Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 9:59 am - 11:46 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule
-Photograph session
  -Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
  -Meeting with Hugh Scott
  -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  -Meeting with Scott
    -Timing
  -Meeting with Kissinger
    -Timing

Vietnam negotiations
-Settlement agreement
-Press relations
  -Tone
  -Uncertainty
    -Speculation
  -South Vietnam
    -Nguyen Van Thieu’s concerns
      -Sovereignty
        -Cease-fire in place
      -Third party signature
      -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  -Public relations [PR]
    -POWs
      -US bombing of North Vietnam
        -Pace
        -“Peace was at hand”
      -North Vietnamese intransigence
      -Settlement agreement
        -Timing
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-[The President’s May 8, 1972 decision]
  -US mining of North Vietnamese harbors
  -POWs
  -Settlement agreement
-[Kissinger’s] “Peace is at hand” [Statement, October 26, 1972]
  -Timing
-Press relations
  -James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
    -Washington Post
  -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
-Effect
  -PR

Politics
-News summary quotes
  -1972 election
    -Tone, George S. McGovern
      -Haynes B. Johnson’s view
    -Edward M. Kennedy’s speech in Los Angeles
      -W[illiam] Averell Harriman’s view
    -Kennedy’s motives
  -1976 Presidential campaign
    -Attacks on the President, 1972-1974
      -Risks
        -McGovern
      -Cooperation with the President
        -Benefits
        -Risk of underestimating the President

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

1972 election campaign
  -George S. McGovern
  -Statements
    -Thomas F. Eagleton

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************
The President’s schedule
-Recommended telephone call to Apollo XVII astronauts
  -Timing
  -Necessity
  -The President’s previous call, December 5, 1972

Second term reorganization
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Ziegler’s conversation with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Anne Armstrong
  - White House staff
  - Possible title
    - Special Assistant to the President
      - Compared to Assistant to the President
        - H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s view
        - Peter M. Flanigan
        - Leonard Garment
  - Assets
    - Barbara H. Franklin
    - Toughness
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Press relations
  - Marge Byers
    - Relationship with Mrs. Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Life magazine

Press relations
- Ziegler’s conversation with Barbara Walters
- Christmas events
  - Television [TV] coverage
    - The President’s role

Stephen B. Bull entered and left at an unknown time before 10:08 am.

Press relations
- Cabinet dinner
  - Toast
Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., entered and Ziegler left at 10:08 am; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Kissinger’s schedule

The President’s schedule
   - Hugh Scott

Congressional relations
   - Congressmen and Senators

[Photograph session]
   - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins

Vietnam negotiations
   - Kissinger’s reports
     - Tone
       - North Vietnam’s actions
     - The President’s meeting with Kissinger and Haig
       - Possible duration
     - End of war
     - Press relations
       - Reston’s article
       - Tone
         - Networks
     - PR
       - Difficulties
         - Communists
         - Thieu
       - Consciousness of war
         - TV
         - Casualties
     - POWs
       - Wives
     - Timing
       - Thieu
         - The President’s meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc, November 29, 1972
     - Congressional relations
       - Cut off of funds
         - North Vietnam’s views
-Congressional relations
  -POWs for US withdrawal
    -North Vietnam’s rejection
    -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Possible duration
    -Thieu
  -The President’s meeting with Duc
    -Kissinger’s report
    -Possible infiltration of South Vietnam by North Vietnam
  -Cut off of funds
    -North Vietnam’s awareness
    -Melvin R. Laird
    -Defense budget
    -Left wing
-US options
  -Kissinger’s report
    -The President’s recent conversation with Haig
-Second guessing
  -Kissinger’s efforts with North and South Vietnamese
  -The President’s meeting with Congressman or Senator
    -First term
-First term
  -Demonstrators
  -Cambodia, Laos
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  -May 1, 1971
    -May Day riot
  -The President’s speech, November 3, 1972
  -Congressional and press relations
  -Management of war
    -Bureaucracy
  -The President’s trips to the People’s Republic of China [PRC] and the
    Soviet Union
  -Settlement agreement
-Settlement agreement
  -Pace
    -1972 election
      -US bombing of North Vietnam
      -Soviet Union
-Christmas
-Cambodia
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-1973 Inauguration
  -Peace theme
  -War theme
-North Vietnamese tactics
  -Treatment of US
-Length of sessions
  -Press relations
    -Kissinger’s return from Paris
-Substance
-December 9, 1972
  -Haig’s return from Paris
  -Kissinger’s view
-November 20-25, 1972 meetings
  -Le Duc Tho
  -Thieu’s changes
    -Number accepted by North Vietnam
-1972 election
-Concessions
-Settlement agreement
-November 22, 1972 message
  -Request for success
-Le Duc Tho’s demands
-November 22, 1972 message
  -Kissinger’s analysis
    -North Vietnam’s infiltration
      -The President’s meeting with Duc
      -Kissinger’s conversations with local ambassadors in Paris
  -Tho’s demands
    -Release of North Vietnamese political prisoners
    -Withdrawal of US civilians
    -Effect
      -Air Force
      -Radar
      -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
-Kissinger’s request for a recess
-Thieu
  -The President’s meeting with Duc
-North Vietnam’s position
  -South Vietnam
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Behavior
-Relations with US
  -Thieu
  -Saigon Radio’s broadcasts
  -Concessions
-December 4-13, 1972 meetings
  -Tone
  -Settlement agreement
  -Pace
  -Kissinger’s meeting with Tho, December 4, 1972
-The President’s and Kissinger’s meetings with Duc
  -Effect on North Vietnam
  -Settlement agreement
-December 4-13, 1972 meetings
  -Agenda
    -Schedule, trip to Hanoi, speech, cease-fire
  -North Vietnam
-December 4, 1972
  -Tone
  -Tho
  -Issues
  -Concessions
    -Tho’s withdrawal
    -October 1972 agreement
-Tho’s private and public statements
  -Peace
  -US action
-December 4, 1972
  -Concessions
    -Tho’s withdrawal
-Cancellation of December 5, 1972 meetings
  -PRC, Soviet Union
-October 1972 agreement draft
  -Acceptance
  -Effect on Thieu
  -North Vietnamese bad faith
  -Schedule
    -International machinery
-December 6 1972
  -Tho’s concessions
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-December 7, 1972
-December 8, 1972
  -Tho’s concession
    -Length of sessions
    -“Administrative structure”
-Withdrawal of US civilians, release of North Vietnamese political prisoners
  -US position
  -Haig’s return from Paris, December 9, 1972
    -Tho’s concession
  -Tho’s reintroduction as understanding, December 11, 1972
-Settlement agreement
-October 1972
-Effect
  -Air Force
-Significance
  -Compared to Tho’s concessions
-December 9, 1972
  -Haig’s return from Paris
  -Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
  -Haig’s return from Paris
  -Haig’s and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
  -Tho’s health
  -Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnam’s interest
-Breakdown
  -Timing
-Record
-William H. Sullivan
  -Protocols
-December 9, 1972
  -DMZ
    -North Vietnam’s concession
      -Timing
    -North Vietnam’s position
      -Abolition of dividing line between North and South Vietnam
        -Effect
          -Intervention
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Legitimacy
-Thieu
-Sovereignty
-Thieu
-Reston’s article
-Cease-fire
-Settlement agreement
-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
-Border
-Movement
-Abolition

-December 10, 1972
-Experts’ meetings
-Settlement agreement text
-Introduction of issues
-People’s Revolutionary Government [PRG]
-Preamble

-December 11, 1972
-Lack of North Vietnamese instructions
-US-Soviet Union relations
-The President’s conversation with Dobrynin
-Haig’s report to Kissinger
-Haig’s conversation with Dobrynin
-North Vietnam-Soviet Union relations
-Compared to US-South Vietnam relations

-Soviet Union’s efforts
-Leonid I. Brezhnev’s trip to the US
-Middle East
-US-PRC relations
-Meeting with Kissinger
-Kissinger’s view
-December 11, 1972 meeting
-Settlement agreement
-Signing proposal
-December 12, 1972
-DMZ withdrawal of signing proposal by Le Duc Tho
-Hanoi
-Issues
-Timing
-Protocols
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

- Settlement agreement
- International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
- Study time

- Protocols
- ICCS
  - Number of members
  - Teams
    - Liaison officials
    - Communication, transportation
    - Communists
  - DMZ team
    - Location
      - Cua Viet River
      - Quang Tri
- Two-Party commission
  - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
  - Communists
    - International members
    - District capitals
    - Vietcong [VC]

The President talked with Haldeman at an unknown time between 10:08 am and 11:46 am.

[Conversation No. 823-1A]

The President’s schedule
- Forthcoming meeting with Scott
  - Haldeman
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - William E. Timmons
  - General Services Administration [GSA]
    - [Arthur F. Sampson]
  - Vietnam War
  - Democrats
  - State of the Union message
    - Timing and format
      - Timmons
    - Talking papers
  - 1973 Inauguration
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Congressional relations
- The President’s meeting with Kissinger and Haig
- Duration

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger’s view
  - December 12, 1972
    - Settlement agreement
    - NCRC
    - Language changes
    - North Vietnam’s position
      - “Direct,” “supervise,” “promote”
  - December 13, 1972
    - Texts
      - Linguistics
        - Cambodia, Laos
        - Weapons replacements
          - “Destroyed”
          - Tho
        - Saigon
        - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
          - Dobrynin
          - Andrei A. Gromyko
    - North Vietnam’s strategy
      - DMZ
      - Signing language
      - Language changes
        - Cambodia, Laos
      - Protocols
      - Thieu’s tenure
      - Understandings
      - Kissinger
        - Vanity
        - Tho
      - Tho’s concessions
        - Hanoi
        - Politburo
      - Settlement agreement
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Laird’s view
-US yielding
-US military action
-Haig’s recent conversation with Laird
-Haig’s conversation with the President
-Laird’s memorandum
-Settlement agreement

-Settlement agreement
-Terms
-The President’s speech, November 3, 1969
-Cambodia
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision

-William P. Rogers’s view
-Sullivan

-Sullivan’s view
-Settlement agreement text
-Concessions

-Settlement agreement
-Kissinger’s view
-North Vietnam’s tactics
-Tho’s possible return to Hanoi
-US-South Vietnam relations
-Pressures
-Settlement agreement
-Schedule
-Pace
-Pre-November 7, 1972
-Kissinger’s responsibility

-Soviet Union
-PRC
-November 7, 1972

-Schedule
-Pace
-Responsibility
-Kissinger’s conversation with Haig
-India-Pakistan War
-Press relations

-Press relations

1972 election
Conv No. 823-1 (cont’d)

Vietnam negotiations
-Recent past
  -Deadline to North Vietnamese
    -Compared to protracted talks
-Thieu
  -Responsibility
  -Position
  -Importance
  -Position
    -October 21-23, 1972
      -Kissinger’s trip to Saigon
      -Coalition government
        -Veto
      -North Vietnam
-US relations with North Vietnam and South Vietnam
-Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnam’s position
  -Incentives
    -January 1973
  -South Vietnam’s position
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Proposals
  -Thieu’s Christmas truce
  -Removal of military pressure

-Kissinger’s possible briefing
  -Tone
  -Timing
  -Haig’s view
    -Ziegler
  -Kissinger’s previous statement
    -Tone
    -“Peace is at hand”
  -October 1972 status
    -Interval
  -North Vietnam’s actions
    -Cease-fire
      -International machinery
      -Intelligence reports
      -Intended military action
    -Settlement agreement
      -Translation
      -NCRC
        -Coalition government
        -Function
        -“Direct” compared to “promote”
    -Instruction to Haig
      -Ziegler
    -Cease-fire
      -Intelligence reports
    -Settlement agreement
      -Translation
      -NCRC
        -Coalition government
    -Cease-fire
      -International machinery
      -Sabotage
      -Supervision
    -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
      -Demobilization provision
        -De facto understandings, time limits
        -Continuation of war
-Perpetual war
  -South Vietnam
  -Peace in North Vietnam
-Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
-Reneging on agreements
-Settlement agreement
  -Timing
  -Meetings
    -Compared to exchange of messages
-South Vietnam
  -Interest in total victory
  -Survival
    -North Vietnam’s position
-Tone
  -Ziegler
    -North Vietnam compared to South Vietnam
-South Vietnam
  -Concerns
  -May 8, 1972 proposals
    -Cease-fire, return of POWs, internationally supervised elections
    -Back-off
      -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Interests
  -Communists
-Settlement agreement
  -Minimum conditions
    -North Vietnam acceptance
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Timing
      -Publication of record
    -Duration
  -POWs for US withdrawal
    -Timing
      -Congressional reconvention
      -Resolution of political problems
      -South Vietnam’s self-defense
-Record
  -Questions and answers [Q&A]
    -US withdrawal and cessation of bombing and mining
-Return of POWs
  -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  -US aid to South Vietnam
-North Vietnam’s position
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Duration
    -Congressional relations
  -Purpose
    -Return of POWs
    -Record
  -Duration
    -Two weeks
    -New Year’s Day
    -Paris
      -POWs for US withdrawal
      -Vietnamization
      -Cessation of US bombing
  -Six months
    -Rejection of terms by North Vietnam
-Interest in settlement agreement
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -Kissinger’s relationship with Tho
    -Accusations, belittling, the President’s threats
    -Experts’ meetings
    -Hand-shaking
  -Press relations
    -Leaks
    -Kissinger’s return from Paris
    -Tho’s return to Hanoi
-Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
  -Haig
  -Thieu
-Haig’s possible trip to Saigon
-South Vietnam
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Relations with US
    -North Vietnam
    -POWs for US withdrawal
    -Timing
    -Congressional reconvention
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-US residual forces
-Haig’s possible role
   -Pentagon
   -Task force
     -[Adm. Thomas H. Moorer]
       -Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff [ICS]
       -Navy
     -Saigon
       -Charles Whitehouse

-US military action
-Kissinger’s possible briefing
   -Timing
     -Tho
     -Paris

-Tho
-Moscow
-US bombing of North Vietnam
   -Timing
   -Paris
   -Propaganda
-The President’s conversation with Haig
   -Ziegler
-Bombing announcement
-Understanding of negotiations
-Press relations
-Peace
   -Prevention
   -Communist responsibility
-Breakdown
   -Compared to impasse
     -Settlement agreement
     -North Vietnamese responsibility
     -Resumption of talks
-Language, translation problems
-South Vietnam
-POWs
   -Christmas
   -US bombing of North Vietnam
-North Vietnam’s position
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-October 1972
-Military action
-POWs
-Protocol
-Points
-Instruction for Kissinger
-Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
-POWs
-US military action
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Timing
-Ziegler
-Weather
-North of 20th Parallel
-Cessation
-Resumption
-Ziegler
-North Vietnam’s military buildup
-Settlement agreement
-POWs
-Post-January 1, 1973
-North Vietnam’s military buildup
-Breakdown
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Air Force
-Targets
-Power plants
-Docks
-Haiphong
-Ships
-Smart bombs
-The President’s meeting with Moorer and Rush
-Rush’s view
-Settlement agreement
-Targets
-Airfields
-Israeli Air Force’s actions
-Civilian and military
-PRC and Soviet Union planes
-Timing
-Smart bombs
  -Weather
  1971

-B-52s
  -Timing
  -Moorer
-US military performance and administration of war
  -JCS
    -Budget categories
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -Jurisdictions
        -National interest compared to service interests
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -John B. Connally’s view
        -Gen. Frederick C. Weyand
          -Compared to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.

-Vogt
  -Authority

-Separation of commands
-Administration reorganization
  -Timing
  -Reaction
  -Pentagon
    -Strategic compared to fiscal point of view
  -Saigon
    -Strategic point of view
-Message to North Vietnam
  -Timing
  -Resumption of talks
  -Settlement agreement
    -Timing
-Settlement agreement
  -Prospects
  -POWs for US withdrawal and cessation of bombing, mining
    -Timing
      -End of December 1972
        -Paris plenary session
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Congressional relations
-Recent proposal
-US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Duration

-North Vietnam’s tactics
  -Refusal to “break”
    -Reasons
      -Delay
      -US bombing of North Vietnam
      -Delay
        -US “peaceniks”
          -Effect on the President
        -US bombing of North Vietnam
      -Interest in settlement agreement
        -Instructions to cadres
        -October 1972
        -US mining of North Vietnam
          -Timing
        -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
          -Timing
            -Haig’s possible trip to Saigon
          -Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
            -Thieu
              -Haig
              -Agnew’s possible conversation with the President
                -Record
            -Thieu
              -Relations with US
                -Lack of gratitude
              -Competence
              -US withdrawal for POWs
                -Letter
            -POWs for US withdrawal
              -North Vietnam’s acceptance
                -Timing
                  -US military action
                  -Compared to acceptance of settlement agreement
                    -Pre-January 1,1 973
                  -US military action
                -Timing
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-US-Soviet Union relations
   -Dobrynin
     -Meeting with Kissinger
   -Tricia Nixon Cox’s trip to the Soviet Union
   -North Vietnam
     -Dobrynin’s conversation with Haig
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
   -Kissinger’s possible briefing
     -Ziegler
-Kissinger’s possible briefing
   -Points
     -Press relations
     -PR
       -The President’s supporters
         -1972 election
         -POWs
         -Treachery
         -Language changes
         -Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
         -Thieu’s position
         -North and South Vietnam
           -South Vietnamese self-determination
-Timing
   -US-Soviet Union relations
     -Dobrynin
       -Brezhnev
       -Possible conversation with the President
-The President’s possible TV appearance
   -Kissinger’s view
-US-Soviet Union relations
   -The President’s relationship with Brezhnev
     -North Vietnam
-Briefing of US officials
   -The President’s conversation with Haig
   -Rogers, Laird, Moorer, Helms, Agnew
     -Timing
     -Orders
-Kissinger’s possible meeting with Agnew
   -Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
     -Timing
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

- Thieu
- Guatemala
- Haig
- Kissinger’s possible meeting with Rogers
  - The President’s meeting at Camp David
  - The President’s briefing of US officials
    - Rogers’s relationship with Kissinger
- Criticism of the President, Kissinger
- Future
- Presidential action
  - TV appearance
- US military action
  - EC-121 incident
  - US-Soviet Union relations
  - Press relations
    - Cartoons, editorials, articles
    - PR
      - Christmas
      - Photographs
        - Casualties
      - Missing airplanes
      - War as issue
      - Reston
- Kissinger’s possible briefing
- Peace
  - Surrender
  - Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - North Vietnam’s military buildup
    - Power plants
    - North Vietnam’s infiltration
      - Compared to 1971
- POWs for US withdrawal
- Timing
- Cost
  - Laird’s concern
  - December 1972-June 1973
  - Second term reorganization
    - Defense Department
    - Intelligence departments
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Tactical air forces
-Haig

-Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnam
    -October 1972
-Quality
  -Observation
    -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Enforcement
-Kissinger’s possible briefing
  -The President’s conversation with Haig
-Ziegler
    -Conviction, authority
      -Knowledge
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel

-Status quo
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Press relations
  -News magazines
    -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
    -Dan Rather
    -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
-Christmas

-Christmas truce
  -Message to Thieu
  -New Year’s Day
-PR
  -World Wars I, II
-Kissinger’s briefing
  -Kissinger’s schedule
  -Enemies
    -Press, Establishment, professors

Press relations
  -Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
  -Howard K. Smith
  -Patriotism
  -1972 election
  -Enemies
Vietnam negotiations
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Liberals, conservatives
  -February 1973
  -Kissinger’s possible meeting with Rush
  -Laird
  -State Department
  -Rush’s loyalty
  -Haig’s return from Paris
  -Rush’s analysis
    -South Vietnam’s and North Vietnam’s interests
      -Compared to US interests
      -Settlement agreement
  -Kissinger’s possible meeting with Moorer
  -Kissinger’s possible meeting with Helms

Second term reorganization
  -Helms
    -Ambassadorship to Iran
      -Visits to Middle East sheikhdoms, Saudi Arabia
        -Helms’s loyalty
        -The President’s conversation with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
          -Oil
  -Ambassadors
    -Joseph S. Farland
      -Middle East
      -Loyalty
    -Robert C. Hill
      -Middle East
      -Loyalty
    -Farland
      -Latin America
  -Hill
    -Spain
    -Latin America
      -Farland
    -Farland
      -Middle East

Vietnam negotiations
Conversation No. 823-1 (cont’d)

-Briefings
- Rogers
  - Participants
    - Kissinger and Haig
  - Location
    - White House
  - Compared to State Department
- Possible National Security Council [NSC] meeting
  - The President’s schedule
  - Reception for 1972 election supporters
  - Telephone calls
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Laird
  - Statements
    - Vietnamization
    - The President’s trip to the PRC
  - Departure
  - Credit
  - Congressional reconvention
  - Proposals
    - Current plan
      - Compared to POWs for US withdrawal and cessation of bombing, mining
      - Confidentiality

-POWs for US withdrawal and cessation of bombing, mining
  - Current plan
  - Tone
  - Vietnamization
  - Rejection
    - US bombing, mining
  - US economic and military aid
    - South and North Vietnam
- Congressional relations
  - Senate
  - Rejection
    - US bombing, mining
    - Duration
      - Congressional relations
      - Cut off of funds
      - Tho
Kissinger and Haig left at 11:46 am.

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 11:49 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-70]

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:49 am and 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 34-151]

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 11:54 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.
Conversation No. 823-4 (cont’d)

[See Conversation No. 34-71]

Conversation No. 823-5

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:54 am and 11:55 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

[See Conversation No. 34-152]

Conversation No. 823-6

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 11:55 am - 12:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Paperwork
  -Private file
  -Executive Office Building [EOB]
  -Gift Office
    -Logging
    -Rose Mary Woods
    -Letter

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:01 pm.

1973 Inauguration
  -Medal
  -Modernity
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    -Picture
The President’s schedule
   -Meeting with John C. Stennis
   -Forthcoming meetings
      -Senators
      -Carl B. Albert
   -Stennis
      -James R. Schlesinger
         -Relationship
         -Possible meeting

Second term reorganization
   -Richard M. Helms
      -Ambassadorship to Iran
         -Helms’s conversation with Haldeman
            -The President’s conversation with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
            and Henry A. Kissinger
      -Persian Gulf
         -Oil
            -Kissinger’s conversation with Helms
            -Helms’s value
            -Helms’s possible conversation with Jackson
               -The President’s conversation with Jackson

The President’s schedule
   -Meeting with Stennis
      -Schlesinger’s view

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:55 am.

The President’s schedule
   -Meeting with Hugh Scott
      -Delay
         -Briefing
         -Residence
            -Reception for 1972 election supporters
      -Timing
      -John D. Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:01 pm.
Second term reorganization
  - Stennis
    - Meeting with Schlesinger
    - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    - Schlesinger
      - Helms
        - Conversation with Haldeman
          - Stennis
          - Outside
            - Compared to promotion from within
          - Reaction
            - Changes
              - Promotion from within
    - Stennis

Haldeman’s schedule

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower between 12:01 pm and 12:04 pm.

[Conversation No. 823-6A]

[See Conversation No. 34-72]

[End of telephone conversation]
Conversation No. 823-6 (cont’d)

-Relationship with the President’s family
-Personality
-Children
-Ziegler’s role
-Conversation and meeting with Ziegler
-Helen Smith
-Mrs. Nixon’s staff
-Retention
-Julia Nixon Eisenhower
-Stuart
-Haldeman’s role
-Marital role
-Conversation with Haldeman
-Timing
-Mrs. Nixon
-Schedule
-Family
-1972 election
-Staff
Lucy A. Winchester
-Smith

The President’s schedule
-December 20, 1972
-Mrs. Nixon

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:04 pm.

The President’s schedule
-Telephone call to Frank L. Rizzo
-Timing
-1972 election
-White House operators

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:32 pm.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-Physical examination
  -Extent
    -Compared to Mayo Clinic
-Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
  -Appointment
-Christmas cards
  -Mrs. Nixon
  -Volunteers

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Congressional relations
  -The President’s schedule
    -Meeting with Scott
    -Meeting with Congressmen, governors
    -William E. Timmons
      -Meeting with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
    -View
      -Frequency of meetings
      -Birthdays
        -Cards
        -Telephone calls
    -Jackson
    -Stennis
    -Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
    -Clark MacGregor
      -1972 campaign

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:04 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Telephone call to Rizzo
    -Timing and duration
    -Record

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:30 pm.

Congressional relations
Second term reorganization
- Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
  -Women
  -National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
    -James C. Fletcher
  -Atomic Energy Commission [?]
  -Claude S. Brinegar
    -NASA
    -Oil business
- Armstrong
  -Secretary of Transportation
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Politics
  -The President’s efforts
    -The President’s conversation with Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
- Armstrong
  -White House staff
    -Possible title
      -Assistant to the President
      -Special Assistant to the President
        -Charles B. (“Bud”) Wilkinson
        -Robert H. Finch
    -Possible duties
      -Dent
      -Republican National Committeemen, governors
      -Meetings
      -Bicentennial
        -Agnew
-Prisoners of war [POWs]
  -Future

-Ambassadors
  -Ages
    -Study
    -List
      -Peter M. Flanigan
      -Maurice H. Stans
      -William P. Rogers
      -Timing
      -Size
      -Kissinger

-U. Alexis Johnson
  -Chief of US delegation to Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA]

-Under Secretary of Labor
  -[Gertrude C. Michelson]
    -Peter J. Brennan
    -Macy’s
      -Labor relations
      -New York
    -Jewish background
    -Colson’s view
    -Management

-Ambassadors
  -Ages
  -Helms
  -Departures
    -John D. Lodge
  -Shelby C. Davis
  -Retention

-Flanigan
  -Retention
    -Finch, Donald H. Rumsfeld
  -Departure
    -Confirmation
    -White House
    -George P. Shultz
  -European Economic Community [EEC]

-EEC
-William D. Eberle  
-Under Secretaryship  
-James D. Hodgson  
-Politics  
- MacGregor, Bryce N. Harlow, Armstrong, [George H. W. Bush], “inside group”  
- Haldeman’s, Ehrlichman’s role  
- Leonard Garment  
- Dent’s office  
- White House interest  
- Flanigan  
- Possible meeting with the President  
- Ambassadors list  
- Stans  

The President’s schedule  
-Meeting with Stans  
-Delay  
-Stans’s conversation with the President  
-Ambassadors list  
-Stans’s telephone calls to Haldeman  
-Stans’s future  
-Timing  
-Christmas parties  
-Diplomatic credentials presentation  
-Timing  
-Meeting with doctors  
-Stans  

Stans  
-The President’s conversation with Helene (Colesie) Drawn  
-Jack Drown  
-1962, 1968, 1972 campaigns  

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:04 pm.  

The President’s schedule  
-Meeting with Scott  

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:30 pm.
Stans
- Relationship with the President
  - Helene and Jack Drown
- 1972 election
  - statement
    - Robert J. Dole

Second term reorganization
- John Sherman Cooper
  - Possible meeting with the President
    - Appointment
  - The President’s meeting with Jackson
  - Meeting with the President in Kentucky
  - Ambassadorship to Egypt
    - Article
    - Cooper’s age
  - The President’s meeting with Jackson
    - Congressional relations
      - “Doves”
      - “Loyalty”
  - Appointment
    - [Pope Paul VI] Giovanni Battista Motini
    - John A. Volpe
  - Arms control
  - Congressional relations
    - Votes

White House social affairs
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
  - Introductions
    - White House staff
      - Compared to military aide
    - Military aide
      - Ambassadors
      - Church services
        - Example
          - Jacksonville
    - State dinners
  - Reception for 1972 election supporters
Conversation No. 823-6 (cont’d)

- MacGregor
  - Compared to Stans
- Reception for administration officials from California
  - Blair House
  - White House
  - Finch’s action
    - The President’s conversation with Helene Drown
    - Hosts

Finch

Second term organization
  - Rumsfeld
  - Article
    - Ambassadorship to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Fundraising
  - The President’s efforts
  - Rumsfeld
    - Chicago
  - Dole
    - Kansas
  - Finch
    - California

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
  - Rumsfeld
    - Ambassadorship to NATO
      - Article
      - Value
        - Politics
    - Ambassadors list
Conversation No. 823-6 (cont’d)

Haldeman left at 12:30 pm.

Conversation No. 823-7

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 12:32 pm - 1:02 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Hugh Scott and William E. Timmons.

Thanksgiving

Scott’s schedule
- Vacation
  - John D. Rockefeller, III
  - Euthanasia conference, Asia
    - Bali
    - Jakarta
    - Jogjakarta
    - Bora Bora
  - Thailand
    - Chiang Mai
    - Conditions
    - Hill tribes
  - Scott’s previous trip [to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]]
  - Marian Huntington Chase Scott
  - Rockefeller

Congressional relations
-Upcoming session, 93rd Congress
  -Organization
    -Bill Patterson [?]
    -George D. Aiken
    -Henry L. Bellmon
    -William E. Brock, III
      -Campaign Committee chairmanship
        -Hugh Scott’s conversation with the President, November 5, 1972
  -Conference Committee chairmanship
    -Wallace F. Bennett
    -Norris Cotton
  -Policy Committee chairmanship
    -Robert A. Taft, Jr.
      -Competition with John G. Tower
        -Robert A. Taft, Sr.
      -Conference Committee chairmanship
        -Cotton
          -Secretary of the Conference
          -Bennett
            -Chairman of Committee on Committees

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican Party
  -Congressional campaign committees
    -Brock
      -Finances
      -Ted Stevens
        -Fundraising
      -Peter H. Dominick
      -Presidential ambitions
      -Relations with George H. W. Bush
    -Bush
    -Republican National Committee [RNC] chairmanship
    -Political role
    -Harry S. Dent
      -Wife’s health
Conversation No. 823-7 (cont’d)

-Bush
- Political role
- Lack of enemies
- Brock
- Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson

-1972 Republican candidates
- Quality
- Italians
- Irish
- Blacks
- Joshua Eilberg
  - Jewish district
  - Opposition
- John Birchers
  - California
- Gerald R. Ford
- Wilson
- Daniel Kuykendall
  - Tennessee
  - California
- Dominick
- Gordon L. Allott
- Bush
  - Texas
- Candidate from the West
- William L. Scott
  - Virginia
  - Political Views
- Jesse A. Helms
  - Bill Holman’s (?) opinion

Ford
- Wilson
- Kuykendall

Brown
- Ford’s support
- Work with Brock, Bush
- Leadership
- Announcement
  - Ford
    - Wilson
-Work with Brock
-Attitude
-Union advisors
-Ohio
-Pennsylvania
-Samuel L. Devine
    -Conservatives
-Charles W. Whalen, Jr.
    -Liberals
-Intelligence
-Surrogates
    -1972 campaign

-Incumbency
    -Effect
    -Ticket-splitting
    -Losses
    -House of Representatives
    -Senate
    -Pete V. Domenici
    -Helms
    -[First name unknown] Bartlett [?]
    -Kentucky
    -Domenici
        -Scott’s administrative assistant
        -Fundraising
        -Helms

-1972 campaign
    -Margaret Chase Smith
        -Defeat
        -Surprise
        -Offers of Support
            -Surrogates
            -Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Allott
    -Defeat

-Jack Miller
    -Defeat
    -Fundraising
    -Jerry White [?]
    -Jack [?] Edwards
Congressional relations
  - J. Caleb Boggs
    - Governors National Safety Council
      - Howard Pyle
    - Hugh Scott’s conversation with John D. Ehrlichman
      - 1974 campaign
    - The President’s schedule
      - Possible joint leadership meeting
        - Legislation
          - Vetoes
        - Timing
    - Spending
      - Compared to raising taxes
    - Tactics
    - Busing
      - Robert P. Griffin’s position

Vietnam negotiations
  - Difficulties
  - Settlement agreement
    - Quality
      - North Vietnamese violations
    - 1972 election
    - North Vietnam’s positions
      - Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
        - International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]
    - US mining, bombing of North Vietnam
      - Duration
        - Settlement agreement
        - Prisoners of war [POWs]
    - US residual forces
-Casualties
-The President’s meeting with Henry A. Kissinger
-Congressional relations
-Resolutions
  -Timing
    -1973 Inauguration
  -George S. McGovern
  -Hubert H. Humphrey
  -Edmund S. Muskie
  -Michael J. Mansfield
-POWs
  -McGovern’s position
  -US withdrawal and cessation of bombing
-POWs
-Stop

-North Vietnam
  -US pressure
  -Compared to withdrawal
-Settlement agreement
-POWs
  -McGovern’s and Mansfield’s positions
-Nguyen Van Thieu
 -Congressional relations
  -POWs
  -US aid to South Vietnam
    -Communist aid to North Vietnam
    -Military aid

Congressional relations
  -Health bill
  -Scott’s conversation with Ehrlichman
    -Health proposals, pension bill
      -Democrats
  -Pension bill
    -Democrats’ version
      -Portability
Conversation No. 823-7 (cont’d)

- Compared to vestibility
  - Federal insurance
  - Importance to labor
    - Compared to fringe benefits
  - Confirmation hearings for nominees
    - Expedition
    - Quality of candidates

Second term reorganization
  - Congressional relations
    - Cabinet
      - Secretary of the Treasury
    - Arthur F. Sampson, General Services Administration [GSA] Administrator
      - Scott’s view
        - Pennsylvania
        - Toughness

Congressional relations
  - Bipartisan leadership meetings
  - Republican leadership meetings
    - Scott
    - Ford
    - Leslie C. Arends
    - Griffin
  - Meetings with Democrats
    - The President’s meeting with Henry M. (“Scoop”) Jackson
      - Jackson’s trip to Europe and the Middle East
    - Mansfield
      - Impulsiveness
      - John C. Stennis
  - McGovern
    - Senate Foreign Relations Committee
      - J. William Fulbright
      - Frank F. Church
      - W[illiam] Stuart Symington
      - 1972 election
        - Republican losses

New Year’s greeting
Conversation No. 823-7 (cont’d)

Hugh Scott’s schedule
  - Trip to Singapore
    - Theft of Presidential money clip
  - Airport

White House gifts
  - Presentation
    - Hugh Scott’s staff

Scott and Timons left at 1:02 pm.

Conversation No. 823-8

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: 1:02 pm - 1:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 34-73]

Conversation No. 823-9

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-74]
Conversation No. 823-10

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Coat

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - Cups
    - Consume

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:07 pm.

Conversation No. 823-11

Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:07 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-75]
Date: December 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:05 pm and 1:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Hugh Scott

Haldeman’s schedule
- Conversation with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

The President’s schedule
- Diplomatic credentials presentation
- Meetings with doctors
  - Physical examination
  - Eyes, ears

The President talked with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[Conversation No. 823-12A]

[See Conversation No. 34-76]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Telephone calls to and from Haldeman
  - Mrs. Nixon’s conversation with Haldeman
  - Haldeman’s conversations with Ronald L. Ziegler and the President
  - Haldeman’s conversation with Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
    - Stuart’s departure
  - Mrs. Nixon’s management role
    - 1972 campaign
Conversation No. 823-12 (cont’d)

-Tricia Nixon Cox’s and Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedules

 Changes
 -West Wing
 -Tone
 -Stuart’s possible reaction
 -Timing
 -Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-East Wing
-Research and speechwriting staff
  -Noel C. Koch
  -David R. Gergen
-Assignments to government departments
  -Counsellors
  -Interior Department
  -White House
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.’s view
-Editor
  -Price
  -Offices
    -Location
    -Executive Office Building [EOB]
-Communications
  -Teletype
-William L. Safire
  -State Department
    -Assistant Secretary for public affairs
    -William P. Rogers’s suggestion
-Conversation with Rogers
-Possible book
-William B. Macomber, Jr.
  -Ambassadorship to Turkey
    -Rogers’s suggestion
    -Loyalty
    -William J. Handley
-Safire
  -Possible job at State Department
    -Loyalty
    -Programs
  -Possible book
State Department
-First term
  -Cut off
  -1972 election
-1972
  -Possible title
  -The President’s trips to the People’s Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union; the President’s May 8, 1972 decision; 1972 election
-Price
-Role
  -Philosopher
-Speechwriter for the President
  -The President’s role
-Letter writers
  -Eliska A. Hasek
  -Ann Olsten [?]
  -Children
-Hasek
-Tom Johnson
  -Public relations [PR]
-Charles S. Snider
  -Reception for 1972 election supporters
  -George C. Wallace
  -Physical appearance
  -Ability
    -Politics
      -Michigan

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Reception for 1972 election supporters
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s view
  -Attendees

Republicans
  -Types
  -Attitudes
-Californians
  -Dick Andrews

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Congressional relations
  -George S. McGovern
    -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
      -The President’s conversation with Scott
      -Vietnam War

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Reception for 1972 election supporters
  -Charles W. Colson
  -George P. Shultz
  -James D. Hodgson

The President’s schedule
  -Democratic leaders
  -List

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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The President’s schedule
  -Christmas telephone calls
    -List
    -1973 Inauguration
      -W. Clement Stone
      -John A. (“Jack”) Mulcahy
    -Legislative leaders
    -House of Representatives
    -Barry M. Goldwater
    -[1964 campaign]
Conversation No. 823-12 (cont’d)

- Wallace F. Bennett
- Republicans
- Democrats
- Second term reorganization
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
    - Alexander P. Butterfield, Stephen B. Bull
  - Rose Mary Woods
    - Invitations to dinner
    - Mrs. Nixon
  - Alice Roosevelt Longworth
    - Mrs. Nixon
    - Lucy A. Winchester
- Previous practice
  - Memoranda
  - West Wing
  - Telephone calls

Second term reorganization
  - Anne L. Armstrong
    - Conversation with her family
    - Meeting with Haldeman
    - Location
    - Washington, DC
    - Possible conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Possible decision
  - Schedule
  - Possible duties
    - Missing in action [MIAs]
    - Prisoners of war [POWs]
      - Settlement agreement
        - US combing of North Vietnam
      - Duration
    - Meetings with families
      - The President’s schedule

Vietnam negotiations
  - The President’s meeting with Henry A. Kissinger and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
    - The President’s possible television [TV] appearance

Second term reorganization
Conversation No. 823-12 (cont’d)

- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - East Wing
- State Department
  - Kissinger
    - [(David)] Kenneth Rush
- [Defense Department]
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Melvin R. Laird
- George W. Romney
- Claude S. Brinegar
- Congressional relations
- Relations with governors
  - John D. Ehrlichman’s meeting with Linwood Holton

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Holton
- Relations with governors
  - Meetings with Republican governors
    - Frequency
  - 1973 Inauguration
    - Reception
      - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
      - Entertainment
  - 1973 Inauguration
    - Balls
      - Number
      - Location
        - John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
          - Compared to hotels
        - Smithsonian Institution
          - Compared to hotels

1973 Inauguration
- Speech
  - Price’s role
  - Peace theme
    - Vietnam negotiations
      - US bombing of North Vietnam
        - Duration
          - Prisoners of war [POWs]
Conversation No. 823-12 (cont’d)

-S. Bruce Herschensohn’s draft
-Drafts
  -The President’s schedule
  -Florida
  -Previous State of the Union address
-Length
  -Previous second addresses
  -Theodore Roosevelt
  -Franklin D. Roosevelt
-Herschensohn, Price

Second term reorganization
-Price
  -Role
    -Philosopher
    -Political orientation
      -Ehrlichman
  -Speeches
    -Tone
      -Appeal

1973 Inauguration
-Speech
  -Safire
    -Length
  -Aram Bakshian
-Length
  -Previous second addresses
    -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
    -Theodore Roosevelt
    -Franklin D. Roosevelt

Congressional relations
-[State of the Union address]
  -Vietnam negotiations
    -US military action

Vietnam negotiations
-The President’s meeting with Kissinger
  -US military action
-Duration
  -Settlement agreement
-Possible offer
  -POWs for US withdrawal and cessation of bombing
  -US aid to South Vietnam
  -Communist aid to North Vietnam
-Congressional relations
  -Scott
    -Michael J. Mansfield amendment
  -Mansfield Amendment
    -US withdrawal
    -Timing
      -POWs
    -Compared to McGovern amendment
      -US withdrawal
      -Timing
        -1973 Inauguration
-Possible offer
  -US withdrawal and cessation of bombing
    -Timing
      -POWs
    -Timing
    -Vietnamization
  -POWs for US withdrawal
  -Congressional relations
    -“Doves”
      -US withdrawal and cessation of bombing
        -POWs
    -“Hawks”
      -Nguyen Van Thieu
      -Vietnamization
      -Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
      -US military and economic aid
        -October 1972 Vietnamization
-Kissinger’s efforts
  -North Vietnam’s tactics
-The President’s conversation with Kissinger
  -North Vietnam’s tactics
    -Congressional relations
      -Cut off of US aid
Conversation No. 823-12 (cont’d)

-Press relations
-Professors
-Press relations
-Kissinger’s press relations
  -John F. Osborne
    -Haldeman’s conversation with Kissinger
    -Haig

Haldeman left at 1:25 pm.