

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1

Date: December 12, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:38 pm and 6:10 pm

Location: Oval Office

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

An unknown portion of the conversation was not recorded while the tape was changed.

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Second-term reorganization
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- -The President's possible visits to departments
 - -1969
 - -The President's confidence
 - -Loyalty
 - -Appointees
 - -Visits to White House
- -Government employees
- -Wearing of flag lapel pins
 - -The President, White House staff
 - -Effect
- -State Department
 - -The President's instructions to Strachan at US Information Agency [USIA]
 - -Studying
 - -Strachan's possible conversations with James Keogh
 - -Visiting embassies abroad
 - -Keogh
 - -Removal of flag lapel pin
 - -Vietnam War
 - -Information gathering
 - -Ambassadors, ministers
 - -Foreign service officers [FSOs]
 - -Diplomatic Chiefs of Mission [DCMs]
 - -Quality
 - -Departures
 - -Promotions
 - -Young people
 - -Bureaucracy

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

-Recommendations for change -Administrative duties -Lawyers

-Bureaucrats

-1972 election

-Effect

-The President's visit to letter writers, 1971

-Christmas

-John F. Kennedy portrait

-First term

-Anticipation

-New appointees

-Edward M. Kennedy

White House gifts

The President's appreciation

-Loyalty

Rose Bowl game

-University of Southern California [USC]

-Ohio State University

-Offense

-Professional football

Strachan left and Frank J. Shakespeare and Keogh entered at 3:58 pm. The White House photographer and Stephen B. Bull were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Geetings

Press relations

-Accuracy in Media [AIM]

Seating arrangements

[Photograph session]

Press relations

-The President's meeting with Hobart D. ("Hobe") Lewis, Michael J. O'Neill and John H. Kauffmann

-Lewis's, Kuaffman's and O'Neill's recent trip to the Soviet Union

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-O'Neill
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-New York Daily News

-Washington Post, New York Times

-Kauffmann

-[Washington Star]

-Lewis

-[Reader's Digest]

-Lewis, Kauffman and O'Neill

-Importance

-Previous failure to visit Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

-Shakespeare's future

-The President's conversation with O'Neill

-New York

-Lewis's, Kauffman's and O'Neill's recent trip to the Soviet Union

-Left

-USIA Exhibition Research and Development

-O'Neill's study of USIA in Moscow

-Length

-Second term reorganization

-O'Neill

-USIA Advisory Commission

-New York Daily News

-Editorials

-Readership

John M. Shaheen

[The New York Press]

-Financing

-Compared to television [TV] station

-Shakespeare's future

-Shaheen's The New York Press

-O'Neill

-Financing

-Capital

-Shaheen's relationship with Peter M. Flanigan

-New York

-Financing

-Shakespeare's conversation with Walter H. Annenberg

-Shaheen's "heart"

-Financing

-Life

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Wealth of administration allies
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-W. Clement Stone

-John A. ("Jack") Mulcahy

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

-Westinghouse

-TV, radio stations

-Soft drink bottlers

-Broadcast learning

-Title

-Executive Vice President

-Donald H. McGannon

-White House support for Shakespeare

-Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead

-TV licenses

-TV

-Channel 9, Florida

-Washington Post

-TV, radio stations

-Markets

-San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia

-Operations compared to requisitions

-White House support for Shakespeare

-Charles W. Colson

-Money making

-Leisure time

Second term reorganization

-Advisory commissions

-Arms control

-USIA

-Keogh

-John C. Stennis

-Employee lists

-Haldeman, Frederic V. Malek

-Stanton D. Anderson

-State Department

-Ambassadors, Diplomatic Chiefs of Mission [DCMS]

-State Department

-William J. Casey

-Under Secretary for Economic Affairs

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-"Cover"
           -Promotion
                 -Deputy
     -Firings
     -Casey
           -Travel
                 -Timing
                      -Confirmation
                      -Consultant
     -Leonard C. Meeker
           -Christine Rhoda (Halliday) Meeker
                 -Bucharest
                 -Opposition to administration
           -Departure
                 -The President's conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
     -White House staff
           -Cuts
-USIA
     -Policy role
           -Need for consultation
           -Kissinger
                 -Attitude
                 -Vietnam negotiations
                      -Settlement agreement
                 -Relationship with Keogh
-State Department
     -[David] Kenneth Rush
     -Casey
           -Travel
                 -Casey's conversation with Shakespeare
-Personnel abroad
     -The President's experience as Congressman
           -Social affairs
                 -Manners
     -The President's relationship with FSOs
     -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
           -Relationship with FSOs
                 -Tennis
     -The President's experience
```

-Manners

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Loyalty
```

- -Casey
- -Social affairs

Enemies

- -Press
- -Bureaucrats
 - -USIA, State Department
 - -Defense Department
 - -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
- -Administration supporters
 - -USIA
 - -Promotions
 - -Career officers
 - -State Department
 - -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA]
 - -Agency for International Development [AID]
 - -Peace Corps
 - -USIA

-USIA

- -Travel
 - -Meeting people
 - -Reading files
 - -1967, 1966
- -State Department
 - -Casey
- -Shakespeare's experience in USIA
 - -Travel
 - -Compared to Kissinger, the President, William P. Rogers
 - -Protocol
- -State Department
 - -Casey
 - -Travel
 - -Business community
 - -Career officers
 - -Important places
 - -Business community
 - -Establishment
 - -Chase Manhattan Bank
 - -The President's experience as Vice President
 - -Protocol

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Agnew
```

- -The Presidents experience as Congressman, Senator and as a private citizen
- -Shakespeare

-USIA

-Keogh

- -Bureacratic position
 - -The President's role
 - -Kissinger, State Department
 - -Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG] meetings
 - -National Security Council [NSC] meetings
 - -Senior Review Group [SRG] meetings
 - -Votes, speaking, listening
 - -Kissinger
 - -May 1972
 - -Listening
 - -WSAG meetings
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -Rush
 - -William P. Clements, Jr.
 - -Old group
 - -Melvin R. Laird
 - -David Packard
- -US Foreign relations
 - -Post-1972 election
 - -End of Vietnam War
 - -Timing
- -Shakespeare's tenure
 - -Comments about the administration
 - -Effect
 - -Compared to John Kennedy administration
- -Robert F. Kennedy
 - -Attorney General
 - -Use, expansion, personnel, visits
- -Henry Loomis
- -Chairman of advisory commission
- -Toughness, courage
- -First term
 - -Timidity
 - -The President's conversation with John. D. Ehrlichman

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```
-1968 election
                 -Hubert H. Humphrey
                 -John Kennedy
           -Blacks
     -1972 election
           -Administration supporters
                 -Business community
                 -Post-1960 elections
     -Compared to Robert and John Kennedy
           -Removal of Dwight D. Eisenhower Republicans
                 -Exception
                      -Homer H. Gruenther
US foreign relations
     -The President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union
           -Effects
                 -Lessened perception of peril
                 -Sense of euphoria
                 -Vietnam War
                 -Sense of euphoria
                      -The West
                            -Press relations
                                  -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
     -Soviet Union
           -Motive
                 -Interests
     -PRC
           -Motive
                 -Interests
     -US
           -Motive
                 -Interests
     -Western view
           -Change
                 -Peace
     -Chile
           -Salvador Allende Gossins dinner
                 -New York
                 -Richardson
```

-State Department

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Cuba
     -Fidel Castro
           -State Department
-Communist countries
     -Philosophy
           -Compared to the West's philosophy
-Public Opinion
     -Idealism
           -Indian Fighters
           -Peace
           -The President's relationship with foreign leaders
                 -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
                      -Toasts
                 -Leonid I. Brezhnev, Aleksei N. Kosygin, Nikolai V. Podgorny
           -Compared to the President's policies
                 -PRC
                 -Time
                 -Communism
                      -Détente
                 -European Security Conference
                      -Soviet Union
-Recent Elections
     -Japan, Australia, New Zealand, West Germany, Britain, France
           -Left shift
                 -Canada
                      -Nationalism
                 -Japan
                      -Specialists, Communists
                 -Georges J.R. Pompidou, Edward R.G. Heath, Willy Brandt
-Erosion of beliefs
-Youth
     -College students
           -View of Vietnam War
                 -Killing
                      -South Vietnam
                      -North Vietnam
-Soviet Union, PRC
```

Shakespeare's residence

-Greenwich, Connecticut

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

-Keogh

Second term reorganization

- -Federal Trade Commission [FTC]
 - -Donald McI. Kendall's recommendation

-Pepsico

- -Commissions
 - -Federal Power Commission [FPC]
 - -FTC
- -Euphoria
 - -Free enterprise
 - -Demolition
 - -Foreign policy

Shakespeare's expression of appreciation

The President's expression of appreciation

- -Shakespeare
 - -Conversations with the President
 - -Participation
 - -Compared to others in Federal agencies
 - -Retirement
 - -Administration support

The President's administration

- -Compared to Eisenhower administration
 - -John Foster Dulles
 - -Herbert Brownell
 - -Rogers
 - -Bureaucracy
 - -Shakespeare's experience
- -Social affairs
 - -Activities
 - -Harry S. Truman administration
 - -Effect
 - -White House staff
 - -Wives
 - -Cabinet
 - -Wives
 - -Activities

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Clubs, golf, parties, bridge, cruises, vacations
           -Need for new Establishment
                 -Senators, Congressman
                       -J. William Fulbright
                             -Compared to Charles H. Percy, Charles McC. Mathias
           -Social elite
                 -Shakespeare's return to New York
1972 election
     -Results
           -New York
           -Rhode Island, Connecticut
           -Upper middle class
                 -White Anglo-Saxon Protestants
                       -Compared to 1960 election
                 -Gains
                       -Middle class
                             -Catholics, non-Catholics
                             -Working class, white collars
Elitists
     -US
           -Softness
                 -Compared to Britain, France, West Germany, Japan
      -California
           -Beverly Hills
           -Right, left
           -Los Angeles
           -San Francisco
                 -David Packard
      -East Coast
           -New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, DC
                 -Influence
                 -Press relations
                       -Publishers, editors
                 -Teachers, professors
                 -Businessmen
                       Government
                             -[Taxes]
                       -Kendall
```

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Business committee
```

-"Main Street"

-Compared to Business Council

-Education, readings, social affairs

-Ivy League schools

-Ambassadors' background

-Compared to US

-Quotas

-Ohio State University [OSU]

-Kansas, Nebraska, Texas

-Georgetown, New York

-West

-View of the President

-The President's education and background

-[Duke University]

-Grades

-Social affairs

-Alger Hiss case

-Barry M. Goldwater

-Joseph McCarthy

-Alice Roosevelt Longworth

-Education

-Emphasis

-Change

-Timing

-Press relations

-Educational system

-Kinshasa Ambassadorial Meeting

-Shakespeare role

-Duration

-Views

-Unanimity

-South Africa

-US Marines

-US Chiefs of Mission

-Africa

-Education

-Harvard University, Yale University, Princeton University

-Life

-Audience

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

-Middle class

```
1972 election
```

-George S. McGovern nomination

-Effect

-The President's public statements

-The President's victory margin

-California

-Democratic Party

-Cost

-Victory margin

Press relations

-1972 election

-Robert D. Novak article

-Press credibility

-Alleged McGovern gains, shift

-Polls

-Belief in McGovern

-Populism

-Harriet Van Horner's article

-Issues

-Marijuana, abortion, busing, welfare, Vietnam War, flag lapel pins, work ethic

-Life, Look, Saturday Evening Post

-Endorsement of the President in 1972

-Photographs

-Reporters' view

-Letter

-Editor's view

-Publisher's view

-TV licenses

-Reasons for failure

-Misjudgment of the public

-Cambodia invasion

-The President's conversation with Peter J. Brennan

-Hardhats

-Haldeman's view

-Colson

-Kissinger's view

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Leonard Garment's view
- -Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s view
 - -Resignation
- -Haldeman's view
- -Hardhats
- -Students
 - -Treatment
 - -US flag
- -Washington, DC
 - -Effect on administration supporters
 - -Washington Post, Washington Star, New York
 - Times, networks
 - -Social affairs
 - -Katherine L. Graham
- -Erotic content
- -Editorials
 - -[Max] Gissen [?]
- -Sensationalism
- -Loss of audience
 - -Elitism of staff
 - -New York Daily News
 - -Harvard University

-Movies

- -The President's recent conversation with Jack L. Warner
 - -The President's viewing of [What the Peeper Saw]
 - -The President's view of movies
 - -Sexual explicitness
 - -What the Peeper Saw
 - -Plot
 - -Rating
 - -Patriotic movies
 - -Public opinion
 - -The President's conversations with [Tricia Nixon Cox and Julie Nixon Eisenhower]
 - -Music, sexual explicitness in arts

John Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

- -Modern art
 - -Audience

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
Theater
     -New York
           -The President's attendance at Much Ado About Nothing
                 -Two Gentlemen of Verona
                 -William Shakespeare
           -Garment
                 -OSU
           -Elite
                 -Liberal Establishment
                 -Corruption
                 -Pornography
           -Garment
           -Theodore H. ("Teddy") White's article
                 -Columbia School of Journalism
                 -Berlin in 1920s
                       -Avant-garde trends
                            -Art
                            -Sex
                            -Public opinion
                            -Adolf Hitler
                            -Cabaret
                            -Public opinion
                                  -Press relations
Leader class
     -Weakness
     -Dictators
           -Leadership
           -Mobilization of masses
                 -Slogans
     -The President and contemporaries
           -Last of old guard
     -Second term reorganization
           -Departures
                 -Perquisites
                       -Cadillacs
           -Competence
           -Rogers
                 -State Department
                 -Press relations
```

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Lyndon B. Johnson
           -Respect
-Appointees
     -Need for value judgment
     -Concern about perceptions
           -Portraits
           -New York Times
           -Cabinet, administration personnel
     -Qualities needed
           -Courage
           -Conviction
                -Intelligence
           -Courage
           -Loyalty
           -Conviction
     -Supreme Court
           -Williams H. Rehnquist
                 -Background
                      -Judgeship
                      -Age
                      -Office of Legal Counsel
                      -Arizona lawyer
                      -Stanford University
                -Confirmation
                -Value
                      -Warren E. Burger's view
                            -Age
                            -Workload
                            -Conservatism
                            -Age
                                  -Compared to Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
                            -Intelligence
                                  -Compared to Henry A. Blackman,
                                   Burger
                                         -Politics
                                  -William O. Douglas
                                         -Friday conferences
                -Loyalty, courage, conviction
     -Left compared to right
```

-Loyalty, courage, conviction

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Intelligence
                       -Flag lapel pins
                       -George Meany
                            -Business leaders
                             -Education
                                  -Presidency or Papacy
-Intelligence
     -Spiritual and philosophical values
           -Free Society
                 -Diversity
           -Vietnam War
                 -Orders
           -Conservatives
                 -Republicans
                       -Business
                 -Liberals
                       -Government, media
                             -Hostility to business
                 -Second term reorganization
                       -Moral, religious values, loyalty
-Left
     -Sacrifice
     -Character
     -Obsession with power
           -Individuals
                 -Masses
                       -Manipulation by government
     -Weaknesses
           -Lack of character
           -Lack of courage
     -US
           -Compared to Communists
                 -Brezhnev
                       -View of Michael J. Mansfield, McGovern
                       -View of the President
                             -Fear
     -Sentimental idealism
           -Contempt from right, far left
-Right
     -Inflexibility
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Far left
     -Left
           -Liberals
                 -Danger
                      -Lack of character
                            -Business, media, professors
                            -Ivy League presidents
US foreign relations
     -US philosophical strength
           -Communism
           -PRC
           -Soviet Union
           -Press relations
                 -Images
                      -Fermentation, uncertainty, ruthlessness, values
                      -Communism
           -Need to convey
                 -Public relations [PR]
                      -Mission
                            -USIA, philosopher
                 -Speech writing
                      -Tone
1972 election
Bicentennial
     -Compared to overseas assignment
     -Presentation
White House gifts
     -Pins
           -Wives
     -Ash trays
```

Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 5:18 pm.

White House gifts -Ash trays

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

Keogh and Frank Shakespeare left at 5:18 pm.

```
Frank Shakespeare
          -Value
          -Working relationships
               -Difficulty
                    -Kissinger
                    -The President
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
          Julie Nixon Eisenhower
               -Possible position in White House
                    -Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
          -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
               -Recent conversation with Haldeman
                    -East Wing
                    -The President's, the President's Family, and White House staff
                    schedules
                        -Planning
                        -Perceptions
                             -Compared to issues
                    -Richard A. Moore
                    -Dwight L. Chapin
                    -Garment
                    -William L. Safire
                    -John Reagan ("Tex") McCrary
                    -Planning
                    -Review
                    -Objectives
                    -Chapin
```

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Planning
           -David N. Parker
     -Office
     -Meetings
           -Haldeman, the President
     -East Wing
           -Thelma ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
     -Cabinet
     -Perceptions
           -"Human"
     -East Wing
           -Press relations
                 -Ziegler's view
                 -Mrs. Nixon
                 -Haldeman's role
-Ziegler's conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
     -Briefings
     -White House dinners
           -Entertainment
                 -Fred Waring
           -Constance M. (Cornell)("Connie") Stuart
-Ziegler's conversation with Mrs. Nixon
     -Stuart
```

The President left and entered at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.

-Retention

```
Letter from unknown sculptor
-Tone
-Humility
-The President's schedule
-Possible meeting
-Gift for the President
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Work with Mrs. Nixon

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
Butterfield entered at 5:24 pm.
```

```
The President's schedule
-Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Errors
-Identities
-The President's knowledge
-Military aide
-Maurice H. Stans, Clark MacGregor
-Democrats
-New Majority
-Democrats
```

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

-Necessary meetings

```
The President's schedule
     -Frank Shakespeare
           -Guidance
     -Lewis's, Kauffmann's and O'Neill's trip to the Soviet Union
           -Report
     -First term
     -Cancelled meeting with [Blake Sanborn and Donald Kemp] of Whittier, California
           -Parker
                 -Rose Mary Woods
                      -Telephone call
           -The President's family
           -Woods
                 -Letter
                      -Mrs. Nixon
           -Parker
                 -Mrs. Nixon's schedule
           -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's possible job
           -Woods's judgment
                 -[John H. Alexander]
```

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Visits to agencies -Meetings
- -Control
- -Meetings with administration officials
 - -Problems
 - -John A. Volpe, Clifford M. Hardin
 - -Volpe
 - -Massachusetts
 - -Philosophy
 - -Trust funds

Second term reorganization

- -John C. Whitaker
- -Young people
- -Women
 - -Under Secretaries
 - -[Atomic Energy Commission] [AEC]
 - -Dr. Edward David
 - -[Dixie Lee Ray]
- -Dr. James R. Schlesinger
 - -Relationship with Stennis
 - -Possible meeting with the President
 - -CIA memorandum
 - -John D. Ehrlichman
 - -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - -Colson
 - -Congressional relations

Congressional relations

- -Stennis
 - -Ehrlichman, Haldeman

The President's schedule

- -Cabinet dinner
 - -Guests
 - -Ehrlichman
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Social events
 - -Ehrlichman's schedule

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

```
-Ziegler, William E. Timmons
-Social, cultural events
     -White House staff
           -Compared to Cabinet
           -The President's experience as Vice President
                -Mrs. Nixon
           -Haldeman's leadership
           -Facilities
                -Blair House
                -Corcoran Museum of Art [?]
                -National Portrait Gallery
           -Lectures
           -Wives
                -Families
                -View of Washington, DC
                      -William and [Helena (Julius)] Safire
                      -John and [Jeanne] Ehrlichman
                      -H. R. and [JoAnne (Horton)] Haldeman
                      -Caspar and [Jane (Dalton)] Weinberger
                      -George P. and Helena M. ("Obie") Shultz
                            -Helena Shultz's view
                -Lectures
                 -Role as surrogates
                      -Jo Haldeman's view
                            -Lucy A. Winchester
                            -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
                            -White House staff
                                 -Cabinet
                            -Mrs. Nixon's schedule
                                 -Teas
                                       -Receiving lines
                                              -Red Room
                                              -Green Room
                -Tours
                      -Mrs. Nixon
                      -Example
                            -Republican Woman's Committee of Ames, Iowa
                                 -Jeanne Ehrlichman
                      -Cabinet
```

-White House

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Jo Haldeman's experience at Los Angeles art museum
- -Cabinet Room, Oval Office
- -Guards
- -Jeanne Ehrlichman, Obie Shultz
- -White House tours
 - -Friends
 - -Letters
 - -Michael J. Farrell
 - -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Sanborn and Kemp of Whittier
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Administration supporters
 - -Republicans, Democrats
 - -Administration opponents
 - -Ticket availability
- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's conversation with H.R. Haldeman
 - -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's meeting with Sam Steiger
 - -Sanborn and Kemp of Whittier
 - -Presentation
 - -Credit
- -Sandborn and Kemp of Whittier
 - -Mrs. Nixon
 - -Tour
 - -Presentation of Seroll
- -Mrs. Nixon's role
- -Meeting with Robert Nisbet
 - -Compared to meetings with mayors
- -Leadership
- -Schlesinger
 - -CIA
- -Keogh
 - -USIA

Second term reorganization

- -Whitaker
- -Ronald H. Walker
 - -National Park Service [NPS]
 - -Reaction
 - -Qualifications

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Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Rogers, C.B. Morton and Whitaker
- -Robert Kennedy
- -[George Hartzog]
- -Leonard C. Meeker
 - -The President's conversation with Kissinger
 - -O'Neill, New York, New York Daily News
 - -Kauffman of Washington Star
 - -Haldeman's view
 - -The President's trip to Romania
 - -US-Romania relations
- -Margaret G. Beam
- -Jacob D. Beam
 - -Departure
- -Departures
 - -Age
- -U. Alexis Johnson
 - -Ambassadorship to the Soviet Union
 - -Kissinger's recommendation
 - -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - -Ambassadorship at large
 - -Rogers
 - -Meetings
- -Shakespeare
 - -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] advisory committee
 - -[State Department]
 - -Soviet Union
 - -John J. McCloy
 - -President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]
 - -USIA advisory commission
- -The President's view
 - -Rogers
 - -Robert J. Dole
 - -Conversation with the H.R. Haldeman
 - -John A. Scali

Stephen B. Bull entered at unknown time after 5:24 pm.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:50 pm.

```
White House gifts
     -Records [Mormon Tabernacle Choir, gift from Isaac M. Stewart]
           -Eugene Ormandy
           -Recipients
                -Congress
                -Diplomatic corps
                -Celebrities
                      -1972 campaign
                -Congress
     -Friends
     -Timmons
     -Woods
     -Recipients
           -Celebrities, friends
1973 Inauguration
     -Swearing-in ceremony
           -Attire
                -Compared to 1969 Inauguration
           -Dave Harris
```

Haig entered at 5:50 pm.

```
The President's schedule
-Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Timing
```

Haldeman left at unknown time before 6:10 pm.

```
The President's schedule
-Shower
-Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Hand-shaking

Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger's message
-Haig's telephone call
-Length
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Kissinger's views
 - -Nguyen Van Thieu
 - -Military action
 - -Public relations [PR]
- -Press relations
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Timing
- -Settlement agreement
 - -Intelligence reports
 - -Post-October 6, 1972
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Instructions to cadres
 - -Reorganization of forces in South Vietnam
 - -Briefings
- -North Vietnam
 - -Perception of US
 - -"Pre-Christmas anxiety"
- -Kissinger's message
 - -Record
 - -Concessions
- -Future
- -December 13, 1972 meeting
 - -The President's message to Kissinger
- -Breakdown
 - -Tone
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -North Vietnam's reaction
 - -Publicity
- -Thieu's speech at National Assembly, December 12, 1972
 - -North Vietnam's reaction
 - -Demands
 - -US responsibility
 - -Madame Nguyen Thi Binh
 - -Thieu's relations with theUS
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Military supplies
 - -Civilian's in military role
 - -Vietnamization
- -December 13, 1972 meeting
- -Breakdown

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

- -Kissinger's return from Paris
- -Settlement agreement
- -Kissinger's view
 - -December 9, 1972 meeting
- -December 9, 1972 meeting
 - -Compromise
 - -Reopening of issues
 - -US military aid to South Vietnam
- -Kissinger's view
 - -Messages
 - -The President's reading
 - -Compared to the President's view
 - -Messages
 - -The President's reading
- -Settlement agreement
 - -North Vietnam's position
 - -Communists
 - -Timing
- -Breakdown
 - -Ziegler's statement, December 13, 1972
 - -Guidance
 - -Kissinger's return from Paris
 - -Consultation
 - -The President's schedule
 - -Haig
 - -Progress
 - -Issues
 - -Consultation
 - -Resumption of talks
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Haig's view
 - -1972 election
 - -PR
- -Christmas
- -North Vietnam
 - -Pace of bombing
 - -Military buildup
 - -Delays
 - -Cessation of US bombing
 - -Timing

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

-Settlement agreement

- -Cessation
 - -Timing
 - -Settlement agreement
- -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- -Kissinger's view
 - -Le Duc Tho
- -North Vietnam
 - -Congressional reconvention
 - -Resumption of talks
- -Weather
 - -B-52s
 - -Escorts
- -Cease-fire
 - -Thieu's offer
 - -Timing
 - -North Vietnam's position
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Timing
 - -Christmas
 - -New Year's Day
 - -Thieu's offer
 - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
- -Thieu
 - -Spiro T. Agnew's possible trip Saigon
 - -Timing
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -US military action
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Haig's possible role
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -1972 election
 - -The President's and Haig's views
 - -Kissinger's view
 - -Haig's trip to Saigon
 - -Thieu
 - -End of war
 - -William F. Buckley, Jr.'s article
 - -Thieu
 - -US support

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont'd)

-Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.'s view

-US position

-Compared to North Vietnam's position

-South Vietnam

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-North Vietnam's position

-Instructions for Kissinger

-Option

-Pace of bombing

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Tone

-Press relations

-Settlement agreement

-Soviet Union

-PRC

The President's schedule

-Reception for 1972 election supporters

-Meeting with Haig

Vietnam negotiations

-Status

-Settlement agreement

-Timing

An unknown person entered and the unknown person and Haig left at 6:10 pm.

Conversation No. 821-2

Date: December 12, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:10 pm and 6:12 pm

Location: Oval Office

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman [?] met with unknown people.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 821-2 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Reception for 1972 election supporters [?]

- -Preparations
- -Cabinet meeting
- -The President's schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape ends at an unknown time before 6:12 pm.