



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log (rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 386-1

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 2:00 pm and 6:20 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

[This recording began while the meeting was in progress]

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Press relations

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-John B. Connally

-Richard A. Moore

-Connally

-Henry A. Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible television [TV] appearance

-Blame

-North Vietnam

-US, South Vietnam

-US military action

-Pace

-Civilians

-The President's message to Kissinger

-North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

-Prisoners of war [POWs]

-The President's previous TV appearances

-Troop withdrawals

-US military action

-Cambodia

-Bombing, mining

-Purpose

-Duration

-Outline

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's schedule
- Record
- Necessity
 - North Vietnam, South Vietnam
 - Public relations [PR]
 - North Vietnam
 - George S. McGovernites
 - South Vietnam
 - Possible domestic problem
 - North Vietnam, McGovernites
 - Blame on US
 - Effect
 - Hardhats
 - 1972 election
 - George H. Gallup polls
 - Reinhardt [sp?] [first name unknown]
 - Joseph L. Tauro
- Settlement agreement
 - Cease-fire
 - Communist violations
 - Louis P. Harris poll

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 2:00 pm and 2:56 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-23]

[Conversation No. 386-1A]

[End of telephone conversation]

1972 election

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Kissinger's press conference, October 26, 1972
 - Reaction
 - Tone
 - Polls
 - [Opinion Research Corporation] [ORC]
 - Albert E. Sindlinger

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Watergate
- McGovern
 - Tax reform
 - Unemployment
 - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] profile
 - Whites
 - Blacks
 - Integration
 - McGovern's speech on the economy
 - Colson's conversation with Haldeman
 - Timing

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - The President's view
 - Colson and Haldeman's views

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull between 2:56 pm and 2:57 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-24]

[Conversation No. 386-1B]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials
 - The President's possible statement
 - Robert H. Finch's recommendation
 - California Republicans
 - Talent
 - TV poll
 - Possible meeting in San Clemente
 - Timing

The President talked with the White House operator at 2:58 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-25]

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

[Conversation No. 386-1C]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials

 - Dinner

 - Blair House

 - Seating arrangements

 - The President's experience as Congressman

- Medals

 - Presentation

 - Gold

 - Value

 - Leonard K. Firestone

 - Taft Schreiber

 - Silver

 - Gold

 - Inscription

- Finch

 - Letter

- Dinner

- Camp David

- Californians

 - The President's role

 - Hand-shaking, greetings

 - Seating

 - Clothing

 - Black tie

 - The President's possible remarks

 - Vietnam War

 - Departure

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 3:00 pm.

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown

 - Kissinger's recommendations

 - Instruction for Ziegler, Haldeman, Colson

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Consultation
- Location
- Reading

Ziegler left at an unknown time before 3:10 pm.

Second term reorganization

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Departure
 - Timing
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Departure
 - Trip to Europe
 - Rejection of ambassadorship-at-large
 - Trip to Europe
 - Common Market
 - Japan
 - Brazil

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials
 - Finch's recommendation
 - Blair House
 - Dinner
 - Medals presentation
 - Tribute to Finch
 - John D. Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz, Rumsfeld, Peter M. Flanigan
 - Reception
 - Cocktails
- Purpose
- Dinner
 - Entertainment
 - Jonathan Winters
 - [Foster Brooks]
 - Clothing
 - Black tie
 - Entertainment
 - Medals presentation
 - Brooks

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-Winters

Second term reorganization

- Rumsfeld
 - NATO
- Peterson
 - Trip
 - Study
 - Ambassadorship-at-large
 - Cabinet rank
 - Shultz's recommendation
 - Special representative
 - Plane
 - David M. Kennedy
 - Japan
 - Gas
 - Cost

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials
 - Finch
 - Conversation with Haldeman
 - Camp David
 - Timing
 - Hand-shaking
 - Remarks
 - Speeches
 - Entertainment
 - Medals presentation
 - White House staff
 - California Republicans
 - Possible meeting in San Clemente
 - Timing
 - Ronald W. Reagan, Finch
 - Politics

Second term reorganization

- Finch and Rumsfeld
 - Compared to "Hamlet"
- Rumsfeld

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-NATO

Ziegler entered at an unknown time after 3:00 pm.

Haldeman's schedule

- Ziegler
- Connally
- Meeting with the President
- Timing

Haldeman left at 3:10 pm.

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - The President's previous TV appearances
 - Cambodia
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Enemy trickery
 - US military action
 - Duration
 - POWs
 - PR
 - US
 - North Vietnam, press relations
 - Possible domestic problem
 - North Vietnam
 - McGovernites
 - Press relations
 - Washington, DC
 - Pressure on Kissinger
 - North Vietnam
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - B-52s
 - PR
 - Administration supporters
 - Administration opponents
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Tone

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Public expectations
- Washington, DC
 - Compared to Wall Street
- Morale
- North Vietnam
- The President's trips to the People's Republic of China [PRC] and the Soviet Union
- Kissinger's resignation
- Haldeman's and the President's view
- Ziegler's view
 - “Dramatic” effect
 - US military action
 - Pace
 - Statements
 - 18th and 19th Parallels
 - Previous statements
 - Kissinger's “peace is at hand” statement, October 26, 1972
 - The President's address, “Look to the Future,” November 2, 1972
 - Settlement agreement
 - Signing
 - Timing
 - US troops remaining in South Vietnam
 - Draft
 - Casualties
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - North Vietnam's intransigence
 - Settlement agreement
 - South Vietnam
 - Recess
 - North Vietnam's intransigence
 - POWs
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
- Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - PR
 - “Peace is at hand”
- Kissinger's possible statement

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- TV
- US military action
 - Duration
 - POWs
- Kissinger's message
 - North Vietnam-South Vietnam relations
 - Vietnamization
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Haiphong, Hanoi
- North Vietnam
 - Settlement agreement
 - “Peace is at hand”
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - Duration
 - Le Duc Tho
 - North Vietnamese intransigence
 - Settlement agreement
 - Signing
 - POWs
 - Questions
- Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - PR
 - Public interest in Christmas shopping, POWs
 - “Peace is at hand”
 - North Vietnam's reversion

Press relations

- Ziegler's announcement
 - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Peterson's departure
 - Leak
 - Shultz

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Tone
 - Previous statements
 - Timing of signing of settlement agreement [November 2, 1972]

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- statement]
- Compared to "peace is at hand"
- POWs
- PR
- POW wives
- North Vietnam
- 1972 campaign
- Honor
- Kissinger's recommendations
- Assessing blame
- Honor
- Statement
- US military action
- Statement
- Necessity
- North Vietnam's possible position
- Kissinger's credibility
- "Peace is at hand"
- Settlement agreement
- North Vietnam's possible subversion of South Vietnam
- The President's message to South Vietnam
- Settlement agreement
- Congressional relations
- End of war
- Kissinger's credibility
- Kissinger's relationship with the President
- Pressure on South Vietnam
- Delays
- Congressional relations
- 1972 election
- The President's victory margin
- Breakdown
- Kissinger's recommendations
- The President's possible TV appearance
- Necessity
- Timing
- Christmas
- 1972 election
- Tone
- Strategy

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Hanoi
 - PR
 - B-52 loss [November 22, 1972]
 - Effect
 - Kissinger's view
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - Points

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:10 pm.

The President's schedule

- Camp David
- Reception for California administration officials
 - Blair House
 - Clothing
 - Suit
- Zosimo T. Monson

Sanchez left and Connally and Haldeman entered at 3:30 pm.

Connally's schedule

- Jetstar*

Press relations

- Ziegler's press conference
 - Second term reorganization
 - Eugene T. Roussides's and Charls E. Walker's departures
- The President's schedule
 - Meeting with Walker
 - The President's conversation with Shultz
 - Camp David
 - Ziegler's conversation with Shultz
 - Camp David
 - Return
- Second term reorganization
 - Peterson's departure
 - Statement
 - Shultz

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

Ziegler left at 3:35 pm.

Connally's schedule

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Shultz

US-Soviet Union Gas Deal

-Kissinger

-US-Soviet Union Summit, 1973

-Involvement

-Commerce and State Departments

-White House

-Connally's responsibility

-Shultz

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Conversation with Kissinger

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-Florida

-Politics

-Kissinger

-Economics

-Shultz

-Costs

-Loan guarantees

-White House

-The President's conversations with Kissinger, Shultz

-Connally's conversation with Kissinger

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-Dobrynin

-Announcement

-Timing

-US-Soviet Union summit, 1973

-May or June

-Arms control

-Dobrynin

-Soviet Union trade minister [Nikolai S. Patolichev]

-Possible meeting with Connally

-Pipeline companies

-Connally's role

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Connally's possible trip to Soviet Union
- Connally's responsibility
- The President's view
- Armand Hammer
 - The President's schedule
 - Capital
 - Credit
 - Investments
 - El Paso Company
- US interests
- Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank
- Joint East-West Bank
 - Loans
 - US underwriting
- Involvement
 - Secretary of Commerce
 - White House
 - Kissinger
 - Politics
 - Flanigan

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 3:35 pm.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 6:20 pm.

- Ex-Im Bank
 - Gas prices
 - Gamal Abdel Nasser
 - Relations with US
 - Diplomatic relations
- Peterson
 - Successor
 - Harry S. Dent
 - South Carolina
 - Loyalty
- Algeria
- Iraq
 - Connally's possible trip to

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Saudi Arabia
 - Hammer
 - [Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia] Malik Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz-al-Saud
 - Possible message from the President
 - Haldeman
 - Kissinger
 - Concessions
 - Iran
 - [Shah of Iran] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
 - Algeria
 - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Committee [PFIAB]
 - Hammer
 - Concessions
 - The President's experience as Vice President
 - World trip
 - Donald McI. Kendall
 - Timing
 - January 1973
 - Connally's contacts
 - [David] Kenneth Rush
 - Shultz
 - William J. Casey
 - Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
 - Relationship

Second term reorganization

- State Department
 - Casey
 - Conversation with Ehrlichman
- William P. Clements, Jr.
 - Conversation with Connally
 - Oil deal lawsuit
 - Argentinians
 - Senate Armed Services Committee
- H. Ross Perot
 - Vietnam War
 - Cease-fire
 - POWs, missing in action [MIAs]
 - Records
 - Commission

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- MIAs
 - International organization
- POWs and families

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - Connally's view
 - Details of October 1972 agreement
 - Kissinger's messages
 - PR
 - Cease-fire
 - Translation excuse
 - Alternative
 - Ziegler's view
 - Previous statements
 - “Peace is at hand”
 - Compared to timing of signing of settlement agreement [November 2, 1972 statement]
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Pace
 - Effect
 - Ziegler's view
 - Draft
 - Casualties
 - Timing
 - Connally's view
 - Recess
 - North Vietnamese intransigence
 - South Vietnam
 - The President's meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc
 - Settlement agreement
 - Changes
 - North Vietnam
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
 - US aid to South Vietnam
 - Cut off

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- POWs
- Cease-fire
- South Vietnam's self-determination
- North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- Cease-fire
- North Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of US aid
- North Vietnamese intransigence
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Thieu
 - US presence in South Vietnam
 - Compared to October 26, 1972 agreement
 - Changes
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of US aid
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Christmas
 - Announcement
 - B-52s
 - Civilian casualties
- Status of negotiations
 - October 1972
 - Settlement agreement
 - Coalition government
 - Communists
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - Tone
 - October 26, 1972 agreement
 - “Peace is at hand”
- Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - October 26, 1972 agreement
 - Congressional relations
 - US funds for US military action and military and economic aid to South Vietnam
 - Settlement agreement
- South Vietnam
- Impasse

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Consultations
 - Resumption of talks
 - Kissinger
 - Emotions
 - Resignation
 - The President's trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
 - Timing
 - Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - Kissinger's efforts
 - Consultations
 - Resumption of talks
 - US military action
 - Pace
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Length
 - Ziegler's view
 - Tone
 - Translation excuse
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Coalition government
 - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
 - Thieu's veto
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Pace
 - “Hawks”
 - Duration
 - POWs
 - McGovern
 - R. Sargetn Shriver
 - Connally's TV speech, October 20, 1972
- PR
 - Peace with honor
 - McGovern
 - Details
 - Christmas
 - Economy
 - Retail sales

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Kissinger's messages
 - Kissinger's outlook
 - Kissinger's possible statement
- Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - Initiative
 - Recess
 - Consultations
 - Return to Washington, DC
- PR
 - Delays
 - Translation
 - “Organization”
 - Administration opponents
 - Administration supporters
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Duration
 - POWs
 - The President's previous statements
 - Cambodia
 - Supplies
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
- Instructions to Haldeman for message to Kissinger
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Tone
 - The President's meeting with Connally
 - North Vietnamese intransigence
 - October 26, 1972 agreement
 - Congressional relations
 - Funds
 - Haldeman's conversations with others
 - Connally
 - “Hawks”
 - Congressional relations
 - Funds
 - Consultations
- The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Kissinger's trip to the Soviet Union
 - Kissinger's return

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's meeting with Connally
- North Vietnam
- US-Soviet Union summit
 - Cancellation
 - Speech
- US bombing of North Vietnam
- US-Soviet Union summit
- Breakdown
 - North Vietnamese intransigence
 - Cut off of arms to North Vietnam and South Vietnam
 - US-Soviet Union and US-PRC relations
 - Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]
 - Europe
 - Dobrynin
 - Paris
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President' possible TV appearance
 - Kissinger's morale
 - North Vietnam
 - Blame
 - US military action
 - Resumption of talks
 - Terms
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - PR
 - Congressional relations
 - Funds
 - Continuation of war
- US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
 - POWs
 - Cessation of US mining and bombing of North Vietnam
 - Cut off of US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
 - Thieu
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
 - Vietnamization
 - Responsibility
 - Thieu
- Haldeman's message to Kissinger
 - Timing

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

-The President's possible TV appearance

1972 election

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

- New chairman
 - Robert S. Strauss
 - Possible actions
 - Traits
- George S. McGovern supporters
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Attitudes

Politics

- Democrats and Republicans
 - Connally's view
 - Third party
 - Liberals, conservatives
 - Connally as candidate
 - Ability to win
 - California
 - Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown nomination
 - Ronald Reagan nomination
 - John V. Tunney
 - Third party
 - American National Party
 - American Independent Party
 - Koch [?] [first name unknown]
 - Ken Moore [?]
 - Public reaction
 - Vietnam war
- Leadership
 - Elections
 - Connally's proposals
 - Money [?]
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- New York
- 1972 election
 - 1968 election
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Florida
 - Texas
 - Georgia
 - Texas
- Blacks
- Voting habits
- Registration
- Party selection

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Connally

- Presidency
 - Public opinion
 - William Benton
 - Lyndon B. Johnson's home
 - Connecticut
 - Conversation with Connally
 - Possible meeting in New York
 - H(uey) Paul Simon
 - Dallas
 - Conversation with Connally
 - Responsible liberals
 - Democratic Party
 - 1972 election
 - California
 - Charles D. ("Tex") Thornton
 - Conversation with Connally
 - Litton Industries
 - Roy L. Ash
 - William Proxmire
 - Debt
 - California
 - Asa V. Call, Sizemore [first name unknown]

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's view
 - Agnew
 - Ehrlichman, Dent
- Republican Party

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Politics

- Third party
- Republican Party
 - Strength
 - Compared to Democratic Party
 - Liberals
 - Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
 - Charles H. Percy
- Democratic Party
 - Presidential nominations
 - Liberals
 - Strauss
 - Blacks
 - Attitudes
- Republican Presidential nominees
 - Rockefeller
 - Reagan
 - Percy
 - Mathias
 - William E. Brock, III
 - Rockefeller
- Third party
 - Compared to Republican Party
 - New Majority
 - Name change
 - Characteristics
 - Structure
 - Haldeman's view

Congress

- William E. Timmons

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Gerald R. Ford
- 1972 election
 - Ford
- Democratic members compared to Republican
 - Number
 - Usefulness to Republicans
- George H. Mahon

Republican Party

- Traits
- Assistance to the President
- Haldeman's view
 - Control
- John C. Stennis
- Russell B. Long
- J. Strom Thurmond
- Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
- James O. Eastland
- John L. McClellan
- Seniority in Congress
 - Attrition
 - Mathias
 - Mahon
- The President's supporters
- Presidential nominees for 1976 election
 - Rockefeller
 - Reagan
 - Traits
 - Chances for success
 - Future elections
- Connally as candidate
 - Duration of office
 - California primary
 - Strategy
- Dwight D. Eisenhower campaign
- Connally as candidate
 - Chances for success
 - Democratic Party nomination
 - Compared to Republican Party
 - Support in California

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Radicals
- Moderates
- Firestone
- Republican primary
- Republican primaries
- New Hampshire
- Colorado
- Spiro T. Agnew
- Reagan

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization

- Winton M. ("Red") Blount
- Peterson
 - NATO
 - Economics
- NATO
 - Rumsfeld
 - Frederic V. Malek
- Peterson
 - Paper
 - Cabinet rank
 - Washington, DC
 - Ambassador at large
 - Europe, Japan
 - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]
 - NATO
 - Japan
 - Shultz
 - Commerce Department
 - European Economic Community [EEC]
 - Report
 - Spring 1973
 - US relations
 - Recommendations
- Departure
 - Kissinger

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- State Department
 - Rush
 - William J. Casey
 - William J. Porter
- Ambassadorships
 - Walter H. Annenberg
 - Chad
 - West Germany
 - Martin J. Hillenbrand
 - John A. Volpe
 - Italy
 - Loyalty
- Justice Department
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Announcement
 - Loyalty
- Edward L. Morgan
- Schedule C
- Kleindienst
- John N. ("Jack") Irwin, II
- Justice Department
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Judges
 - US
 - Supreme Court
- Irwin
- Supreme Court
 - South
 - Age
 - South
 - Age
 - Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

Connally

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Politics

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Connally as candidate
 - Change in party
 - Grass roots movement
 - Timing
 - Strategy
 - Change in party
 - Republican Party
 - High-level delegation
 - Strategy
 - Democratic Party
 - Presidential nomination
 - Momentum
 - Past tactics
 - Success
 - Timing
 - DNC
 - Independents
 - Democratic Party
 - Republican nomination
 - Connally's departure
 - Independents
 - Strauss
 - Independents
 - Coalition
 - Third party
 - Liberals
 - Robert M. LaFollette
 - Republican Party
 - Voting habits
 - Political orientation
 - Polls
 - La Follette
 - Minnesota Farmer Labor party
 - West Virginia
 - Republican Independent Coalition
 - The President's supporters
 - Public reaction
 - Senate
 - Chances for success
 - Republican Party

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Eisenhower
- The President's experience
- Need for change
- Republican Independent Party
 - Youth
- Republican demographics
 - Compared to Democrats
- Voting habits
- Democrats
 - Compared to Republicans
 - Definition
 - James O. Eastland
 - Bella S. Abzug
 - Compared to Republicans
 - Reagan
 - Jacob K. Javits
- Third party
 - New name
 - Independents
 - Conservatives
 - Coalition
 - Name
 - Republicans
 - Independents
 - Anne L. Armstrong [?]
 - Inclusiveness
 - Future
- Connally as candidate
 - Motivations
 - Democrats
 - Republicans
- Spiro T. Agnew
 - Competition with Connally
 - The President's view
 - Democratic Party
 - The President's conversation with Edward Bolland [?]
 - Traits
 - Vice Presidential experience
 - Connally-Agnew contest
 - Need to avoid

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- California Republicans
- Rockefeller
 - Nominee
- Agnew
 - Motivations

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Presidency

- The President's schedule
 - Trips to Florida
 - Agnew
 - Shultz
 - Economic expertise
 - Foreign policy
 - Kissinger
 - Cronies
 - Secret Service
 - Staff relations
 - Cronies
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo, Robert H. Abplanalp
 - Lunches, dinners, social contact
 - Secret Service
 - Social contact
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Sherman Adams
 - W. Alton ("Pete") Jones
 - Charles S. Jones
 - Compared to the President
 - Haldeman, Ehrlichman

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Politics

- George C. Wallace [?]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

- Republicans
 - Youth
 - Organization
- Connally as candidate
- Democrats and Republicans
 - Voting
- 1976 Presidential nominee
 - Rockefeller
 - Compared to Agnew
 - Vulnerabilities
 - Reagan
 - Chances for success
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Traits
 - Polls
- Robert J. Dole [?]
- Telephone calls
- 1962 gubernatorial race
 - California
- Republican Party
- Connally as candidate
 - Rationale
 - Alternatives
 - Chances for success
 - Liberal intellectuals
 - Support from Republicans
 - 1932 election
 - Herbert C. Hoover
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Connally's view
 - Support
 - George W. Romney
 - Liberal
 - George S. McGovern
 - New voters
 - Third party
- Lyndon B. Johnson
- George H. W. Bush
- Roosevelt
 - Senate

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-1 (cont'd)

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Connally's career
-Per-hour salary

Connally and Haldeman left at 6:20 pm.

Conversation No. 386-2

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:20 pm and 6:29 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Zosimo T. Monson.

The President's schedule
-Reception for California administration officials
-Folder
-Location
-Bedroom

Monson left at an unknown time before 6:29 pm.

Conversation No. 386-3

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: 6:29 pm - 6:30 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

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

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Conversation No. 386-3 (cont'd)

Chair

-Placement

The President's schedule

-Reception for California administration officials

Item for the President's signature

-Desk

-Timing

Butterfield left at 6:30 pm.

Conversation No. 386-4

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 7:35 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Vietnam negotiations

-Haldeman's message to Henry A. Kissinger

-Breakdown in talks

-Kissinger's recommendation

-The President's possible television [TV] appearance

-Compared to impasse

-Consultations

-Recess

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Tone

-US military action

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

-Resumption of talks

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Breakdown in talks

-North Vietnamese intransigence

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Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

- Doves
- Haldeman's conversations with "hard liners"
 - John B. Connally
- Possible effect on Kissinger
- Breakdown in talks
 - Initiative
 - North Vietnam

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:30 pm.

The President's schedule

- Telephone call from Tricia Nixon Cox
- Manolo Sanchez

Message to Kissinger

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:43 pm.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 6:30 pm and 6:43 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-148]

[Conversation No. 386-4B]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox between 6:43 pm and 6:44 pm.

[See Conversation No. 34-26]

[Conversation No. 386-4A]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - Connally's view

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Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

- Public relations [PR]
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Pace
- PR
 - Charles W. Colson's view
 - Boston
 - Harvard University
 - Princeton University
 - Announcement
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's return to Washington, DC

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials
 - Haldeman's schedule
 - Home
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Robert H. Finch's recommendation
 - California Republicans
 - Possible meeting in San Clemente
- George H. W. Bush
- Oval Office
- Telephone calls
 - Ronald W. Reagan
 - Herbert G. Klein
 - Strom Thurmond's birthday
 - Harry S. Dent
 - Private line
 - Compared to wire
 - Timing
 - Apollo XVII astronauts
 - Launch
 - Timing
 - Camp David
- Harry S. Truman
 - Health
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Telephone call
 - Death

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 386-4 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- John A. Volpe
 - Ambassadorship to Italy
 - Announcement
 - Timing
- John D. Ehrlichman

Connally

- Presidency
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

Vietnam negotiations

- Haldeman's message to Kissinger
 - Breakdown in talks
 - Option
- Congressional relations
 - Funds
 - The President's view
- Breakdown in talks
 - Kissinger's return
 - California
 - Press relations
- The President's possible TV appearance
 - Necessity
 - Ehrlichman's and Colson's views

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials

Zosimo T. Monson entered and Haldeman left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

The President's schedule

- Reception for California administration officials

Monson left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 386-5

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Vietnam negotiations
-Haldeman's message to Henry A. Kissinger
-Kissinger's resignation
-The President's and others' view

Conversation No. 386-6

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Camp David
-Helicopter
-Timing

Sanchez and Bull left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-7

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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Conversation No. 386-7 (cont'd)

The President's schedule

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-8

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Camp David
- Helicopter
- Reception for California administration officials
- Dinner
 - Seating arrangements
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Hand-shaking
 - Haldeman

Bull left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.

Conversation No. 386-9

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 7:35 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

Unknown people met.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 386-9 (cont'd)

The President's schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 7:35 pm.