

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Conversation No. 816-1

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: 2:46 pm - 2:48 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

-Meeting with Henry A. Kissinger

-Timing

-The President's forthcoming meeting [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran

Kim Phuong]

Butterfield left at 2:48 pm.

Conversation No. 816-2

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: Unknown between 2:48 pm and 2:52 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Greetings

The unknown man left at an unknown time before 2:52 pm.

Conversation No. 816-3

Date: November 29, 1972
Time: 2:52 pm- 5:32 pm
Location: Oval Office

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

The President's forthcoming meeting [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]

Kissinger's interview with Oriana Fallaci, November 2 and 4, 1972

-Purpose

- Fallaci's article on the President
 - Italian Ambassador [Egidio Ortona]
 - Possible correction
 - Influence
 - Thesis
 - Liberals

Kissinger's statements about the President

- Solitary methods of work
 - Decisions
- Courage
 - Appointment of Kissinger
 - 1968 campaign
 - Primaries
 - US interest
 - Fallaci's alleged distortions
 - Kissinger's self-aggrandizement
 - "Cowboy" question
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Kissinger's actual response
 - US public opinion
 - Movie stars
 - Analogy to Gary Cooper in *High Noon*
- Liberals
- Kissinger's press relations
 - Kissinger's self-aggrandizement
- Kissinger's relationship with the President
 - Independence

Vietnam negotiations

- The President's meeting with Duc and Phuong
 - Duc's personality

Kissinger's interview with Fallaci

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Vietnam negotiations

- The President's forthcoming meeting with Duc
 - Tone
 - Message for Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Presidential letters
 - Settlement agreement
 - Time table
 - Forthcoming meeting
 - Signing
 - December 22, 1972
 - Announcement
 - December 20, 1972
 - Negotiations
 - December 7, 1972
 - South Vietnamese independence
 - Alleged split between the President and Kissinger
 - State Department
 - Consequence
 - Delay
 - Alexander M .Haig, Jr. 's schedule
 - Message delivery to Saigon
- US aid to South Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
- Continuation of war
 - Congressional relations
 - Supplemental defense budget
 - Kissinger's conversation with Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
- Settlement agreement
 - South Vietnamese demands
 - North Vietnamese troop withdrawals
 - Timing
 - Political provisions
 - Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
 - Nguyen Van Thieu's letter
 - North Vietnamese Infiltration
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
- Duc's personality

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 2:52 pm.

The President's forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
-Time

The President's recent trip to New York
-Play
-*The Gentlemen of Verona*

The President's forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
-Timing
-Haig

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

Vietnam negotiations

- Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnam
 - Problems
 - US aid to South Vietnam
 - The President's forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong
 - Possible leak
 - Congressional relations
 - Possible articles by William F. Buckley, Jr.
 - Kissinger's recent lunch with Buckley
 - View of agreement
 - Thieu
- Quality
- October 8, 1972 agreement
- Importance
 - US support
 - Issue for South Vietnam

Kissinger's schedule

- Trip to Florida
 - Meeting with President
 - Length
 - Ronald L. Ziegler's possible press release
 - Kissinger's relationship with the President
 - South Vietnamese view

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Vietnam War

- US bombing
 - Civilians
- Settlement agreement
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese
 - Purpose
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Political prisoners
 - Changes
 - Kissinger's recent meeting with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

US-Soviet Union relations

- Kissinger's recent meeting with Dobrynin
 - Embassies accord
 - Possible invitation to Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward R. F. Cox to Moscow
 - Lunch
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - North Vietnamese complaint to Soviet Union
 - The President's message
 - US bombing
 - Timing
 - US-Soviet Union summit

Vietnam negotiations

- Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnamese
 - Dobrynin's possible role
 - Political prisoners

US-Soviet Union relations

- Possible summit
 - Brezhnev's visit to US
 - Timing
 - Announcement
 - Timing
 - 1973 Inauguration

Haig, Duc, and Phuong entered at 3:05 pm. The White House photographer and members of the

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introduction

Haig's forthcoming assignment
-US army

Seating

Translator

Photograph session
-Conversation
-Reporters

Kissinger's schedule

[Photograph session]
-Room temperature
-Lighting

[General conversation]

Zozimo T. Monson entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

Refreshments
-Tea, coffee, Pepsi Cola
-Consumme
-Paris food

Monson left at an unknown time before 5:52 pm.

The President's welcome

Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger's return to Paris, December 3, 1972
-Current status
-The President's goals
-US-South Vietnamese relations
-The President's previous efforts

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Demonstrators
- Congressional opposition
- Political and military fight
 - South Vietnamese independence
- Prisoners of War [POWs]
- Current status
 - US-South Vietnam relations
- South Vietnamese views
 - Kissinger's return to Paris
 - The President's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger, December 1, 1972
 - Florida
 - The President's written instructions
- Conflicts with US
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - Resolution
 - Communication
 - Beneficiary
 - US left wing
 - Betrayal allegation by Saigon
 - Kissinger's instructions
 - Criticism
 - Consequences
 - Destruction
 - US and South Vietnamese casualties
 - US public support
 - Sources
 - Radio Saigon, media, South Vietnamese government
 - The President's support for government of South Vietnam [GVN] and Thieu
- US press
 - Hostility to South Vietnam
 - Left wing orientation
- Current meeting
 - Exchange of views
 - The President's forthcoming instructions for Kissinger
- Greetings from Thieu
- South Vietnamese gratitude to the President
- Vietnamization
 - Effect on South Vietnam
 - Strength, self reliance
- North Vietnam's Spring offensive, March 30, 1972

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Vietnamization
- Settlement agreement
 - North Vietnamese interest
 - Thieu's views
 - Instructions to Duc
 - Kissinger's instructions
 - Press attacks
 - Duc's wire to Saigon from Paris
 - Source
 - South Vietnamese government denial
 - Saigon Radio reporting
- US press in South Vietnam
 - Hostility to South Vietnam
- White House press
 - Hostility to South Vietnam
- Press relations
 - Need for care
 - Predictions of South Vietnam failure
 - Support for North Vietnam
- Thieu
 - Statements about the President
 - Lack of expression and confidence
 - Effect
 - Hostility to South Vietnam in US
- Hostility to South Vietnam in US
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - Conflict between Thieu and the President, Kissinger, Haig
 - Private expression compared to public expression
- Radio Hanoi
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - South Vietnam's response
 - Necessity
- Cease-fire
 - Preparations
 - Thieu's handling
 - Psychological aspect
- Settlement agreement
 - Psychological aspect
 - Victory claims by North and South Vietnam
 - Consequences

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Thieu
 - Public relations [PR] sense
- Tone
 - Aid for South Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
- Press relations
 - Saigon press
 - Relationship with GVN
- Purpose of Duc visit
 - Informing the President
- Thieu's recent letter to the President
 - Presentation
 - Reply to possible questions from the President

[No conversation-The President read Thieu's recent letter]

Smoking

- The President's friends
- Kissinger's habits
- Eating, drinking

[No conversation-The President resumes reading Thieu's recent letter]

Vietnam negotiations

- Thieu's recent letter
 - The President's views
 - Duc's conversations with Kissinger in Paris
 - Communism
 - The President's approach compared to Thieu's
 - South Vietnam's interest
 - South Vietnamese civilian and military casualties
 - Effect on North Vietnam
 - The President's tour of refugee camps in 1956
 - South-bound traffic
 - Liberation claim
 - North Vietnam
 - Negotiating stance
 - Tone
 - Withdrawal of troops
 - Political prisoners

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Vietcong [VC]
- US position
 - Tone
 - Cease-fire
- Political settlement
 - Thieu's concerns
 - Coalition government
 - Public statements
 - Principle of unanimity
 - Veto
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Thieu's tenure
 - The President's January 25, 1972 proposals
 - North Vietnam's position
 - National Council of Reconciliation and Concord [NCRC]
 - Need for unanimous agreement
 - Psychological compared to practical effect
 - US military and economic aid
 - The President's personal alliance with Thieu
 - 1972 election
 - Thieu's tenure
- The President's role
 - Responsibility
 - The President's approval of Haig's and Kissinger's comments
 - Haig's trip to Saigon
 - Kissinger's trips to Paris
 - Written instructions
 - Kissinger's return to Paris
 - Substance
 - Compared to cosmetics
 - Cables
 - Secret channels
 - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese in Paris
 - Thieu's changes
 - Importance
 - Current meeting
 - Forthcoming meeting with the President in Florida
 - Current meeting
 - Thieu

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Kissinger's return to Paris
 - Forthcoming meeting with North Vietnamese
 - Directions
 - Authority
 - Conversations with South Vietnamese delegation
 - Phuong's schedule
 - Progress
- Settlement agreement
 - Goals
 - US
 - South Vietnam
 - Independence compared to imposition of communist government
- Thieu's recent letter
 - Vietnamization
 - Success
 - South Vietnamese forces' efforts
 - US air support and mining
 - Effect on North Vietnamese
 - Continuation of war
 - Predictions
 - North Vietnamese capitulation or withdrawal
- Continuation of war
 - The President's view
 - Congressional relations
 - Congressional relations
 - The President's recent meetings and conversations with Senators and Congressmen
 - “Hawks”
 - Recent votes
 - Margins
 - 93rd Congress
 - Settlement agreement
 - POWs
 - Return
 - Timing
 - Christmas 1972
 - Terms
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Bombing, mining

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- The President's January 25, 1972 proposals
- Deadline
 - Cut off of funds
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Timing
 - 1972 election, US-Soviet Union summit
 - Cease-fire, return of POWs, South Vietnam independence
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - South Vietnamese resistance
 - Congressional relations
 - Congress' power of the purse
- The President's visits to Vietnam
 - South Vietnam
 - Visit to Hanoi in 1953
 - North Vietnamese government
 - Effect on people
- Settlement agreement
 - South Vietnamese resistance
 - Congressional relations
 - Goals
 - Cease-fire, return of POWs
 - Thieu's retention
 - Commissions
 - NCRC
 - Thieu's possible expectation
 - The President's mobilization of public support
 - Bombing, mining
 - North Vietnamese troop withdrawals from South Vietnam
- Settlement agreement
 - Political provisions
 - 1954 [Geneva] Accords
 - Breaking by Communists
 - Quality
 - North Vietnamese troop withdrawals from South Vietnam
 - Coalition government
 - NCRC
 - Thieu's view
- US support

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Congressional and public support of the President
 - Bombing
 - Communist violations of agreement
 - Commitment
 - Current meeting
- South Vietnam acceptance
 - Congressional relations
 - Appeal for funds
 - Timing
 - Economic and military aid
 - Replacements
 - Budget
 - Cease-fire
 - POWs
 - Political provisions
 - The President's commitments to South Vietnamese
 - Military and economic assistance
 - US bases in Thailand, Philippines
 - Possible North Vietnamese violations
 - Resumption of bombing
 - Support of Thieu
 - US influence with Soviet Union, People's Republic of China [PRC], and North Vietnam
 - Military and economic assistance
 - Congress
 - Resumption of bombing against North Vietnam
 - Instructions for Kissinger
 - Cambodia
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - The President's relationship with Thieu
- Thieu's stance
 - North Vietnamese withdrawal from South Vietnam
 - Political provisions
 - Role to enemy
 - Elections
 - NCRC
 - Improvement to agreement
- South Vietnamese security
 - US support
 - Economic and military aid

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Changes
 - US political realities
- Congressional relations
 - The President's possible appearance before joint session, January 4, 1973
 - “Doves”
 - J. William Fulbright
 - Michael J. (“Mike”) Mansfield
 - “Hawks”
 - John C. Stennis
 - Barry M. Goldwater
 - Gerald R. Ford
 - Recent meeting with the President
 - Limits to US support
 - Ford's recent meeting with the President
 - Ford's predictions on Congressional vote
 - POWs for withdrawal
 - Mood of Congress
- Thieu's
- Public mood
 - 1972 election
 - The President's evaluation
- South Vietnam's survival
 - US aid
 - Separate peace
 - South Vietnamese and US casualties
 - US aid
 - Congress' power of the purse
 - POWs
 - South Vietnam's and US effort
 - Thieu's position
 - The President's sympathy for South Vietnamese
 - 1966 visit
 - Girl amputee in South Vietnamese hospital
 - VC
 - US interest
- South Vietnamese resistance
 - Congressional relations
 - Time table
 - Signing

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- December 22, 1972
- Cut off of funds
- Resolution
- January 3, 1973
- Veto option
- Rider
 - POWs
 - “Doves” and “hawks”
- The President’s possible meeting with Thieu
 - Terms
 - Acceptance of settlement
 - US and GVN unity
 - North Vietnamese violations
 - Consequences
 - The President’s possible public statement
- US support for South Vietnam
 - US public opinion
 - George H. Gallup poll
 - POWs for withdrawal
- The President’s goals
 - Cease-fire
 - Political settlement
 - Thieu’s retention
 - Coalition government
 - The President’s opposition
 - North Vietnam’s position
 - Congress’s power of the purse
- South Vietnamese acceptance
 - Kissinger’s return to Paris
 - The President’s instructions
 - Thieu’s possible statement
 - Expression of confidence in the President
 - Effect
 - Congressional relations
 - Economic and military aid
 - Funding
 - US bombing
 - 1972 election
 - Gallup poll
- Congressional relations

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Public statements
 - US negotiating position
- Thieu
- Time table
- Sheriff metaphor
- The President's trips to PRC, Soviet Union
- Kissinger's trips to Paris
- "Doves"
 - Meetings with the President
 - Mansfield
 - Fulbright
- Terms
 - Quality
- GVN's survival
- Correspondence between Thieu and the President
- The President's goals
 - End to war
 - Prevention of communist unity
- North Vietnamese acceptance
 - Bombing, mining, US resolve
 - US economic and military aid
 - "Hardware"
 - Compared to "software"
 - Bombing
 - Lyndon B. Johnson
 - The President's view
 - 1968 bombing halt
- US operations
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Bombing and mining
 - US public
 - Acceptance
 - Support for the President
 - South Korea
 - Survival
 - US troop presence
 - US military and economic aid

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-036. Segment declassified on 05/31/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[816-003-w004]

[Duration: 14s]

Vietnam negotiations

-Settlement agreement

-US operations

-Enforcement

-Possible North Korean violation of Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]

-US response

-The President's viewing

Vietnam negotiations

-Settlement agreement

-US operations

-North Vietnamese infiltration

-Troops in South Vietnam

-Withdrawal

-Possible understandings

-Kissinger

-Risk

-Principles

-South Vietnamese view

-Cease-fire, return of POWs, South Vietnamese independence

-Presentation as GVN victory

-PR

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

-Political provisions

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

-Importance of issue

-Invasion

-Lack of right

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Provision for withdrawal
 - Absence
 - Effect on morale of South Vietnamese military and public
- Effect on post-settlement election
 - Freedom of choice of voters
 - Elections
 - Timing
 - Thieu
 - Thieu's approval
 - Demobilization
 - Paragraph 13
 - US support for South Vietnam

Manolo Sanchez entered and left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

- Violations
 - US response
 - Demobilization
 - The President's anti-communism
 - Bureaucracy
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Cambodia and Laos
 - Ho Chi Minh Trail
 - Laotian settlement
 - North Vietnamese Army [NVA] reinforcements in South Vietnam
 - Principle denying right to be in South Vietnam
 - Proof
 - The President's view
 - Notes
 - Commitments
 - North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
 - US monitoring of agreements
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Empathy for South Vietnamese concerns
- Enforcements
 - US intelligence operations
 - Thailand
 - United Nations [UN]

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- International supervisory groups
 - Communist participation
 - Poland
- US intelligence operations

Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-036. Segment declassified on 07/25/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]

[816-003-w008]

[Duration: 7s]

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Settlement agreement
 - Enforcements
- US intelligence operations
 - Electronics

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Settlement agreement
 - Enforcements
- US intelligence operations
 - Thailand
 - Troop movements
 - Size
 - Bombing
 - Arms shipments
 - Tanks
 - Quang Tri
 - Soviet Union
 - Ho Chi Minh Trail
 - Tanks
 - Number
 - Troop movements
 - Joint intelligence

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

-Military aides

Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-036. Segment declassified on 07/25/2019. Archivist: MM]

[National Security]
[816-003-w009]
[Duration: 16s]

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Settlement agreement
 - Enforcements
 - US intelligence operations
 - Joint intelligence
 - Military aides
 - National Security Agency [NSA] staff
 - Communications
 - Cartography and code breakers

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Settlement agreement
 - Violations
 - US retaliation
 - Justifications
 - Compared to 1955
 - DMZ
 - Cambodia, Laos neutrality
 - Cease-fire
 - Prohibition of reinforcements
 - US meeting with North Vietnamese allies
 - Costs for North Vietnamese
 - South Vietnam's military performance
 - Haig's view
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Bombing and mining

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- North Vietnam
 - Claim of right to be in South Vietnam
 - Denial
 - Principles
 - Compared to Shanghai Communique and Manila Proclamation
 - Tone
 - Withdrawal of non-South Vietnamese troops
 - US troops
 - Foreign troops
 - Armed forces remaining within national borders
 - South Vietnamese confidence and morale
 - Specific reference to North Vietnamese troops
- Saigon's changes
 - Kissinger's meeting with North Vietnam
 - Principle
 - Armed forces remaining within national borders
 - Hanoi's position
 - Denial of presence of North Vietnamese in South Vietnam
 - Time spent on issue
 - Disclaim of right to use force
 - “Software” compared to “hardware” (steel and bombs)
- Importance
- Interpretations
 - US-South Vietnam agreement
 - The President's forthcoming meeting with Thieu
 - Impact on Hanoi, Soviet Union, PRC, South Vietnamese people
 - Timing
 - Failure of past summits
 - The President's conversation with Dobrynin
 - Camp David, Geneva, Vienna
 - Kennedy
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Johnson
 - Glassboro
- Reason
- Reasons
- US-South Vietnam relations

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- The President's concerns
- Thieu's letter to the President
 - The President's instructions to Kissinger
- Congressional relations
 - Reconvening date
 - January 3, 1973
 - Cut off funds
 - “Hawks”
 - October 8, 1972 agreement
 - Possible communist violation
 - Terms
 - POWs
 - Cease-fire
 - Thieu's retention
 - South Vietnam (GVN)
 - South Vietnamese independence
- Phrasing
 - Mysticism
 - The President's Quaker background
 - Responses to violations
 - US military aid to South Vietnam
- Breakdown
 - Responsibility of Thieu and the President
 - South Vietnamese defeat
 - Aid to North Vietnam
 - Congressional relations
 - US withdrawal from war
- US-South Vietnam relations
 - The President's frankness
 - Mutual sacrifices
 - The President's commitment of support
 - Economic and military aid
 - Resumption of bombing
 - North Vietnamese violations
 - Conditions
 - Congressional relations
 - POWs
- POWs
 - Thieu's recent letter
 - Release of North Vietnamese political prisoners

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- US POWs
 - Issue in US
- Continuation of US military operations
 - Thieu
 - Bombing, mining
 - Pressure on North Vietnamese
 - Limitations
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of funds
 - Deadline
 - January 13, 1973
 - Hearing
 - Vote
 - Public reaction
- Support from "hawks"
 - Speeches
 - GVN
 - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN]
 - Press relations
 - The President's recent meeting with Ford
 - Ford's identity
 - Republican leader of House of Representatives
 - Cease-fire, return of POWs
 - Thieu's retention, control of political process
 - The President' support
 - Resumption of bombing
- Thieu's and Duc's point of view
 - US political realities
 - The President's commitment
- The President's commitment
 - Aid, bombing
 - Limitations
 - Need for public support
 - Congressional reaction to Thieu's resistance
 - Cut off of aid
- Thieu's resistance
 - Continuation of war
 - Bombing
 - Congressional relations
 - Cut off of funds

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Duration
- US public reaction
 - Impact on Congress
- North Vietnamese positions
 - POWs
 - Cease-fire
 - GVN
 - Elections
 - Veto
 - Past unreasonableness
 - Seven points of 1971
 - Troop withdrawal for POWs
 - Request for Thieu overthrow
- The President's position
 - Support for GVN
 - Television appearances
 - Number
 - North Vietnamese demand
 - Imposition of communist government on South Vietnam
 - Thieu's recent letter
 - Agreement language
 - US threat against North Vietnam
 - NVA in South Vietnam
 - Possible language changes
 - "South Vietnamese armed forces"
 - Cease-fire
 - Principle

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:05 p.m.

- The President's schedule
 - Forthcoming meeting with black administration officials
 - Delay
 - John D. Ehrlichman

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

- Vietnam negotiations
 - Settlement agreement
 - South Vietnamese meetings with Kissinger

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- State of the Union address, Inaugural address, budget
- Symbolism
- Press relations
- “Administrative”
 - Removal
- Components
 - Terminology
 - Government
 - Compared to commission
- Terminology
 - Forthcoming explanation
- US support
- Thieu’s relationship with the President
 - Press relations
- Public statements
- Compromises
 - Unconditional surrender by North Vietnam
 - The President’s counterfactual actions
 - Military action
 - Bombing
 - Landing in Haiphong area
 - GVN’s strength
 - ARVN
 - Air force
 - Economy
 - Role in Southeast Asia
 - US support
 - Comparison with Cambodia and Laos
- Vietnamese people
 - Working ability
 - Fighting ability
 - Bravery
 - US support for GVN
 - Economic and military aid
- South Vietnamese resistance
 - Congressional relations
 - 1972 election
 - Senate losses
 - House of Representatives gains

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Ford
 - US-South Vietnam agreement
 - The President's possible meeting with Thieu
 - Timing
 - Disagreement
 - Effect
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - Congressional relations
- US military action
 - 1965
 - Escalation
 - Peace
 - Johnson's views
 - Johnson's meeting with the President
 - Bombing
 - The President's view
 - The President's 1965 trip to South Vietnam
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - Mining
- Soviet Union protest
 - Kissinger's recent threat to North Vietnamese in Paris
 - The President's instructions
 - Bombing resumption
 - Compared to the President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - US-Soviet Union summit
- US-South Vietnam relations
 - Thieu's instructions
 - Hanoi's view
 - Saigon's "satellite" status

Bull entered at an unknown time after 3:05 pm.

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013*]

The President's schedule

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Dr. W. Kenneth Riland
- Cancellation of appointment

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:32 pm.

Vietnam negotiations

- Settlement agreement
 - US-South Vietnam relations
 - Division of issues
 - Military
 - US
 - Political
 - South Vietnam
 - Thieu's recent letter
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's return to Paris
 - Goals
 - The President's May 8, 1972 decision
 - The President's January 25, 1972 proposals
 - Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with Duc
 - Recent meetings
 - North Vietnamese posture
 - US strategy
 - Changes
 - The President's opposition
- Political settlement
 - Issue of imposition by US on South Vietnam
 - Implementation
 - Thieu, Duc, Phuong
 - US support
 - North Vietnam
 - Troops
 - Psychological factors
 - Psychological factors
 - US-South Vietnam unity
 - Congressional relations
 - Funding

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

- Economic and military aid
- US public support
- Thieu
 - Opposition
 - US Congressional and public reaction
 - Cut off of funds
- South Vietnamese meetings with Kissinger
 - The President's decision
 - Thieu's recent letter
 - Points
 - NVA withdrawal from South Vietnam
 - The President's recent meeting with Kissinger in Camp David
 - The President's forthcoming meeting with Kissinger in Key Biscayne
 - Review of Kissinger-South Vietnam discussions
 - The President's instructions
- Thieu's gratitude
- South Vietnam
 - Political conditions
 - PR
 - US-Asia policy
 - Post-World War II period
 - PRC
 - Vietnam
 - NVA withdrawals from South Vietnam
 - Manila Proclamation
 - Simultaneous withdrawals
 - Principle
 - Terminology
 - NCRC
 - Coalition government
 - Component government
 - Description of structure
 - Necessity
 - US support
 - Economic and military aid
 - US military response to North Vietnamese violations
 - PRC
 - US influence
 - Extent
 - Normalization process

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Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

-Shanghai Communique
-Renunciation of expansionism

Well wishes

Kissinger's schedule
-Forthcoming meeting with Duc and Phuong

Kissinger, Duc, Phuong and Haig left at 5:32 pm.

Bull entered and left at 5:32 pm.

Conversation No. 816-4

Date: November 29, 1972 or November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:32 pm, November 29, 1972 and 8:34 am, November 30, 1972
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

*[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during
chronological review 2007-2013]*

Inquiry

The President's location

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.

Conversation No. 816-5

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Date: November 29, 1972 or November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:32 pm, November 29, 1972 and 8:34 am, November 30, 1972
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013]

The President's [?] location

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.

Conversation No. 816-6

Date: November 29, 1972 or November 30, 1972
Time: Unknown time between 5:32 pm, November 29, 1972 and 8:34 am, November 30, 1972
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift during chronological review 2007-2013]

[General conversation]

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Tape Subject Log
(rev. Feb.-08)

Conversation No. 816-5 (cont'd)

Unknown people left at an unknown time before 8:34 am, November 30, 1972.