with the President in Florida

Ronald L. Ziegler left at 10:49 am.

Conversation No. 820-8

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 10:50 am - 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods and Stephen B. Bull.

Vietnam negotiations
-Message from Henry A. Kissinger
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:53 am.

Letter to May of Whittier, California [Blake Sanborn] and [Donald Kemp]
-Gift to the President
-Scroll
-Nixon Library
-Signatures

Gifts to the President
-Notes
-Gold album
-Location
-Bedroom desk
-Watch
Conversation No. 820-8 (cont’d)

-Note pads
  -Size
  -Woods’s conversation with Ann Duggan
-Disposition
  -Key Biscayne, Camp David, San Clemente, White House
-Unknown item
-Display
  -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Tinkerbell
  -Whittier
  -Unknown person
-Letter opener

The President’s schedule
  -W. Clement Stone

Rose Mary Woods left at 10:53 am.

Conversation No. 820-9

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 10:53 am - 11:13 am
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with W. Clement Stone
  -Fundraising
    -The President’s role
      -Commitments
      -White House
      -Dinners
        -John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
  -Volunteerism
    -National Center for Voluntary Action [NCVA]
Second term reorganization
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Conversation with the President
    - Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
      - Retention
        - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Ziegler’s view
    - Work with Stuart
    - White House
    - NCVA
      - Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s meeting with Lenore (LaFount) Romney,
        December 11, 1972
    - White House
      - Stephen B. Bull

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Abilities

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Unknown person
  - Shelley A. (Scarney) Buchanan
  - Scheduling, events, cooperation

The President’s schedule
- George P. Shultz [?] 
  - Mayor of Whittier, California [Blake Sanborn] and President of Whittier Chamber of Commerce [Donald Kemp]
  - Scroll
Conversation No. 820-9 (cont’d)

- Presentation to Mrs. Nixon
- Nixon Library
- Whittier
  - The President’s hometown
  - 1972 election
  - Signatures
- Rose Mary Woods’s involvement
  - Mrs. Nixon
- White House staff instructions
  - David N. Parker
  - Haldeman’s role
  - Personal matters
  - Compared to meetings with associations, clubs

Second term reorganization
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Mrs. Nixon
- NCVA
  - Possible conversation with Haldeman
  - Value

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Value
  - Relations with White House staff

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Woods

The President’s schedule
- Cancelled meeting with Sanborn and Kemp
  - Whittier
  - Scroll
  - Symbolism
Second term reorganization
- Julie Eisenhower
- White House
  - Buffering role
  - Bull
  - East Wing
  - Meeting with veterans, Jews, blacks
- Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
- Mrs. Nixon’s image
  - Foreign policy
  - Claudia A. (Taylor) (“Lady Bird”) Johnson
    - Beautification
  - Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis
    - White House decorations
- The President’s trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- Alexander P. Butterfield
- Dwight L. Chapin
- Bull
- Stuart
  - Press relations
    - Schedule
      - Planning
        - Christmas
        - Rose Parade
      - First term
        - Trips, dedications, blind people
- Trips
- Receptions
  - Hand-shaking
    - Compared to Mrs. Johnson, Mamie G. D. Eisenhower, Mrs. Kennedy
- Public relations [PR] planning
  - Chapin
  - Richard A. Moore
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Value
  - Personaliy

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- White House staff
  - Meetings with public
    - East Wing
    - Conversation with Haldeman
      - The President’s schedule

Haldeman left at 11:13 am.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:13 am and 11:17 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Instructions on photograph sessions
    - [Unknown woman]
  - Attire
  - Meeting with W. Clement Stone
    - Duration

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:17 am.
Conversation No. 820-11

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 11:17 am - 11:53 am
Location: Oval Office


Greetings
- 1972 election
- Congratulations

Seating arrangements

The President’s schedule
- Stone’s first meeting with the President
- Meeting with Stone, Kinsey and Garment
- Agenda
- [Meeting with J. Willard Marriott]
- 1973 Inauguration license plate

National Center for Voluntary Action [NCVA]
- Reports for the President
- Stone’s role
- Business administration
  - Staff
  - Washington, DC
- Support
  - Financial pledges
- George W. Romney’s interest
  - Romney’s meeting with the President
- Press relations

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:17 am.

Refreshments
The unknown person left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

NCVA
- Materials
- Synopsis
  - Length
- Centers
  - Number
  - Location
- Local action
  - Citizens participation
    - Washington, DC
- Goals
  - Compared to motherhood
  - Criticism as old-fashioned, nebulous
- Leaders
  - Stone
  - Robert H. Finch
  - Mrs. Joyce Black
  - Leo Perlis of American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
- Private sector
  - Need for support
    - ACTION grant
- Board of Directors
  - Chairmanship
  - Romney
- Romney
  - National Urban Coalition [NUC]
  - Lenore (LaFount) Romney
  - NCVA’s tax exempt status
    - Section 501.3 (c) of Internal Revenue Code
    - Urban Coalition
- Prospects
- Television [TV] advertisements
  - Effectiveness
    - Football players
      - Drug abuse campaign, 1971
        - Willie Wood
Conversation No. 820-11 (cont’d)

-Black youth
-Jim Plunkett
-Mexican-American youth
-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
-Stone’s conversation with son [Norman C. Stone]
-New York Jets game
-Plunkett
-Joe Schmidt

-Motivation
-Reorganization
-Report for the President
-Synopsis
-Plans for future
-George Romney’s participation
-Meeting with George Romney and Edwin N. Etherington
-NUC
-Staff

-Projects
-Number
-Rubella program
-Post-election periods
-Motivations
-Organization compared to goal or man

-Goals
-Adolph Hitler and Nazi Party
-Benito Mussolini and Fascists
-Reading, food, Christmas baskets
-Drug abuse
-1968 campaign
-Self-motivation compared to government assistance

-Initiative
-Character building
-Self-interest, altruistic interest
-George Romney
-Idealism
-Christmas baskets
-Communication of principles
-Mental health
-Prevention
Conversation No. 820-11 (cont’d)

- Schools
- Mental illness
- Character building
- Studying
- Prisoners rehabilitation
- Recidivism
- States’ role
- Teachers
- Teenage drug abusers and alcoholics
- George Romney
  - Idealism
- Volunteerism
  - Individual and community decision making
  - Knowledge
    - Mental illness
    - Studying
    - Communications
- Administration assistance
  - The President’s role
  - Timing
    - George Romney’s involvement
  - Staff
- Board of Directors

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:17 am.

The President’s schedule
  - License plate presentation
  - Location
  - Oval Office

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

Volunteerism
  - Women
    - Frustrations
      - Careers, marriages, home making
      - Alcohol abuse
    - TV ads
Conversation No. 820-11 (cont’d)

-Nixon
-Lenore Romney
-Mrs. Nixon
-Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Jobs
-TV ads

-Disadvantages groups
  -Blacks
  -Mexican-Americans
  -Whites
  -Race issues
    -Need to deemphasize
      -Plunkett
      -Mexican-Americans
      -NUC
    -M. Carl Holman
    -Balance

-Motivation

NCVA
  -Programs
    -The President’s view
  -Clement Stone’s energy and resources
  -Competition with ACTION
  -National Student Volunteer program
  ACTION
    -The President’s view and instructions
      -“Boondoggle”
      -Budget

Garment’s schedule
  -Meeting with Stone and Kinsey

White House gifts

Garment’s schedule
Conversation No. 820-11 (cont’d)

-Meeting with Stone and Kinsey

Kinsey and Garment left at 11:45 am.

Ambassadorship to Great Britain
- Maurice H. Stans
  - Conversation with Clement Stone in 1968
  - Request for good government
- Press relations
  - British and US speculation
- Walter H. Annenberg
  - Plans
- Honor
- Philanthropy
  - Great Britain
    - Phillip’s [Prince of England] invitation to Court of St. James
    - Fundraising
    - Anna Freud Centre
    - Computers
      - The Burden Neurological Institute, University of Bristol, England
    - Brain specialists
      - Mental health
    - Boys’ Clubs
    - International Council of Educators for Teaching Convention
- Press relations
- British, US strength
- Parliament
  - Conservative and Labor Party inquiries of Clement Stone
- Britain
  - Labor influence
- Press relations
- Annenberg’s tenure
  - 1973
    - European Security Conference, July
    - US-Soviet Union summit
    - Common market
- 1968 and 1972 campaigns
  - The President’s conversation with Stans
Conversation No. 820-11 (cont’d)

-Press relations
  -Government positions
  -Timing
- Volunteer activities
  -Nonpolitical nature
  -1974 campaigns
-NCVA
- Government positions
  -Timing
  -Annenberg

1972 campaign
  -Stone’s son-in-law, David E. Bradshaw
  -Work with Charles W. Colson
  -The President’s meeting with Stone at Camp David
  -Possible meeting
  -The President’s winning percentage

Christmas greetings

Stone left at 11:53 am.

Conversation No. 820-12

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s foot
  -Sprain
  -Press story
The President’s schedule

- Meeting with J. Willard Marriott
- Dwight L. Chapin

Bull left at 11:54 am.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 11:55 am - 12:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with J. Willard Marriott, Jeb Stuart Magruder and Dwight L. Chapin. Members of the press, the White House photographer, and Stephen B. Bull were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Gift for the President
- Hopi Indian doll
  - Arizona
- Contents
  - Cottonwood tree
  - Birds’ parts

Inaugurations
- Money making

1973 Inauguration license plate
- Presentation
  - Photograph session
[Photograph session]

1973 Inauguration
-Organization chart
-Symbol
-Calendar
-The President’s Hollywood, television [TV] friends

White House gifts
-Cuff links
-Marriott’s set
-Balfour Company
-Franklin Mint
-Pins, buttons [?], trays
-Marriott watch
-The President’s picture
-Presidential glasses
-Presidential seal and signature
-Non-alcoholic drinks

Marriott, Magruder and Chapin left at 12:02 pm.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 12:05 pm - 12:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

1973 Inauguration
-Balls
-Number
-[J. Williard Marriott]
-John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts
-Number of guests
-Compared to 1969 Inauguration
Conversation No. 820-14 (cont’d)

-Fundraising and social events
-Smithsonian Institution
-Hotels
-Smithsonian Institution
  -National History Museum
  -National Gallery of Art
-Hotels
-Kennedy Center
-Vice President’s reception
  -The President’s attendance
-Governors’ salute
-Kennedy Center
  -The President’s attendance
  -Timing
  -The President’s attendance
  -Stars
-American music concert
  -The President’s instructions
    -Leonard Garment, [Nancy Hanks]
    -Modern music
-Folk and country music
-Unknown dancer
  -Garment

Second term reorganization
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Attempts to locate

The President’s schedule
  -Mayor of Whittier, California [Blake Sanborn]
    -Rose Mary Woods
    -Michael J. Farrell
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    -David N. Parker
      -Conversation with Haldeman
    -Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
    -Embarrassment
    -Camp David
  -White House staff instructions
Congressional relations
-Recommended telephone calls
  -Thomas C. Korologos
  -Carl B. Albert
    -Attendance at services [for [Thomas] Hale Boggs]
      -Mrs. Nixon
    -Return call
  -John C. Stennis
    -Korologos
  -Dr. James R. Schlesinger
    -Talking paper
    -Richard M. Helms
      -Ambassadorship to Iran
    -Henry A. Kissinger
    -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    -Helms
      -Possible conversation with Haldeman
    -Kissinger’s return from Paris
    -Announcement
      -Timing
    -Korologos
    -Kissinger
      -View of Helms
    -Haig

Second term reorganization
-James Keogh
-Herbert G. Klein
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Value
    -Personality
    -Shelley A. (Scarney) Buchanan

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Relations with White House staff
Conversation No. 820-14 (cont’d)

-Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
-Lucy A. Winchester
-Stephen B. Bull
-Working relationship

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Secretarial work
-Scheduling
-White House, East Wing
-Trips, special events, women surrogates
-Coworker
-Personality
-Coworker
-Specific assignment
-William E. Timmons
-Need for backup
-John D. Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Kissinger
-Bryce N. Harlow

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:05 pm.

The President’s schedule
-Meeting with Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis and John H. Kauffmann
-Private meeting with Lewis

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

Second term reorganization
-Congressional relations
-Timmons
-Role as the President’s spokesperson
-Effectiveness
-Timmons’s meeting with the President
-Timmons’s assumption of job
-Timmons’s personality
-John B. Connally’s view
Conversation No. 820-14 (cont’d)

-Haldeman, Ehrlichman
-The President’s workload
-Roy L. Ash
-Appointments and nominations
-The President’s role
-Stennis
-Schlesinger
-Nation Park Service [NPS] [George B. Hartzog, Jr.]
-Stennis
-Haldeman
-W[illiam] Stuart Symington
-Possible meeting with the President
-Helms
-Announcement
-Timing

-Charles W. Colson’s office
-Recommendations
-Telephone calls
-Albert
-Corinne (Claiborne) (“Lindy”) Boggs
-Coordination
-Stennis
-Alexander P. Butterfield
-Timmons
-Haldeman

-Peter G. Peterson, Helms
-Kissinger’s view
-News summary
-Stewart J. O. Alsop article
-John F. Osborne article
-Kissinger’s quote

Kissinger’s press relations
-Oriana Fallaci interviews
-New Republic article
-Osborne
-Telephone call

1973 Inauguration
Conversation No. 820-14 (cont’d)

-Plans
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Edward C. Nixon

Second term reorganization
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    -Conversation with Haldeman and the President
      -Timing
    -East Wing
    -West Wing

George Champion, Jr.

Haldeman left at 12:25 pm.

Conversation No. 820-15

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 12:25 pm - 1:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewis, John H. Kauffmann, Michael J. O'Neill, Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Herbert G. Klein. Members of the press and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

[General conversation]
  -Fellow travelers

[Photograph session]

Lewis’s, Kauffmann’s and O’Neill’s trip to Soviet Union
  -Return
  -Soviet Union
    -Compared to jail
    -Psychological effect
    -Hermitage, Leningrad
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Patricia (Bellinger) Kauffmann
  -Smiles
-US Information Agency [USIA] Exhibition on Research and Development
  -Public interest
  -Mongolians
-Opening
-Change in Soviet Union
  -Government
-Receipt
  -Foreign ministry
    -Vasily V. Kuznetsov
      -Arrival from Moscow

-Press relations
  -Pravda article
    -Washington Star
-American tour guides
  -Men and women
  -The President’s trip to the Soviet Union, 1959
  -Possible meeting with the President
    -Timing
      -1973 Inauguration
  -Education
  -Russian speaking ability
-Russians
  -Knowledge of US
  -Expectations
    -Tour guides
      -Lewis’s and Kauffmann’s conversation with Frank J. Shakespeare
-US Fairs
  -Quality
    -Compared to communists
      -Soviet Union
      -Georgetown
  -Funding
    -Shakespeare
    -Congressional relations
-Soviet Union
  -Size of things
-Airplane hangars
-Progress
-Communists countries
-Psychological effect
  -Moscow
    -Compared to Warsaw and Romania
  -Romania
    -Compared to Italy
  -Kauffmann’s trip to Bucharest and Prague
  -Leo Tolstoy, Peter I. Tchaikovsky
  -Terror
  -Bucharest
    -Vienna
      -Kauffmann’s trip
      -Prague
  -Western Europe
    -Riots, youth unrest
-O’Neill’s interviews of American students
  -University of Moscow
  -US government
  -Embassy
  -Compared to People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    -The President’s view

Soviet Union
  -Compared to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    -The President’s view
    -People
      -Taiwan, Republic of China, Singapore, Hong Kong
      -Dress
      -Women
        -Hair, dress
      -Leader class
        -Civilization
        -Toughness
        -Civilization
        -Communism
      -Peasantry
      -Communist systems
Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

- Peking-Moscow-Warsaw-Vienna
  - Gradations
- Compared to US
- Relations with US
  - Scholars
  - Peace
    - Pace
    - People
  - PRC
- Compared to PRC
  - Progress
- Lewis’s, Kauffmann’s, and O’Neill’s trip to the Soviet Union
  - Moscow
    - GUM department store
    - University of Moscow
  - Leningrad
- The President’s 1959 trip
  - Change, 1959-1972
    - US and Communists systems
      - Possible melding
        - Timing
      - The President’s conversation with [Maurice] Harold MacMillan, 1959
        - The President’s trip to the Soviet Union, 1959
        - Camp David
        - MacMillan’s trip to the Soviet Union
        - Great Britain’s history
          - Monarchy
          - Political executions
          - Exile
        - Compared to the Soviet Union’s history
      - Georgi Malenkov
        - Hydroelectric plant
          - [Kazakhstan]
      - Nikita S. Khrushchev
      - Alexander Dubcek
      - Khrushchev
      - US policy
        - Sentimentalism
      - Frol Kozlov
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Khrushchev’s view
-Death
-Leningrad
-Khrushchev’s view

US-Soviet Union relations
-US foreign policy
-Idealism
-Europe’s view
-Indian fighters
-World War I
-Versailles
-[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
-Post-World War II
-Berlin
-Vienna
-Winston S. Churchill
-Iron Curtain
-United Nations [UN]
-US public opinion
-Taiwan
-Vietnam War
-Rhetoric
-Communists
-Totalitarianism, dictatorship
-Freedom, liberation
-Soviet Union-PRC relations
-US broker role
-Peace
-US self-interest
-Private compared to public statements
-Right
-Left
-Communists
-Center
-Realism
-Self-interest
-Africa
-Guatemala
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-The President’s education
  -Whittier, California Sunday school
-Blacks
-Moral appeal to US
-Leadership
  -Decision making
  -Sentimentality
-O’Neill’s experience on USIA inspection team in Moscow
-Trade, commercial relations
  -Management
  -Economic policy
    -Commerce Department
    -Balance of payment
  -Foreign policy
    -Information
    -Psychological penetration
-European Security Conference
-Cultural exchange
-Channels
  -US embassy in Moscow
  -Kremlin
  -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  -Economic initiatives
    -Trade, business
    -US foreign policy
  -Role of ambassadors
    -Leonid I. Brezhnev
      -Presidents
    -Jacob D. Beam
      -Czechoslovakia
    -Llewellyn E. (“Tommy”) Thompson, Jr.
    -Dobrynin
      -Meetings with the President
-Foreign Service Officers [FSOs]
  -Wires
-Dobrynin
-PRC
-Privacy
US trade relations
  -Commerce Department
  -US-Soviet Union gas deal
    -East, West fields
    -Competition
      -US companies
        -Combines
        -Japan
        -Commerce Department
        -Japan
        -El Paso
        -Tennessee
        -Commerce Department
  -East-West trade
    -US antitrust laws
      -Europe
        -Soviet Union
        -PRC
        -Japan
        -Mitsubishi, Mitsui
      -Europe
        -Peter G. Peterson
        -Military
    -Japan
      -Europe
        -Quotas
        -US security guarantee
        -Relinquishment
        -Soviet Union, PRC
        -Nuclear option
    -Europe
      -Edward R. G. Heath
      -Georges J. R. Pompidou
      -Willy Brandt
      -Italians
      -Government
    -US antitrust laws
    -Economic policy
    -Business
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Foreign policy
  -Second term reorganization
    -George P. Shultz
    -Commerce and Labor Departments
  -Soviet Union, PRC, Britain
-Alternative view
  -Wall Street
  -New York Times [?]
-US assets
  -Nuclear weapons
    -Deterrent
    -Productivity
-Fairness
  -Connally’s actions
    -Tone
    -Europe
    -Japan
-State Department
  -Second term reorganization
    -Ambassadors
-Peterson’s trip
-Cartels
-Europeans
-Japan
  -Magnavox Corporation
    -Kauffmann’s position on board of directors
      -Frank M. Freimann
      -Death
    -Friemann
      -Relationship with the President
        -New York, Japan
        -Godfrey T. McHugh

Second term reorganization
  -USIA
    -Personnel
      -Eastern Europe
      -Soviet Union
      -Shakespeare
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Romania
  -Bucharest
-Moscow
  -Andrew T. Falkiewicz
    -Knowledge of culture, politics of foreign policy
  -Shakespeare
    -Lunch with Kauffmann
-Shakespeare
  -Meeting with the President
  -Departure
    -New York
    -Possible job
-FSOs
  -Turnover
-Soviet Union
  -Life
    -Wives
      -Moscow
      -Golf, tennis
-Bucharest
  -Country club
    -Golf, tennis
  -The President’s trip
-US ambassador to the Soviet Union
  -Foreign Service
  -Diplomatic Chief of Mission
    -Adolph Dubs
      -Compared to Thompson
      -Henry A. Kissinger
      -Possible position
        -Chief of staff
    -Beam
    -Dobrynin
-Beam
  -Messenger role
  -Residence

Kauffmann’s trip to Bucharest and Prague
  -US embassy in Romania
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Norale
-Leonard Meeker
-US embassy in Yugoslavia
-[Malcolm Toon]
-US embassy in Romania
-Morale
-Compared to Czechoslovakia
-Czechoslovakia
-Danube River
-Cemetery
-Patricia Kauffmann
-The President’s trip
-Jews
-Danube River
-Relations with the Soviet Union
-Services
-Restaurants
-German influence
-Communism
-Civilization

Communism
-Civilization
-France
-Soviet Union
-Czechoslovakia
-Pre-World War II
-Per capita income

Second term reorganization
-USIA
-Radio Liberty
-Voice of America
-O’Neill’s anecdote
-USIA
-Correspondents’ view
-Hedrick Smith
-New York Times
-Radio Liberty
-Moscow
-Washington, DC
-Red Smith
-Radio Liberty
  -Use of defectors
    -Dissidents
-Dissidents
-Hedrick Smith’s conversations with Russians
-The President’s conversation with John Cardinal Krol
  -Poland
  -Humor
-Humor
  -Soviet Union
    -Polish joke book
-US embassy
  -Cooperation
-Corporate contributions of equipment
  -Fairs

Lewis’s, Kauffmann’s and O’Neill’s trip to the Soviet Union
  -Food
    -Caviar, bread

White House gifts
  -Cuff links
    -Presidential seal
  -Pins for wives

[General conversation]

Vietnam negotiations
  -Issues
    -Importance
  -Paris meetings
    -Timing

Haig et al., except Lewis left at 1:16 pm.

US trade relations
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-Britain, PRC, Soviet Union
-Foreign policy

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
-Career possibilities
  -Los Angeles Times
-Writing skills
  -Style
  -History
  -Possible articles for Reader’s Digest
    -Volunteer army
    -Travel

Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox
- Trip to Europe
  - Soviet Union

Julie Nixon Eisenhower and David Eisenhower
- Possible trip to PRC

David Eisenhower
-Roving reporter
  -Keen observer
  -Youth viewpoint
-Political career
  - Gettysburg, Pennsylvania seat
    - 1974 election
  - Navy tour completion
  - Letter from Lewis
    - Possible position

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Second term reorganization
Conversation No. 820-15 (cont’d)

-USIA

-Shakespeare successor
  -Access to the President, Kissinger, and the Secretary of State
  -James Keogh
    -Access
    -Kissinger
      -Shakespeare
        -Personalities

Vietnam negotiations
  -Lewis’s conversation with Haig
  -Settlement agreement
    -Conditions
      -[North Vietnam]
      -Nguyen Van Thieu’s speech to the South Vietnam National Assembly
        -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
          -Compared to cease-fire in place
      -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  -Cease-fire
  -Supervised elections
    -South Vietnamese self-determination
  -Thieu’s position
    -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
      -US public opinion
  -US public opinions
    -US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Thieu
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
    -US-Soviet Union summit
      -Victory
      -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal

Second term reorganization
  -USIA
    -Keogh
      -Tenacity, loyalty

Soviet Union
-US left
  -Communism
-Georgi A. Zhukov’s visit to the US
  -Beam
  -Gen. Georgi K. Zhukov
  -Dartmouth Conference
  -Compared to Pugwash Conference
-Georgi A. Zhukov
-Norman Cousins
-David Rockefeller
-Bicentennial
  -David J. Mahoney, Jr.
  -Norton Simon
-Rockefeller, Simon, Cousins
  -Liberalism
  -Georgi A. Zhukov
-Georgi A. Zhukov
-The President’s trip to the Soviet Union, 1959
  -Previous writings about US
  -Beam
-PRC

1972 election
  -Results
    -George S. McGovernites

Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
  -Signing
    -October 31, 1972
  -1972 election

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

David Eisenhower
  -Writer
Bicentennial
   -Need for director
      -Nelson A. Rockefeller
      -Connally
      -Frank Stanton
      -Staff
      -Leslie T. (“Bob”) Hope

Lewis left at 1:30 pm.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 1:30 pm - 1:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President’s schedule
   -Meeting [with Jewell S. Lafontant]
   -Timing
   -Items for the President’s signature
   -Gen. Andrew J. Goodpastor
   -Vietnam negotiations
   -1973 Inauguration
   -December 13, 1972
      -Reception for 1972 election supporters
      -Dr. W. Kenneth Riland

The President talked with the White House operator at 1:35 pm.
[Conversation No. 820-16A]

[See Conversation No. 34-52]

[End of telephone conversation]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:30 pm.

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:36 pm.

The President’s schedule
   - Cabinet dinner
     - William E. Timmons
     - Ronald L. Ziegler
     - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
   - Church service
     - German children’s choir
     - German ambassador
     - Invitation
   - Cabinet dinner
     - Haldeman
     - List
   - The President’s review
   - Assistants to the President
     - Timmons
     - Peter M. Flanigan
     - Timmons
     - Haldeman
     - John D. Ehrlichman
     - Henry A. Kissinger
   - Invitations
     - Flanigan
     - Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Kissinger
     - Flanigan
     - Timmons
   - Butterfield’s conversation with Haldeman
Conversation No. 820-16 (cont’d)

Butterfield left and Haig entered at 1:36 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Hobart D. (“Hobe”) Lewish, John H. Kauffmann and Michael J. O’Neill
- Vietnam negotiations

Vietnam negotiations
- Haig’s conversation with Lewis, Kauffmann and O’Neill
- Cabinet Room
- Haig’s conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Report from Hanoi
  - Kissinger’s intransigence
  - Unresolved issues
  - Settlement agreement
    - Timing
      - End of December 1972
      - Kissinger’s view
        - Effect on North Vietnam
        - Context
        - Constraint
      - Christmas
      - US bombing of North Vietnam
        - Breakdown, recess in talks
- Issues
  - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
  - Political prisoners
    - Kissinger’s assurance
  - North Vietnam’s tactics
  - US concessions
    - US civilians
  - December 9, 1972
Conversation No. 820-16 (cont’d)

-Settlement agreement
-Le Duc Tho
-Leonid I. Brezhnev
-The President’s call to Dobrynin
-Pressure
-Haig’s message to Kissinger
-Soviet Union
-Dobrynin
-December 11, 1972 meeting
-Kissinger’s report
-Issues
-Atmosphere
-Communists
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]-Soviet Union relations
-Chou En-Lai statement
-Peking
-Stop-fire
-Timing
-Prisoners of War [POWs]
-US
-North Vietnamese in South Vietnam
-Tactics
-Haig’s and Kissinger’s view
-Shanghai Communique
-Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
-Compromise
-Relationship with US
-Credibility
-US public opinion
-Interests
-Unconditional surrender of North Vietnam
-Compared to honorable withdrawal and political victory
-Further conflict
-Thieu’s inability to win on battlefield
-US bombing
-Duration
-Soviet Union, PRC aid to North Vietnam
-Possible meeting with the President
-Timing
-Midway
-Settlement agreement
  -Haig’s and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
  -Status
    -Kissinger’s concerns
      -Concessions
-October 8, 1972
  -The President’s view
  -North Vietnam
  -Kissinger’s view
    -Haig’s conversation with Kissinger
      -Timing
        -Haig’s trip to Saigon
    -DMZ
  -North Vietnam’s tactics
    -Compromise
      -Exploitation
-Breakdown
-December 12, 1972 meetings compared to December 11, 1972 meetings
-Settlement agreement
  -December 13, 1972
    -Haig’s view
  -1973 Inauguration
-Breakdown
-US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer’s conversation with the President
    -Targets
      -Communications
        -1968
      -Power plant
        -1968
      -Bridges
      -Civilian airport
        -Civilian casualties
        -Military side
    -Dam
    -Targets
      -Docks
      -Smart bombs
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 820-16 (cont’d)

-B-52s
-Power plant in Hanoi
-Transshipment point
-Moorer
-B-52s
-Casualties
-Radio Hanoi
-Hanoi
-Rail, maintenance shops
-Casualties
-B-52s
-Airfields
-Number
-Compared to Israel attacks in Egypt
-Soviet Union planes
-Military side of civilian field
-Buffer zone
-PRC

-Settlement agreement
-Haig’s view
-Thieu’s speech to National Assembly
-North Vietnam
-“Hurting” assumption
-US bombing and mining
-Uncertainty about US and the President’s actions
-Military actions
-January 1973
-Commitment to conventional strategy in South Vietnam
-Breakup of units
-Cease-fire
-Vulnerability
-Thieu’s attacks
-Instructions to cadres
-Cease-fire
-Momentum

-Thieu
-Thieu’s speech to National Assembly
-Fear of political contest
Conversation No. 820-16 (cont’d)

- Settlement agreement
  - Justification
  - Force [by US]
  - Sympathy of South Vietnam
  - Compared to accusations of naiveté
- The President’s view
  - The President’s speeches before Congress
  - Tone
  - Audience
  - Record
  - Reaction
- Settlement agreement
  - Thieu’s possible successors’ view
- Kissinger’s message to Haig
- Timing
  - Kissinger’s return to US embassy

Haig left at 1:55 pm.

Conversation No. 820-17

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:55 pm and 1:58 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Refreshments
  - Consumme
  - Oval Office

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:58 pm.

Date: December 12, 1972  
Time: 1:58 pm - 2:20 pm  
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Meeting with Jewell R. Lafontant, John D. Ehrlichman
- Meeting with Gordon C. Strachan, Frank J. Shakespeare

Haldeman’s conversation with William F. (“Billy”) Graham
- The President’s possible meeting with Graham
- Graham’s trip
- 1972 election
  - Graham’s meeting with [Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
  - Civilization
- Shah’s message for the President
- Second term reorganization
  - Young people
- 1973 Inauguration worship service at White House
  - John Cardinal Krol
- Graham
- Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin
- Black minister
  - Dr. E. V. Hill
- Convictions of Christ
  - Effect on Jews
- Ecumenical service
  - Evangelical reaction
- Participants
-Black minister
-Greek, Jew, Catholic, Protestant
-Black Protestant
-Invocation, benediction
-Number
  -Greek
  -Black
  -1969 Inauguration
-Avoiding separate service
-Norman Vincent Peale
  -Black minister
  -Protestants
  -Hill
  -California Baptist Convention
-Participants
  -Graham
  -Krol
  -Magnin
  -Geography
  -Hill
-Protocol
  -Procession
-New Majority
  -Washington, DC hierarchy
-Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan appointment
  -Effect on Indian democracy

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 2:20 pm.

Telephone call
-Corinne (Claiborne) (“Lindy”) Boggs
  -The President’s previous call
-William E. Timmons’s possible telephone call
-[Pegge (Jendro) Begieh]
-Memorial service for [Thomas] Hale Boggs
-Carl B. Albert
  -Drinking
  -Return call
  -Timmons
Conversation No. 820-18 (cont’d)

- Albert’s secretary
- Timmons’s possible call
  - Memorial service
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s attendance
    - California
- Memorial service
  - The President’s attendance
    - Pressures
    - Presidential airplane
    - Allen J. Ellender funeral

Second term reorganization
- Moynihan
- Symbolism
  - The President’s conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
- Changes
  - Press relations
    - Ziegler’s view
    - John F. Osborne
- Defense Department
- State Department
- Justice Department
- William P. Rogers
- Richard G. Kleindienst
- Press relations
  - Washington, DC
    - The President’s conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
      - 1972 election
      - Power

Press relations
- New Republic
  - [Oriana Fallaci] story
    - Osborne
    - Return calls from Kissinger
- Patrick J. Buchanan
  - News summary
    - Pravda
- Osborne and Hugh S. Sidey
-Analyses
-Osborne
  -Kissinger interview
  -Interview techniques
-Washington Post
  -East Wing
    -The President’s conversation with Ziegler
      -Possible staff firings
    -Photographers
      -Christmas
        -Mrs. Nixon
          -Tree

Watergate
  -Buchanan’s note
  -Donald H. Segretti
  -White House statements
    -Upcoming trials
  -Segretti case
    -Status
      -Edward M. Kennedy’s action
        -Congressional investigation
      -White House action
    -White House, Committee for the Re-election of the President [CRP] involvement
    -Second term reorganization
      -Post-1972 election
      -Trial, Kennedy investigation
    -The President’s possible statement
      -Credibility
      -Timing
        -Trial, investigation
      -White House “White Paper”
    -The President’s possible statement
      -Haldeman’s view
      -Record
  -White House staff involvement
    -The President’s meeting with Gordon C. Strachan
    -Dwight L. Chapin
Retention or departure
- Richard A. Moore’s view
- L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
- Moore’s view
- Haldeman’s view
  - Charles W. Colson
    - Public relations [PR]
- Moore’s view
  - Reappointment
    - Timing
    - Christmas
- Moore’s view
  - Private sector job
- Alexander P. Butterfield

Second term reorganization
- Butterfield
  - Secretary of the Air Force or Navy
    - Cronyism
    - Political handout
    - Under Secretary
  - State Department
  - Defense Department
  - White House
- Women
  - Meetings
    - Mexican-Americans
  - Frederic V. Malek
  - Cabinet
  - Anne L. Armstrong
    - Meeting with the President
      - Chief of Protocol
        - Compared to Special Assistant to the President
          - Visibility
  - William R. Codus
    - Deputy Chief of Protocol
- John E. Nidecker
- Herbert G. Klein
- Armstrong
  - Chief of Protocol
The President and Haldeman left at 2:20 pm.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 3:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

Julie Nixon Eisenhower met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s location
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 820-19 (cont’d)

Julie Nixon Eisenhower left at an unknown time before 3:17 pm.

Conversation No. 820-20

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 3:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Cabinet dinner
  - Invitations
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - William E. Timmons
    - William L. Safire
    - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    - Leonard Garment
    - Robert J. Brown
    - Peter M. Flanigan
    - Executive Order [EO]
    - Timmons, Ziegler, Brown
  - Social dinner
    - Instruction for Haldeman
      - Ziegler
      - Flanigan
      - Flanigan
      - John D. Ehrlichman
  - Cabinet
    - Dinner
      - White House staff
      - Christmas
  - Cabinet
    - White House staff
    - Dinner
      - Butterfield
      - Compared to legislative leaders meeting
Conversation No. 820-21

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:20 pm and 3:17 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations
- Henry A. Kissinger’s message
- Kissinger’s return from Paris
  - US bombing of North Vietnam
- Summary
- Recess
- Timing
- Haig’s message to Kissinger
  - US bargaining position
    - Risks
    - US military pressure
- Instructions for Kissinger
  - Recess
    - US interests
    - The President’s possible actions
      - Options
        - Settlement agreement
        - Political considerations
- US military action
  - Delay
  - Reaction
    - Soviet Union, People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    - US
- Options
  - Peace
    - Price
    - Type
    - Timing
Conversation No. 820-21 (cont’d)

-Haig’s message to Kissinger
  -Understandings
    -Kissinger’s return from Paris
    -Consultations
  -Delays
  -Consultations
-Hope
  -Type
-Hope
  -Peace
  -Type
  -Timing
    -Kissinger’s message
    -Kissinger’s return from Paris
-Hope
  -Nguyen Van Thieu
    -Possible speech by Barry M. Goldwater
-Hope
  -Instructions for Kissinger
    -Peace
      -Type
      -Timing
    -North Vietnam’s reneging on previous positions
      -Kissinger’s return from Paris
-Hope
  -US concessions
  -Understandings
    -Recess
      -Interests
      -Resumption of talks

Conversation No. 820-22

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 3:17 pm - 3:36 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Jewell R. Lafontant and John D. Ehrlichman. Members of the Press, Stephen B. Bull, and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
Photograph session
- Seating arrangements

Second term reorganization
- Women
  - Ehrlichman’s conversations with Barbara H. Franklin and Caspar W.
    (“Cap”) Weinberger

The President’s schedule

Vietnam negotiations

Second term reorganization
- United Nations [UN]
  - US delegation

[Photograph session]
  - [General conversation]
    - Executive Office Building [EOB]
      - 1973 Inauguration license plate
        - [J. Willard Marriott]

Lafontant’s political background
- Republican National Conventions
  - 1960
  - 1952
    - [Cornelius Stadford]
      - Dwight D. Eisenhower

Zosimo T. Monson entered at an unknown time after 3:17 pm.

Refreshments
- Coffee, tea, cola
- Consumme

Monson left at an unknown time before 3:36 pm.

Stradford’s political background
Lafontant’s political background
- Republican National Convention, 1960
  - Eisenhower

Second term reorganization
- Blacks
  - The President’s meeting with black administration appointees
    - Black community
  - Women
  - Branch Rickey
    - John Roosevelt (“Jackie”) Robinson

Monson entered at an unknown time after 3:17 pm.

Refreshments
- Coffee

Monson left at an unknown time before 3:36 pm.

Second term reorganization
- Blacks
  - Rickey
    - Robinson
      - Montreal
      - Brooklyn Dodgers
        - World Series
      - Satchel Paige
  - Lafontant’s legal and political qualifications
  - Lafontant’s diplomatic skills
  - George H. W. Bush
  - Deputy Solicitor General
    - Robert H. Bork
      - Erwin N. Griswold
        - Departure
          - Timing
  - Background
    - University of Chicago, Yale University
  - Duties
    - Arguing cases
-Supreme Court
- Bork’s understanding
- Possible judgeship for Lafontant
  - Comment by Lafontant
    - Promise
  - Bork
  - Timing
- Appeals court
  - Compared to trial court
  - District court
  - Lafontant’s experience
  - Supreme Court
- District of Columbia
- South
  - Black judges
    - Senators
      - American Bar Association [ABA]
      - Membership
    - Fifth Circuit
    - Congressional relations
      - The President’s possible conversation with James O. Eastland, Roman L. Hruska
        - ABA
- North Carolina
  - Unknown woman
    - ABA
    - Age
    - Men
    - Justice Department
      - State Bar Association
- Lafontant’s experience
  - Chicago Bar Association
- Opportunity
  - Qualifications
  - Lafontant’s experience
    - Seconding of the President’s nomination in 1960
    - Stradford’s political background
      - Republican Party
    - ABA
-Lafontant’s identity as black woman
-Supreme Court
  -Deaths
  -William H. Rehnquist
    -Background
    -Office of Legal Counsel
    -Qualifications
-Justice Department
  -Solicitor General, Office of Legal Counsel
  -Nonpolitical status
-Timing
-Possible residence
  -Washington, DC
    -Real estate
    -Prices
  -Ehrlichman’s telephone call to Lafontant
    -Lafontant’s conversation with H. Ernest Lafontant
  -Ernest Lafontant’s law practice
    -Chicago
    -Washington, DC, New York
    -Bar associations
  -Jewell Lafontant’s conversation with Ernest Lafontant

Jewell Lafontant’s law practice
  -Julius J. Hoffman

Second term reorganization
-Deputy Solicitor General
  -Work with Ehrlichman
  -Race relations
  -Leonard Garment
  -Stanley S. Scott
  -Robert J. Brown
  -Brown
    -Departure
      -Sally Brown
      -Ambassadorship
      -North Carolina
        -Money making
Conversation No. 820-22 (cont’d)

-Bull entered and left at an unknown time after 3:17 pm.

The President’s schedule

-Bull left at an unknown time before 3:36 pm.

Second term reorganization
   -Jewell Lafontant’s schedule
   -Bork
      -Meeting with [Joseph T. Sneed]
   -Possible telephone call to Ehrlichman
   -Background check on Jewell Lafontant
   -John W. Dean, III
   -Finances
   -Possible judgeship for Jewell Lafontant

Lafontant and Ehrlichman left at 3:36 pm.

Date: December 12, 1972
Time: Unknown between 3:36 pm and 3:38 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
   -Gordon C. Strachan
   -H. R. (‘‘Bob’’) Haldeman
Date: December 12, 1972
Time: 3:38 pm - 6:10 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Gordon C. Strachan and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Greetings

Second term reorganization
- Strachan
  - Attire
  - US Information Agency [USIA]
    - Frank J. Shakespeare
    - Opponents of administration
  - Age
  - Background
    - University of California
    - Bolt Hall
    - Hastings
    - Graduation, 1968
  - Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander
  - The President’s appreciation for work as political contact
    - Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander
    - Law firms
  - Loyalists
  - USIA
    - Loyalists
      - James Keogh
  - Loyalists
    - Bureaucracy
      - Influences
        - Love
        - Respect
        - Fear
        - Hate
        - Blackmail
      - Administrators
Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont’d)

-Need
  -Brains
    -Legal profession and social sciences
    -Private enterprise
    -Conservatives
    -Republicans, Democrats
    -Government, media
  -Liberals
    -Democrats
    -Daily Princetonian
    -Washington Post
    -Government
    -Private enterprise system
  -Strachan’s career
    -Government
    -Compared to private law practice, corporate position

-USIA
  -State Department

Zosimo T. Monson [?] entered at an unknown time after 3:38 pm.

Refreshment

Monson [?] left at an unknown time before 3:58 pm.

Second term reorganization
  -USIA bureaucracy
    -Shakespeare’s efforts
      -Foreign Service Information Officers [FSIO]
      -Details
    -[Alan Carter]
      -Hubert H. Humphrey
        -1968 campaign
    -Return to agency
      -Timing
    -Public Area Officer [PAO]
      -Tokyo
    -Area directors
      -Shakespeare
Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont’d)

-Charles D. Ablard
-Loyalists
-Kempton B. Jenkins
-Soviet Union, Eastern Europe
-Carter
-Tokyo
-W. Bruce Herschensohn
-Think tank
-Herschensohn
-Think tank
-Keogh’s possible conversation with the President
-Keogh’s possible conversation with Herschensohn
-Shakespeare
-Haldeman
-Keogh
-Loyalty
-Social affairs
-Shopping
-Tokyo
-British shop
-Strachan’s experience
-White House
-Herbert G. Klein
-Haldeman
-Trust
-Wearing of flag lapel pin
-Portraits
-John F. Kennedy
-Dwight D. Eisenhower

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 3:58 pm.]