Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

- Meeting with a secretary

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown woman.

- Copies of memoranda
  - Talking papers
    - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
    - The President
    - Memoranda for the file
    - Attachments

The unknown woman left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.
Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
- Harry S. Truman memorial service
- Plans
  - Confirmation
    - Bull’s telephone conversation with an unknown person
- Itinerary
  - Time on ground
    - Richards Gebaur Air Force Base
- Bess (Wallace) Truman
- December 27-30, 1972
  - Appointments
    - Speeches, messages
    - Telephone calls
  - Camp David
  - Residence
- Items for the President’s signature
  - Alexander P. Butterfield
  - Frequency
- Staff meetings
  - George P. Shultz
  - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s schedule
    - Camp David
    - Rose Bowl

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.
Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with an unknown person.

The President’s schedule
   - Meeting with Col. Richard T. Kennedy
     - Location
       - Oval Office

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 9:20 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Marjorie P. Acker.

Rose Mary Woods’s schedule
   - Ohio
     - Return

Letter to W[illiam] Stuart Symington
   - First names
     - Evelyn (Wadsworth) Symington
       - Bryce N. Harlow
     - Signature

Woods left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.
Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:47 am and 10:12 am
Location: Oval Office

The President dictated a memorandum to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Instructions
- Talking paper
- Original and copies

The President’s schedule
- [Presentation of mementos]

The President replayed the dictation.

The President resumed the dictation.

The President’s schedule
- Presentation of mementos
- Cessation
  - Cabinet Room, Oval Office
- Guidelines
  - Commonness
  - Appreciation
  - 1973
  - Routine

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 8:47 am.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting with Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:20 am.

[The President resumed his dictation]

The President’s schedule
January 20, 1973

[This memorandum continues as Conversation No. 828-6]

Kennedy entered at 9:20 am.

Henry A. Kissinger’s and Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s schedule

Haig’s health
  -Tiredness
  -Puerto Rico
  -Age
  -Physical fitness

Kissinger’s health
  -Work habits
    -Energy
    -Negotiations
      -Temper
    -Winston S. Churchill
    -Naps
    -Handling of staff

Vietnam War
  -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
    -B-52s
      -Reports
      -Number
        -December 26, 1972
        -Losses
          -North Vietnam’s claims
          -Accuracy
          -Damage
        -Losses
          -Tactics
          -Targets
          -The President’s conversations with Kissinger
            -[Hanoi]
          -Defenses
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

- Percentages
  - Estimates
  - Defenses

- Tactics
  - Targets
  - Time
- Waves
  - Number per day
  - Directions
- Fighter cover
  - MIGCAP [Anti-Mikoyen and Gurevich Combat Air Patrol]
  - Iron Hand aircraft
  - Electronic countermeasures [ECM]
- Intensity of air traffic

- Tactical Air [TACAIR] sorties
  - Number
  - Weather
  - Electronic guidance
    - Long Range Airborne Navigation [LORAN]
    - Visual bombing
    - F-4s and PATHFINDERS
    - A-7s
  - Accuracy
    - Compared to visual bombing
  - Laser guidance
  - Weather

- Weather
  - People Republic of China [PRC]
  - B-52s
  - Expectations
    - North Vietnam
    - February, March 1973
  - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]

- Monsoons

- December 26, 1972
- December 27, 1972
  - Number of sorties
  - Targets
  - Timing
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-TACAIR sorties
  -Number
  -Targets
  -Timing
  -Weather
    -Cancellation
    -Changes
  -Aircraft losses
    -F-4s

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[National security]
[Duration: 3s]
[Subject: Intelligence]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-MIG-21s
-Search and Rescue [SAR]
  -Helicopter
  -Laos
  -Crew
  -MIG-21s

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[National security]
[Duration: 2s]
[Subject: Intelligence]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-Attacks on MIG fields
  -Soviet Union
  -Location
    -Hanoi
    -Northwest
- Destruction of cities
  -Hanoi
  -Effect
    -World War II damage
      -Germany, Italy
        -The President’s trip to Germany, 1947
          -Essen
            -Krup plant
        -Berlin
          -Soviet Union
          -Living conditions
-Power plants and grids damage
  -Hanoi, Haiphong
    -Lights
      -Gasoline generators
-Shipyard damage
  -Haiphong
-Vehicle repair shops
  -Hanoi
  -Photographs
-Rail yards damage
  -Rolling stock damage
  -Disruptive effect
-Federal civilians’ morale
  -WSAG
  -Cambodia
    -National Security Council [NSC]
-Negotiations
  -Resumption
    -Timing
      -January 8, 1973
      -North Vietnam’s offer, December 26, 1972
      -Publicity
        -The President’s conversation with Kissinger
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-William H. Sullivan
-Press relations
-Newspapers
-“Doves”
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th Parallel

-Announcement
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-December 31, 1972
-January 8, 1973
-The President’s conversation with Kissinger

-Congressional relations
-Reconvention
-Pre-January 1, 1973

-Experts meeting

-Issues
-Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
-Signing problem
-Four parties
-People’s Revolutionary Government [PRG]
-Nguyen Van Thieu
-Possible statement
-Recognition of juridical right as a government

-Changes
-Resumption of war
-North Vietnam’s capacity and determination
-Resiliency
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-Tempo of war
-Spring offensive
-Soviet Union, PRC

-Thieu
-Legalistic position
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Survival of government
-Elections
-Attitude, credibility
-North Vietnam’s position
-1954, 1962 Geneva Conferences
-Surrender
-South Vietnam
-US sea, air, ground power
-Army
-Will
-North Vietnam
-South Vietnam
-Response to North Vietnam’s offensive, Summer 1972
-The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
-Effect
-Trieuphong
-Quang Tri
-US role
-Dependence
-Decisions
-North Vietnam
-Soviet Union and PRC aid
-Moral and material support
-Lessons for US
-US relations with allies
-Paternalism
-Communists
-People’s liberation movement
-Korean War
-Duration
-“Gooks”
-The President’s experience as Senator
-Gen. James A. Van Fleet
-South Koreans
-Toughness
-Relations with US
-Negotiations
-Settlement agreement
-North Vietnam’s demands
-Future of South Vietnam
-Congressional relations
-Cut off of US aid
-Thieu
  -Meeting with Haig
    -The President’s letter

-Kissinger
  -North Vietnam
  -South Vietnam
    -Leaks
  -North Vietnam
    -South Vietnam
    -Thieu
      -US costs
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Safety of aircraft crews
  -Parachutes
  -B-52s
  -Losses
    -Surface to air missile [SAM]
      -Hanoi
  -POWs
  -Duration of bombing campaign
  -Size
    -Bombs
  -Stability
    -Control
      -Utapao Air Force base
    -Lending efforts
      -Survivors
      -Casualties
  -Damage
    -Number
    -Landings
    -Repair
  -Number
    -Replacements
-Negotiations
  -Resumption
  -North Vietnam’s offer
  -Rhetoric
    -Experts, principals meetings
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-Settlement agreement
  -Kissinger
-Effect of bombing
-Lack of conditions
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Timing
    -US messages
  -Tone
-Breakdown
  -Resumption of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -North Vietnam’s intransigence
  -Record
-Public relations [PR]
  -Kissinger’s briefing
  -Debate
    -North Vietnam
-Discontent
  -Demonstration, Christmas 1972
-Ground warfare
  -Television [TV]
-Disappointment
  -Expectations
    -Laos [Lam Son], 1971
-Timing
  -Congressional relations
  -Christmas
  -Press relations
  -Christmas
  -Football
-Press relations
  -Network requests for Hanoi photographs
    -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
    -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
-Bomb damage
-Editorials and news stories
  -Process
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -Failure, success
  -Access
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-Availability of new material
  -NSC
  -US Information Agency [USIA]
  -Washington Post
  -1972 campaign
  -Editorials and news stories
  -Process
-US bombing north of 20th Parallel
  -B-52s
  -Number
  -North
  -Follow up attacks
  -Psychological effect
    -Targets
      -Bomb damage assessments
      -Military, strategic effects
      -World War II
        -Germany, Japan
-Psychological warfare
  -Use of radio
  -Leaflets
    -Ecology
    -Themes
      -Negotiations
        -Breakdown
        -Resumption
          -Cadre
          -South Vietnam
          -North Vietnamese government
            -Peace
            -Victory
  -Purpose of leaflets
    -Questioning of cadres
      -Effect
  -Radio themes
    -Peace
-WSAG meetings
  -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
    -Richard M. Helms
Conversation No. 828-5 (cont’d)

-Nicaragua earthquake relief
-Engineer company
  -Airlift
  -Firefighting
  -Debris moving
-Water purification
  -Plants
    -Engineers
-Engineers
-Firefighting
-Population
  -Movement
-Epidemic control
  -Field hospitals
  -Medical supplies
-Food supplies
  -Ships
    -Guatemala
    -Wheat, flour, rolled oats
-Refugees
-Epidemic control
-Deaths
  -Estimate
    -Compared to Peru
-Homeless
-Managua
  -Destruction
    -Reconstruction

-Schedule
-Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
-State Department
-U. Alexis Johnson
-William J. Porter
-Defense Department
-William P. Clements, Jr.
  -Confirmation
-[David] Kenneth Rush
-State Department
-Effectiveness
-Location
  -Anastasio Somoza Debayle
  -Fault
  -Previous earthquakes
-Disaster relief
  -Romania
  -Yugoslavia
  -Peru
  -Bangladesh
  -Iran
  -Earthquakes
  -Distribution and collection
    -Voluntary agencies
      -House of Representatives
      -Title II, Public Law [PL] 480
      -Church World Services
      -World Health Organization [WHO]
      -Cut off
      -Foreign policy
      -Appropriations
      -Management problems
        -Merit
      -Nicaragua earthquake relief
        -Red Cross
        -Church groups
      -Federal government’s role
        -Supplements
        -Food
  -Vietnam War
    -Press relations
      -Network requests for Hanoi photographs
        -Bomb damage
        -Editorials and news stories
    -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
      -B-52s
      -Number
Kennedy left at 10:12 am.

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:12 am and 10:44 am
Location: Oval Office

The President replayed a portion of his dictated memorandum to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

[This is a continuation of Conversation No. 828-5]

The President resumed dictation.

The President’s schedule
- Meetings with foreign leaders
  - Timing
  - Vietnam War
    - Henry A. Kissinger
- Meeting with George P. Shultz
  - The President’s conversation with Shultz
  - Timing
  - Tax and trade policy
- Meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
  - The President’s conversation with Ehrlichman
  - Domestic initiatives
  - Timing
- Meetings with Shultz and Ehrlichman
- Cabinet meeting
  - Timing
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 828-6 (cont’d)

-Attendance
-Congressional leadership meeting
  -Timing
  -Republicans
-Bipartisan meetings
  -Frequency
    -Vietnam War
-Meeting with Michael J. Mansfield
  -The President’s conversation with Mansfield
-Timing
  -Republican leadership meeting
-William E. Timmons’s recommendation
-Reorganization plans
  -Ehrlichman’s recommendations
-Meetings
  -Exceptions
-Master schedule
  -January-June 1973

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:12 am.

Copy of memorandum

Memoranda
  -Kissinger
  -Mailing

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with Clay T. (“Tom”) Whitehead
    -Charles W. Colson
    -Timing
  -Meetings
    -Postponement
      -The President’s dictated memorandum to Haldeman
      -1973 Inauguration

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

The President replayed a portion of his dictation.
The President resumed dictation.

The President’s schedule
  - Master schedule
    - January-June 1973
      - Heads of State visits
      - Foreign trips
        - Europe
      - Stag dinners
        - Maurice H. Stans
    - Evenings at the White House
      - 1972 campaign
    - State dinner
      - 1972 campaign
        - Contributors
    - Church services
    - Press conferences
    - Trips
      - Domestic
      - Foreign
        - White House correspondents, Gridiron dinners
          - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - Political people
      - Kissinger
      - Ehrlichman
      - George P. Shultz
      - Timmons
    - Breakfasts, lunches, dinners, briefings
    - Political people
    - Second term
    - Special interests
      - Haldeman’s conversations with Ehrlichman, Timmons, Shultz, Kissinger, George H. W. Bush and Stans
    - Labor and ethnic groups
      - Haldeman’s conversation with Colson
        - John B. Connally
    - 1972 campaign
      - Contributors, political people
The President changed dictabelt tapes.

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

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

[Pause]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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The President’s dictated memorandum to Haldeman
-Introduction to second part
-Previous tape

The President resumed dictation.

The President’s schedule
-Planning by Haldeman
-Telephone calls
-First term
-Colson
The President replayed a portion of his dictation.

The President resumed dictation.

The President’s schedule
- Master schedule
  - Telephone calls
    - Colson
    - Dent
    - Effectiveness
  - White House social affairs
    - Dinners
    - Stans
    - Financial contributors
    - Government officials
- Clark MacGregor’s recommendations
- Priorities
- Number per day
- Recommendations
- Birthdays, anniversaries
  - Parties
  - Letters

National Security Council [NSC] staff
- Second term reorganization
  - Cuts
    - Haldeman’s possible meeting with Kissinger
      - List
      - Loyalists
      - Departments
    - Retentions
      - Priorities
      - White House
    - Direction of effort
      - Handling of problem
      - The President’s role
Second term reorganization
   -Intelligence
     -Memorandum from Ehrlichman
     -Dr. James R. Schlesinger’s report
     -Schlesinger’s role vis-à-vis Kissinger’s role
       -Instruction for Haldeman
         -Authority
         -NSC
     -Congressional relations
       -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
     -Kissinger’s schedule
     -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
       -The President’s efforts
     -Schlesinger’s report
       -Implementation
     -Kissinger’s relationship with Haig
   -PFIAB
   -Haldeman’s possible meetings with Kissinger, Ehrlichman and Schlesinger
   -Management
     -Ehrlichman’s recommendation
       -Roy L. Ash
         -Independent study
         -Recommendation
     -Schlesinger’s memorandum
       -Weakness
         -Haldeman’s conversations
         -Overlap in functions
         -Expenditures by Defense Department
         -Number of CIA personnel
           -Quality
           -Quantity
           -“Liberal establishment bureaucracy”
             -State Department
         -Cuts
         -Attitudes
           -Foreign policy
           -Georgetown
Conversation No. 828-6 (cont’d)

-State Department

-Recommendations
  -Timing

Conversation No. 838-7

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:12 am and 10:44 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President’s schedule
  -Meeting with [Marjorie P. Acker]
  -Harry S. Truman’s memorial service
  -Folder
    -Fact sheet
      -Lack of speech
      -The President’s conversation with Bess (Wallace) Truman

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

Conversation No. 828-8

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: 10:44 am - 10:48 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Marjorie P. Acker.

Paperwork
  -Memorandum
  -Enclosure
  -Item for the West Coast [for Henry A. Kissinger?]
    -Dr. James R. Schlesinger report
Conversation No. 828-8 (cont’d)

Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox’s schedule
  - Trip to Europe and the Soviet Union
    - Embassies
      - Henry J. Tasca
      - Edward R. G. Heath [?]
    - Letters to ambassadors
      - Instructions for [Jeanne W. Davis] of the National Security Council [NSC]
      - Rose Mary Woods
      - Acker’s meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox
    - [Walter H. and Leonore (Cohn)] Annenberg
    - Soviet Union and Yugoslavia governments
    - Preparation
      - Raymond K. Price, Jr.’s office
    - Acker’s meeting with Tricia Nixon Cox

Acker left at 10:48 am.

Conversation No. 828-9

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President’s schedule
  - Meeting with Patrick J. Buchanan

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:53 am.
Conversation No. 828-10

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 35-10]

Marjorie P. Acker entered at an unknown time after 10:48 am.

Acker left at an unknown time before 10:53 am.

Conversation No. 828-11

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 10:48 am and 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President’s schedule

- Meeting with Patrick J. Buchanan

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:53 am.

Conversation No. 828-12

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: 10:53 am
Location: Oval Office

The White House operator talked with the President.
The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

Buchanan’s schedule
- Christmas

The President’s schedule
- Trip to Florida
  - Weather
    - Sun
      - Pool
  - Family
- Trip to Florida
  - Thanksgiving
    - Florida

Buchanan’s possible book
- Arrangements
- Deadline
- Outline
- Deadline
- Theme
  - Richard M. Nixon administration
- Outline
  - Chapter one
    - 1968 election
- Points to make
- Administration
  - Philosophy
  - Buchanan’s memorandum to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Telephone call
- Buchanan’s *New York Times* article
- Theodore H. White
- Press relations
- Jeffrey Hart’s book
- 1972 election

- 1972 campaign
- 1964 campaign and election;
  - 1966 campaign
- Effect on Republican Party
  - Press coverage
  - Attacks on Barry M. Goldwater
    - Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - Liberal and conservative Republicans
- Republican Party reconstruction
  - The President’s role
    - 1962 election
      - 1960 election
      - Press conference
  - Vice Presidency
  - Handicaps
    - Lack of staff, funds, retirement benefits
- Post-1962 election
  - New York
  - Travel
    - International
      - Coach flights
      - Lack of entourage, stenographers
        - Southeast Asia, Europe Africa
        - 1967
        - 1963, 1964

- Republican National Convention
  - Goldwater
- The President’s travels
  - Commercial flights
    - Goldwater, Congressmen, Senators
- The President’s relationship with Goldwater
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- Republican Party reconstruction
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

- The President’s role
  - 1966 campaign
    - New York
    - Travel
    - Predictions
      - Congressmen, Senators, governors

- Press relations
  - [Arnold] Eric Sevareid
  - Martin Z. Agronsky
  - James B. (“Scotty”) Reston
  - Predictions about the President’s career
    - Cambodia
    - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision

- Chapters
  - Organization
    - Buchanan’s New York Times article
    - Adversity

- 1966 campaign and election
  - The President’s travels
  - Sevareid
    - Television [TV]
    - The President
      - Predictions
  - Rockefeller, Ronald W. Reagan, George W. Romney
  - News magazines
  - Unknown commentator
    - The President
  - Romney
  - Polls
  - The President’s travels
    - 1967

- 1968 campaign and election
  - 1964 election
    - Congressmen, Senators
    - Johnson
      - Congressmen, Senators, governors, state legislators, voters
  - Republicans
    - George H. Gallup
    - 1972 election
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-1972 election
  -Republican Party
    -Dwight D. Eisenhower
    -Political balance
      -Congress, Senate, governors
  -Political balance
    -Goldwater
    -1964 and 1966 elections
-1970 election
  -Republican Party
    -Congressmen, Senators, governors, voters
  -Press relations
    -Editorial endorsements
    -Washington, DC
    -National TV
    -Liberal establishment
    -Johnson
    -Eisenhower
    -1968 campaign
      -Hubert H. Humphrey
    -George S. McGovern
    -Edith Efron
      -1968 campaign
      -Tone
  -The President’s career
    -Guts, determination, stamina
    -Luck
    -1962
    -1961 – November 5, 1968
      -Vice Presidency
      -Funds
        -Public
        -Republican Party
          -1966 campaign
          -Travel
            -Airplane
        -Earnings
          -Winston S. Churchill
          -Books
-1968 campaign
  -Republican Party
    -Minority status
    -Congress
  -Press relations
    -Opposition
      -Exceptions
  -Press relations
    -Opposition
      -Exceptions
        -The President’s trips to the People’s Republic of China
          [PRC] and the Soviet Union
        -First term
          -Edmund S. Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern
  -Administration reaction
    -Actions
    -TV
      -The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
      -Cambodia, the President’s May 8, 1972 decision
        -Chapter
        -Trips
      -Chapter Two
        -The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
          -Camp David
          -Tone
            -David S. Broder’s article “The Breaking of the President”
            -News magazines
            -Demonstrations
            -Confrontation
        -Gallup polls
        -New Majority
      -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
      -Cambodia
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-Predictions
  -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
    -World War III
    -US-Soviet Union summit
  -Criticism
    -Respect
    -Single standard
    -First term
      -The President’s lack of critical meetings or telephone calls to editors, publishers, TV commentators
    -The President’s supporters
  -Johnson
    -TVs
    -News tickers
    -1967
      -Eugene J. McCarthy
      -Compared to the administration
  -The President’s experience
    -1962 election
    -Vice Presidency
    -Alger Hiss case
    -Post-public life [1962-1968]
  -The President’s view
    -Reading
      -News summary
        -“Puff pieces”
      -Self-adulation and self-pity
        -Press releases
        -Time
          -Covers
            -The President’s trip to the PRC
        -Effect
      -Personalizing issues
        -Detachment
          -Friends and foes
          -Substance
          -News summary
            -TV, news ticker
  -1968 election
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-1964
  -1962
  -Lack of funds, support
-First term
  -Criticism by supporters
    -Cambodia
    -1970 campaign
-1972 election
  -Victory margin
-Press relations
  -McGovern
    -Man and ideas
-Issues
  -Busing
  -Permissiveness
    -Drugs, crime
  -Vietnam War
    -US withdrawal
-Social issue
-National scope
  -South
  -Massachusetts
  -Southern strategy
-The President’s trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
-Economy
  -The President’s announcement
-Outline
  -Chapter one
  -1968
    -Triumph
      -Election
    -Tragedy
    -Triumph
      -1962
    -Tragedy
      -Tet Offensive
      -McCarthy
      -Robert F. Kennedy
      -Johnson
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
  -Washington, DC riots
-Kennedy
  -Triumph
  -Election
-Victory margin
-Administration opposition
  -Media, universities, foundations, Congress
-Supreme Court
  -Earl Warren
  -Resignation
  -Timing
-Liberal establishment
  -Compared to Eastern establishment
  -The President’s interview with Garnett D. (“Jack”) Horner
  -“Washington establishment”

-Chapter two
  -Confrontation
  -The President’s speech
    -Summer 1969
      -Moon landing
      -Guam Doctrine
      -The President’s trips to Vietnam and Romania
      -The President’s speech on welfare reform
      -The President’s trip to California
-Left
  -Demonstrators, media, Congressional relations
-PRESS relations
  -News magazines
    -Broder
-Tone
  -The President’s public approval rating
    -Chapter length
    -Left
    -Silent Majority

-Chapter three
  -Media relations
-Speechwriting
  -The President’s role
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-1973 Inaugural speech
-Franklin D. Roosevelt
-Samuel I. Rosenman

-Chapter three
  -Media relations
    -Establishment
    -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s Des Moines speech
    -Washington Post
    -Networks

-Sales
-Syndication
  -Chapter length
    -Outlook section
    -Op-ed articles

-Outline
  -Chapter four

Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time after 11:01 am.

Buchanan’s book
-Outline
  -Chapter Four
    -Blacks on Supreme Court
    -Supreme Court
      -Philosophy
    -Blacks
      -Hostility
      -1972 election
      -The President’s personal commitment, working relationships
    -Busing, welfare
      -Liberal establishment
    -Supreme Court
    -Rockefeller
      -Republican Party
    -Eisenhower
    -1960 campaign and election
      -Catholics
        -John F. Kennedy’s telephone call to [Coretta Scott King]
          -Robert Kennedy
Tape Subject Log
(rev. June-08)

Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-[Martin Luther King’s release from jail]

-Foreign policy chapter
  -The President’s trip to the PRC
    -Photographs
      -Oliver F. (“Ollie”) Atkins
  -Philosophy
  -The President’s trip to the PRC
  -Vietnam War
    -Chronology
    -Success
      -US force level
-Deadline
  -Foreign policy chapter
    -Vietnam War
      -US bombing north of 20th Parallel
-Outline
  -New Majority chapter
    -McGovern
    -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
  -Labor relations
    -George Meany
      -The President’s Miami trip
    -Patriotism
    -Business leaders, press relations
  -Work ethic
  -Politics
  -Respect
    -Meany
    -1972 campaign
      -Neutrality, support
-Final chapter
  -Future
    -Second term reorganization
      -Bureaucracy
    -Spending, taxes
    -Responsibility
    -Congressional relations
    -1972 election
      -Victory margin
Press relations
- Ronald L. Ziegler’s press conferences
- Accommodations
- Compared to Johnson
- Press conferences
- Opposition
  - Networks
  - Power
  - Public opinion
  - 1968 campaign
  - 1972 campaign
  - McGovern
  - Welfare
    - $1000 per person proposal
    - Vietnam War
    - Redistribution of wealth

- News
- Strategy
  - Networks
  - Power
  - Public support
    - Louis P. Harris poll
    - Polls
    - Reliability

- Vietnam War
  - End
  - Effect

- Opposition
  - John D. Ehrlichman’s and Henry A. Kissinger’s briefings
  - Administration reaction
    - Tone
    - Influence
    - Subscriptions

- US bombing north of 20th Parallel
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

-Morale
-Compared to Johnson
-Telephone calls
-Effect

-Change
-Walter L. Cronkite, Jr., Dan Rather, John Chancellor
-Women
-Blacks
-Administration
-Possible actions
-Buchanan’s lunch with William Small
-Cable TV
-License renewal

-Bias
-Clay T. (“Tom”) Whitehead’s speech
-Local stations’ responsibility
-New York
-El Paso

Buchanan’s book
-Buchanan’s schedule
-Controversy
-Liberals

Press relations
-Bias
-Efron
-Effect
-Networks
-Public opinion
-Networks
-Agnew’s Des Moines speech
-Networks
-Public awareness
-Buchanan’s book
-Public relations [PR]
-Washington establishment
-“Intellectual incest”
-The President’s conversation with unknown European ambassador
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

- Presentation of credentials
- Ambassador’s US trip
- US
  - Goodness
  - Mental and emotional sickness
- Dissipation
- Commentators
- 1972 campaign
  - Robert D. Novak’s article
  - McGovern
    - Reported gains
    - Polls
    - News summary
    - Accuracy
- Vietnam War
  - TV coverage
    - South Vietnamese
      - Battles
      - Compared to North Vietnamese
        - Provincial capitals
  - Battles
  - Countryside
  - Provincial capitals
- Network requests for Hanoi photographs
  - Bomb damage
    - The President’s meeting with Col. Richard T. Kennedy
- North Vietnamese atrocities against South Vietnamese civilians
  - Rocketing of cities
  - Assassination, murder
- US military action
  - Military targets
  - Double standard
- Spanish Civil War
- American Revolution
  - Army
  - Continentals
  - Loyalists
  - Tories
- Spanish Civil War
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

- Communists
  - Loyalists
- Gen. Francisco Franco
  - Rebels
- Loyalists
- Civil War
  - South
    - The War of the Rebellion
    - The War between the States
- The President’s use of TV
  - 1972 campaign
  - Press conferences
  - Vietnam negotiations
    - Breakdown
    - Kissinger
    - Resumption
  - Press conferences
    - Purpose and location
      - Bureaucracy
      - Oval Office
      - National audience
      - East Room
      - Single point
        - Desk
        - Questions
    - Guidelines
    - Timing
    - Scheduling
    - Programs
      - Congressional relations
  - PR
    - Commentators
  - Frequency
    - Eisenhower
    - Republican Party
    - John Kennedy
    - Johnson
    - Kennedy
    - Kennedy
Conversation No. 828-13 (cont’d)

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:01 am.

The President’s schedule
- Walk from Oval Office

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

Buchanan’s book
- Preparation

Buchanan left at 12:01 pm.

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:01 pm and 12:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Briefcase

The President’s coat

The President’s schedule
- Walk to helicopter
- Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:03 pm.
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

White House gifts
- Women [Bess (Wallace) Truman]
- Pins
- Diamonds
- Location
  - [Executive Office Building]
- Pearls

The President’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:03 pm.

Date: December 27, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:01 pm and 12:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon’s schedule
- Arrangements

White House gifts
- Pins

The President’s schedule
- Bull’s schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:03 pm.