

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-1

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:00 pm and 9:31 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See also Conversation No. 233-23]

Request for a call to [Apollo XVII] astronauts
-Capt. Eugene A. Cernan

Conversation No. 157-2

Date: December 5, 1972 Time: 9:31 pm and 9:39 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Capt. Eugene A. Cernan.

[See Conversation No. 233-1]

```
Apollo XVII crew
-Eating
-Timing
-Civilian
-Harrison H. ("Jack") Schmitt
-Navy
-Cmdr. Ronald E. Evans

Best wishes
-Apollo XVII
```

-Viewing on televi

-Viewing on television [TV]

-Return

-White House

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-2 (cont'd)

-Significance -Final moon landing

The President's Navy service

-Rank

Apollo XVII

-The President's interest

Vietnam negotiations

-Cernan's best wishes

Cernan's experience

- -Apollo IX
- -Apollo X
- -Saturn V

-Night launch

The President talked with Evans and Schmitt at an unknown time between 9:31 pm and 9:39 pm.

Apollo XVII

- -Evan's role
- -Civilian crew
 - -Schmitt's role
- -Dinner

Best wishes

Apollo XVII

- -"America" [Command-and-Service Module] [CSM]
- -"Challenger" [lunar module] [LM]
- -Landing
 - -Timing
 - -Golf

Best wishes

-Gifts

- -Golf balls
- -The President's calls to Apollo missions
- -Support from ground crew

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-2 (cont'd)

-Houston, Cape Canaveral
-The President's second term

Vietnam negotiations

Best wishes
-Apollo XVII
-Return
-White House

Conversation No. 157-3

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:39 pm and 10:05 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See also Conversation No. 233-4]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 157-4

Date: December 5, 1972

Time: 10:05 pm and 10:34 pm Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 233-6]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

```
Colson's location
-1972 election
```

The President's schedule
-Reception for Californians
-Robert H. Finch

1972 election

- -California
 - -Fundraising
 - -Predictions
 - -Youth
 - -George S. McGovern
 - -Organization
- -Results
 - -Compared to 1964 election
 - -Statistics
 - -John B. Connally
 - -Secretaries of State
 - -Vote count tampering
 - -Final reports
 - -Arkansas
 - -Missouri
 - -New Jersey
 - -Washington
 - -West Virginia
 - -Compared to Lyndon B. Johnson's victory

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Vietnam negotiations

-Possible breakdown

-The President's possible television [TV] appearance

-[Henry A. Kissinger's] cable

-The President's conversation with Colson

-Colson's view

-1920s

-Normalcy

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

- -1972 election
- -Public explanation
 - -Definitions of "administrative mechanisms" [re. National Committee of National Reconciliation and Concord] [NCNRC]
 - -North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
- -Effect
- -Timing
- -Colson's view
- -The President's previous TV appearances
 - -Presidential action
 - -November 3, 1969 speech
 - -Demonstrators
 - -Silent Majority
- -Explanation of impasse
 - -Enemy trickery
- -Colson's view
 - -Colson's negotiating experience
- -Impasse
 - -Kissinger's position
 - -Compared to Kissinger's return from the Soviet Union
 - -US-Soviet summit
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
 - -Public opinion
 - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - -Ronald L. Ziegler
 - -19th and 20th parallel
 - -Hanoi, Haiphong
- -Possible North Vietnamese bluff
 - -Colson's negotiating experience
 - -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
 - -Kissinger's view
- -Presidential action
- -Effect
 - -Supporters
 - -Opposition
 - -Foreign policy
 - -North Vietnam
- -Public opinion
 - -North Vietnam's view

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

```
-Congressional action
```

-Cut off of aid

- -George S. McGovernites
- -The President's conversations with John B.

Connally

-1972 election

- -Congressional "doves"
 - -Strength
 - -Draft
 - -Casualties
- -1972 election
 - -Peace with honor
 - -Compared to US withdrawal
- -US bombing of North Vietnam for prisoners of war [POWs]
 - -Possible interpretation
 - -US withdrawal
 - -Colson's view
 - -Haldeman's reading of second cable
 - -1972 election
- -1972 election
 - -Public support for the President
- -Press relations
 - -Kissinger's "peace is at hand" comment [in October 26, 1972 press conference]
- -POWs
- -Kissinger's press and media relations
 - -Marvin L. Kalb
 - -Kissinger's morale
 - -The President, Haldeman, Colson, Ziegler
 - -Kissinger's possible statement
- -Forthcoming talks
 - -Timing
 - -Public opinion
- -Public opinion
 - -Colson's conversations
 - -Frank E. Fitzsimmons
 - -Louis P. Harris
 - -Stock market
 - -Retail sales
 - -Christmas

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

```
-1972 election
     -1972 campaign
           -McGovern
     -Second term
     -Economy
     -The President's possible TV speech
           -Effect
           -Compared to [Kissinger's possible statement]
                 -North Vietnamese intractability
                 -Settlement agreement
                      -Timing
-Possible breakdown
     -Kissinger's press and media relations
           -"Peace is at hand"
           -Settlement agreement
     -Settlement agreement
           -Public opinion
                 -Ziegler's view
                 -Daniel Yankelovich's view
-Settlement agreement
     -The President's November 2, 1972 speech, "Look to the Future"
           -The President's confidence
           -1972 election
     -Press relations
           -Kissinger
                 -Relations with the President
                      -October 8, 1972 agreement
                            -Authority
                       -Credibility
                            -The President's speech, "Look to the Future"
                                  -"Peace is at hand"
                                  -Tone
-Possible breakdown
     -The President's possible TV speech
     -October 8, 1972 agreement
           -South Vietnam's rejection
                 -Consultation
           -Kissinger's trip to Paris
```

-North Vietnam's view -Twelve changes

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

```
-Labor negotiations
-Timing
-Kissinger's return from Paris
-Kissinger's possible statement
-North Vietnam's reaction
-US public opinion
-North Vietnam's willingness to settle
```

-US bombing

-Incentive

-Congressional action

-Cut off of aid

-1972 election

-Status of war

-US presence in South Vietnam

-Casualties

-Air war

-Draft

-Press relations

-Kissinger

-Possible leak

-Saigon, Washington, DC

-POWs

-Christmas

-1972 elections

-Twelve changes

-Process

-Kissinger's cables

-Tone

-Colson's view

-Labor negotiations

-North Vietnam's April 1972 offensive

-US reaction

-Absence of US statement

-US bombing

-Kissinger's second cable

-Haldeman's reading

-Colson's view

-Logic

-Emotion

-The President's role

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No.157-4 (cont'd)

```
-Kalb
```

-Public opinion

-Samuel Lubell's

-Antiwar movement

-November demonstation

-Size

-Intellectuals

-The President's possible TV speech

-Effect

-Supporters

-Opponents

-US bombing

-Perceived weakness in President's position

-Public opinion

-Haldeman's, Ziegler's, and Colson's view

-Kissinger's cable

-Connally's view

-Haldeman

-Colson's view

-Timing

-Public opinion

-Press relations

-Washington, DC

-Reports, troop withdrawals, press conferences

-Public opinion

-Richard M. Scammon's view

-Compared to Harris's view

-1972 election

-Social issue

-The President's view

-Scammon's letter to union

-The President's leadership

-Happiness, contentedness

-Colson's view

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-Press relations

-Washington, DC

-POWs

-Wives

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-5

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:18 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 233-11]

Request for a call to Julie Nixon Eisenhower

Conversation No. 157-6

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:18 pm and 3:25 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The Camp David operator talked with the President.

[See also Conversation No. 233-12]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower's location

Request for a call to Tricia Nixon Cox

Conversation No. 157-7

Date: December 6, 1972 Time: 3:25 pm - 3:31 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-7 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 233-13] ************************ [Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift] Trip preparations The President's call to Edward R. F. Cox -Bar examination -Results Helene (Closie) Drown -Arrival Tricia Nixon Cox conferred with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon at an unknown time between 3:25 pm and 3:31 pm. BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 1m 11s] END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 Weather -Camp David The President's schedule -Swimming -Work Mrs. Nixon talked with the President at an unknown time between 3:25 pm and 3:31 pm. 1973 Inauguration

-Reception for Nixon family relatives

-Church service

-Mrs. Nixon's conversation with Rose Mary Woods

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-7 (cont'd)

-Scheduling

```
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*************************
     The President's schedule
     White House
         -Oval Office
             -Lighting
                  -Photograph sessions
                      -Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins
                      -Brightness
         -Chair
             -Clement E. Conger
             -The President's schedule
             -William P. Rogers
             -The President's office
             -Comfort
*************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
     Cox
         -Bar examination
         -Trip
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
********************
```

Conversation No. 157-8

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-8 (cont'd)

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 233-14]

Request for a call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Conversation No. 157-9

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

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

[See Conversation No. 233-15]

1973 Inauguration

-Stephen B. Bull

-Reception for Nixon family relations

-Scheduling

-The President's conversation with Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Mrs. Nixon's conversation with Rose Mary Woods

-Mrs. Nixon

-Bull

-Church service

-Planning

-Confirmation

Conversation No. 157-10

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-10 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 233-16]

Melvin R. Laird and William P. Rogers
-Location

- -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] conference
- -National Security Council [NSC]

[There is no Conversation No. 157-11]

Conversation No. 157-12

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The Camp David operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 233-17]

Melvin R. Laird and William P. Rogers
-Location
-Brussels

Conversation No. 157-13

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 233-18]

Request for a call to Gerald R. Ford

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-14

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Gerald R. Ford.

[See Conversation No. 233-19]

Ford's location

-Washington, DC

Football

- -[National] Football Foundation meeting
 - -The President's telegram
 - -Elizabeth (Bloomer) ("Betty") Ford
 - -The President's schedule
 - -Number one team
 - -John McKay
 - -Speech
- -University of South California [USC]
 - -University of Notre Dame game
 - -The President's viewing on television [TV]
 - -Ohio State University
 - -University of Michigan
- -Ohio State-Michigan game

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Republican National Committee [RNC]

-Robert J. Dole's meeting with the President

-George H. W. Bush

- -RNC Chairmanship
- -Barbara Bush

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-14 (cont'd)

```
-The President's conversation with Ford
-Senate
-William E. Brock, III
-Dan H. Kuykendall
     -Opposition to Ford
     -Tennessee
-Robert C. ("Bob") Wilson
-George A. Murphy
-Clarence J. ("Bud") Brown, Jr.
-Barber B. Conable, Jr.
     -Ways and Means Committee
-Bush
-Dole's departure
     -Timing
     -Support for Bush
     -Press release
-Brock
-Congress
     -Brown
     -Elections of positions
           -Timing
           -Campaign committees
-Bush
-John N. Mitchell
-Barry M. Goldwater
-Dole
-RNC Chairmanship
     -Job description
           -Meeting on Congressional candidates
-Hugh Scott
     -Candidates
-Ford
     -Relationship with Bush
           -Support of the President
           -Political role
-Scott
     -Meeting with the President
-Brock
     -Senate candidates
     -Ideology
```

Tape Subject Log

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-Bush

-Italian-American

Conversation No. 157-14 (cont'd)

```
-Brown
                    -The President
                    -Brock
                         -Youth
          -John Kyle
               -Assistant to Ford
          -Leslie C. Arends
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Second term reorganization
          -Cabinet
               -Ambassadorships
          -John A. Volpe
               -Italy ambassadorship
                    -Announcement
                         -Timing
                              -Italian government agreement
                    -1972 campaign
                    -Traveling to US
                    -Catholicism
                    -Announcement
                         -Timing
               -Successor
                    -Announcement
                         -Timing
                    -Claude S. Brinegar
                         -Background
                              -Irish Catholicism
                              -Los Angeles
                              -Age
                              -Union Oil Company
                                   -Civil engineering
           -Peter J. Brennan
               -Background
                    -Irish-American
```

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-14 (cont'd)

```
-Difficulty
     -Volpe
-Deputy Attorney General
     -Promotion
           -Richard G. Kleindienst's departure
-Charles A. Wright
     -University of Texas
     -Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] report
           -Parties
           -Divorce
           -Parties
                 -University of Minnesota
     -Anti-busing statement
     -FBI report
           -Effect
                 -Judiciary Committee
           -Parties
           -Divorces
-Volpe
     -Health
           -Back
     -Speeches
-Department of Agriculture
     -Earl L. Butz
           -Retention
     -Departures
           -Butz's view
           -Soil conservation, county agents
           -The President's meeting with J. Philip Campbell
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
RNC
```

- -Bush
- -Brock
- -Brown
- -Kuykendall
 - -Assistant to Ford

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-14 (cont'd)

-Bush

-Texas

-Brock

-Tennessee

-Ohio

-Leadership

-Public perception

-Southern strategy

- -Kuykendall
- -Announcement

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 157-15

Date: December 6, 1972

Time: Unknown between 3:31 pm and 4:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 233-20]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 157-16

Date: December 6, 1972 Time: 4:40 pm - 5:31 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 233-21]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

-North Vietnamese prisoners in South Vietnam

```
Kennedy's schedule
     -Sleep
Vietnam negotiations
     -Meetings
           -Timing
     -Henry A. Kissinger's message on settlement agreement
           -Location
                -Laurel Lodge
           -Summary
           -Session
                -Tone
                -Review of positions
                -Settlement agreement
                      -Changes
                            -South Vietnam
                -October 8, 1972 agreement
                      -Concessions
                            -Acceptability
           -US conditions
                -Le Duc Tho's position
                      -Changes
                      -Details
                -Changes
                      -Maintenance
                      -Substance
                      -Previous agreement
                            -Translation of "administrative structure" [re. National
                             Committee of National Reconciliation and Concord
                             [NCNRC]
                            -Demobilization provisions
                                 -Timing
                                 -Nguyen Van Thieu
                                       -Political leverage
                            -North Vietnam-South Vietnam relations
                                  -Renunciation of force
                                       -Thieu
                            -Prisoners of War [POWs]
                                 -October 1972 agreement
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

-Linkage to US POWs

-Section 8C

-Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Cease-fire

-Timing

-International Commission of Control and Supervision [ICCS]

-Preamble

-Compromise

-US and Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG] signing

-Government of South Vietnam [GVN] signing

-US concessions

-Tho

-Withdrawal of US civilians

-Language

-Kennedy's work with U. Alexis Johnson and Barry J. Shillito

-Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]

-Discussion of modalities

-Changes

-Maintenance

-Difficulty

-South Vietnam agreement

-US option

-Military action

-Statement

-Dobrynin

-December 5, 1972 call to Kennedy

-Note on conditions

-Tone

-Soviet Union-North Vietnam relations

-US military action

-Effect

-Tactics

-Stalemate

-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam

-October 8, 1972 agreement

-Acceptability to South Vietnam, US

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

```
-Kissinger's view
```

-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam

-Stalemate

-US options

-Breakdown in talks

-US bombing and mining

-Cessation

-Return of POWs

-Compared to settlement agreement

-South Vietnam's refusal

-POWs

-Effect on South Vietnam's survival

-Kissinger's view

-The President's message to Kissinger

-US-Soviet Union summit

-Cancellation

-US bombing and mining

-Announcement

-Return of POWs

-US withdrawal

-Cessation of bombing and mining

-POWs for military disengagement deal

-Timing

-Summer 1973

-Congressional relations -Cut off of funds

-Bombing

-Compared to settlement agreement

-Timing

-October 8, 1972

-Kissinger's view

-North Vietnam

-Kissinger's talks with Soviet Union, People's

Republic of China [PRC]

-1972 election

-Twelve changes

-Return of POWs

-Timing

-Summer 1973

-Congressional relations

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

```
-North Vietnam
```

-Blame

-POWs

-South Vietnam

-Congressional relations

-Cut off of aid to South Vietnam

-US public opinion

-Press relations

-Duration

-Summer 1973

-Effect

-US-Soviet Union and US-PRC relations

-US-Soviet Union summit

-Congressional relations

-Budget

-Aid to South Vietnam

-Bombing and mining

-POWs

-Emotion of issue

-Compared to settlement agreement

-POWs for withdrawal and cut off of aid to South Vietnam

-Return of POWs

-Duration

-Summer 1973

-Compared to continuation of talks

-Instructions for Kissinger

-Ultimatum

-US conditions

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-US bombing

-US bombing

-Announcement

-Announcement

-North Vietnam's possible reply

-POWs

-Cease-fire

-US reply

-Coalition government

-US bombing, mining for POWs

-Kissinger's December 5, 1972 message

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

```
-Congressional relations
```

-Compared to settlement agreement

-Acceptability to South Vietnam, US

-Bilateral deal

-Effect on South Vietnam's survival

-POWs for withdrawal, cessation of bombing, mining

-Thieu's position

-North Vietnam's position

-Kissinger's view

-Cut off of military and economic aid to South

-Bilateral deal

-Thieu's position

-The President's meetings [with Nguyen Phu Duc and Tran Kim Phuong]

-US aid to South Vietnam

-Ultimatum

-Kissinger's balance

-Recap of arguments

-Tho

-Breakdown in talks

-Reasons

-North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam

-Translation of "administrative structure" re NCNRC

-Kissinger's backgrounder

-US-Soviet Union relations

-Berlin

-Coalition government

-Compared to administrative structure to run elections

-Compared to settlement agreement

-October 26, 1972 agreement

-Tho

-GVN

-October 8, 1972 agreement

-GVN's survival

-North Vietnam, Vietcong [VC]

-Stalemate

-Blame on North Vietnam

-US public opinion

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

```
-Withdrawal
                -Kissinger's view
           -Settlement agreement
                -Contingency planning
                      -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
                      -Timing
                      -Kissinger, Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
-Tactics
     -The President's recommendations for settlement agreement
           -South Vietnam
           -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam
                -Breakdown in talks
           -Conditions
                -Record
           -South Vietnam
                -Bilateral deal
                -US aid
                      -Congressional relations
           -Breakdown in talks
                -Kissinger's view
                -US option
                      -Bombing
                            -Congressional relations
                                  -Aid to South Vietnam
                                  -Military costs
-Dobrynin
     -Hanoi
           -Kissinger
-Continuation of meetings
     -Settlement agreement
           -Conditions
                -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
     -Kissinger's press relations
-Breakdown in talks
     -US bombing
           -Rate
           -Announcement
```

-Necessity

-Mining -Cambodia

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

```
-Public relations [PR]
           -Announcement
                -Presidential speech on TV
-Continuation of meetings
-Bilateral deal
     -US bombing and mining
           -Cessation
                -POWs
     -Cut off of aid to South Vietnam
           -Effect on South Vietnam's survival
-Breakdown in talks
     -Kissinger's proposed actions
           -Return from Paris
           -Announcement
                -Presidential speech on TV
                      -US bombing
                            -Rate
                            -POWs
     -Advisability
           -Goal
           -US bombing
                -Funding
                -Duration
                      -Air Force
           -South Vietnam's survival
                -US aid
                      -Congressional relations
                            -South Vietnam's rejection of October 8, 1972
                             agreement
                                  -Publicity
     -Compared to settlement agreement
           -Thieu's rejection
                -Bilateral deal
                      -Cut off of aid to South Vietnam
                            -Congressional relations
           -POWs
           -US relations with PRC, Soviet Union, Congress
           -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
```

-Continuation of meetings

-US options

Tape Subject Log

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Conversation No. 157-16 (cont'd)

-Consultation with Kissinger

-Announcement

-Advisability

-US bombing

-Rate

-US bombing

-Escalation

-Effect

-Congressional relations

-PR

-South Vietnam's survival

-Thieu's army

-US dependence

-Thieu

-Draft cable to Kissinger

-Kissinger's message

-Delivery

-December 7, 1972 meeting

-The President's reading

-Future editing

-Settlement agreement

Conversation No. 157-17

Date: December 6, 1972

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 234-1]

Request for a meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman at Aspen Lodge

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Conversation No. 157-18

Date: December 6, 1972

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 234-3]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 157-19

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 234-4]

```
Message to Henry A. Kissinger
     -Vietnam negotiations
           -The President's instructions
           -Timing
           -Editing
           -Return of prisoners of war [POWs]
                -Timing
                      -December 1972
                           -Compared to July 1973
                -US bombing
                      -South Vietnam and [Provisional Revolutionary Government]
                       [PRG] intransigence
                -Timing
                      -July 1973
                            -Nguyen Van Thieu's position
                                 -Kissinger's message
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-19 (cont'd)

-Kennedy's view

-Bilateral deal

-US-South Vietnam relations

-Breakdown in talks

-Minimum conditions in settlement agreement

-Importance

-The President's meeting with Nguyen Phu Duc

-Acceptability to North Vietnam and South Vietnam

-Breakdown

-[Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam]

-US bombing

-Kissinger's view

-Significance

-Deliberation

-Pressure

-Kissinger's return from Paris

-US bombing

-Option 1

Conversation No. 157-20

Date: December 6, 1972

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

Request for a call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Conversation No. 157-21

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

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

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-21 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 234-8]

The President's schedule
-Meeting with Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman
-Meeting with [Col. Richard T. Kennedy]

Conversation No. 157-22

Date: December 7, 1972

Time: 9:04 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 234-12]

Request for a call to Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Conversation No. 157-23

Date: December 7, 1972

Time: 9:12 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The Camp David operator talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 234-15A]

Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s location
-Call back instructions
-December 8, 1972

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-24

Date: December 8, 1972

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

Location: Camp David Study Table

George P. Shultz talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 234-16]

Request for a call to John D. Ehrlichman

Ehrlichman talked with Shultz at an unknown time between 12:05 pm and 1:12 pm.

```
Second term reorganization
     -Arnold R. Weber
           -Job offer
                 -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
                 -Shultz's deputy
     -Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.
           -Treasury Department memorandum
                 -Chicago lawyer
                      -William R. Ming, Jr.
                            -Tax case
                            -Health
                            -Tax case
                                  -Possible penalty
                                       -Fine
                                             -Compared to jail
                                 -Pardon
                                        -Christmas 1972
                                 -John W. Dean, III
           -Ambassadorship
           -Circuit Court Judge
```

-Completion of current work

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-25

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:30 am and 12:22 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 235-3]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 157-26

Date: December 9, 1972 Time: 12:22 pm - 12:58 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 235-4]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

-Voting

-Robert S. Strauss

-McGovernites

-George W. Mitchell

-Maine

-South

-Labor

-George Meany

-Support for Mitchell

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
Labor Department
           -Peter J. Brennan
                 -Recent hiring of assistant
                      -George Meany's view
                 -Relationship with Meany
                 -Public reaction to appointment
           -Meany
                 -Relationship with George P. Shultz
           -Brennan
                 -Colson's conversation with Shultz
                 -Press reaction
                 -Public reaction to appointment
                      -"Working man"
                           -Tokenism
                                -Black, Mexican-American appointments
                      -Brennan's conversation with unknown person in Florida
                           -Brennan's schedule
                                 -Apollo XVII launch
                 -Donald F. Rodgers
                 -Martin Durkin
                 -Public reaction to appointment
                      -Brennan's conversation with unknown person
                           -Party registration change
************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      Democratic Party
           -DNC Chairman
```

New Majority

-Cleavage

-Republican Party

-Support for the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
Plane crash
           -E. Howard Hunt, Jr.'s wife, Dorothy
                 -Death
                -Chicago
                -Possible effect on Watergate trial
                      -Cancellation
                      -Delay
                -Dorothy Hunt
                 -Family
                      -Catholicism
                           -Howard Hunt
                 -Possible effect on Watergate trial
                      -Delay
***********************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
      1972 election results
           -Percentage compared to Lyndon B. Johnson victory in 1964
           -Vote count
           -Press coverage
                -Republican National Committee [RNC] chairman
           -Percentages
           -Arkansas
           -New Jersey
           -Missouri
           -Massachusetts
           -New York
           -Rhode Island
                 -Absentee ballots
           -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
```

National economy

- -New York Times
- -Washington Post

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
-Media and press relations
                -Networks
                -New York Times and Washington Post
                     -1972 election
           -[Bureau of Labor Statistics] [BLS]
                -1972 election
                -Unemployment statistics
                     -1970, 1971, 1972
                          -Seasonal adjustments
                     -Brennan
                     -Meany
                     -Chart
                          -Brennan's reaction
                -Commissioner
                     -Geoffrey H. Moore
                          -Departure
                               -Teaching
                          -Treasury Department
                               -Colson's conversation with Shultz
                -Deputy Commissioner
                     -Albert E. Sindlinger
           -Economic news
                -Timing
                     -1972 election
                     -Christmas
           -Retails sales
           -Public confidence
                -The President's role
                -George S. McGovernites, media
      Press and media relations
           -Life
                -Hugh S. Sidey
                     -Time
                          -Possible column
```

-"Watching the President"

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

-Format

- -Sidey
 - -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's view
- -"Martin Z. Agronsky Show"
 - -Establishment
- -International Brotherhood of Teamsters article
 - -Hiring of Colson
 - -Edward Bennett Williams
 - -Story source
 - -Firing as General Counsel
 - -Washington Post and New York Times article
 - -Watergate case
 - -Edward Bennett Williams's claim
 - -Colson

-Frank E. Fitzsimmons

-Washington Post and New York Times

Lobbying firms

- -Opponents
 - -Lloyd N. Cutler
 - -Clark M. Clifford
 - -Washington Post
- -Charls E. Walker
 - -Conversation with Colson
 - -Public relations [PR]
 - -Colson's firm
 - -Shultz
 - -Connally
 - -Republicans
 - -Opponents
 - -Williams
 - -Cutler
 - -Colson's role
 - -"Kitchen Cabinet"
 - -Colson's conversation with Walker
 - -1972 Republican National Convention
 - -Meetings with the President
- -Establishment
 - -Clifford, Cutler, Williams
- -Williams

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

-Press

```
Media relations
-Media ratings
```

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]

-Edith Ephron

-The President's conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-Compared to National Broadcasting Company [NBC], American Broadcasting Company [ABC]

-Accuracy in media

-Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT] study

-Liberals

-Edwin Diamond

-Syracuse University study

-American Enterprise Institute [AEI] study

-CBS

-William Small's inquiries at White House

-Colson's activities

-Lawsuits

-Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo's friend

-Charles Crutchfield

-Patrick J. Buchanan's comments\

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Robert Novak article
-Media bias

-George S. McGovern gains

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Media relations

-Bias

-1972 campaign

-Robert D. Novak article

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
-Precincts
-Detroit
-Thomas W. Braden
-Novak
-Buchanan's article
-James Keogh
-Kevin Phillip's article
-Colson's speech in New England
-CBS-Washington Post "axis"
-Effect
-Media credibility
-Phillip's readership
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
Study on 1972 campaign
-Syracuse University
-[First name unknown] McClure and [first name unknown] Patterson
-Influence on voters
-Issues
-Watergate
-Vietnam negotiations
-Votes for McGovern
-Democrats for Nixon
-Spot advertisements
-Hardhats
```

-Clark MacGregor

-Welfare

-Negative advertisements

-California

-Michigan

-Impact

-Voter recollection

-Massachusetts

-Haldeman

-Robert J. Dole

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
Second term reorganization
     -[Internal Revenue Service] [IRS]
           -George D. Webster
                 -Conversation with Colson
                       -The President's meeting with Webster
                       -Departures
                       -Retribution
                 -Letter
                 -Background
                       -East Tennessee
                       -Republican
                       -Education
                            -Maryville College
                                  -Compared to Whittier College
     -Solicitor General
           -Robert H. Bork
                 -Colson's viewing on television [TV]
                       -Bork's physical appearance
                            -Beard
     -Deputy Solicitor General
           -[Jewell S. LaFontant]
           -Bork
                 -Drafting of anti-busing position
                       -Network coverage
     -Frederic V. Malek meeting with Colson
           -Polish-Americans
           -Italian-Americans
     -Italian-Americans
           -John A. Volpe
           -John A. Scali
                 -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's effort
                       -William P. Rogers
                 -Compared to Brennan
                 -Malek
           -Bias
                 -John A. Stella
```

-Harvard University

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

```
-Malek
     -Claude S. Brinegar
           -Error
                 -Catholicism
     -Catholics
           -Scali
           -Brinegar
                 -Italian-Americans
           -Scali
           -Roy L. Ash
           -Brennan
     -Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
     -Polish-Americans
     -Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]
           -Mitchell Kapelevski [sp?]
     -John A. Stastny, home builders
           -Colson's conversation with James T. Lynn
     -Polish-Americans and Italian-Americans
           -The President's meetings with Assistant Secretaries
                 -Photographs
                       -Distribution to local presses
     -Scali
     -Brennan
           -Publicity
                 -Compared to other Cabinet members
                 -News summaries
                 -Conservatives
                       -Hardhats
     -Scali
           -Press relations
Press and media relations
     -CBS
           -Daniel Rather
           -Robert Pierpont
           -Daniel L. Schorr
                 -Watergate stories
     -Life
           -The President's conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower
           -Andrew Heiskell
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

-Postal rates

-Bill

-US Postal Service

-The President

-Horatio Alger

-1972 election

-Mandate

-Republican Party

-Media

-Establishment

-Photograph coverage

-John F. Kennedy

-Clay T. ("Tom") Whitehead

-Networks

-Economic power

-Background

-Rand Corporation

-Exclusion

-CBS

-William S. Paley

-Calls to Colson

-NBC

-Possible conversation with Colson

-Howard K. Smith

-Teamsters

-Colson

-Tone

-John Chancellor

-Colson

-CBS

-Teamsters

-Williams

-Washington Post

-Rather

-Administration handling

-ABC

-NBC

-Chancellor

-Possible conversation with Colson

-Julian Goodman

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-26 (cont'd)

-CBS

Conversation No. 157-27

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: 1:58 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 235-8]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson
-Colson's location
-Princeton University

Conversation No. 157-28

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 235-10]

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]
-Impeachment vote
-Failed

-Failed

-Jean Westwood

-Resignation

-Robert S. Strauss

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-28 (cont'd)

- -Vote count
- -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- -John B. Connally
 - -Second vote
 - -Radicals
- -Charlie Snider
 - -Support for Westwood
 - -Supporters of George C. Wallace
- -Lawrence O'Brien
- -Charles Manatt
- -George Mitchell
- -Come Home Democrats Coalition
 - -Advertisements
- -Conservative Democrats
 - -Ben Wattenberg
 - -Richard M. Scammon
 - -Possible meeting with the President
 - -Support for the Republicans

1972 election

- -Issues
 - -Social issues
 - -May 8, 1972 decision to mine Haiphong Harbor
 - -Samuel Lubell
 - -Albert E. Sindlinger
 - -Soviet Union
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Scammon analysis
 - -American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]
 - -Patrick J. Buchanan
 - -Paper about 1972 election
 - -Richard ("Dick") Wilson column
 - -Circulation
 - -Herbert C. Hoover
- -George S. McGovern
 - -Destruction
 - -Harriet Vanhorn
 - -McGovernites
 - -Power

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-28 (cont'd)

```
-DNC
      -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's views
           -1972 election
                 -Personal victory
                       -Little assistance
      -Republican National Committee [RNC] analysis
           -Michigan
                 -Counties
                       -Vote turnout
      -Theodore H. White column
           -Copy for the President
           -RNC
           -Centrist coalition
Princeton University
     -Mood
     -Wendell Bell Colson, II
           -Nixon posters
      -Campus
           -1972 election reaction
                 -Other campuses
                       -Harvard University
                            -Activists
                                  -Support for Nixon
                                  -Apathy
                                  -Tolerance
                                        -Young Republicans
                       -Yale University
                       -Columbia University
                       -Ohio State University
                       -Kentucky University
                       -Vanderbilt University
                       -Tulane University
                 -Radicals
                       -Decreasing support for protests
```

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-28 (cont'd)

```
Vietnam negotiations
           -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s schedule
                -Return for consultation
           -Henry A. Kissinger
                -Continuation of talks
           -Colson's view
           -Settlement agreement
           -Announcement
                -Presidential speech
                      -Necessity
                           -Public opinion
           -Public opinion
                -Support for the President
                      -1972 election
                           -George S. McGovern
                -Economy
                -Support for the President
           -Settlement agreement
                -Kissinger
                -Progress
           -Public opinion
                -Normalcy
      National economy
           -Albert E. Sindlinger
                -Consumer Confidence Index
           -Stock Market
                -Wall Street
***********************
```

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

1972 election

- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- -Tricia Nixon Cox
- -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - -1968 election
- -National confidence
- -Key Biscayne

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-28 (cont'd)

-Future of Republican Party
-Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Second term compared
-Public support

Democrats

- -Internal conflicts
- -Snider

-Report to Colson

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Conversation No. 157-29

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 235-25]

Request for a call to H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Conversation No. 157-30

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

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

[See Conversation No. 235-11]

William P. Rogers

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-30 (cont'd)

-Conversation with Haldeman

Alexander M Haig, Jr.'s schedule
-Meeting with the President
-The President's schedule
-Return to Washington, DC

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]

- -Vote
- -Election
- -Jean Westwood
- -John B. Connally
- -New committee

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

```
Second term reorganization
```

-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

-The President's conversation with Ronald L. Ziegler

-Constance M. (Cornell) ("Connie") Stuart

-Helen Smith

-Press relations

-Salary

-Public relations [PR]

-Title

-Stuart

Conversation No. 157-31

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:03 p.m. and 7:00 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-31 (cont'd)

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[See Conversation No. 235-12]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.
Conversation No. 157-32
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.
[See Conversation No. 235-13]

[See Conversation No. 235-13]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-3
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
[See Conversation No. 235-14]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Conversation No. 157-3
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
[See Conversation No. 235-15]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.

Tape Subject Log (rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-3
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 4:00 pm and 6:50 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
Che President met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

See Conversation No. 235-16]
End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
ulie Eisenhower left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.
Conversation No. 157-3
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
Che President met with Manolo Sanchez.

See Conversation No. 235-17]
End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-36 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.
Conversation No. 157-37
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[See Conversation No. 235-18]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ***********************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.
Conversation No. 157-38
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-38 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 235-19]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.
Conversation No. 157-39
Date: December 9, 1972 Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

[See Conversation No. 235-20]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift] ************************************
Julie Nixon Eisenhower left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.
C

Conversation No. 157-40

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-40 (cont'd)

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.

Conversation No. 157-41

Date: December 9, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:46 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 235-22]

Request for a call to Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 157-42

Date: December 9, 1972 Time: 7:46 pm - 7:48 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 235-23]

Vietnam negotiations

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Apr.-08)

Conversation No. 157-42 (cont'd)

- -Message to Henry A. Kissinger
 - -Kissinger's message to the President
 - -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ] issue
 - -Significance to South Vietnam, US
 - -Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s report
 - -Kissinger's performance as negotiator
 - -Concessions
- -Haig's schedule
 - -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - -Kissinger
 - -Meeting with the President
 - -The President's schedule
 - -Leak
 - -Dobrynin
- -Message to Kissinger