



NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-1

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: 7:57 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-16]

Conversation No. 387-2

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:57 am and 8:10 am
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Patrick J. Buchanan.

Buchanan's health

- Arthritis
- Whirlpool bath

Press relations

- New York Times* article on monograph, "The Dirtiest Campaign in History Against a President"
- Reaction
 - 1972 campaign
 - George S. McGovern
 - Frank F. Mankiewicz
 - R. Sargent Shriver

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Press relations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-2 (cont'd)

- Analysis of 1972 campaign
 - Virginia [?]
 - Charles W. Colson
 - Herbert G. Klein
- Sidney Brookes
- Max Lemer
- Harrison Salisbury
- 1972 campaign
 - George S. McGovern
 - Criticism
 - Salisbury
 - Edward M. Kennedy's candidate

Democratic National Committee [DNC] chairman

- Robert S. Strauss
- Division in Party
- Compared to Republicans in 1964
 - Dean Burch, Ray C. Bliss
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower's roll

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift

Buchanan left at an unknown time before 8:10 am.

[There is no Conversation No. 387-3.]

Conversation No. 387-4

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 8:10 am - 9:50 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

- Henry A. Kissinger's report from Paris
 - Kennedy's conversation with Kissinger
- Meeting
 - Timing
- Kissinger's outlook
- Congressional relations
- Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Congressional relations
 - Funding for US aid to South Vietnam
- South Vietnam's position
 - US withdrawal for POWs
- North Vietnam's position
 - US withdrawal for POWs
 - Cessation of US bombing, mining
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of US military funds
 - Continuation of war
 - US bombing, mining
 - Timetable
 - Settlement agreement
- Kissinger's conversation with Kennedy
 - Postponement of meeting
 - Kennedy's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
- Kennedy's conversation with Dobrynin
 - Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
 - October 26
 - Dobrynin's message to North Vietnamese
 - Moscow
 - Reply
- Soviet Union's role
 - US-Soviet Union relations
 - Breakdown in talks
- People's Republic of China [PRC] role
- Timetable
 - Congressional reconvention
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Air Force
- US bombing of North Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Effect on US-PRC and US-Soviet Union relations
 - North Vietnam's posture
 - Dobrynin
 - Compared to March 30, 1972
 - Intransigence
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - US-Soviet Union summit
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - The President's meeting with Nikolai S. Patolichev
 - North Vietnam's offensive
- Settlement agreement
 - Enforcement
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - Possible effect on Thieu
 - Press relations
 - Late October 1972
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - North Vietnam's March 30, 1972 invasion
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - North Vietnam
 - US public opinion
 - POWs
 - Cease-fire
 - Louis P. Harris poll
 - Kissinger
 - Settlement agreement

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 8:10 am and 8:26 am.

[Conversation 387-4A]

[See Conversation No. 34-17]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- White House polls
 - US withdrawal
- Congressional relations
 - Michael J. Mansfield
 - Committees
 - Organization
 - Meetings
 - Statements
 - US military action
 - Recess
- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Psychological effect
 - Compared to military effect
 - The President's plan
 - Compared to the Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] plan
 - B-52s
 - Civilian targets
 - Timeframe
 - Pace
 - Cambodia
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - US bombing, mining
 - North Vietnam's reserves

The President talked with Charles W. Colson between 8:26 am and 8:27 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4B]

[See Conversation No. 34-18]

[End of telephone conversation]

Polls

- Colson

Vietnam negotiations

- US military action
 - Kennedy's conversation with Kissinger
 - Messages
- Kennedy's communications with Kissinger

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Open line
 - “Double talk”
 - Soviet Union
 - France
- Secure line
 - Embassy chancery
 - Residence
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew’s possible trip to Saigon
- The President’s conversation with Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo

Colson entered at 8:29 am.

Polls

- Colson

Vietnam negotiations

- Harris polls
 - Settlement agreement
 - Cease-fire
 - South Vietnam
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Peace
 - Communists
 - POWs
 - Cease-fire
 - International supervision
 - National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
 - South Vietnam
 - Representation
 - Communists
 - Election
 - Thieu
- Peace treaty
 - POWs exchange
- Settlement agreement
 - Thieu
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - Relations with US
- Cease-fire in place
 - Compared to North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- “Doves”
 - George S. McGovern
- Settlement agreement
 - Terms
 - Compromise
 - Violation by Communists
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Effect
- October 1972 agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - Changes
 - Kissinger
 - Changes
 - Thieu
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - NCRC
 - Governmental compared to administrative function
 - Interpretation
 - Veto
 - Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - South Vietnamese military action
- Cease-fire
 - North Vietnam’s interest
 - Victory
 - Thieu
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Thieu
 - Vietcong [VC]
- Kissinger
 - Instructions
 - Morale
 - Outlook
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - 1972 election
 - Consultations with South Vietnam
 - Option two
- Continuation
- Breakdown
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Pace

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Weather
 - 20th Parallel
 - Weather
 - B-52s
 - 20th Parallel
 - Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
 - Shift
 - B-52s
 - Protection
 - B-52s
 - Hanoi
 - Weather
 - SAMs
 - North Vietnam
 - Plan
 - Timing and duration
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Loss
 - SAM
 - Airmen
 - Bail-out
 - Haiphong, Hanoi
 - Distinguished Flying Crosses
 - Air Force
 - Oak leaf medals
 - Navy
 - Plan
 - Timing
 - Kennedy's conversation with Moorer
 - The President's conversation with Moorer
 - Secretary of Defense [Melvin R. Laird], JCS
 - Timing
 - Breakdown in talks
 - Kissinger's report
 - Meeting
 - Timing
 - Postponement
 - Kissinger's report
 - Kennedy's call to Kissinger

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Kennedy's possible call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- Kennedy's call to the President
 - The President's schedule
 - Executive Office Building [EOB]
- Possible messenger to Kissinger
- Kissinger's possible return for consultations with the President
 - Duration
 - Effect
 - Breakdown in talks
 - Speculation

Kennedy left at 8:45 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- Harris poll
 - Question
 - Thieu's position
 - Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Coalition government
 - Elections
 - Reconciliation
 - Elections
 - Offer
 - Coalition government
 - NCRC
 - Functions
 - North Vietnam
 - Communist-held areas
 - Xerox copy
- North Vietnam's position
 - Tone
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - October 26, 1972 agreement
- South Vietnam's position
- Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Legal right
 - US public opinion
 - Thieu

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- South Vietnamese
- Non-communist government
- Breakdown

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- Kissinger's message

The President and the unknown person left at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

The President entered at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- North Vietnam's position
- Tone

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

- Vietnam negotiations
- Public relations [PR]
- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible television [TV] appearance
 - The President's November 3, 1969 speech
 - Cambodia
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Hanoi, Haiphong
 - Settlement agreement

Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 8:45 am.

Item for the private file

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:56 am.

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendations

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Translation problems

- US bombing of North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's possible return

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Stalemate

-North Vietnam's intransigence

-1972 election

-Action

Kennedy talked with the President between 8:56 am and 8:59 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4C]

[See Conversation No. 34-19]

[End of telephone conversation]

Vietnam negotiations

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's efforts

-1972 election

-The President's conversations with Kissinger

-Polls

-October 8, 1972 agreement

-Saigon

-Paris

-North Vietnamese

-Thieu

-1972 election

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-North Vietnam's message, November 4, 1972

-McGovern

-PR

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's "peace is at hand" statement
 - North Vietnam's publication of settlement agreement
 - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
 - Kissinger's credibility
 - North Vietnamese reneging
 - US reneging
- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendations
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - The President's credibility
 - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
 - Kissinger
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - 1972 election
 - Playoffs
 - Tone
 - The President's credibility
 - "Peace is at hand"
 - The President's address, "Look to the Future"
 - Timing
 - 1972 election
 - Press relations
 - Kissinger

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 9:01 am.

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - PR
 - Anti-war sentiment
 - POWs
 - Christmas
 - US mining, bombing of North Vietnam
- Kissinger's message
 - Haldeman's reading
 - Tone
 - Content

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Haldeman left at an unknown time before 9:43 am.

Press relations

-*New York Times* article on monograph, "The Dirtiest Campaign in History Against a President"

-1972 campaign

-The President's conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan

-Distribution

-Mailings

-Editors

-Republican leaders

-Congressmen

-Purpose

-Frank F. Mankiewicz

-Historical record

-Editors

-Newspapers

-Mailings

-James Schurz

-James Keogh

-Monographs

-"Things They Would Like to Forget"

-"RN Won It!"

-McGovern

-Reaction

-Double standard

-Schurz

-Distribution

-Mailings

-Letter

-1972 campaign

-Publishers

-*New York Times*

-*Time*

-*Washington Post*

-Unknown person

-Columbia University

-Assistant

-Research

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

- Robert S. Strauss
- Buchanan
 - Governors
- Edmund S. Muskie
- McGovern
 - Statement
 - 1972 election
- Governors' endorsements
- Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis [?]
- Southerners
- Labor
- Jews
- Labor
 - Frank E. Fitzsimmons
 - Peter J. Brennan
 - William S. White

Republican National Committee [RNC]

- Chairman
- South
 - Southern strategy
 - Brennan
 - Blacks
 - Busing
 - Welfare

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Press relations

- Monographs
 - Buchanan
 - “Things They Would Like to Forget”

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's recommendation

-The President's possible TV appearance

-Settlement agreement

-Polls

-Republicans

-George H. Gallup

-Harris

-Gallup

-Cease-fire

-Harris

-Public opinion

-McGovernites

-POWs

-Stock market

-POWs

-Kissinger's credibility

-The President's conversation with Haldeman

-Kissinger's message

-Compared to the President's credibility

-“Peace is at hand”

-Settlement agreement

-North Vietnam

-US bombing

-Compared to the President's credibility

-The President's address, “Look to the Future”

-“Peace is at hand”

-1972 election

-Peace

-Settlement agreement

-Politics

-“Peace is at hand”

-December 6, 1972 talks

-Kissinger

-Haldeman's view

-PR

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Pace

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Translation problems
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - Backgrounder
 - Briefing
 - Previous negotiations
 - Translation problems
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Thieu
 - Settlement agreement
 - Tone
 - Kissinger's emotions
 - Mea culpa*
 - Resignation
 - The President's trips to the PRC and the Soviet Union
 - Berlin
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT]
 - North Vietnam
- Withdrawal of US forces
 - Thieu
 - Residual forces
 - US-North Vietnam bilateral deal
 - South Vietnam
 - Thieu
 - Kissinger
- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - Escalation
 - Kissinger's return from Paris
 - Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Backgrounder
 - North Vietnam's possible statement
 - Settlement agreement
 - Thieu
 - North Vietnam
 - Kissinger's possible statement

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- PR
 - Withdrawal of US forces
- Withdrawal of US forces
 - Announcement
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - North Vietnam
 - Casualties
 - Timing
 - POWs
 - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
 - Residual forces
 - Connally's view
 - Residual forces
- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Kissinger's credibility
 - “Peace is at hand”
 - Kissinger's press relations
 - Press conferences
 - William P. Rogers
 - Mistakes
 - Consultations
 - Haig
 - The President
 - Points
 - Process
 - Briefing
 - Oriana Fallaci interview
 - Effect
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - North Vietnam
 - The President's previous statements
 - PR
 - Press relations
 - Christmas
 - POWs
 - Families
 - Stock market

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Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

-Washington, DC

-PR

- David T. Dellinger
 - Chicago Seven
 - Demonstrations
 - Christmas vigil
 - 1973 Inauguration
 - Press relations
 - 1968
 - Mobilization
- Issues
 - Vietnam War
 - Ground troops
 - TV
 - Draft
 - Volunteer armed forces
 - Casualties
 - Airplanes
 - Aircraft carriers
 - TV
 - Girl
 - Napalm
 - Kissinger's possible TV statement
 - North Vietnamese
 - National honor
 - Demonstrations
 - Mobilization
 - Dellinger
 - 1972 election
 - McGovern
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - Kissinger's view
 - North Vietnam
 - The President's possible conversation with Dobrynin
 - Tone
 - Press relations
 - Kissinger's view
 - The President's press conferences
 - Effect on the enemy
 - Effect on Dellinger and anti-war activists

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

-Effect on the enemy

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- 1972 election
 - McGovern
 - Margin of victory
 - Congressional relations

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's schedule

- National Governor's Conference
 - Compared to Republican Governors Conference
 - Agnew's attendance

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - POWs
 - Possible executions
 - US response
 - North Vietnam
 - Reaction
 - PR
 - Expectations
 - Congressional relations
 - US aid to South Vietnam
 - Cut off
 - The President's message to Thieu
 - Communists, spies
- Kissinger's view
 - Settlement agreement
 - Difficulty
 - North Vietnam

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- US staying in war
- South Vietnam
- US withdrawal

New establishment

- The President's recent conversation with Haldeman
- Colson's role
 - Labor
 - Democrats
 - Italian-Americans
- Blacks
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Leonard Garment
- Press relations
- Business community

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- 1972 election
- The President's supporters
 - Top 100 contributors
- Press
 - Editors
 - The President's supporters
- Peter M. Flanigan
- Updated lists
 - 1972 campaign
 - Distribution
- Colson's responsibility
- Haldeman's role
- Flanigan
- Colson's meetings
 - Flanigan
 - Frederic V. Malek
 - Donald McI Kendall

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

White House social affairs

-Invitations

-Rose Mary Woods

-Colson

-Parties

-Blair House

-Church services

-State dinners

-Quotas

-Blair House

-Friends, military, Cabinet officers, Congress

-Congressional relations

-William E. Timmons

-Ronald L. Ziegler

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

-The President's supporters

-Southerners

-Republicans

-Colson's responsibility

-Republicans

-1972 election

-Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

-Charles H. Percy

-Southerners

-Mathias

-Agnew

-Paul Hall

-Kendall

-David Packard

-Los Angeles

-Edward W. Carter [?]

-Chicago

-Ohio

-Florida

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- 1972 election vote
- Democrats for Nixon
 - Southern strategy
 - Harry S. Dent
- John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
 - The President's box
 - Political supporters
 - White House staff
 - Cabinet

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Second term reorganization

- Leaks
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Kevin Phillips's article
 - Frederic V. Malek
 - Cabinet
 - Personnel
 - Under Secretaryship
- James T. Lynn
- Peterson
 - Trade
- Commerce Department
 - South
 - Archibald K. Davis of North Carolina
 - Wachovia Bank
 - Frederick B. Dent of South Carolina
 - Textile industry
 - Republican Party
- Phillips's article
 - Buchanan
- Mitchell
- Washington Post*
- Washington Star*
 - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]

-Rogers

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- John A. Scali
 - 1972 election
 - Italian-American vote
 - Background
 - Education
 - Boston University
 - Canton, Ohio

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- George H. W. Bush
 - Compared to Rogers

1972 election

- Voters
 - Italian-Americans
 - Percentage
 - Catholics
 - Percentage
 - Italian-Americans
 - Irish-Americans
 - New York
- Harris poll
 - Results

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Colson left at 9:43 am.

Second term reorganization

- Leaks
 - Haldeman's reaction
 - Peterson
 - Washington Post* article
 - Haldeman's conversation with Ziegler
 - George P. Shultz

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Economics "czar" position
- Shultz's conversation with Peterson
- Haldeman's conversation with Ziegler
 - Washington Post*
 - Washington Star*
 - David S. Broder

Tricia Nixon Cox talked with the President between 9:44 am and 9:45 am.

[Conversation No. 387-4D]

[See Conversation No. 34-20]

[End of telephone conversation]

Second term reorganization

- Leaks
 - Peterson
 - Washington Post* article
 - Ziegler
 - Compared to Dent
 - Opportunism
 - Frank F. Church
- Cabinet and White House staff
 - Unknown man
 - Loyalty

The President's schedule

- California
 - Kitchen work
 - Deadline
 - Herbert W. Kalmbach
 - Pool
- Camp David
- White House
- Reception for California administration officials
 - Dinner
 - The President's attendance
 - Camp David
 - Cocktails

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Dress
 - Business suit
- White House
 - Vietnam negotiations
 - Kissinger
 - US military action
 - Plans
 - Moorer
- Camp David
 - Ziegler's announcement
 - Compared to White House
 - Vietnam negotiations
 - Kissinger's return from Paris
 - Settlement agreement or breakdown
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Messages
- Christmas
 - The President's conversation with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Lucy A. Winchester
 - Stephen B. Bull
 - Plans
 - Winchester and Bull meeting
 - Haldeman's role
 - Mrs. Nixon
 - Edward C. Nixon [?]
 - Talking paper
 - Haldeman's conversation with the President
 - Tree lighting ceremony
 - The President's role
 - 1971
 - Rex W. Scouten
 - Message
 - Thanksgiving
 - Radio message
 - Timing
 - Duration
 - Mrs. Nixon
 - Guests
 - Groups

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Size
- Clean-up
- The President's role

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- Invitations
 - 1972 campaign workers
 - Clark MacGregor
 - William Matthew [?]
 - Speeches
- The President's schedule

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's schedule

- Shultz's meeting with the President
 - Ehrlichman's presence
 - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III.
 - HUD
 - Kissinger
 - Shultz's position as Assistant to the President
- Kissinger's meetings with the President
- Ehrlichman's meetings with the President
- Agnew's meetings with the President

Watergate

- John J. Sirica
 - Handling of case
 - [Pre-trial conference, December 4, 1972]
 - Story
 - Indictments
 - Meeting
- John W. Dean, III, report
 - Draft
- White House staff

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Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Announcement
- Donald H. Segretti
 - Ehrlichman
 - Edward M. Kennedy
 - Subpoenas
 - Staff investigations
 - Mitchell's efforts with James O. Eastland

Second term reorganization

- Peterson
- Richard M. Helms
 - Ambassadorship to Iran
 - Rogers
 - Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
 - Joseph S. Farland
 - William H. Sullivan
 - George H. W. Bush's conversation with Rogers
 - Haldeman's possible conversation with Bush
- Colson
 - Italian-Americans
- Confirmation
 - Foreign policy
 - Rogers
 - Congressional relations
 - Nomination
 - Colson, Bush
 - Foreign policy

Vietnam negotiations

- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - PR
 - Vietnam War as issue
- Resumption
- Impasse, postponement
- Resumption
 - Kissinger's possible statement
- Breakdown
 - Washington, DC

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-4 (cont'd)

- Congressional relations
- Instructions for Haldeman
- Ehrlichman, Shultz
- Judgment

The President's schedule

- White House
- Kissinger
- Helene (Colesie) Drown
- Blair House

Haldeman left at 9:50 am.

Conversation No. 387-5

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 10:13 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-21]

Conversation No. 387-6

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:13 am and 10:15 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Horacio Rivero
- Duration
- Photograph opportunity
- Credentials

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Conversation No. 387-6 (cont'd)

- Spain
- Photograph opportunity
 - Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
- Meeting with Henry O. Dormann
 - National Enquirer*
 - Photograph session
- Meeting with Leroy S. Zimmerman and M. Harvey Taylor
 - Timing
- Meeting with John B. Connally
- Reception for California administration officials
 - Dinner
 - Timing
 - Blair House
 - Cocktails
- Meeting with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
 - Duration
 - Interruption

Bull left at 10:15 am.

Conversation No. 387-7

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 10:15 am - 11:38 am

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman. The White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

Economy

- Cost of living
- Wage and price controls
 - Shultz's message from the President
 - Arthur F. Burns
 - Shultz's conversations with John B. Connally, Burns, and Pierre Rinfret
 - Public relations [PR]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Food prices
 - Burns
 - Congressional relations
 - Meat import quotas suspension
 - Increase of oil import quotas
 - Rice
- Guidelines
- Construction industry
- Medical care
- Food prices
- Government action
- Food prices
 - The President's conversation with Gerald R. Ford
 - Meat import quotas suspension
 - Earl L. Butz
 - Cattlemen
 - Structure of controls
- Inflation
 - Big companies and unions
- Food prices
- Medical care
- Food prices
 - Rinfret
 - Construction industry
- Shultz's memorandum
 - Donald F. Rumsfeld
 - Burns
 - Conversation with Shultz
- Food prices
 - Quotas
 - Price Commission
 - Term-limit price controls
- Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
 - Enforcement
- PR
 - Decontrol
 - Inflation fight continuation
 - Controls change
 - Phase III
 - Inflation fight "continues"

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Substance
- Decontrol
- Cost of Living Council [COLC]
 - John T. Dunlop
 - Conversation with Shultz
 - Rumsfeld
 - Labor unions
- Food prices
 - Rinfret
- Rinfret's support
 - 1972 campaign
- Labor relations
 - George Meany, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Leonard Woodcock
 - Disputes
 - Settlement
 - Strikes
 - Peter J. Brennan
- Milton Friedman's view
 - Tightened controls
 - April 1973
 - End of controls
- Psychological effect
- Labor relations
 - Avoiding conflict
 - Business council
 - Frederick B. Dent
 - Confirmation
 - Profit system
- Consultations
 - Meany
 - Brennan
 - Fitzsimmons
- Productivity Commission
 - Meany
 - John H. ("Jack") Lyons
 - Phase II
 - Dunlop
 - Peter G. Peterson
- Meany's view
 - Industry labor-management groups

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

-Steel

-I[lorwith] W[ilbur] Abel

-Shultz's role

-Brennan

-Confirmation

-Dent, Brennan

-Timing

-State of the Union address

-1973 Inauguration

-Pre-January 1, 1973

-Christmas

-Congressional reconvention

-Christmas

-Productivity Commission meeting

Commission on Industrial Peace

-Dent, Brennan

-Timing

-Membership

-Names

-Size

-Experience

-George S. McGovern supporters

-Labor relations

-Woodcock

-Productivity Commission

-Neutral intellectuals

-Business

-Professors

-1972 election

-McGovern supporters

-Economists

-Newspaper advertisement

-Rinfret

-PR

-Conversation with Shultz

-Interest in administration position

-Visibility, status, prerequisites, access to the President

-Importance

-The President's view

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Meany's view
- Labor-management relations
- Membership
 - Charles W. Colson's lists
 - Business, labor
 - Donald McI Kendall
 - Frederic V. Malek
 - Roy L. Ash
 - Labor, management
- Congressional relations
 - Philip M. Landrum – Robert P. Griffin Act
 - Farm labor bill

Economy

- Wage and price controls
 - Timing
 - Christmas
 - Sales
 - PR
 - Inflation
 - Budget
 - Inflation
 - Phases
 - Phase III
 - Continuation of law
 - Method
 - Speculation
 - Phase III
 - Budget
 - Spending ceiling
 - Phase III
 - Christmas
 - Continuation of law
 - Inflation fight continuation
 - Congressional relations
 - Comprehensiveness
 - Voluntarism
 - Labor relations
 - Meany, Fitzsimmons, Brennan, Dent
 - Shultz's role

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- John B. Connally's view
 - Politics, psychology
- Labor relations
 - Business
 - Conflict
 - Pay Board, Price Commission
 - Meany
- Colson's role
 - Politics
 - Conflict
- Announcement
 - Timing

Revenue sharing

- Issuance of first check
 - Timing
 - Congressional relations
 - Treasury Department briefing
 - Announcement
- Information update
 - Customer and tax packets
- Congressional relations
 - Democrats
 - House of Representatives
 - Senate
 - Republicans
 - Southern Democrats
- James E. Smith
- Charles H. Percy
- Amounts
 - Change
 - Data
 - New York City
 - Suburban areas
 - Chicago
 - Indianapolis
 - Richard G. Lugar
 - Los Angeles County
 - Samuel W. Yorty
- Congressional relations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- Treasury Department
 - Charles E. Walker and Eugene T. Rossides
 - Announcement
 - Timing
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD]
- Walker
 - Congressional relations
 - Lobbying activities
 - Relations with administration
 - Possible meeting with the President
 - Handshake
 - Expression of gratitude
 - Photograph session
- Treasury Department
 - William E. Simon
 - Announcement
 - Solomon Brothers
 - Resignation
 - Conflict of interest
 - Fraud
 - Edward L. Morgan
 - Rossides
 - Edwin S. Cohen

Congressional relations

- Shultz's possible trip to Arkansas
 - Wilbur D. Mills
 - Russell B. Long
 - Shultz's conversation with Mills
 - House Ways and Means Committee agenda
 - Trade
 - Taxes
 - Health
 - Pension portability
 - Unemployment insurance
 - Tax credits for private schools

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Property taxes, tax reform
- Health
- Trade
 - Most Favored Nation [MFN] status
 - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]
 - Restrictions
 - MFN
 - Soviet Union
 - Compared to liberalization
 - GATT
 - Europe
 - Oil prices
 - Liberalization
- International monetary relations
 - Tariff reduction
 - Presidential discretion
 - General resolution
 - Treasury Department
 - Deals
 - Ratification
 - Effect on negotiations
 - Concessions
- International economic relations
 - Trade
 - Countervailing duty legislation
 - Michelin
 - Canada
 - Announcement
 - State Department
 - Japanese
 - Electronics
 - South Koreans
 - Sneakers [tennis shoes]
 - Surplus
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Politics
 - William J. Casey
 - Japan
 - Economic, political, military considerations

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Kissinger
- “QT”
- Canada
 - Jobs
 - Auto pact
 - Negotiations
 - Agreement
 - Cancellation
 - Duration
 - Michelin
- Latin America
 - Expropriations
 - Peru
 - Company worries
 - David Packard
 - New government
 - January 1973
 - Settlement
 - Loans
 - National Security Council [NSC]
- Chile
 - Hardline
- Multilateral organizations
 - Latin America
 - World Bank
 - Robert S. McNamara
 - Replacement
 - Inter-American Development Bank [IADB]
 - Pledge
 - Emilio Garrastazu Medici of Brazil
 - Increments
 - Congressional relations
 - Appropriations
 - Continuing resolution
- Review
- Compared to bilateral agreements
 - US relations
 - Control
- Latin America
 - IADB

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Asian Development Bank
- IADB
- United Nations [UN]
 - Budget cuts
 - Effect
 - UN Development Program
 - Rudolph A. Peterson
- US foreign policy
- World Bank
 - McNamara
- Latin America
 - IADB

Second term reorganization

- Peter G. Peterson
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Ambassadorship to North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - David M. Kennedy
 - Need for full-time person
 - Cabinet rank
 - “Super ambassador”
 - Rumsfeld
 - UN ambassadorship
 - Job performance
 - Soviet Union
 - Departure
 - Leaks
 - Washington Post*
 - Dent
 - James T. Lynn
 - Ehrlichman
 - Departure
 - Means
 - Kissinger's view
 - Living abroad
 - Personal reasons
 - Possible trip
 - East-West negotiations
 - Soviet Union, Poland

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Report
- European Economic Community [EEC], Soviet Union, Poland
- Role as President's special representative
- Poland
- EEC
- Japan
- East-West trade
- Moscow
- US-Soviet Union gas deal
 - Kissinger
- Soviet Union
 - US-Soviet Union summit
- Europe, Japan
- East-West trade
- US-Soviet Union gas deal
 - Peter M. Flanigan
 - Connally
 - Commerce Department
 - Shultz
 - Kissinger
 - White House
 - Connally
 - Kissinger
 - Armand Hammer
 - Economics
 - Companies' interests
 - Government guarantees
 - Export-Import [Ex-Im] Bank
 - Connally
 - Commerce Department
- Soviet Union
 - Connally
- Europe, Japan
- East-West trade
- Role as President's special representative
- EEC, Japan
- Recommendations
- Speeches, press conferences
- Contacts
 - Shultz, Flanigan, Kissinger

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Rumsfeld
 - Ambassadorship to NATO
- Peterson's possible trip
 - EEC-NATO ambassadorship
 - [Joseph A. Greenwald]
 - State Department
 - Feasibility
 - Rumsfeld
 - Departure
 - US economic representation in industrial countries
 - William J. Casey
 - Rogers
 - Soviet Union
 - Maurice H. Stans
 - Europe
 - Japan
 - Asian countries
 - Latin America
 - Brazil
 - Mexico
 - Japan
 - Philippines
 - Indonesia
 - Casey
 - State Department
 - East-West trade
 - US-Soviet Union summit
 - US economic representation
 - Public statements
 - Purpose
 - Recommendations on broad policy
 - EEC, Asia
 - European community

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:15 am.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:38 am.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

Second term reorganization

- Peterson's possible trip
 - Recommendations
 - EEC-NATO ambassadorship
 - James D. Hodgson
 - US economic representation
 - US policy
 - Cartels, anti-trust
 - Report
 - Duration
 - Timing
 - Confirmation of Secretary of Commerce
 - Spring 1973
 - Announcement
 - Speculation
 - Sally (Hornbogen) Peterson
 - Travel
 - Presidential plane
 - Kennedy
 - Commercial
 - Special plane
 - Europe
 - Paris
 - Attache planes
 - Japan, Indonesia
 - NATO
 - US economic representation
 - Consultations
 - Rogers
 - [David] Kenneth Rush
 - Casey
 - State Department
 - Shultz
 - Kissinger
 - Flanigan
 - Role as President's special representative
 - Ambassadorship
- Ehrlichman's schedule
 - Meeting with Warren E. Burger
 - Robert H. Bork

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-7 (cont'd)

- Experience
 - Erwin N. Griswold
 - Richard G. Kleindienst
 - Charles S. Rhyne
- Supreme Court
 - Age
 - Paul Klein [?] [sp?]
 - McGovern
 - John B. Davis, Jr. [?]
 - L[ouis] Patrick Gray, III
 - Clifford P. Case

Shultz and Ehrlichman left at 11:38 am.

Conversation No. 387-8

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: 1:09 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with the White House operator.

[See Conversation No. 34-147]

Conversation No. 387-9

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: 1:09 pm - 1:10 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 34-22]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-10

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Dictation

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Charles W. Colson
-Timing

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-11

Date: December 5, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm
Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-11 (cont'd)

-Call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Interview

-News story

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-12

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:10 pm and 2:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Charles W. Colson

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 2:00 pm.

Conversation No. 387-13

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 2:00 pm - unknown before 3:00 pm

Location: Executive Office Building

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

The President's schedule

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

Press relations

- Colson's conversation with Patrick J. Buchanan
- Monographs
 - “Things They Would Like to Forget”
 - Purpose
 - Eastern elite
- Administration supporters
- Columnists
- Editorial writers
- Buchanan
 - New York Times*
- Administration supporters
- Editors
- Congressmen
- Senators
- Republican National Committeemen
- 1972 campaign
 - News summaries
 - The President's reading
 - Life*
 - Letters
 - “*Soc et tuum*”
 - Photographs
 - Joe Scherschel
 - Wisconsin
 - Time*
- Colson
 - Washington Post* article, December 5, 1972
 - John A. Scali
 - Tone
 - Interview with Patricia Ann (Hughes) Colson
 - Sally Quinn
 - Margaret Pearson
 - Colson's conversation with Scali
- William S. Paley
 - Meeting with Clay T. (“Tom”) Whitehead

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

1972 election

- Victory margin
 - Percentages
 - Reporting
 - Deadline
 - Percentages

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 2:05 pm.

Press relations

- Colson
 - Washington Post* article
 - Tone
 - Scali

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election

- Victory margin
 - Percentages
 - Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Reporting
 - Missing states
- John B. Connally
- Wire services
 - Press relations
 - Jim Schurz
- Votes
 - Certification
 - Secretary of States
 - Count

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

- Henry A. Kissinger's message
 - Colson's reading
- Breakdown
 - Kissinger's recommendation
 - The President's possible television [TV] appearance
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - US-Soviet Union summit
 - US foreign relations
 - 1972 election
 - Second term
 - The President's view
 - 1972 election
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Explanation of details
 - Kissinger's return
 - Report to the President
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - Untelevised
 - Attribution
 - Duration
 - Questions and answers [Q&A]
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Public relations [PR]
 - Reescalation of war
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Kissinger's possible statement
 - "Snag"
 - North Vietnam
 - Translation problems
 - US military action
 - North Vietnam's statements
 - Colson's view
 - 1972 election
 - Economy
 - Christmas
 - Playoffs

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Retail sales
- Second term
- “Peace is at hand”
- US-Soviet Union summit
 - Kissinger’s return [from Moscow]
 - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
 - Cancellation
 - The President’s recommended TV appearance
 - John B. Connally’s view
 - Victory in Vietnam
 - The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
 - US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
 - North Vietnam’s offensive
- Kissinger’s return from Paris
- Translation problems
- North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- US action
 - US bombing of North Vietnam
 - Pace
 - B-52s
 - Nuclear option
 - Cambodia
- Kissinger’s message
 - Settlement agreement
 - Cease-fire
- Confession of failure
- Kissinger’s message
 - Vietnamization
 - Government of Vietnam [GVN]
 - US withdrawal
 - Military settlement
 - Hanoi
 - Prisoners of War [POWs] return
 - US military action
- Offer
 - South Vietnam
 - Communist domination
 - Self-defense
 - POWs
 - Cessation of US bombing of North Vietnam

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- US withdrawal
 - Effect on South Vietnam
 - George S. McGovern's position
- Settlement agreement
- US allies
- POWs
- US withdrawal
 - Honor
- Cambodia
- Administration supporters and opponents
- The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Administration opponents and supporters
- US action
- Kissinger's missions
 - Failure
- Kissinger's messages
 - Nguyen Van Thieu, North Vietnam
- PR and Congressional relations
- US bombing and mining of North Vietnam
 - Duration
 - Settlement agreement
 - PR and Congressional relations
 - Cost
 - Budget
 - The President's meeting with George P. Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman
- Breakdown
 - North Vietnam's position
 - The President's message to Thieu
 - Continuation of war
 - Congressional relations
 - Infiltration of Thieu's government
 - Settlement agreement
 - Kissinger
 - Bargaining tool
 - Delay
 - POWs
 - Reparations
 - Congressional relations
 - Thieu

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's view
- North Vietnam's military
- 20th Parallel
- Iowans
- Timing
 - 1972 election
- Kissinger's possible statement
 - Kissinger's emotions
 - The President's possible efforts
 - Sarah Bernhardt
 - Alternatives
 - William P. Rogers
 - Ziegler
 - Rogers
 - Relationship with Kissinger
- Format
 - Exposition, Q&A
 - Duration
- Kissinger's briefings
 - Efforts to "dazzle"
 - Length of comments
 - Effect
- Kissinger's resignation
 - Career
- Haig
- Col. Richard T. Kennedy
 - Messenger role
 - Kissinger
- Second term reorganization
 - Kissinger's resignation
 - Timing
 - India-Pakistan War

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 2:05 pm.

Refusal of offer

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 3:00 pm.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

-Advice

-Haldeman's possible conversation with Rogers

-Rogers's schedule

-North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

-Connally

-[David] Kenneth Rush

-Melvin R. Laird

-Schedule

-NATO

-Connally

-Meeting with the President

-Rush

-Reading of Kissinger's messages

-Rogers

-PR

-Rush

-Ziegler

-“Hawks”

-Ehrlichman

-Ziegler

-Breakdown

-Kissinger's possible statement

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-Resumption of talks

-Timing

-North Vietnam

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Duration

-Settlement agreement

Honorable peace

-North Vietnam

-PR

-Credibility

-Daniel Yankelovich

-Dovishness

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Settlement agreement

-Kissinger's and the President's views

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log

(rev. July-08)

Conversation No. 387-13 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's recommendations
 - Kissinger's return from Paris
 - Report to the President
 - The President's possible TV appearance
 - US action
 - US military action
 - Duration
 - POWs
 - Right
 - Left
 - McGovern's position
 - R. Sargent Shriver
 - POWs
- POWs
- PR
 - US surrender
- Cessation of US mining and bombing, US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
 - Effect on South Vietnam's survival
- POWs
 - North Vietnam
 - US economic aid
- PR
 - Communists
 - Settlement agreement
- Vietnamization
- North Vietnam's position
 - Bargaining tool
 - POWs
 - US aid to Hanoi
- Congressional relations
 - Settlement agreement
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - South Vietnam
- Settlement agreement
 - McGovern's or allies' possible role
 - Delay
 - Congressional relations

[This recording was cut off at an unknown time before 3:00 p.m.]