

Tape Subject Log

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 234-1

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:54 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 157-17]

Conversation No. 234-2

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:54 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

Henry A. Kissinger's cable

Cable

-Col. Richard T. Kennedy -Conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Kissinger

-Emotions

-[Interview with Oriana Fallaci, November 2 and 4, 1972]

Cable

-Haldeman's reading
-Kennedy's call to the President
-Timing

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Conversation No. 234-3

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm anad 5:54 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation 157-18]

Conversation No. 234-4

Date: December 6, 1972 Time: 5:54 pm – 5:59 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 157-17]

Conversation No. 234-5

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:59 pm and 8:16 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

Vietnam negotiations

-Henry A. Kissinger's cable

-Option Two

-Breakdown in talks

-Kissinger's frame of mind

-Option One

-Prisoners of War [POWs]

-Return of Option Two

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Conversation No. 234-5 (cont'd)

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-Six month period
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-POWs

-Effects

- -Soviet Union
- -People's Republic of China [PRC]
- -Congressional relations
 - -Republicans
- -Second term
 - -Failure to end war
- -South Vietnam
 - -Honorable peace
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -POWs
- -Option One
 - -South Vietnam
 - -North Vietnam
 - -Cessation of US bombing and mining, US withdrawal -POWs
- -Poll
- -Cessation of US bombing and mining of North Vietnam, US withdrawal
- -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - -Settlement agreement
- -Kissinger's cable
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -POWs
 - -US aid to South Vietnam
 - -Vietnamization
 - -Cessation of US bombing and mining of North and South Vietnam,

US withdrawal

- -South Vietnamese self-determination
- -Separation of military and political issues
- -North Vietnam's intransigence
- -Minimum position
 - -US withdrawal
 - -POWs
 - -Political issues
- -Kissinger's view
 - -Option Two
 - -Publicity
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-5 (cont'd)

```
-Kissinger's frame of mind
     -Option One
     -Option Two
           -The President's message, December 5, 1972
-Kissinger's return
     -US bombing of North Vietnam
           -Resumption of talks
-Leverage
-Instructions for Kissinger
     -Minimum position
           -North Vietnamese intransigence
                -Breakdown in talks
                      -US bombing of North Vietnam
                            -Pace
     -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
           -Record
                -Publicity
                      -Final offer
-Kissinger's recent actions
     -October 8, 1972 agreement
           -Publicity
                -"Peace is at hand"
-Continuation
-Kissinger's cable
     -Option Two
           -Compared to Option One
                -Recess
                -Nguyen Van Thieu
                -POWs
                      -Continuation of war
                            -"Hawks"
                -Settlement agreement
                      -Honorable peace
                      -Government of Vietnam [GVN] survival
                            -Congressional relations
                                  -US military and economic aid to South
                                   Vietnam
                                       -Cut off
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-Thieu

-Kissinger's forthcoming meeting with the President

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Conversation No. 234-5 (cont'd)

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-Strategy
-[David] Kenneth Rush's view
     -Kissinger
-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s view
-Haldeman's forthcoming meeting with John D. Ehrlichman
     -Kissinger's cable
           -Option Two
                -US bombing of North Vietnam
                      -Duration
                            -POWs
                -Tone
           -Interest in getting North Vietnam to "cave"
     -Back cables
           -Kissinger's views
                -Presidential statement on television [TV]
     -Option One or Two decision
     -Haldeman's and Ehrlichman's meeting with the President
           -Timing
     -Presidential statement on TV
           -Haldeman's and Ehrlichman's meeting with the President
                 -Message
                      -Kennedy
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Haldeman's schedule

Conversation No. 234-6

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm. and 8:16 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President dictated a memorandum to Henry A. Kissinger.

Draft message to Henry A. Kissinger

- -Typing instructions
- -Vietnam negotiations
 - -Kissinger's performance
 - -Forthcoming meeting

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-6 (cont'd)

- -Kissinger's meeting with the President
- -The President's reading of messages and transcripts
 - -North Vietnamese
 - -October 26, 1972 commitments
- -Minimum positions
 - -Issues
 - -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - -North Vietnam's response
 - -Record
 - -Historians
 - -Final offer
 - -Report to the President
 - -Forthcoming meetings
- -Breakdown
 - -[Option Two]
 - -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
 - -Effect
 - -Responsibility
 - -Ultimatums
 - -Forthcoming meetings
 - -Kissinger's cable
 - -Option One
 - -Approval
 - -US military action
- -Kissinger's cable
 - -Option One
 - -North Vietnam's acceptance
- -Breakdown
 - -Responsibility
 - -US domestic situation
- -Presidential statement on television [TV]
 - -Continuation of war
 - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
 - -Advisability
 - -"Propaganda organs" of North Vietnam and US
 - -[October 1972] deal
 - -South Vietnamese intransigence
- -Option Two
 - -Kissinger's meeting with the President
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-6 (cont'd)

- -Pace
- -Duration
- -POWs

-George S. McGovern

-South Vietnam's survival

-Congressional relations

-US military and economic aid to South Vietnam -Cut off

-South Vietnam's instransigence

- -Option One
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -POWs
 - -South Vietnam's survival
- -Option Two
 - -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -POWs
 - -Effect
 - -Congressional relations
 - -US domestic situation
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Soviet Union
- -Forthcoming meeting
 - -Settlement agreement
 - -Breakthrough
 - -Possibility
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Pace
 - -Presidential statement on TV
 - -Draft
 - -Casualties
 - -Public relations [PR]
 - -"Washington establishment"
 - -Duration of bombing

Conversation No. 234-7

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 8:17 pm

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Conversation No. 237-7 (cont'd)

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Draft message to Henry A. Kissinger
-Typing instructions
-Patricia B. McKee
-Spacing

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 8:17 pm.

Conversation No. 234-8

Date: December 6, 1972 Time: 8:16 – 8: 17 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

[See Conversation No. 157-21]

Conversation No. 234-9

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:17 pm and 8:24 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

The President's schedule
-Meeting
-Location

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Conversation No. 234-10

Date: December 7, 1972 Time: 1:05 pm – 1:20 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

John D. Ehrlichman met with George D. Webster.

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Second term reorganization
-Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
-Webster confirmation
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- -Effect on the President
- -Edwin S. Cohen
- -George P. Shultz
- -Bureaucracy
- -Effect on the President
- -[American Bar Association] [ABA] Tax Section chairmen
 - -Unknown person
- -Bureaucracy
 - -Ehrlichman's conversation with Shultz
 - -Johnnie M. Walters
- -Webster's contact with administration

Common Cause

```
-Lawsuit against Committee to Reelect the President [CRP]
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- -The President
- -Defense
 - -Ultra Vires
 - -Political activity
 - -Tax exempt status
- -Settlement
 - -Maurice H. Stans
 - -Defense waiver
- -Tax exempt status challenge
- -Settlement
 - -Timing
 - -1972 election
- -Governing or litigation committee
 - -Democrats
 - -John W. Dean, III

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Conversation No. 234-10 (cont'd)

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-Mitchell Rogovin
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IRS
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-Roger Barth
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- -Deputy Chief Counsel
- -Retention
- -Conversation with Ehrlichman
 - -State Department
 - -Ruling on exemption for prisoners of war [POWs] organization -White House
- -Policy
 - -Vietnam War
 - -The President's interests
- -Conflict with bureaucracy
- -Cohen
 - -Retention
 - -Congressional relations
 - -Tax reform
- -Frederic W. Hickman
- -John H. Hall
 - -Deputy to Hickman
 - -Los Angeles
 - -Dana Latham
 - -IRS Commissioner
 - -Dwight D. Eisenhower

Webster's background

- -Government experience
 - -Harvard University Law School
 - -Justice Department tax division
 - -Tax cases
 - -Circuit
 - -Ehrlichman's law firm
 - -Unknown person
 - -Wife

Second term reorganization

- -Webster's confirmation
 - -Opposition
 - -[Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan]

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Conversation No. 234-10 (cont'd)

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-Randolph W. Thrower
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-Mac Asbill, Jr.

-ABA Tax Section chairman

- -William French Smith [?]
- -Thrower
- -Washington, DC and Atlanta

Webster's background

- -Washington, DC
 - -Justice Department
 - -Marriage
- -Rogersville, Tennessee
 - -Knoxville
- -Webster's conversation with the President
 - -Tennessee
 - -Ivy League
 - -Harvard University
- -Education
 - -Harvard University
 - -The President's view
 - -Yale University
 - -Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
 - -James T. Lynn
 - -Adelbert College of Western Reserve University
 - -Ohio
 - -Weinberger
 - -Elliot L. Richardson
 - -Maryville College
 - -Presbyterian affiliation
 - -Navy
 - -Ehrlichman's background
 - -GI Bill
 - -Stanford University
 - -Harvard University
 - -Stanford
 - -Navy
 - -West Coast
 - -Stanford
 - -Harvard
 - -Ehrlichman's background

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-10 (cont'd)

-Compared to Webster's

-Graduation dates

- -Undergraduate career
- -Law school
- -Law firm
 - -Length of practice
 - -Income
- -Counsel to the President

Ehrlichman and Webster left at 1:20 pm.

Conversation No. 234-11

Date: December 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:20 pm and 9:04 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Fire

The President's movie selection

- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
 - -Arrival
- -List
- -Old movie

The President's glasses

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:04 pm.

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Conversation No. 234-12

Date: December 7, 1972

Time: 9:04 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 157-22]

Conversation No. 234-13

Date: December 7, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President's movie selection
-Comedies [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:12 pm.

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-14

Date: December 7, 1972 Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm Location: Camp David Hard Wire
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's movie selection -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 27s]
END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Movies Invitations to secretaries -Jana Hruska -John D. Ehrlichman -Patricia B. McKee -[Diane Sawyer] -Ronald L. Ziegler
-Timing

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:12 pm.

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Conversation No. 234-15

Date: December 7, 1972 Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm Location: Camp David Hard Wire The President dictated a memorandum for the file. ************************ [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] Dictation -Date -Location -Time Vietnam negotiations -Henry A. Kissinger's message -Progress of talks -The President's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman -Options -John D. Ehrlichman -Breakdown -Kissinger's state of mind -Responsibility -The President's television [TV] appearance -Risk -Hope of settlement -Cambodia and Laos -May 8, 1972 decision -Meeting with [David] Kenneth Rush [End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President talked with the Camp David operator at an unknown time between 9:12 pm and 10:00 pm.

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Conversation No. 234-15 (cont'd)

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[Conversation No. 234-15A]
[See Conversation No. 157-23]
[End of telephone conversation]
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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      Raymond K. Price, Jr.
           -Location
           -Letter
                 -Quality
                 -The President's appreciation
      Vietnam negotiations
           -Kissinger
                 -Settlement track
                 -Breakdown
                      -People's Republic of China [PRC]
                           -Relations
                 -Options
                      -Breakdown
                           -Rush and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer recommendations
                           -US bombing of North Vietnam
                                 -Kissinger's recommendation
                                -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                                -Risk
                                -Congressional reaction
                                      -Cut off of funds for South Vietnam
      Cost of Living Council
           -George P. Shultz
                 -John D. Ehrlichman's conversation with the President
                 -Personnel recommendations
                      -Labor people
                      -Arthur F. Burns
                      -Floyd E. ("Red") Smith
                      -Loyalty
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Conversation No. 234-15 (cont'd)

-Naiveté -Bureaucracy

Internal Revenue Service [IRS]

- -George D. Webster appointment
- -Loyal personnel
- -Investigations
 - -Foundations

Vietnam negotiations

-The President's discussion with Ehrlichman and Haldeman -Opinions

The President's telephone conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable]

[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Manolo Sanchez

- -The President's conversation with Haldeman
- -Personality

-George E. Allen

Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Effect on the President

The President's conversation with Charls E. Walker

- -Appointment as Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
- -Tax law changes
 - -Congress
- -The President's call to Colson

Meeting on budget

-Caspar W. ("Cap") Weinberger
-Appointment of deputies

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-15 (cont'd)

Justice Department

-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]

-The President's conversation with Haldeman and Ehrlichman

-Appointments

-Deputy Attorney General

-Dean of Duke Law School

-Robert H. Bork

-Haldeman's role

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 234-16

Date: December 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 1:12 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

George P. Shultz talked with the Camp David operator.

[Wrong line]

[See Conversation No. 157-24]

Conversation No. 234-17

Date: December 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 1:12 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

John D. Ehrlichman talked with George P. Shultz.

[See Conversation No. 157-24]

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Conversation No. 234-18

Date: December 8, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 4:00 pm

Location: Camp David Hard Wire

Manolo Sanchez met with an unknown woman.

Aspen Lodge tour

- -Study
- -Bedroom
- -Guest room

-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-The President's family

Sanchez and the unknown woman left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.

Conversation No. 234-19

Date: December 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 4:00 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[Unintelligible]

[Duration: 5m 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 234-19 (cont'd)

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]	

The President and Julie left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.