Conversation No. 827-1

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Diplomatic children’s party
- Executive Office Building [EOB]

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

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Conversation No. 827-2

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Zosimo T. Monson.

The President’s schedule
- Executive Office Building [EOB] office
  - Briefcase
  - Eyeglasses

Monson left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

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Conversation No. 827-25

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am
Conversation No. 827-25 (cont’d)

Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

The President’s location
- Executive Office Building [EOB]

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

Conversation No. 827-3

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, Ronald L. Ziegler and Zosimo T. Monson.

The President’s schedule
- Trip to Florida
  - Delay
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

Conversation No. 827-4

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.
Date: December 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am  
Location: Oval Office  

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.  

The President’s schedule  
- Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule  
- Budget briefing  
- Duration  

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:20 am.

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Date: December 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 10:16 am and 10:20 am  
Location: Oval Office  

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.  

The President’s schedule  
- Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler  

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:20 a.m.

---

Date: December 20, 1972  
Time: 10:20 am – unknown before 11:20 am  
Location: Oval Office
The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 38s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 10:21 am.

The President’s schedule
- Henry A. Kissinger’s schedule
- Budget briefing
- Ziegler’s schedule
- Trip to Florida
  - Duration
  - Return
  - Timing
  - Christmas
- Kissinger’s press relations
  - George Sherman
    - [Washington Star] article
  - Telephone calls
- Trip to Florida
  - Duration
  - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
  - Christmas
- Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

- California
  - Rose Bowl
- Return to Washington, DC
  - Timing
    - Christmas
    - Camp David
    - Christmas

- New Year’s Day
- Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
  - Christmas
- California
- Trip to Florida
  - Return
- California
  - Mrs. Nixon’s schedule
    - Rose Parade
    - 1973 Inauguration
    - Budget messages
    - State of the Union address
- Trip to Florida
  - 1973 Inauguration

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Press relations
  - The President’s health
    - James C. Hagerty
    - Dwight David Eisenhower
    - Heart attack
  - Briefing
    - Annual physical exam
    - Questions from the press
    - The President’s previous experience
    - Congressman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************
Press relations
- The President’s forthcoming meeting with Saul Pett
  - Tour
    - [Oval Office]
      - Executive Office Building [EOB], Lincoln Sitting Room, Oval Office
        - Photograph opportunity
          - Associated Press [AP]
            - Helen Thomas
              - *Washington Post*

  - *Life*
    - Photograph opportunity, July 25, 1972
      - Duration
      - Quality
      - Cessation of publication
      - Thomas

Vietnam negotiations
- Breakdown
  - State Department briefing
    - William H. Sullivan
      - William P. Rogers’s conversation with Haldeman
        - Tone
        - Kissinger’s conversation with Rogers
          - John A. Scali

  - Kissinger’s relationship with the President
    - Settlement agreement, October 26, 1972
      - Kissinger’s “peace is at hand” statement

- Differences
  - Diplomatic circles
    - Europe
      - Victor Zorzas’s article
    - Kissinger’s October 26, 1972 briefing compared to December 16, 1972 briefing
      - References to the President
        - Tone
          - Peace

- Record
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

-“Peace is at hand”
  -The President’s view
  -The President’s address, “Look to the Future,” November 2, 1972
- Cables, December 4-13, 1972
  -The President’s possible television [TV] appearance
  -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
-Kissinger’s motives
  -Rogers
  -The President’s possible TV appearance
-Settlement agreement
  -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  -US bombing north of the 20th Parallel
  -Hanoi
-Settlement agreement, October 26, 1972
-Differences
  -Kissinger’s October 26, 1972 briefing compared to Kissinger’s December 16, 1972 briefing
    -References to the President
    -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
      -Marvin L. Kalb
        -Conversations with Kissinger
    -James B. (“Scotty”) Reston’s and Joseph C. Kraft’s articles
      -Paris
      -South Vietnam’s strategy
- State Department briefing
  -Sullivan
    -DMZ
      -South Vietnam
    -North Vietnam
    -Rogers
    -Location
    -Rogers
    -Relationship with Kissinger
    -Conversation with Haldeman
      -The President
    -Conversation with Ziegler
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s relationship with the President
  -Settlement agreement
  -Differences
    -Instructions for Kissinger
-North Vietnam
  -Settlement agreement
    -South Vietnam
    -DMZ
    -POWs
  -Return
    -Timing
    -Conditions
      -Civilians prisoners in South Vietnam
    -Kissinger’s statements

-Kissinger’s motives
  -Ziegler’s possible briefing
  -Rogers
  -Responsibility
-Kissinger’s relationship with the President
  -Kissinger’s motives
    -The President’s possible TV appearance
      -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Press relations
  -Reston
    -Paris
  -Le Monde
-Continuation of talks
-South Vietnam
-State Department briefing
-Sullivan
  -North Vietnam
    -Ziegler’s conversations with Rogers, Sullivan, Kissinger
    -US conditions
      -Number
    -Kissinger

Zosimo T. Monson entered at an unknown time after 10:21 am.
Refreshment
- Coffee

Monson left at an unknown time before 10:44 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- Ziegler’s briefing compared to Kissinger’s briefing
  - Points
  - Personality
    - John D. Ehrlichman’s briefings
- Ziegler’s conversation with Rogers
  - Sullivan briefing
    - Tone
    - Administration unity
- North Vietnam’s intransigence
  - DMZ
  - POWs
  - Administration unity
    - Kissinger
  - Timing

Press relations
- Ziegler’s briefing
  - Gen. Walter R. Tkach
  - Announcements
    - Holidays
  - [Anne L. Armstrong]
    - Office location
      - White House
      - West Wing

Ziegler left and Monson entered at 10:44 am.

Monson’s schedule
- Vacation
  - Departure
    - Timing
  - Duration
Monson left at an unknown time before 11:04 am.

Vietnam negotiations
- Sullivan briefing
- Rogers
  - Relationship with Kissinger
  - The President
    - Kissinger
    - Conversation with Ziegler
- US bombing north of 20\textsuperscript{th} Parallel
- Press relations
  - The President’s reading
  - The President’s health
    - Dilation of eyes
  - \textit{New York Times}
- Tone
  - Kissinger’s view
  - Future
    - US losses
    - Civilian casualties
- US losses
  - B-52s
- Navy ship
  - Personnel
- Significance
  - People compared to airplanes
  - B-52s
    - Kissinger’s view compared to Haldeman’s view
  - Air Force
  - B-1 bomber
- Inevitability
- Determination
- Press relations
  - Tone
- Congressional relations
  - Recess
  - Reconvention
- Public relations [PR]
  - Charles W. Colson
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

-Meeting with the President
-Statements
-Press relations
  -Martin Z. Agronsky
    -The President’s viewing
      -Winston S. Churchill
      -WTOP
    -Breakdown in talks
  -Opposition to the administration
  -Tone
  -PR
  -1972 election
-heal’s trip to Saigon
  -Paris
  -Kissinger
    -Recent articles
      -Self-image
      -Zorza
        -October 26, 1972 briefing
          -References to the President
            -1972 election
  -Briefings
    -Congressional relations
      -Colson
    -The President’s schedule
      -1973 Inauguration
    -Press conferences
  -Intellectuals
  -PR
  -Ziegler
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
      -Clarifications
      -Justification
      -North Vietnam’s buildup
    -Resumption of talks
  -PR
    -Resumption of talks
      -North Vietnam’s response
        -Timing
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s view

-Timing
  -Holidays
    -Christmas, New Year’s Day
    -1973 Inauguration
  -Congressional relations
  -The President’s possible TV appearance
  -Kissinger’s view
    -Previous TV appearances
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -US losses
    -B-52s
      -POWs
      -Missing in action [MIAs]
  -Military and news reports
    -Timing

Kissinger’s press relations
  -Zorza’s article
  -Briefings
    -First term
    -Rogers
  -Interview with Oriana Fallaci
    -Kissinger’s conversation with the President
    -Haig’s view

Rose Mary Woods
  -Mood
    -White House social affairs
      -Invitations
        -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
          -Christmas decorations
        -Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
      -Cabinet dinner
        -Robert J. Brown
        -Leonard Garment
        -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
        -William L. Safire
        -Patrick J. Buchanan
Ziegler entered at 11:04 am.

Vietnam negotiations
   -Sullivan briefing
      -Ziegler’s recent conversation with Rogers
         -North Vietnam
            -South Vietnam
               -Blame
                  -Reston’s and Kraft’s articles
         -End of war
            -Support

Ziegler left at 11:05 am.

The President’s schedule
   -Meeting with Productivity Commission
      -The President’s health
         -Dilation of eyes
            -Duration
               -George P. Shultz
Conversation No. 827-7 (cont’d)

-H Kissinger

-Haldeman left at an unknown time before 11:20 am.

Conversation No. 827-8

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:05 am and 11:20 am
Location: Oval Office

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

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting of Productivity Commission
    -Duration
    -Stephen B. Bull
    -“Drop by”
    -George P. Shultz
    -Hand-shaking
    -The President’s appreciation

Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:05 am.

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Productivity Commission
    -Duration
Conversation No. 827-8 (cont’d)

-Timing
  -Hand-shaking
  -Photograph opportunity
  -Number of attendees
  -Shultz
-Purpose
  -Shultz
-Location
-Attendees
  -Lane Kirkland
  -George Meany
  -John H. Lyons
  -C. L. Dennis
  -Paul Hall
  -[illegible] Abel
  -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
  -Pat Greathouse
  -Leonard Woodcock
  -Donald H. Rumsfeld
-The President’s attendance
  -Shultz
  -Hand-shaking
    -Speaking
  -Labor leaders

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:20 a.m.

The President’s schedule
  -Meetings
    -Frequency
      -John D. Ehrlichman
        -Shultz
      -Henry A. Kissinger
        -Disputes
    -Shultz
  -Agenda review
    -Meetings between Shultz, Ehrlichman, Roy L. Ash, Haldeman, Kissinger
      -Timing
-Timing
  -Afternoons
-White House staff
  -Meetings
  -Frequency
    -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
    -Rose Mary Woods
-Woods
-Mood
  -White House social affairs
    -Private affairs
      -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  -Dinners
  -1973 Inauguration
  -Lists
  -Cabinet dinner
  -Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
    -White House staff

White House social affairs
  -Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
    -Patricia R. Hitt
  -Robert H. Finch
  -Rumsfeld
  -Reception for surrogates and campaign workers
    -Hitt
    -Governors
    -Richard G. Lugar
    -Hitt

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

Press relations
  -Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
    -House purchase
  -Hank Haldeman
    -School
Conversation No. 827-8 (cont’d)

-Rebozo
-Classmate Camacho [first name unknown]
-Key Biscayne
-H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman’s house
-Maxine Chesire article
-Size of house

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 5s____]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Rebozo
-House purchase
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower and [Dwigh] David Eisenhower, II
-Investment
-Rent house
-Timing
-Investment

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Haldeman left at 11:20 am.

Conversation No. 827-9

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 am and 11:32 am
Location: Oval Office

Stephen B. Bull met an unknown person [Secret Service agent].

Presidential Locator System
Conversation No. 827-9 (cont’d)

-Range finder
  -Request to turn off
    -Chuck [last name unknown]

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:32 am.

Conversation No. 827-24

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:24 am and 11:32 am
Location: Oval Office

An unknown person [Secret Service agent] talked with Chuck [last name unknown].

  The President’s location
    -Cabinet Room
      -Presidential Locator System
        -Range finder
          -Request to turn off

[End of telephone conversation]

The unknown agent talked with John [?] [last name unknown] at an unknown time between 11:24 am and 11:32 am.

[Conversation No. 827-24A]

  The President’s location
    -Cabinet Room

[End of telephone conversation]

The unknown agent met with an unknown agent.

  Presidential Locator System
    -Cabinet Room door
      -Executive Protective Service [EPS]
H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at an unknown time after 11:24 am.

Kitchen
  - Appliances
  - Purchase
  - United Buying Service
  - Haldeman’s car

[The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:32 am.]

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 11:32 am and 12:16 am
Location: Oval Office

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

Second term reorganization
  - Sensitivities
  - Changes
    - White House staff
    - Reductions
    - Rate
  - Press relations
    - Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Announcements

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 11:33 am.

Vietnam negotiations
  - Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu
    - Delay
  - Letter to the President
  - Settlement agreement
    - Rejection
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

-Conditions
  -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
  -Political framework
    -National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord
    [NCNRC]
    -Coalition government
  -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-US-North Vietnam’s bilateral deal
-Timing
-Technical talks
  -North Vietnam
    -Attendance
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Proposal
    -December 23, 1972 meeting
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-B-52s
  -Losses
  -Sorties
    -December 21, 1972 plan
    -Hanoi
  -Losses
    -Hanoi
    -Surface to air missiles [SAMs] [SA-2s]
    -Congressional relations
-Congressional relations
  -Edward M. Kennedy’s speech
-Thieu
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-B-52s
  -Losses
    -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    -Kissinger’s conversation with Melvin R. Laird
    -Expectations
-Air Force
-Timing
  -North Vietnam
-Losses
  -Expectations
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

-Continuation
  -Laird’s view
-Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnam’s position
    -Technical talks
-Exieu
  -Ngo Dinh Diem
  -Cessation of US economic and military aid
  -Tenure
-Haig’s schedule
  -Key Biscayne
  -Thieu
  -Bangkok
  -Seoul
  -Key Biscayne
  -Meeting with Thieu
  -Delay
    -Compared to Thieu’s meeting with Kissinger
-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu
    -November 20, 1972
      -Changes
      -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
        -Public relations [PR]
    -The President’s and Kissinger’s strategy
      -Saigon
        -Conditions
          -Unconditional surrender
  -Changes
    -The President’s meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc, November 29, 1972
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -B-52s
    -Losses
      -Expectations
        -Hanoi
          -TACAIR
            -SAMs
-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu
  -North Vietnam
    -Reply
    -US note
-Technical talks
  -North Vietnam
    -Statement
      -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
      -Proposal
      -December 23, 1972 meeting
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Reaction
    -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
    -Soviet Union
-Settlement agreement
  -North Vietnam
-Thieu
  -Kissinger’s view
    -October 1972
    -1972 election
      -Haig’s trip to Saigon
  -Letter from the President
-Conditions
  -NCNRC
    -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
    -Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG]
      -Settlement agreement
        -Preamble
  -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  -Effect on South Vietnam
-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  -Effect on South Vietnam
    -Congressional relations
      -US aid
        -Settlement agreement
  -Condition
    -Cessation of US aid to South Vietnam
      -Communist aid to North Vietnam
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

- Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Thieu
- Settlement agreement
  - Political settlement
  - Motives
    - US bombing and mining north of 20th Parallel
    - Cessation
    - Continuation
    - Cessation
    - US withdrawal
- Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- Congressional relations
  - Aid to South Vietnam
    - Cut off
    - Aid to North Vietnam
    - Cease-fire
- Settlement agreement
  - Thieu
    - Tenure
      - Democracy
    - October 1972
      - Meeting with the President
    - Tenure
      - Timing
    - Record
      - US-South Vietnam relations
        - Thieu’s domestic constituency
    - Tenure
      - Timing
    - January 1973
- US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  - Charles W. Colson’s view
  - George S. McGovern, Michael J. Mansfield
- McGovern
  - Unilateral withdrawal
  - Cut off of US military and economic aid
    - Mansfield
  - POWs
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

-Continuation
  -POWs
-KeSSinger’s briefing, December 16, 1972
  -PR
    -Letters
      -Tone
      -Number
      -Communists
  -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu
  -Haig
  -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -US-South Vietnam relations
  -Laos, Cambodia
    -US relations
-KeSSieu
  -Effect on Southeast Asia
  -W[illiam] Averell Harriman’s view
-Settlement agreement
  -August 1972
    -McGovern
-KeSSeydy’s speech
  -Tone
  -Robert J. Dole’s statement
    -Kissinger’s viewing on television [TV]
-KeSSessional relations
  -The President
    -Support
  -Kennedy’s speech
  -Republican Senators
  -Support for the President
    -The President’s conversation with Haldeman
  -Kennedy’s speech
    -Press relations
  -Kissinger’s viewing on Today show or Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] news
-Support for the President
-Haig’s meeting with Thieu
-Haig’s cable to Kissinger
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
-Settlement agreement
-Thieu
-George Carver’s view
-Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
-October 1972
-Hanoi
-US signing
-Protest
-Acceptance
-US signing
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Rejection
-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
-Effect on US “domestic structure”
-Relations with administration
-Press relations
-The President’s relationship with Kissinger
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-B-52s
-Losses
-The President’s conversation with Kissinger
-Timing
-North Vietnam
-Moorer
-Targets
-Hanoi
-Timing
-Kissinger’s conversation with Moorer
-Changes
-Settlement agreement
-Thieu
-Relations with US
-Post-November 7, 1972
-The President’s meeting with Duc
-Haig’s and Kissinger’s trips to Saigon
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

-Ellsworth F. Bunker
-US public
-The President
-South Vietnam
-US public, the President
-Condition
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Military Region [MR] Three
-South Vietnam’s forces compared to North Vietnam’s forces
-US concessions
-Cease-fire in place
-October 1970; January 1972; May 8, 1972
-Right-wing
-Thieu
-Letter to the President
-Continuation of war
-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
-DMZ
-Laos, Cambodia
-Supply corridors
-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
-Meeting with Haig
-Settlement agreement
-North Vietnam
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Continuation
-Scale
-Three-day strike
-Hanoi
-Attacks on Soviet Union and Polish ships
-Haiphong
-Soviet Union protest
-Tone
-Hanoi
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-PR
-Kissinger’s mail
Conversation No. 827-10 (cont’d)

-“Doves”
  -Kennedy
  -Press relations
  -Cambodia
  -Kent State University
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  -World War III

-North Vietnam
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  -Thieu
-Haig’s meeting with Thieu
  -Strategy
    -Kissinger’s instructions to Haig
  -Thieu
    -Letter from the President
      -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
        -Refusal
        -Publication
          -Thieu’s response
          -Effect
            -Cut off of US aid
            -US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
            -Thieu’s response

-Resumption of talks
  -North Vietnam
    -US proposal
      -Settlement agreement
  -Settlement agreement
  -Thieu
    -Signing
      -Duress
      -Moorer, Kissinger, the President
    -October 1972
      -1968
      -1972 election
-Haig’s trip to Saigon
-Demands
-Tone
-Relations with US
  -Tone
  -Possible proposal, January 5, 1973
  -Possible meeting with the President
    -Leak of reply
  -Repetition of old propositions
-North Vietnamese strength in South Vietnam
  -October 1972
  -CIA analysis
    -Saigon station chief
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -December 18, 1972
  -Effect
    -Technical talks
      -North Vietnam
        -Attendance
          -Weakness
          -Protest
          -Secrecy
    -Proposal
      -December 23, 1972 meeting
      -Breakdown in talks
-Settlement agreement
  -Thieu’s acceptance
    -Message to North Vietnam
  -Prospects
    -Tone
    -January 1973
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -B-52s
    -Losses
      -SAMs
        -Percentages
  -Targets
    -SAMs
    -Railroads, bridges
  -B-52s
    -Soviet Union
    -Attrition
Second term reorganization
- Air Force
- Army
- Navy
  - Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

Vietnam negotiations
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - PR
    - The President’s conversation with Colson
    - Press relations
      - Newspapers and TV
    - The President’s conversation with Colson
    - Mechanism
    - Results
      - Compared to Air Force
    - Debate
    - Christmas
    - Reply from North Vietnam
      - Timing
    - Forthcoming report
      - Timing

Haldeman and Kissinger left at 12:16 pm.

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:51 pm and 1:53 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
Conversation No. 827-11 (cont’d)

-Meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler
-Timing
-Ziegler’s press conference

The President’s briefcase
-Contents
-Book about Inaugural addresses
-Location
-Sitting Room desk
-The President’s schedule
-Trip to Florida

White House gifts
-Christmas
-Bracelet
-Lloyd G. Balfour Company
-Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
-Conversation with the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 1:53 pm.

Conversation No. 827-12

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 1:53 pm - 2:20 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman at 1:53 pm.

The President’s schedule
-Christmas message
-Radio
-Television [TV]
-Thanksgiving message
-TV
-1973 Inauguration
-Necessity
Conversation No. 827-12 (cont’d)

-Harry S. Truman
-Health
  -Life expectancy
  -Liver
    -William M. Lukash
  -Life expectancy
-Christmas message
  -Necessity
    -Statement
    -Jews
    -Thanksgiving
    -New Year’s Day
-New Year’s Day message
  -1973 Inauguration
-1973 Inaugural address
  -Book about Inaugural addresses
    -The President’s schedule
    -Trip to Florida
-Telephone calls
  -Congressional relations
    -James O. Eastland
    -John C. Stennis
    -Republicans
  -Timing
    -New Year’s Day
    -Christmas
    -Return to White House
-White House staff’s schedule
  -Need for break
-Recent past
  -1972 election
    -1972 campaign
  -Vietnam War
  -Watergate
-White House staff’s schedule
  -Henry A. Kissinger
-Status quo
  -Second term reorganization
    -Cabinet, Under Secretaries, agency heads
Conversation No. 827-12 (cont’d)

-Meetings with ambassadors
  -Timing
- Meeting with Maurice H. Stans
- Rose Mary Woods
- Doctors
- Congressional relations
  -State of the Union address
    -William H. Timmons
    -Written statement
      -1973 Inaugural address
    - Bipartisan leadership meetings
  - Bipartisanship leadership meetings
    - Timing
      -1973 Inauguration
      - Congressional organization
    - Executive reorganization
      - Bryce N. Harlow
- Vietnam War message
- Telephone calls
  - Democratic Senators from Louisiana [J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.],
    George [Sam Nunn], and Kentucky [Walter (Dee) Huddleston]
    - Allen J. Ellender
    - John Sherman Cooper
    - David H. Gambrell
    - Florida

Vietnam War
  - US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - Public relations [PR]
    - The President’s conversation with Charles W. Colson
      - Haldeman’s and Kissinger’s views
    - Scale of bombing
      - Hanoi
    - Aircraft losses
      - B-52s
        - 1971
          - Hanoi
    - Timing
      - Kissinger’s view
Conversation No. 827-12 (cont’d)

-Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS]
- Kissing’s view
- Winston S. Churchill
-Defenses around Hanoi
  -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
-PR
  -Future
  -The President’s conversation with Colson
    -Instruction for Harlow to call Robert J. Dole
-Haldeman’s conversation with Dole
  -Dole’s schedule
    -Kansas
  -Dole’s statement
    -Press relations
      -Television [TV]
        -Republican National Committee [RNC]
          Chairmanship
        -Edward M. Kennedy’s speech
          -Congressional relations
            -The President
              -Dole’s Republican identity

Mrs. Clifford F. Moore

*Washington Post* article by [Ronald Kessler], “A Glimpse of the private Nixon-by Longtime Sitter”

The President talked with Rose Mary Woods at an unknown time between 1:53 pm and 2:00 pm.

[Conversation No. 827-12A]

Mrs. Moore

-Kessler’s article
  -1969 Inauguration
    -Lack of invitation
  -Request for a meeting with Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox in 1970
    -White House aid
      -Mrs. Moore’s background
Conversation No. 827-12 (cont’d)

-Babysitter

-Church service

-Invitation
  -Roger E. and Louise Johnson
  -John and Mrs. Wardlow
  -Timing
    -1973 Inauguration
  -Address
  -Outbox

-Letter from the President
  -Washington Post article
  -Interview
    -Quality
  -Mrs. Moore’s work for the President’s family

-Church service invitation

[End of telephone conversation]

John M Shaheen
  -Edward C. Nixon
  -Possible telephone call from Haldeman
  -Nixon Foundation

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:53 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with [Edward V. Jones and family]
    -Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
    -“Double buzz”

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:20 pm.

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

Nixon Foundation
  -Shaheen
  -Establishment
Conversation No. 827-12 (cont’d)

-Jack and Helene (Colesie) Drown
-Discussion
-Shaheen

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Haldeman left at 2:20 pm.

Conversation No. 827-13

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 2:20 pm - 2:25 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Saul Pett
- Meeting with [Edward V. Jones and family]
  - White House gifts
  - Apollo viewmaster

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon, Jones, Mrs. Edward V. Jones, James Balling, Jr., Mrs. James Balling, Jr., Nella Balling, and Maria Balling entered and Bull left at 2:20 pm. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
- Introductions

Photograph session
- Arrangements

[Photograph session]
- Copies
Conversation No. 827-13 (cont’d)

White House gifts
   - Cuff links and pins
   - Presidential Seal
   - Apollo viewmaster

Oval Office
   - Furnishings
      - Steuben glass [“Star of the President”]
      - Walter H. Annenberg
      - Malachite
      - British prints of Washington, DC, circa 1830
      - Crewelwork by Julie Nixon Eisenhower
      - 1960 election

Committee for the Preservation of the White House
   - The President’s appreciation

Farewells

Mrs. Nixon, et al., left at 2:25 pm.

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:25 pm and 2:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Ronald Kessler.

Press relations
   - The President’s appreciation

******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
The President played his recorder.

Test signals

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

Press relations
- Kessler’s article
- Interview with Clifford Moore
- Moore
  - Personal qualities

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

Mrs. Moore
- Mrs. Nixon, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia Nixon Cox, the President

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

Press relations
- Kessler’s article
- Interview with Mrs. Moore
- Mrs. Moore
  - The First Family’s memories

[This letter continues as Conversation No. 827-16]
Conversation No. 827-15

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 2:36 pm - 2:40 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose Mary Woods.

White House gifts
- Music boxes
  - Marjorie P. Acker
  - Presidential Seal
  - Music bar
- Color
- Number

The President’s letter to Ronald Kessler
- Dictation
- Dictaphone

The President’s schedule
- Telephone calls
  - Jean Paul Getty
  - Deborah [?] Morrison
  - Previous correspondence
  - Death of husband
- Birthdays
  - Congressional relations

Clifford Moore
- Telephone call
  - The President’s letter to Kessler
  - Dictation
    - Dictaphone

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.
Rose Woods left at 2:40 pm.

[This letter continues as Conversation No. 827-16]

**Conversation No. 827-16**

Date: December 20, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 2:40 pm and 2:45 pm  
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a letter to Ronald Kessler.

[This is a continuation of conversation No. 827-15.]

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

- Press relations
  - Kessler’s article
  - Clifford Moore
    - The First Family’s memories
      - The President’s experience in the House of Representatives, Senate, Vice Presidency

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

- Press relations
  - Kessler’s article
  - Mrs. Moore
    - The First Family’s memories
      - Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Tricia Nixon Cox
    - Possible visit to the White House
      - Timing
        - Julie Nixon Eisenhower’s and Tricia Nixon Cox’s
Conversation No. 827-16 (cont’d)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Ronald L. Ziegler’s schedule
- Press conference

Bull left at an unknown time before 2:45 pm.

Conversation No. 827-17

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:40 pm and 2:45 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Rose M. Woods.

The President’s letter to Ronald Kessler
- H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Saul Pett
- Woods’s possible meeting with Pett
- Pett’s identity
  - Associated Press [AP]
  - New York
  - “Color pieces”
- Relationship with the administration

Rose Woods left at 2:46 pm.
Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 2:47 pm - 2:55 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Saul Pett
- Rose Mary Woods
  - The President’s conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
  - Background information
    - Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
- Possible meeting with Pett
  - The President’s possible role
  - The President’s conversation with Woods
- Gerald L. Warren
  - Ziegler’s conversation with Woods

- Duration
- Tour
  - Executive Office Building [EOB] office, Lincoln Sitting Room
- Photograph session
- Purpose
  - Pett’s previous article
  - Mood, color
    - Presidential decisions
    - 1972 election
      - Reception for administration officials from California
        - The President’s comments
        - Blair House
- Length of meeting
- Photograph session
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Woods’s possible meeting with Pett
  - Ziegler’s conversation with Woods
Press relations
- Ziegler’s press conference
  - The President’s relationship with Kissinger
- William H. Sullivan’s briefing
  - Ziegler’s conversation with Sullivan
    - Prisoners of War [POW] issue
    - Vietnam negotiations

Vietnam War
- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - Aircraft losses
    - The President’s conversation with Kissinger
- Press relations
- Public relations [PR]
  - Cambodia
    - Invasion
  - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    - US-Soviet Union summit
  - Lack of a Presidential announcement
    - Kissinger’s advice
    - Vietnam negotiations
- Laos
  - Defeat
- Vietnam negotiations
- Pace of bombing
  - Vietnam negotiations
    - Settlement agreement
    - Charles W. Colson
    - Ziegler
      - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Pett
Ziegler left at 2:55 pm.

Conversation No. 827-20

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 2:56 pm - 3:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

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

Press relations
- Saul Pett
  - Conversation with Haldeman
  - Watergate
  - Arrest of Cubans
- Meeting with the President
  - Photograph session
- Conversation with Haldeman
  - Watergate
  - Cubans
- Possible meeting with Rose Mary Woods
  - The President’s conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler
    - Gerald L. Warren
    - Ziegler

White House staff
- Woods
  - The President’s role
  - Relationship with staff
  - Conversation with Ziegler
    - Meeting with Pett
    - Timing

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
  - Wage and price policy
“End run”
-Haldeman’s meeting with Shultz
-Unknown matter
-Announcement
-Pre-January 1, 1973

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 2:56 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Pett

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 3:05 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Shultz’s view
  - Meeting in Key Biscayne
    - Photograph session
- White House staff’s schedule
  - The President’s conversation with Charles W. Colson
    - Colson’s schedule
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
  - Wilton B. (“Jerry”) Persons, Sherman Adams, the President as Vice President
    - Work habits
  - Heart attack
- Pre-January 1, 1973
- John B. Connally
  - Return from trip
  - Conversation with Haldeman
- Meetings with Shultz
  - Duration
  - Photograph sessions
- Second term reorganization
  - William D. Ruckelshaus
  - James T. Lynn
  - Frank C. Carlucci
    - Loyalty
    - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
- L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
  - Assignment
1973 Inaugural address
   - Length
   - Speechwriting staff
   - Book about Inaugural addresses
   - Speechwriting staff
   - Franklin D. Roosevelt’s second Inaugural address
     - Theodore Roosevelt’s second Inaugural address
     - Quality
   - Raymond K. Price, Jr.’s draft

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Pett

Haldeman left at 3:05 pm.

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 3:05 pm - 3:49 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Saul Pett
     - Ziegler’s schedule

Pett and Henry Burroughs entered at 3:05 pm. Members of the press and the White House photographer were present at the beginning of this meeting.

Greetings

Photograph session

The President’s schedule

New York
Pett’s attire
-Mrs. Pett

[Photograph session]
-[General conversation]
-James W. Gallagher
-The President’s relationship with John L. Lewis
-Saul Pett’s article
-The President’s health
-First term

Ziegler left at 3:06 pm.

Zosimo T. Monson was present at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

Refreshment
-Coffee
-Saul Pett’s previous trip to White House
-“Little office”
-Lyndon B. Johnson [?]

Monson left at an unknown time before 3:49 pm.

The President’s health
-Physical examination
-First term
-Lack of a sick day
-Harry S. Truman
-Franklin D. Roosevelt

-Age
-Lack of exercise, recreation
-Doctors
-The President’s experience as Vice President
-Golf, tennis

-Physical makeup
-Inheritance
-Spartan background
-Lack of headaches, stomach problems
-Medical television [TV] shows
-Marcus Welby, M.D.

Presidency
- Battle metaphor
  - Campaigning
  - The President’s schedule
    - Trips to Florida
  - Spartan lifestyle
    - Eating, drinking
      - Moderation
    - Socrates
    - Campaigning
  - Discipline
    - Physical, mental, emotional aspects
-Oval Office
  - Cleanliness
    - Johnson
  - Johnson
    - TVs, ticker
    - George Christian’s press conferences
  - TVs
    - Bedroom
-TV
  - Trips to Florida
  - Football games
-Decision making
  - Crises
    - Personal qualities
      - Balance, objectivity
      - Coolness, decisiveness
  - Vietnam War
    - Cambodia invasion
    - May 8, 1972
    - US mining, bombing north of 20th Parallel
  - Coolness, objectivity
-Press relations
  - TV commentators
  - Newspapers
    - The President’s reading
  - News summaries
Conversation No. 827-21 (cont’d)

-Contents
  -New York, Washington, DC, Rapid City, Los Angeles, San Antonio
  -New Republic, National Review
  -TV
  -Commentators
    -The President’s viewing
    -White House staff
    -Politics
    -Frank Cormier
    -Helen Thomas
    -Associated Press [AP]
    -Peter Lisagor
    -Detachment
    -The President’s experience as Congressman
      -Herbert L. Block cartoons
    -News summary
    -Criticism
      -Issues
        -Vietnam War
        -Welfare
    -Congressional relations
      -House of Representatives, Senate
      -J. William Fulbright
        -Relations with the President
          -Leadership meetings
    -Emotion
    -Criticism
    -Arrogance
      -Elections
    -Second term
    -Press relations

Vietnam negotiations
  -Settlement agreement
    -Problems
      -October 8, October 26, November 20, 1972
    -Prospects
    -US military policies
      -May 8, 1972
Conversation No. 827-21 (cont’d)

-Settlement agreement
  -Peace
    -Basis of the President’s decisions
      -Christmas, 1973 Inauguration
    -Continuation of war

Presidency
  -Perspective
    -The President’s reading
      -TV
    -Sports
    -History, biography
  -The President’s conversations with Henry A. Kissinger
    -Press and media relations
      -James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
      -Unknown person
      -Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
      -Howard K. Smith
  -Decision making
    -Effect of public opinion
    -Demonstrations
    -Media relations
      -Mining of Haiphong
      -World War III
    -Joseph C. Kraft
  -Second term
    -First term
      -Crises
  -Subjectivity
    -Compared to objectivity

The President’s health
  -Physical examination
  -Eating, drinking
  -Excessiveness
    -Press relations
  -Relaxation
    -Public appearances
      -Speeches, press conferences, conversations with newsmen
    -Washington Redskins
Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Pett
- Duration

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 3:49 pm.

The President’s health
- Relaxation
  - The President’s law school experience
- Press conferences

Presidency
- The President’s experience
  - 1969
  - Defeats
  - “Wilderness”
  - Money making
  - Unflappability
    - Politics
      - Difficulty
      - Combat
      - 1960 election
  - The President’s age

- Work habits
  - Hours
  - Quality of work
  - Delegation
    - Details
    - Grover Cleveland
      - Bill reading
  - Decision making
    - Domestic and foreign
    - Reaction
-The President’s schedule
  -Appointments, mail, meetings, speeches

1972 election
  -The President’s reflections
  -Reaction of young people
    -Voters
    -Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
      -1960 and 1962 election
        -Women
      -1968 election
    -1968 election
      -Circumstances
        -Third party
        -Victory margin
        -Vote counting
        -Mandate question
        -Social unrest
          -Vietnam War
        -The President’s popularity
      -Press relations
        -Hostility
          -Washington, DC
        -Commentary
      -The President’s victory
        -Margin
      -First Family
        -Tricia Nixon Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Mrs. Nixon
        -[Dwight] David Eisenhower, II
          -Politics
        -Edward R. F. Cox
        -Results
        -Lincoln Sitting Room
          -Telephone calls
      -Statement
    -The President’s schedule
      -Shoreham Hotel
      -Executive Office Building [EOB]
    -Results
      -California
Conversation No. 827-21 (cont’d)

- Reaction
  - Emotional drainage
  - Vacation
  - Trip to Florida
  - Elections
    - Presidency, Senate, House of Representatives
    - “Let down”

Presidency
- Learning
  - White House staff
  - Second term reorganization
    - Departures
    - Retentions
    - The President’s conversations with Cabinet, White House staff
  - Landslide victory
    - Effect
  - Cabinet
    - William P. Rogers
  - Power
  - Reelection
    - Restraints
    - Doing great things
  - Second term
    - Personnel
      - Cabinet
      - Leadership
      - Football metaphor

Politics
- The President’s future
- Campaigning
- Congressmen, administration
  - Caution
  - Polls
- Presidency
  - Congressmen, Senators, Cabinet, White House staff
  - Statemanship
- The President’s future
  - Responsibility
Conversation No. 827-21 (cont’d)

-Republican Party
-Campaigning
-Decision making
-Elections
  -Parties, ideas
  -Details
  -Airports
  -Appointments

-1972 election
  -Massachusetts
  -District of Columbia
  -Massachusetts
    -Harvard University
      -Administration
  -Compared to Johnson’s [1964] victory
    -National results
      -New York, California
      -South
  -The President’s future
  -Leadership
    -Travels to the country
    -Policies
      -Congressional relations
        -[Democrats]

-1972 election

Regards to Mrs. Nixon
-The President’s trip to the Soviet Union
  -Moscow
    -Gosudarstvennyi Universali’nyi Magazin [GUM]
      -Ice cream

Saul Pett’s gratitude

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
  - Federal spending
    - Inflation
    - Budget ceiling
Photograph session
  - Window
  - Contemplation

[Photograph session]
  - Decision making
  - Past and future
    - Press relations
    - TV

Saul Pett and Burroughs left at 3:49 pm.

Conversation No. 827-22

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 3:51 pm - 4:24 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Saul Pett
    - Pett’s writing style
        - Associated Press [AP]
    - Henry Burroughs
      - Photograph session

Ziegler left and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman entered at 3:52 pm.

Haldeman’s schedule
  - Trip to Florida

The President’s schedule
  - Vacation
    - White House staff
      - Charles W. Colson
    - Timing
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

-Congressional relations
- Reenactment
- Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement

Vietnam negotiations
- Settlement agreement
- Nguyen Van Thieu
- US military action
  - US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
  - Peace with honor
- US terms
- South Vietnam
- Army

An unknown person entered and left at an unknown time before 3:59 pm

Public relations [PR]
- Memorandum from Patrick J. Buchanan to the President
- Possible book by Buchanan
  - Girard Company, Pennsylvania bank
  - Length
  - Subject
  - National interest
- James A. Michener
- Barbara Ward
- First term
- Policies and decisions
  - Philosophical foundations
  - Richard M. Nixon Doctrine
  - Vietnam War
  - People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Soviet Union
  - Supreme Court
  - Bureaucracy
  - New American Majority
- Photographs
  - Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
- Duration
- The President’s interview with Garnett D. (“Jack”) Horner
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Saul Pett
  - Decision making
    - Press relations
    - The President’s demeanor
      - Coolness
    - Analyses

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:52 pm.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
- Trip to Florida
  - Helicopter
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Meeting with Shultz
  - Haldeman’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:59 pm.

Press relations
- Decision making

Shultz entered at 3:59 pm.

Greetings

Press relations
- Pett

Economy
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

-Pre-January 1973
-Wage and price control system
-Trade bill

The President’s schedule
-Meeting with the Productivity Commission
-Quality
-Business Council
-Meany
-Access to the White House
  -Peter J. Brennan
  -Meany, Fitzsimmons
  -Business Council

Second term reorganization
-Atomic Energy Commission [AEC]
-Dr. Edward E. David, Jr.
  -Dr. James R. Schlesinger message to Shultz
  -Dixy Lee Ray
  -Promise
  -Women
-Energy Research and Development [R & D]
  -National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA]
  -Interior Department
-Schlesinger
-John D. Ehrlichman
  -Possible conversation with Schlesinger
  -Schedule
  -California
  -Sun Valley
  -Conversation with Shultz
-NASA
  -James C. Fletcher
-Scientists
  -National Science Foundation
-Operational job
-Conversation with Shultz
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

Economic policy
- Wage and price controls
  - Duration, continuation
  - PR
- Labor relations
  - Food prices
  - Construction, state and local government wages
  - Freezes
    - Medical costs
- Memorandum
- Advisory Committee to Cost of Living Council [COLC]
- Wage standard
- Food prices
- Congressional relations
- Timing
  - January 1973 messages
  - Christmas-New Year’s Day
- Congressional relations
- Consultations
- Cabinet Room meeting
  - Timing
  - Bipartisanship
  - William E. Timmons
    - Series of meetings
      - Vietnam War
- Decisions
  - Announcement
    - Timing
- The President’s philosophy
  - Free trade
- Food prices
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

- Earl L. Butz
  - Politics
  - Extension of Economic Stabilization Act [?]
  - Announcement
  - Timing

- Meat
- Congressional relations
  - Cabinet Room meeting
  - Timmons
- Committee structure
  - Announcements
  - Leaks
- Trade negotiations
  - Shultz’s previous conversation with the President
  - Europeans
    - 1973
  - Authority
    - Congressional relations
  - John F. Kennedy round
  - Nixon round
  - Authority
  - Adjustment assistance
  - Escape clause
  - Adjustment assistance
    - Labor relations
      - 1962 compared to 1972
      - Job loss
      - Benefit levels of unemployment insurance
      - Pension rights
  - Authority
    - Multilateral agreements
      - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]
      - Mutual tariff reductions
    - US jobs, business
    - Sanctions
    - Multilateral agreements
    - Bilateral agreements
      - Japan, Canada
    - Voluntary quotas
    - State Department
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

-Congressional relations
  -Shultz’s meetings with Russell B. Long and Wilbur D. Mills
-US interests
  -Reduction of trade barriers
    -Congressional relations
-Congressional relations
  -Long, Mills
  -Politics
-Monetary negotiations
  -Japan
    -Reduction and imposition of trade barriers
-Taxes
  -Congressional relations
    -Mills
      -Hearings
        -Timing
          -January 1973
      -Duration
      -Panel discussions
        -Administration participation
      -Administration proposals
        -1972 campaign
          -Statements
      -Shultz’s memoranda
        -Tax simplification
          -Possible meeting with Edwin S. Cohen

-Long
  -Meeting with Shultz
    -Mills
    -Support for the President’s policies
      -Republicans
        -1972 election
        -1974 election
      -Consultations

Arthur F. Burn’s schedule
  -Trip to Bonn, West Germany, January 1973
  -Monetary
    -Possible meeting with the President
      -Purpose
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

-Federal Reserve Board [FRB]
  -John E. Sheehan

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:59 pm.

The President’s schedule
  -Helicopter
  -Signing letters

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:29 pm.

Second term reorganization
  -Sheehan
    -Sub-Cabinet
      -Shultz’s forthcoming conversation with Burns
    -The President’s conversation with Burns
    -FRB
    -Sub-Cabinet
      -Under Secretary
        -Shultz’s forthcoming conversation with Burns

Burn’s schedule
  -Trips to France, Britain
    -Trip to Bonn

1972 campaign
  -Burns
    -Conversation with Shultz

Burn’s schedule
  -Possible meeting with the President
    -Trip to Japan
      -Shultz’s conversation with Burns
      -Timing
        -Spring 1973
    -Sheehan
      -FRB

Second term reorganization
  -International Monetary Fund [IMF]
Conversation No. 827-22 (cont’d)

-Alternate governor
  -Sheehan
    -William P. Rogers
    -Shultz’s conversation with Burns

Economic policy
  -Trade negotiations
  -Politics
  -Congressional relations
    -Timmons
    -Domestic Council
    -Politics

Shultz and Haldeman left at 4:24 pm.

Conversation No. 827-23

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: 4:25 pm - 4:32 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Murray M. Chotiner.

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican National Committee [RNC] [?]
  -Finances
    -1971
    -1972
  -Campaign funds [?]
  -Richard Richards [?] [Deputy Chairman RNC]
  -Republicans
  -John B. Connally
  -Lawyers

California
Conversation No. 827-23 (cont’d)

-Evelle T. Younger
-Ronald W. Reagan
  -Appointment as Ambassador
  -Plans
-Robert H. Finch
  -Election possibilities
  -Chance of success
    -Alan Cranston
-Robert H. Finch
  -Senator
    -Qualities
    -Campaign options
-Reagan

Republicans in House of Representatives and Senate
-Robert C. (“Bob”) Wilson
-William E. Brock, III
-Candidates
  -Quality
  -Wilson
-Brock
-Clarence J. (“Bud”) Brown, Jr.
-George H. W. Bush
-Donald H. Rumsfeld

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Chotiner left at 4:32 pm.

Date: December 20, 1972
Time: Unknown between 4:32 pm and 4:37 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.
Location of unknown person

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 4:37 pm.