Tape Subject Log (rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

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

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-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 -Pace -1972 election -US bombing of North Vietnam -Soviet Union -Cambodia -Christmas

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-The President's supporters -Education -Victory margin -PR -Left-wingers -Relationship with Kissinger -Vietnam War -The President's conversation with Haig -US military action -Timing -Warning -Analyses -Louis P. Harris -Peace, progress -Richard M. Scammon -The President's image -Vietnam War -McGovern -Compared to the President 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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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 SouthVietnam -Demobilization provision -De facto understandings, time limiti -Continuation of war

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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 -Gen. John W. Vogt, Jr. -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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-Smart bombs -Weather

1971 -Weather -Congressional reconvention -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 -Maj. Gen. James D. ("Don") Hughes -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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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 20^{th} 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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-1 (cont'd)

-Thieu -Democrats -National interest

Kissinger and Haig left at 11:46 am.

Conversation No. 823-2

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-70]

Conversation No. 823-3

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]

Conversation No. 823-4

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

The President talked with the White House operator.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

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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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

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.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

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]

Second term reorganization -[Julie Nixon Eisenhower] -Ronald L. Ziegler -Efforts -Conversation with the President -Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon -Haldeman's role -Conversation with Haldeman -Staff cuts -Mrs. Nixon -Marjorie P. Acker -Press relations -The President's conversation with Ziegler

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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 -Julie 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]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

-Physical examination -Extent -Compared to Mayo Clinic -Dr. W. Kenneth Riland -Appointment -Christmas cards -Mrs. Nixon -Volunteers

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

-Stennis -Harry F. Byrd, Jr. -Clark MacGregor -1972 campaign

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

The President's schedule -Telephone c all to Rizzo -Timing and duration -Record

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

Congressional relations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

-Politics -MacGregor -Robert J. Dole -Work with Peter H. Dominick -White House staff -Timmons -Harry S. Dent -Charles W. Colson -Press relations -MacGregor -Record 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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

-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

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

-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.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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 -Rumsefeld -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

Second term reorganization -Rumsfeld -Ambassadorship to NATO -Article -Value -Politics -Ambassadors list

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-6 (cont'd)

-The President's schedule -Flanigan -Under Secretaries -Under Secretary of Labor -Michelson -Colson -Brennan -Brinegar

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 -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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

Conversation No. 823-7 (cont'd)

-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

[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 -Bush -Republican National Committee [RNC] chairmanship -Political role -Harry S. Dent -Wife's health

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-7 (cont'd)

-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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-7 (cont'd)

-Wilson -J. Caleb Boggs -Defeat -Texas

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-7 (cont'd)

-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 -The President's plan -Compared to Mansfield Amendment -US withdrawal -Timing -POWs -Cease-fire -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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

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]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 823-12

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

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 823-12 (cont'd)

-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 -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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Republicans -Types -Attitudes

-Price

-Role

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 823-12 (cont'd)

-Californians -Dick Andrews

Congressional relations -George S. McGovern -Senate Foreign Relations Committee -The President's conversation with Scott -Vietnam War

[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

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]

Tape Subject Log

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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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Conversation No. 823-12 (cont'd)

-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]

Tape Subject Log

(*rev. July-08*)

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

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 823-12 (cont'd)

-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

Tape Subject Log

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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.