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.

Second-term reorganization
- 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
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.

Greetings

Press relations

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

-O’Neill
  -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
Wealth of administration allies
- 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
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
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
The Presidents experience as Congressman, Senator and as a private citizen

-USIA

-Keogh

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

-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
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
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
Tape Subject Log
(rev. May-08)

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
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
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
    - Haldeman’s view
    - Colson
    - Kissinger’s view
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
- 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
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
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
Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont’d)

-Intelligence
  -Flag lapel pins
  -George Meany
    -Business leaders
    -Education
    -Presidency or Papacy

-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
  

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

-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
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]
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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”) McCrory
          - Planning
          - Review
          - Objectives
          - Chapin
The President left and entered at an unknown time before 5:24 pm.

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
Butterfield entered at 5:24 pm.

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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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.

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]
  - Necessary meetings
Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont’d)

-Visits to agencies
-Meetings
-Control
-Meetings with administration officials
  -Problems
  -Volpe
    -John A. Volpe, Clifford M. Hardin
    -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
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
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
Conversation No. 820-24/821-1 (cont’d)

- Rogers, C.B. Morton and Whitaker
  - [George Hartzog]
  - Robert Kennedy
  - 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.
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
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 the US
    -Settlement agreement
    -Military supplies
    -Civilian’s in military role
    -Vietnamization
-December 13, 1972 meeting
-Breakdown
-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
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
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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.

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.

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