Conversation No. 824-1

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:14 am and 9:25 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Unknown items
- [Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox]

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Dr. William M. Lukash

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:25 am.

Conversation No. 824-2

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: 9:25 am - 12:44 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Paperwork
- Private file

Refreshment
- Coffee

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:30 am.

*********************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

The President’s foot
- Refusal to see Gen. Walter R. Tkach
- Compared to past football injuries
- Pampering

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

The President’s schedule
- Camp David
  - Vietnam War
    - US bombing north of 20th Parallel
    - Timing
- Weather
  - Helicopter
    - Christmas tree
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Second term reorganization
- Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
  - New Majority
  - John D. Ehrlichman’s view
  - Retention
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s and Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s and Tricia Nixon Cox’s views
  - Ehrlichman
  - Compared to John C. Whitaker
  - Ehrlichman
    - Conversation with Haldeman
- Public relations [PR]
  - Peter J. Brennan
    - Reception for 1972 election supporters
      - Ethnic groups
  - George P. Shultz
    - Property taxes

Budget
Cuts
- The President’s conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Paraplegics
- Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
  - Paraplegics
  - Savings
- Ambassadors
  - Sweden
    - Blacks
      - [Robert J. Brown]
      - Labor Department
- [Philip K. Crowe]
  - Blacks
  - Right wing
  - Draft evaders
- Appointment of black
  - Norway
  - Denmark
  - Scandinavia

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 9:30 am.

Blacks
- Scandinavia
- Austria
- Scandinavia

Press relations
- Henry A. Kissinger’s briefing
  - The President’s memorandum to Kissinger
    - Dictation
    - Typing
    - Unknown woman
      - Conversation with Stephen B. Bull
- The President’s meeting with Kissinger and Ziegler
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Timing
- Location
  - White House
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Tours
-Executive Office Building
-Announcement
- Ziegler’s press conference
-Tone
- Television [TV]
-Length
- The President’s memorandum
-Kissinger
- “Kraut Character of the Year” award
- Sauerkraut
- The President’s News Summary comment
-Timing

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

The President’s foot

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

Vietnam War
- US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
- The President’s meetings with Kissinger
- Ziegler’s press conference
- PR
- North Vietnam’s military buildup
- Precautionary measures
- Cease-fire
- The President’s meeting with Ziegler
- [The President’s May 8, 1972 speech]
- Cessation of military action
- Conditions
- Prisoners of War [POWs], cease-fire
- The President’s meeting with Kissinger
- B-52s
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Number
-PR
-B-52s
-Hanoi
-F-104s
-Duration
-Negotiations

Press relations
-Time’s Man of the Year award
-Nelson A. Rockefeller’s effort
-Kissinger
-The President’s schedule
-Kissinger’s possible meeting with Jerrold L. Schecter

-White House
-Time
-The President’s conversation with Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Orders to Haldeman
-Washington Post, Time
-Christmas
-[Oriana Fallaci’s] interview with Kissinger
-Time
-Schecter
-Kissinger
-Schecter
-The President
-Vietnam negotiations
-Interview with the President, 1971

-Kissinger
-Order
-Instructions to Haldeman
-Interviews, social contact, return telephone calls
-Order
-White House operators
-Instructions
-John F. Osborne’s telephone calls
-Handling
-Ziegler

-Private telephone
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Call to Osborne
  -Reason
    -Correction of Osborne article
      -The President’s relationship with Kissinger
    -Quotes
  -Time
    -Schecter
      -White House operators
      -Telephone calls to Kissinger, the President, Haldeman
      -Ziegler’s office
    -Man of the Year Award
      -Effect on US foreign policy
        -Hedley W. Donovan
        -Kissinger
        -Rockefeller
      -Administration reaction
        -Box story
        -Tone
    -Schecter
      -Treatment of the President
        -The President’s trip to the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      -Kissinger
        -US-Soviet Union summit
    -Second term
      -Ziegler’s role

Second term reorganization
- Constance M. (Cornell) (“Connie”) Stuart
  -Ziegler’s conversation with Mrs. Nixon
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Conversation with Haldeman
  -Marital status
    -[Charles Stuart]
  -PR
  -Public Information Officer [PIO]
    -Press relations
  -Communications, film
  -White House
  -Women
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Area
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Management
-Anne L. Armstrong
-Marge Byers
  -Forthcoming meeting with Ziegler
  -Timing
    -Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s schedule
    -Mrs. Nixon
-White House staff
-Byers
  -Women
    -The President’s schedule
    -Meetings
  -Ziegler’s staff
  -Meetings
  -East Wing
  -Meetings
  -Eliska Hasek [?]
-Pres relations
-Press office
  -Mrs. Nixon
    -Connie Stuart’s conversation with Haldeman
    -Activities
  -Byers
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Women
    -Secretaries, administrators
    -Byers
  -J. Bruce Whelihan
  -Neal Ball
  -Gerald L. Warren
  -Whelihan, Warren
  -Byers
  -Connie Stuart
  -Byers
  -Meetings
    -Richard A. Moore
  -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:30 am.

The President’s memorandum
   - Typing
     - Unknown woman

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Kissinger

Memorandum
   - Draft

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:13 am.

Second term reorganization
   - Byers

Press relations
   - Schecter
     - The President’s and Kissinger’s schedules
     - Conversations with Ziegler
       - The President’s schedule
       - 1972 election
         - Mandate
           - Conversations with the President, Ehrlichman
     - Ziegler’s role
     - Ehrlichman
     - Tone
     - Haldeman’s role

Congressional relations
   - Haldeman
     - Image
       - Efforts
       - The President

PR
   - Haldeman
Press relations
- Ehrlichman’s briefing
  - Herbert G. Klein

Vietnam War
- Settlement agreement
  - Quality
    - POWs
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- Barry M. Goldwater’s statement
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- Kissinger’s view
  - Cambodia
    - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
- Protests
  - White House
    - Christmas
- Press relations
- The President’s memorandum
  - Tone
    - Justification for actions
- Kissinger’s briefing
- Press relations
  - Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
  - James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
  - Murrey Marder
  - Max Frankel
- Future perspectives on war
  - June 1973
  - Cambodia, Laos
  - Second term
    - End
- The President’s conversation with Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

Budget
-Cuts
  -Paraplegics
  -Weinberger

Vietnam War
  -Protests
  -Settlement agreement
    -Quality
    -PR
  -December 1971 bombing
    -PR
      -Charles W. Colson’s view
      -Polls
        -1972 campaign

1972 election
  -Vietnam negotiations
  -Watergate
  -Thomas F. Eagleton
  -Press relations
    -The President’s conversation with Ehrlichman
      -Ziegler’s view
    -Advocacy, predictions concerning George S. McGovern
      -Robert D. Novak’s article
    -Patrick J. Buchanan’s article
    -Credibility
    -Predictions

The President’s schedule
  -Press relations
  -White House social events
    -Christmas candlelight tour
      -Families
    -Trip [to Florida]

Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
  -Trip to Pasadena, California [Rose Parade]
    -Advance man
    -Press person
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

Football
- Rose Bowl
  - University of Southern California [USC]
    - Green Bay Packers
    - Washington Redskins
    - Inconsistency
- Ohio State University
- USC
  - Defeat of Notre Dame
- Personnel
- Redskins-Dallas Cowboys game
  - Larry Brown
  - George E. Allen
    - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Herbert Mul-Key
    - Speedy Duncan
    - Alvin Haymond
- George Nock
  - Compared to Brown
  - Fumbling
- Brown
- Redskins
  - Game against Packers
- Coaching
- Mul-Key

Press relations
- Time
  - Ehrlichman
    - Ziegler
  - Kissinger
    - Haldeman
- Telephone call to William P. Rogers
  - The President, Kissinger
  - Man of the Year award
  - State Department
- Klein
- William L. Safire
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Buchanan
-Schedules
-State of the Union address
-Schecter meeting with Ziegler
-Administration’s accomplishments
-The President’s trip to the PRC and the Soviet Union
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-1972 election
-Man of the Year award
-Reaction letters
-The President’s or Haldeman’s telephone call to Colson

The President’s picture
-Secretary of Labor [Peter J. Brennan]
-Conversation with the President at reception for 1972 election supporters
-Labor Department offices
-The President’s instructions to Cabinet officers, ambassadors
-John F. Kennedy
-Press relations

White House social events
-Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Maurice H. Stans
-Clark MacGregor
-Comportment
-Receptions for 1972 election supporters
-Labor officials
-Plumbers
-Iron workers
-Joseph T. (“Joe T.”) Trerotola
-Frank E. Fitzsimmons
-Wives
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s view
-White Anglo-Saxon Protestants [WASPs]

Second term reorganization
-John A. Volpe
-Ambassadorship to the United Nations [UN]
Kissinger entered at 10:13 am.

Second term reorganization
- NASA
- David
  - [Dixy Lee Ray]
  - [Atomic Energy Commission] [AEC]
Haldeman’s and Ziegler’s schedules
- Meeting with the President

Haldeman and Ziegler left at 10:13 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - Timing
    - Le Duc Tho
      - Departure from Paris
    - Statement
      - Tone
      - “No comment”
      - Peace
      - Christmas
      - “No comment”
    - US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
- The President’s memorandum
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Tone
  - Tho’s statement
    - Details
  - Status report
  - Timing
    - US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- North Vietnam’s strategy
  - Delays
    - Message
- US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
  - Timing
    - Duration
      - Cessation
      - POWs
  - B-52s
    - Compared to World War II
      - London
      - The President’s experience
        - Bougainville
          - Japanese bombers
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

- Targets
  - Foxholes
- Duration
  - Settlement agreement
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - Timing
    - Press relations
    - PR
    - “Shock”
- Timing
  - Church service
    - John Cardinal Krol
- International affairs
  - “Euphoria”
    - West Germany
      - Left-wing government
    - Polls
      - Edward R. G. Heath
      - Georges J. R. Pompidou
    - Australia
    - Unknown country
    - [Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi’s statement
  - Peace
    - The President’s trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
- 1973 Inaugural Address
  - Draft
    - Buchanan
  - Peace
    - Tone
  - The President’s meeting with Kissinger and Haig
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - Timing
- Breakdown
  - Responsibility
    - Tho’s departure from Paris
    - Tho’s statement
    - Kissinger’s briefing
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - The President’s memorandum
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-POWs
  -Conditions
-Cease-fire
  -Lasting peace
    -Compared to temporary truce
-The President’s language
-Notes
-South Vietnam-North Vietnam relations
  -Resumption of war
  -Ballot box
-Timing
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-The President’s memorandum
  -Settlement agreement
    -Long war, short peace
    -Press relations
  -Continuation of serious talks
    -Technical points
  -Kissinger’s “peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
  -Kissinger’s view
-The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Ziegler and Haldeman
-Tho’s statement
-Tone

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 10:13 am.

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Ziegler and Haldeman

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 10:27 am.

Vietnam negotiations
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Timing
    -Tho’s schedule
    -Peking
    -Hanoi
    -Kissinger’s briefing
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Timing
-Tho’s schedule
-Peking, Hanoi
-US mining
-Timing
-Haig’s trip to Saigon
-Announcement
-Timing
-Letter to Thieu

Haldeman and Ziegler entered at 10:27 am.

Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger’s briefing
-The President’s memorandum
-Dictation
-Timing
-Outline
-The President’s conversation with Kissinger
-Settlement agreement
-Long war, short peace
-Press relations

Second term reorganization
-Scali
-Announcement
-Leaks
-Timing

Vietnam negotiations
-US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
-Kissinger’s forthcoming briefing
-Timing
-Status report
-Timing
-Tho’s statement
-Kissinger’s briefing
-Timing
-US mining north of 20th Parallel
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Timing
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Timing
-Tho
-The President’s memorandum
- Tone
- Problems
- Settlement agreement
-Timing
- Tho’s statement
- Tho’s schedule
- Peking
- Deliberation
- North Vietnam’s delays
- Weather
-Tone
- The President’s recent conversation with Kissinger
-The President’s memorandum
- Press relations
- Kissinger’s previous statements
- Caveats
- The President’s speeches
- Timing
- 1972 election
- [“Look to the Future”]
- Settlement agreement

-Peace
- Timing
- Honorable and lasting peace
- Status report
- Details
- Progress
- Post-October 8, 1972
-Differences
- Technical nature
- Resolution
- Settlement agreement
- Conditions
- The President’s speech
-Temporary peace
-North and South Vietnam
-1968 bombing halt
-Conditions

-Goals
-Cease-fire
-The President’s speeches of January 25, 1972 and May 8, 1972
-“Peace is at hand”
-Policing machinery
-Violations
-North Vietnam’s preparations
-Enforcement

-POWs
-North Vietnam’s conditions
-Civilian prisoners in South Vietnam
-South Vietnam’s self-determination
-Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
-North Vietnam’s tactics
-Protocols

-PR
-Summation of goals

-Settlement agreement
-Exchange of messages
-Understandings
-North Vietnam

-POWs
-Cease-fire
-Permanence
-Temporary truce
-South Vietnam’s self-determination
-Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
-International supervision
-Political parties
-Communists

-Settlement agreement
-The President’s interest
-1972 election
-Christmas

Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

- POWs
  - North and South Vietnam
- Deadline
- Truce
  - Continuation of war
- Means of attainment
  - Pushing around, blackmail, stampeding
  - Casualties
  - North and South Vietnam
- Charm
  - Gifts for Kissinger

Labor relations
- Fitzsimmons
  - Harold J. Gibbons
    - Trip to Hanoi
    - Firing from union [International Brotherhood of Teamsters]
  - Relationship with Kissinger
- The President’s view
- Reception for 1972 election supporters
  - Gibbons
    - Golf in San Clemente
    - Mary Patricia Fitzsimmons
    - Frank Fitzsimmons’s private compared to public statements
  - Support for the President

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - The President’s memorandum
    - Casualties
    - North Vietnam
    - South Vietnam
    - US leadership
    - Settlement agreement
      - Responsibility
        - South and North Vietnam
        - South Vietnam-North Vietnam relations
      - Battlefield to ballot box
  - Cease-fire
-Coalition government
-Settlement agreement
  -Long war, short peace
  -Continuation of serious talks
  -Technical points
-US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
  -Ziegler’s press conference
  -Duration
  -Settlement agreement
  -Volunteer armed forces
  -POWs
  -North Vietnam’s military buildup
-Christmas
-Draft
-Casualties
-Ground combat
-Settlement agreement
  -The President’s conversation with Kissinger
  -POWs
  -Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
  -Resumption of war
-Timing
  -Tho’s statement
  -The President’s memorandum
    -Tone
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Timing
    -Tho’s schedule
    -Peking
-Ziegler’s press conference
  -The President’s meeting with Kissinger
  -Kissinger’s meetings with Chairman of Joint Chief of Staff [Adm. Thomas H. Moorer], Secretary of Defense [Melvin R. Laird], Secretary of State [Rogers], Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], Richard M. Helms
-Kissinger’s briefing
  -Timing
  -Press relations
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Timing
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Church service  
-Krol  
-Kissinger’s briefing  
-US mining north of 20th Parallel  
-Kissinger’s briefing  
-Timing  
-PR  
-Military, diplomatic factors  
-Effect  
-Tone  
-Kissinger’s view  
-The President’s meeting with Kissinger  
-North Vietnam  
-Saigon, Hanoi  
-Haig’s trip to Saigon  
-Timing  
-Announcement  
-Timing  
-Kissinger’s briefing  
-Tone  
-The President’s memorandum  
-Status report  
-Tho  
-Technical differences  
-Cease-fire  
-Tone  
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel  
-Technical differences  
-Phrasing  
-Press relations  
-Tho  
-Audience  
-US  
-South and North Vietnam  
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel  
-Specifics  
-Bernard Gwertzman of The New York Times  
-Marder  
-Differences
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Nature
  -Principles
    -“Peace is at hand”
      -POWs, cease-fire, imposition of coalition government
  -Technicalities
    -Motives
    -POWs, cease-fire, coalition government
      -“Peace is at hand”
  -Technicalities
    -B-52s
    -POWs, cease-fire, coalition government

-Tone
-Press relations
  -POWs, cease-fire, coalition government
  -1972 campaign statements
    -Justification
  -North Vietnam’s possible statements

-North Vietnam
  -Responsibility
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Settlement agreement

-PR
-Differences
  -Nature
    -Technicalities
    -Principles
      -Coalition government, cease-fire, POWs
    -Protocols
      -Conditions
      -Press relations

US-India relations
  -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan’s conversation with the President
  -Ambassadors
    -Moynihan
    -Quality
      -John Kenneth Galbraith
  -Chester Bowles
-Kenneth B. Keating
-Indira Gandhi
-State Department
-Kissinger
-The President’s previous conversation with Moynihan
-The President’s conversation with Scali
-Gandhi
  -Meeting with Kissinger
  -UN
-Moynihan’s speech, 1971
-Moynihan’s possible conversation with Gandhi
-Recent meeting with Kissinger
  -Harvard University
-Ambassadorship
  -[Elizabeth Therese Moynihan]
    -New York
    -UN
    -New Delhi
-Blacks
  -[The Negro Family: The Case for National Action]

Second term reorganization
  -Ambassadorship to Pakistan
  -Assistant Secretaries of State
    -Middle East
      -Joseph S. Farland
    -Latin America
      -Robert C. Hill
  -Africa
    -David D. Newsom
    -Hill
      -Toughness
      -Latin America
      -Spain
  -Latin America
    -Jack B. Kubisch
      -US embassy, Paris
      -Mexico
      -Loyalty
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Haldeman’s view

-Africa
- Hill
- Loyalty
- State Department

-Middle East
- Farland
- India-Pakistan War

-East Asia
- G. McMurtrie Godley
- Laos
- Joseph J. Sisco

-Ambassadorship to Turkey
- Sisco
- Pakistan
- William B. Macomber, Jr.

-Ambassadorship to Pakistan
- Sisco
- India
- Departure

-East Asia
- Marshall Green
- Age
- Sisco

-Godley
- Loyalty

-Ambassadorship to Laos
- Charles Whitehouse
- Saigon

-Ambassadorship to South Vietnam
- Graham A. Martin
- State Department
- Conversation with Haig
- Conversation with Rogers
- Haldeman’s conversation with Kissinger
- Back channels
- Haig’s conversation with Kissinger
- State Department
- Conversation with Rogers
Vietnam negotiations
  - Kissinger briefing
    - Timing
      - US bombing north of 20th Parallel
        - Timing
          - Church service
          - US mining north of 20th Parallel
            - Haiphong estuary
  - Kissinger’s briefing
    - The President’s memorandum
    - Outline
    - Kissinger’s statement during departure from Paris
      - Tone
        - Film
  - US image
    - 1973 Inauguration
      - Speech
        - Price’s draft
        - Peace
          - North Vietnam
  - End of war
    - Second term
      - The President’s possible statement
        - Vietnamization
        - US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
          - Duration
            - POWs
  - Future
    - End of second term
      - Kissinger’s message from Paris
      - US-Soviet Union relations
      - US-PRC relations
      - US-Europe relations
  - The President
  - Press relations
    - Time
    - Life
    - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Strike
  -Financing
- The President’s credibility
  -Trips to PRC and the Soviet Union
  -Comparison with George S. McGovern and Hubert H. Humphrey
- Soviet Union, PRC
- Settlement agreement
  -Duration
  -Timing
  -POWs
- Kissinger’s briefing
  -“Peace is at hand”
    -Ziegler’s meeting with Theodore H. (“Teddy”) White
    -Historical perspective
- Kissinger’s view
  -The President’s meeting with Kissinger
  -Tho
  -South Vietnam
  -Tho’s concessions, conditions

- Thieu
  -Haig’s trip to Saigon
  -Possible letter from the President
    -Handwriting
    -Length
    -Tone
  -Letter from the President
    -Tone
    -Cease-fire
    -US-South Vietnam relations

Kissinger left at 11:15 am.

Second term reorganization
  -Seali
    -Announcement
    -Leaks
      -Timing
      -American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
      -Washington Star
Ziegler left at 11:16 am.

Vietnam negotiations
  - The President’s meetings with Kissinger
    - Kissinger’s briefing
      - North Vietnam
        - Kissinger’s view
          - Tone
      - The President’s memorandum
        - Appearance
          - Problem
          - Plodding
      - The President’s memorandum
        - Points
          - Protocols
        - Copies
        - Lines
          - Ziegler
          - Long war, short peace
            - Price, speechwriters
        - Timing
          - The President’s memorandum
      - The President’s memorandum
        - Safire
          - Style
          - Alliteration

Second term reorganization
  - Scali
    - Announcement
      - Leaks
        - Washington Star
        - Washington Post
        - ABC
          - Leonard H. Goldenson
  - Meeting with Bush
Ziegler entered at 11:20 am.

Second term reorganization
-Scali
-Announcement
-Leaks
  -Ziegler’s conversation with Garnett D. (“Jack”) Horner
  -Moore
  -Request to use telephone
  -Scali’s trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
  -The President’s confidence
-Orthodoxy
  -Protestants
    -Atheists
-Horner
  -Washington Star
-ABC
-News
-Radio
  -Timing
-Washington Post
-Washington Star
-Catholicism
-Cabinet status
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-ABC
  -Scali’s background
  -Scali’s understanding of and advice on policies
- Catholicism
  -Austin
  -Lodge
  -James J. Wadsworth
  -Charles W. Yost
  -Rogers

-Horner
  -Deadline
  -Telephone
- Washington Post

Press relations
  -Washington Post
    -Horner
      -Newsweek article
        -Ziegler’s conversation with Bill Cook
          -Horner’s interview with the President
          -Interviews with the President
            -Cyrus L. (“Cy”) Suzberger
              -[Henry Brandon]

-Washington Post
  -Ziegler’s meeting with White
    -White’s conversation with Katherine L. Graham
      -Second term
-White
  -New York Daily News
    -1972 campaign
      -Endorsement
        -New York Times
  -1972 election
    -New York

Second term reorganization
  -Scali
    -Announcement
      -Rogers
The unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 11:20 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- The President’s memorandum
- Copy for Ziegler

Ziegler left at 11:29 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- The President’s memorandum
  - Copy for Ziegler
  - Kissinger’s copy
  - Copy for the President’s file
  - Kissinger’s copy

A memorandum
- Copy for Ziegler
- Copy for President

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 11:56 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger’s briefing
  - Ziegler’s role
    - Points
  - Previous briefings
    - Scali
    - Kissinger
  - Kissinger’s view
    - Compared with the President’s view
      - Tone
        - North Vietnam’s actions
        - The President’s press conferences
  - Kissinger’s mood
US bombing north of 20th Parallel

1973 Inauguration
   -Previous addresses
   -Memoranda
   -Word count

An unknown woman entered at an unknown time after 11:29 am.

1973 Inauguration
   -Previous addresses
   -Word count
      -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
      -Theodore Roosevelt
         -William McKinley
            -1905
      -Franklin D. Roosevelt
         -1937
      -Kennedy
      -Timing
      -David R. Gergen

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 11:56 am.

Second term reorganization
   -Control
      -Kissinger
      -Ehrlichman
      -John C. Whitaker
      -Peter M. Flanigan
         -The President’s memoranda
   -PR
      -Shultz
         -Meetings with the President
   -Press conferences
   -Preparation
      -The President’s memoranda
         -The President’s schedule
      -Klein
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Kissinger
  -Scali, Ziegler
  -Previous performances
    -Points
    -Brilliance
      -Ziegler
    -Points
  -Brilliance
    -Compared to effectiveness
      -Klein
      -Ehrlichman
  -Tone
    -Ehrlichman
    -Compared to Flanigan, Whitaker
    -Flanigan, Whitaker
    -The President’s view
      -Loyalty
  -Flanigan
    -European Economic Community [EEC]
    -NASA
    -Shultz
      -AEC
      -Ehrlichman
  -Haldeman’s schedule
    -Meeting with Anne L. Armstrong
    -Meeting with Maurice H. Stans
      -Meeting with the President
    -Meeting with Robert H. Finch
      -Announcement
      -Sarah Bernhardt
      -“Farewell tours”
    -Meeting with William J. Baroody
  -Baroody
    -Colson’s view
    -Bryce N. Harlow’s view
    -Possible meeting with the President
    -Baroody’s physical appearance
  -Physical appearance
    -Staff
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-WASP
-The President’s view
-Balzano
-Donald F. Rodgers
-Armstrong

Vietnam War
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-PR
-Colson
-Conversation with Haldeman or the President
-Ziegler announcement
-Goldwater
-Peaceniks

Press relations
-Time
-Man of the Year award

The President left and reentered at an unknown time before 11:56 am.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

White House social affairs
-Christmas tree lighting reception
-[First name unknown] Davis [?]
-The President’s attendance

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-Harry S. Truman
-Possible death
-Timing
-Christmas tree lighting
-Cabinet dinner
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Funeral
-Church service
-Cabinet dinner
   -Moment of silence
   -PR
-Cabinet dinner
   -Press relations
      -Fred Waring
      -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
      -Washington Post

Press relations
   -Time
      -Ziegler
      -Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Klein
      -Man of the Year
         -Kissinger
            -1972 election
      -McGovern
      -Eagleton
      -The President’s role
         -Principal
         -Kissinger’s role
            -Agent

White House social affairs
   -Truman
      -Possible death
         -Timing
            -Cabinet dinner
               -Moment of silence
               -Entertainment
                  -Waring
                  -Singing, dancing
                  -Youth

Second term reorganization
   -Scali
      -Mrs. Nixon’s view
The President’s schedule
- Truman
  - Possible death
    - Lying in state
      - Compared to funeral service
        - Truman Library
        - TV
        - Truman’s friends
  - Timing
    - Eisenhower
      - Airplanes
    - The President’s meeting with Laird

Vietnam War
- US bombing, mining north of 20th Parallel
  - Rogers’s and Laird’s views
    - Kissinger
  - Rogers’s view
    - Departure

Second term reorganization
- Ambassadorship to South Vietnam
  - Martin
    - Conversation with Rogers
    - Conversation with the President
  - Ehrlichman
    - Intelligence
    - Physical appearance
    - Personality
      - Toughness
      - Personal relations
      - Youth
  - Flanigan
    - Departure
  - Whitaker
    - Personality
    - Departure
  - Ronald H. Walker
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:29 am and 11:36 am.

[Conversation No. 824-2A]

[See Conversation No. 34-86]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization
- Control
- Post-1972 election
- 1972 election
  - Victory percentage
- Vietnam negotiations
- Administration’s image
  - Brennan
- Comparison with Eisenhower administration
- Control
- The President’s experience as Vice President
  - The President’s conversations with Eisenhower
- Speeches

The President talked with Mansfield between 11:56 am and 12:10 pm.

[Conversation No. 824-2B]

[See Conversation No. 34-87]
[End of telephone conversation]

Congressional relations
   - The President’s conversation with Mansfield
   - Breakfast meeting

1973 Inaugural speech
   - Previous speeches
   - Word count
      - Theodore Roosevelt
      - Price’s draft
      - Theodore Roosevelt
      - Franklin Roosevelt
      - Kennedy
      - Theodore Roosevelt
      - Kennedy
      - The President, 1969

The President’s schedule
   - Refrigerator installation
     - Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s report
   - Meeting with Ehrlichman
     - Timing
     - Reception for 1972 election supporters

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 6s _____]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13

Congressional races
   - [Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

Edward Nixon
- Nixon Foundation
  - Position
    - Qualifications
    - Fundraising
    - Presentation to trustees
- Library
  - Location
    - San Clemente
    - Whittier
  - Trustees meeting
- Work out of Washington, DC
- Jack Drown
- Leonard K. Firestone

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization
  - Control
    - Pace
  - Scali’s appointment
    - Claude S. Brinegar appointment
      - Haldeman’s possible conversation with Ehrlichman

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Ehrlichman
  - Reception for 1972 election
  - Supporters
    - Timing
    - Duration
    - Number of guests

The President talked with the White House operator at 12:17 pm.
Conversations No. 824-2 (cont’d)

[Conversation No. 824-2C]

[See Conversation No. 34-88]

[End of telephone conversation]

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Assistance to the President
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Organizational abilities
  - Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
  - Subtlety
  - Rebozo’s financial transactions
    - Florida land
    - Bethesda house

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 28s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 14

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

********************************************************************************

White House renovation
  - Refrigerator
  - Theater
  - Bowling alley
    - Theater
    - Tunnel
    - Carpenters’ shops
    - North Portico
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:17 pm.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s arrival
   -The President’s schedule
   -Rebozo

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:18 pm.

White House renovation
   -Expense

Julie Nixon Eisenhower entered at 12:18 pm.

Rebozo
   -Location

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

Weather

Haldeman’s house
   -Georgetown
   -Yard

The President’s foot
Conversation No. 824-2 (cont’d)

-Refusal to see Gen. Walter R. Tkach

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

***************************************************************

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Rebozo
  - House
  - Rebozo’s location

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:18 pm.

  Rebozo
    - Location

Refreshment
  - Consumme

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:21 pm.

***************************************************************

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 34s______]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 16

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[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

***************************************************************

Haldeman's schedule
  - Reception for 1972 election supporters
Second term reorganization
  - Byers
    - *Life* magazine
    - Ziegler’s recommendation
    - Relationship with the President’s family
      - Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Mrs. Nixon
    - Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s view
    - Mrs. Nixon’s view
    - David Eisenhower’s view
    - Tricia Nixon Cox’s view
  Sauna [?]
  - Cost

Rebozo entered at 12:21 pm.

Haldeman left at 12:22 pm.

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

House purchase
  - Rebozo
  - Price
  - Note to Bull

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 2:22 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:44 pm.

House purchase
  - Rebozo’s bargaining
    - Quality
    - Swimming pool
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17A
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 3s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17A

-Congress
-[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
-Residence
-Ownership
-Rent

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17B
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 3m 30s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17B

-Secret Service
-Trees
-Haldeman
-Security

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17C
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 31s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 17C

-David Eisenhower
-Congressional race
-Pennsylvania
-Residence
-Place to write
-The President’s work
Rebozo talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:22 pm and 12:44 pm.

[Conversation No. 824-2D]

[See Conversation No. 34-89]

[End of telephone conversation]

Shelley A. (Scarney) Buchanan
-Telephone call
  -Instructions
    -Contract

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

House purchase
  -Patio
    -Tour for the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
[Conversation No. 824-2E]

[See Conversation No. 34-90]

[End of telephone conversation]

Shelley Buchanan’s schedule
   - Weather

White House renovation
   - Refrigerator
      - Installation
      - Mrs. Nixon
   - Shelves
      - Removal
      - Storage
   - Refrigerator
      - Installation
      - Purpose
      - Kitchen staff
   - Solarium
      - Furniture
      - Color
      - Reclining chair
      - Chairs at Camp David
      - Table
   - Draperies
   - Bar

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 19
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5m 41s ]
The President’s schedule
   -Reception for 1972 election supporters

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:22 pm.

The President’s schedule
   -Meeting with Ziegler
   -Meeting with Ehrlichman
      -Budget
      -Domestic issues
      -Sallyanne Payton
   -Meeting with Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:44 pm.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s schedule
   -Tour
      -Automobile

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Rebozo left at 12:44 pm.
Conversation No. 824-3

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: 12:45 pm - 1:54 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler and John D. Ehrlichman.

Second term reorganization
- Wallace H. Johnson
- Assistant Attorney General, Land and Natural Resources Division
- Ambassadorship to the United Nations [UN]
- John A. Scali
- Announcement
- Leaks
  - Washington Star
    - Ziegler’s conversation with I. William Hill
      - George H. W. Bush
    - Trips to the People’s Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union
    - UN, White House, State Department coverage
    - Trips to the PRC
- Hill
  - Radio
    - Timing
- [American Broadcasting Company] [ABC]
  - Scali’s conversation with Leonard H. Goldenson
    - Timing
- Washington Star

Vietnam negotiations
- Henry A. Kissinger’s briefing
  - Timing
- Ziegler’s meeting with Kissinger
- The President’s memorandum
  - Tone
    - Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - Cease-fire
  - Imposition of Communist government in South Vietnam
-Long war, short peace
-Ziegler’s meeting with Kissinger

Ziegler left at 12:46 pm.

Second term reorganization
-Johnson
  -Assistant Attorney General, Land and Natural Resources Division
  -Condemnations
  -Bureau of Land Management [BLM]
  -Relationship with the administration
-Sallyanne Payton
  -Plans
  -Banking
  -Supreme Court
    -Age, experience
  -General Counsel
    -Banking
    -Treasury Department
    -Federal Home Loan Bank Board
    -Banking
    -Length of term
  -Supreme Court
    -Banking
  -Money making
  -Marital status
  -Appreciation
    -Ehrlichman’s meeting with the President
  -District of Columbia
    -Egil (“Bud”) Krogh, Jr. appointment
  -Blacks
    -Problems
    -Pressures
-Edwin L. Harper
  -Conversation with Ehrlichman
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s offer
-Agnew
  -Bicentennial
-Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
-National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
  -George P. Shultz
  -Condition
    -Ehrlichman’s conversation with Shultz
-Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
  -Departure
-[Dixy Lee Ray]
  -AEC
    -Publicity
-NASA
  -James C. Fletcher
  -[Lide A. Iacocca]
    -Italian-American background
    -Chrysler Corporation
-Scali
  -Announcement
-Ethnic considerations
  -Polish-American
    -Reception for 1972 election supporters
-Ehrlichman’s meeting with Malek
  -Refusal of jobs
    -Under Secretaries
      -White House mess
  -New approach
-Ehrlichman’s schedule
  -Haldeman’s schedule
-Refusal of jobs
  -Malek
-Claude S. Brinegar
  -George D. Webster
    -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
      -Audit
-Ehrlichman’s meeting with Krogh
-Meetings with Krogh
-Confirmation
  -Krogh’s view
-Prospects
  -Krogh
The President’s picture
- The President’s conversation with Peter J. Brennan at reception for 1972 election supporters
  - The President’s conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Flag lapel pin
    - Jingoism
  - Labor Department offices
    - James D. Hodgson, Shultz
  - Brennan’s background
    - Irish Democrat
-US embassies
- Sweden
  - Ehrlichman’s schedule
    - Instruction
-State Department
- Inspector General
  - Foreign Service Officer [FSO]
  - Residences
-Public buildings
- General Services Administration [GSA]

Second term reorganization
- GSA
  - Hugh Scott’s recommendation [Arthur F. Sampson]
    - Relationship with the administration
      - [Robert L. Kunzig]
      - Alternative
        - Loyal businessman-politician
          - The President’s picture
            - Public buildings
          - List
            - Ethnics
              - Businessmen
              - Kunzig
              - 1972 campaign
            - Rights
-Ehrlichman’s schedule
- Budget meeting
Paraplegics
   - Budget
   - Cuts
      - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
      - News summary
      - Ehrlichman’s reading
      - Weinberger
      - The President’s view

Vietnam War
   - Charles H. Percy
   - US aid to South Vietnam
      - Chicago Tribune
   - White House access

Veterans
   - Vietnam veteran Robert Muller’s appearance on Today show
   - Veterans’ Health Care Expansion Act of 1972
      - The President’s veto
      - Reason
      - Congressional fiscal responsibility
   - Vietnam War
      - US bombing
      - Veterans Administration [VA] hospitals
      - Changes since World War II, 1950s
      - Timing
         - 1972 election
         - [October 27, 1972]
   - Paraplegics
   - Response
      - Equal time
      - Donald E. Johnson
      - Disabled Veterans of America
   - Paraplegics
      - Muller
   - Veteran benefits legislation
      - Signature
   - Veterans organizations
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-Response
  -Johnson
  -The President’s actions
    -Bills
-Veterans’ Affairs Committee
  -Olin E. (“Tiger”) Teague
    -Change of committees
      -Space and Technology Committee

Second term reorganization
  -Ethnics
    -Polish-Americans
    -Black
  -Woman
    -Ray
      -Ivy Baker Priest
      -Symbolism
      -AEC
      -Compared to Jean Westwood
  -David
    -NASA
      -Condition
        -Policy implications
  -1972 election
    -The President’s conversation with Ehrlichman
      -The President’s conversation with Haldeman
  -Problem
    -Responsibility
      -Self-imposed discipline

Press relations
  -Washington Post
    -White House coverage
      -Meeting with White House staff
        -Kissinger
          -New Republic

Second term reorganization
  -Control
-Two party system
-Republicans

Congressional relations
-The President’s conversation with Michael J. Mansfield
-Republican leadership and bipartisanship meetings
-Scott
-William E. Timmons and Tom C. Korologos
-Mansfield
-Wilbur D. Mills
-Russell B. Long
-Second term reorganization
-Chet Holifield
-Need for cooperation
-Voting for man
-Compared to voting for party
-[Republican] control of White House
-Compared to [Democratic] control of Congress
-Mansfield’s views
-Need for secrecy
-Leaks
-Partisans
-Possible problems

Meetings
-Republicans
-Percy
-Samuel L. Devine
-Scott
-Meetings with Democrats
-Mansfield
-George H. Mahon
-Mills
-Compared to meetings with Charles McC Mathias, Jr., Percy, Edward W. Brooke
-New Majority

-Split government
-Harry S. Truman
-80th Congress, 1946-48
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-Issues
  -Robert A. Taft, Sr.- Fred A. Hartley Act
  -Wage and price controls
  -Domestic policy
  -Foreign policy
  -Domestic policy
  -Wage and price controls
-I Achievements
  -Nonpartisanship
  -Republicans
  -Partisanship
    -Governors
      -Request for quarterly meetings with the President
    -Gerald R. Ford
      -Breakfast meetings with the President
    -The President’s obligations
      -National interest
-State of the Union speech
-1973 Inaugural speech
-State of the Union speech
  -Delivery
  -Length

Speechwriting
-Domestic policy
  -Briefing paper
    -Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
    -1972 campaign
    -Problem solving
    -Proposed projects
    -Legislation
-1973 Inaugural speech
  -Previous speeches
  -Word count
    -The President’s conversation with Haldeman
    -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    -Theodore Roosevelt
    -The President, 1969
    -Roosevelt
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

- Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1937
- John F. Kennedy, 1961
  - The President’s view

-Brevity
  - Kissinger
  - Price
  - Gettysburg Address
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC] trip announcement

-1973 Inaugural speech
  - Proposed length
    - Price’s draft

-Briefing papers
  - Domestic policy

-Messages to Congress
  - Brevity
  - Vetoes

-Speechwriters
  - Teaching of writing
    - Discipline
      - Book length
  - Winston S. Churchill
    - Use of language
  - Problem of time
  - Theodore Roosevelt as writer
    - 1905 Inaugural speech
  - Churchill as writer
    - Compared to the President as writer
  - Theodore Roosevelt
    - Speechwriter
      - Price’s view

-Price
  - Tone
    - Kissinger’s view

-The President’s natural style
  - Theodore Roosevelt

-The President’s writing
  - November 3, 1969 speech
  - May 8, 1972 speech
  - Cambodia speech
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-Effectiveness
-Work with the President
-Speech construction
  -Outline
  -The President’s frame of mind
  -Outline
    -Reading
  -Introduction
  -Conclusion
  -Price
  -Patrick J. Buchanan
-John K. Andrews, Jr.
  -Style
  -Experience
-William L. Safire
  -Style
    -The President’s radio address on the Philosophy of Government
-The President’s writing style
  -Lawyers
  -Acceptance speeches
    -Quotes
    -Use
-Speech construction
  -Work required
  -Outline
  -Introduction
  -Conclusion
  -Lee W. Huebner
  -Anecdotes
    -Appropriateness
-Hiring
  -Background
    -Rockefeller Foundation
    -William E. Brock, III
-Type of writer
  -Comparison
    -Buchanan
    -Daniel P. (“Pat”) Moynihan
    -Style
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-1973 Inaugural speech
  -The President’s trip to Florida
  -Problem

Second term
  -Domestic policy
    -Briefing paper
    -Accomplishments in first term
    -Issues
      -Race
        -Focus
        -Administration actions
        -Media relations
    -Revenue sharing
      -Importance
      -Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR] meeting
        -Governors, mayors, Congressmen
      -Property tax
    -Cities, states
      -Budget surpluses
  -Ehrlichman’s press briefing
    -Urban crisis
      -Riots
      -Crime rates
      -Drug rates
      -Mass transit
      -Revenue sharing
    -Dan Rather’s conversation with Herbert G. Klein, Kenneth W. Clawson
      -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  -Ehrlichman’s possible briefings
    -Frequency
    -Revenue sharing
      -Kennedy
    -Kennedy’s foreign policy
      -Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
        -Importance
        -US, Soviet Union
-Domestic policy
-Press relations
  -Revenue sharing
  -Passage
  -Corruption
  -Local action
    -City councils, county supervisors
    -Taxes
      -Lighted streets, schools, police
-Race [blacks]
-Tokenism
  -Payton
  -Job
    -Possible meeting with the President
  -Walter E. Washington
    -National recognition
    -Relationship with the Administration
      -Washington, DC
-Housing and school integration
-Welfare
-Family Assistance Plan [FAP]
-Food stamps
-Sickle cell anemia
-Possible programs
  -Assistance
  -Black-White confrontation
-Education
  -Disadvantaged neighborhood schools
    -Financial help for physical plants, faculty, books
      -Moynihan’s view
  -Hereditary and environment
-Schools
  -Tokenism
    -Minority business
    -Previous legislation of 92nd Congress
      -Possible visits by the President
        -Neutral ground
-Reading programs
-Truism
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-Minority advancement

-FAP
- Department of Housing, Education and Welfare [HEW]
  - Elliot L. Richardson
  - Weinberger
- Ehrlichman’s press briefing
  - 1972 election
    - Mandate for tougher work requirement
    - Congressional relations
      - Senate
        - Deadlock
  - 1972 election
    - Welfare reform
      - The President’s platform
        - Administration proposals
          - Elimination of Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]
          - Employment
          - Fraud elimination
          - Experiments
          - AFDC

Race relations
  - Blacks
    - The President’s concern
      - Abraham Lincoln’s views
        - Equality with whites
          - Slavery
          - Fairness
    - The President’s views
      - Liberals
        - University of Southern California [USC] and Stanford University football teams
          - Entrance requirements
            - Black athletes
              - Recruitment
            - Black leaders, children, waiters
          - Intelligence
            - Payton
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-Jewell S. Lafontant
  -Whites
  -Empathy
  -Equality with whites
    -Intelligence
    -School and housing integration
  -Need for honesty
  -Rewards
  -Tokenism
    -Sammy Davis, Jr.
-Schools
  -Improvement
-Minority business
  -Cost
    -Mexian-Americans
-Expectations during first term
  -Deflation
  -Cabinet appointments
  -General Motors [GM]
-Judgeships
-Ambassadors
-Ambassadors
  -Sweden
  -Liberia
  -Norway
  -Denmark
  -Jerome H. Holland
    -Achievements
-The President’s appointments
  -Merit
-Schools
-Assistance to blacks
  -Civil rights leaders
-Rev. Theodore S. Hesburgh
  -Civil rights community
  -Georgetown elite
    -Views

Second term reorganization
  -Hesburgh
-Departure
-J. Stanley Pottinger
   -Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division
   -Background
-Commission on Civil Rights
   -Intellectual
   -John B. Connally
-National Center for Voluntary Action [NCVA]
   -George W. Romney
      -Ehrlichman’s meeting with Robert H. Finch
         -Conversation with the President
         -The President’s meeting with Romney and W. Clement Stone
      -Finch’s performance
      -Second phase
         -The President’s meeting with Romney, Ehrlichman
-Fundraising
   -The President’s role
      -The President’s meetings with Romney, Stone
      -Dinners
         -Stone
         -John W. Gardner
-Fundraising
   -Use of White House
      -Dinners
      -Boys Clubs

The President’s schedule
   -Business Council
      -Future meetings
   -New people
      -Compared to old elite
      -John W. Gardner
         -Urban Coalition
   -National Alliance of Businessmen [NAB]
      -Donald McI. Kendall
   -Representation from Sears Roebuck
      -Unknown person
         -Chicago
   -NAB
      -Subsidies
-Use of White House
- Fundraising
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
- Brennan
  - Labor Department
- Instruction to Ehrlichman
- Eastern establishment
- Lyndon B. Johnson administration
  - Great Society
- Ehrlichman’s record
- Dinners
- Congressional relations
  - Breakfast meetings
    - Ford
    - Compared to telephone calls
    - White House contact
      - Wives, staffs, news letters
    - Frequency
    - Hand-shaking
      - Democrats, Republicans
    - Passage of revenue sharing
      - Mayors
- Need for allies
- John A. Tower
  - Attitude
- Peter H. Dominick
  - Attitude
- Gordon L. Allott
- Brock
  - Value

Congressional relations
  - Bryce N. Harlow
  - Timmons
  - Meetings
    - Clark MacGregor
    - Timmons
      - Presence
      - Personality
    - Second term reorganization
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

-The President’s schedule
  -Cabinet dinner
  -Seating arrangements
    -Departures
    -Mrs. Brennan
      -The President’s right
    -Under Secretary’s wife
      -The President’s left
    -Adele (Langston) Rogers
    -[Suzanne (Lowell) Krogh]
      -Background
        -Japan
    -Under Secretary’s wife
      -William E. Simon
        -[Carol (Girard) Simon]
          -Background
            -New York
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
      -Maurice H. Stans
      -John N. Mitchell
      -Clifford M. Hardin
      -Romney
      -John A. Volpe
      -Romney
      -Volpe
      -Stans
      -Under Secretary’s wife
    -Invitations
      -Blacks
    -Cabinet, Under Secretaries, White House staff
      -Blacks
Conversation No. 824-3 (cont’d)

- Under Secretaries
  - Samuel L. Jackson
  - Robert J. Brown
    - Price
    - Klein
    - Finch
    - Donald H. Rumsfeld
    - Jackson

The President’s schedule
  - Congressional relations
  - Social affairs
    - Effect
  - Meetings with the President’s supporters
    - Senate Finance Committee
      - Effect
      - FAP
  - Cabinet dinner
    - Haldeman

Press relations
  - Ziegler
    - The President’s meeting with Ehrlichman
      - Duration
      - Domestic programs

Ehrlichman left at 1:54 pm.

Conversation No. 824-4

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
Conversation No. 824-4 (cont’d)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Lunch

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
********************************************************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.

Conversation No. 824-5

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Robert H. Finch
    - Staff
    - Timing
  - Reception for 1972 election supporters
    - Hand-shaking
    - Public statement
      - Public address [PA] system
        - Alfred Wong
  - Cabinet dinner
    - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - William P. Rogers

Butterfield and Bull left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.
Conversation No. 824-8

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

Alexander P. Butterfield met with Stephen B. Bull.

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

Cabinet dinner
  -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
  -Handshake

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

Butterfield and Bull left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.

Conversation No. 824-6

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
  -Reception for 1972 election supporters

Delivery of an unknown item
  -Residence

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.
Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

Manolo Sanchez met with an unknown person

The President’s schedule

Sanchez and the unknown person left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.

Date: December 15, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:54 pm and 2:04 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

The President's schedule

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:04 pm.