

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-1

Date: December 28, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:50 pm and 7:14 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-3]

Request for a call to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

Conversation No. 158-2

Date: December 28, 1972

Time: 7:14 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-4]

Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo
-Location
-Return call
-Timing

Conversation No. 158-3

Date: December 28, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:10 pm and 9:41 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-3 (cont'd)

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-6]

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-4

Date: December 28, 1972 Time: 9:41 pm - 10:47 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 237-7]

```
Vietnam War
     -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -Notification
                 -William P. Rogers
                      -[David] Kenneth Rush
                 -Rogers's location
                      -Bahamas
                 -Rush
                 -Orders
                 -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
                      -Rush
                 -Messages
                      -Timing
                            -Possible leak
                                  -Moorer
                 -Rush
                 -Rogers
                 -U. Alexis Johnson
           -Announcement
                 -The President's and Gerald L. Warren's location
                      -Camp David
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-4 (cont'd)

```
-Compared to Washington, DC
                     -Tone
                           -Negotiations
                                 -November 1972 round
                           -White House
                           -Television [TV]
                                 -Warren
                           -North Vietnam's position
                           -Negotiations
                                 -November round
     -White House
-Notification of supporters
     -Timing
           -Announcement
     -Effect
     -John C. Stennis
     -Tone
     -William E. Timmons
           -Office
                -Concerns
                      -Forthcoming negotiations
                -Tone
           -Announcement
                -Reading
                     -Warren
                     -National Security Council [NSC]
     -Leaks
           -Howard K. Smith
     -Promises
     -Timing
           -Announcement
-Notification
     -Johnson
     -Rush
     -Moorer
     -Leaks
     -Moorer
     -Timing
```

-Rush

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-4 (cont'd)

```
-Rogers
           -State Department
     -Richard M. Helms
           -Location
                 -Mexico
                       -The President's attempt to contact
                            -Middle East oil
-Effect
-Announcement
     -Interpretation
     -Effect
     -Interpretation
           -The President's conversation with Col. Richard T. Kennedy
     -Warren's press conference
           -Parameters
                 -Written answers
                 -"No comment" instruction
                 -North Vietnam
                 -"No comment" instruction
                 -Interpretation
           -Question
                 -Answer
                       -Kennedy
                            -Delivery to Warren
                                  -Timing
     -Timing
           -North Vietnam
-Negotiations
     -North Vietnam's rhetoric
           -Restraint
                 -Kissinger's statement
     -US statements
           -Press relations
                 -Liberals' view of bombing
                       -Effect
     -Congressional relations
           -Time table
                 -Reconvention
```

-Kissinger's schedule

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-4 (cont'd)

- -Departure for Paris
- -Meeting with Le Duc Tho
- -The President's schedule
  - -Possible meeting with leaders
    - -Timing
      - -Domestic agenda
        - -John D. Ehrlichman
    - -Reconvention
    - -Republicans
- -Meeting with Michael J. Mansfield
  - -Kissinger's schedule
  - -The President's schedule
    - -1972 election
  - -Kissinger's schedule
    - -Hugh Scott
      - -Briefing
    - -The President's schedule
      - -Announcement
      - -Briefing of leaders
        - -Domestic matters
    - -J. William Fulbright
    - -Stennis
    - -F. Edward Herbert
    - -The President's schedule
      - -Domestic matters, foreign relations
    - -Kissinger's telephone call
      - -Mansfield's location
        - -Montana
    - -Congressional relations
      - -[Thomas] Hale Bogg's memorial service
      - -Harry S. Truman's memorial service
    - -Departure for Paris
- -The President's schedule
  - -Domestic matters
- -North Vietnam's position
  - -Resumption of talks
    - -Deadline
    - -Timing
      - -Delay

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-4 (cont'd)

-Le Duc Tho's departure for Paris
-North Vietnam-Soviet Union relations
-Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F.
Dobrynin
-Le Duc Tho's health
-Offer of Soviet Union doctor

-US position

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-The President's bombing decision

-Effect on negotiations

-Significance

-Effect on negotiations

-Nguyen Van Thieu

-North Vietnam

-Timing

-Previous US bombing

-Conditions

-Media relations

-Possible resumption of US bombing

-Effect

-Critics' uncertainty

-Congressional relations

-Mansfield

-Telephone call from Kissinger

-Negotiations

-Sensitivity

-The President's schedule

-Meeting with leaders

-Domestic matters

Conversation No. 158-5

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:30 am and 10:48 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-5 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 237-9]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 158-6

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 10:48 am - 11:06 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

# The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 237-10]

```
US bombing of North Vietnam
     -December 28, 1972
     -Sorties
           -Number
     -Losses
           -Press coverage
                -Timing
     -Location of targets
           -Sorties
           -Losses
           -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer's report
                -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
           -SAM storage areas
           -Damage
     -Significance
     -US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations
           -Chou En-Lai's statement
                -Significance
                      -Tone
                      -(Madame) Nguyen Thi Binh's location
                           -Peking
                                 -March
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-6 (cont'd)

```
-The President's trip to PRC
```

-PRC-North Vietnam relations

-Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Awareness

-Chou En-lai [?]

-North Vietnam

-South Vietnam

-Rumors

-North Vietnam

-Negotiations

-Resumption

-US comment

- -Announcement
- -The President's conversation with Henry A. Kissinger
- -Notification
  - -France, Britain
    - -Timing
    - -Courtesy
    - -Australia
    - -Edward R. G. Heath, Georges J. R. Pompidou
  - -Willy Brandt
  - -Italy
  - -Britain, France
  - -Thailand
  - -Leaks
  - -Timing

-Thailand

-South Korea

- -Leaks
- -Australia

# Nicaragua earthquake relief

- -Maurice J. Williams
  - -Press and media relations
  - -Gerald L. Warren briefing
  - -Departure for Nicaragua
    - -Timing
  - -Press relations
  - -Authority

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-6 (cont'd)

```
-State Department
-John A. Scali
-Public relations [PR]
```

#### Thailand

- -Hijacking
  - -Resolution
  - -Airplane's location
  - -Thai officials [Dawee Chullaspaya, Chartichai Choonhavan]
  - -Press reports
    - -Comparison to 1972 Munich Olympics

#### France

- -Military aid to Israel
  - -Number of airplanes
  - -Timing

# US bombing of North Vietnam

- -Demonstrations
  - -Dean Francis B. Sayre
  - -March to the White House
    - -Timing
      - -Announcement
  - -Scientists [American Association for the Advancement of Science] [AAAS]
  - -Sayre
    - -Effect
      - -Announcement on cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel -Negotiations
- -Warren's press conference
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Warren's press conference
    - -Kennedy's conversation with Warren
    - -"No comment" instruction
    - -Ouestions
      - -Demonstrations
    - -Details
    - -Rumors
      - -Warren's press conference
        - -"No comment" instruction

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-6 (cont'd)

-US military operations and plans

-"No comment" instruction

-Completion of negotiations

-Effect on press

#### -Critics

- -John Kenneth Galbraith
- -AAAS
- -George S. McGovern
- -Unilateral disarmament
- -Antiballistic missile [ABM] opposition
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -[David] Kenneth Rush
    - -Meeting with Kennedy
  - -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
    - -Negotiations
      - -North Vietnam's willingness to take
    - -Orders

-Timing

- -Damage reports
  - -Hanoi
    - -Market
  - -Veracity
    - -Media
- -Timing
  - -Final runs
- -Targets
  - -Downtown Hanoi
    - -Kennedy's conversations with Moorer
      - -North Vietnam's supply activities
        - -Dry Scason
  - -Petroleum, Oil, Lubricants [POL]
  - -SAMs
    - -Moorer's view
  - -B-52s' performance
    - -Moorer's view
      - -Damage
        - -Reconstruction
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Warren's press conference

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-6 (cont'd)

-The President's schedule

-Meeting with Kennedy and Warren

-Timing

-Warren's press conference

-Review of questions

-Washington, DC

-Possible telephone call

-Return call

Conversation No. 158-7

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:06 am and 11:23 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-12]

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-8

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:06 am and 11:23 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-13]

Henry A. Kissinger's schedule -Telephone call

Request for a call to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-9

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 11:24 am - 11:46 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

# The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 237-14]

# Kissinger's schedule

-Conversation with an unknown person

#### Vietnam War

- -Cessation of US bombing North of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -The President's conversation with Col. Richard T. Kennedy
    - -Report
      - -Kissinger's conversation with Kennedy
  - -Announcement
    - -Public relations [PR]
      - -[David] Kenneth Rush
        - -Negotiations
        - -Demonstrations
        - -Conversation with Kissinger
        - -Loyalty
        - -Media
        - -Loyalty
        - -Notification
        - -Continuation of bombing
          - -Kissinger's view
          - -Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
      - -Kissinger's view
        - -Demonstrations
        - -Press relations
        - -Tone of announcement
      - -Settlement agreement

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-9 (cont'd)

- -Congressional relations
  - -Reconvention
  - -Perception of administration vacillation
    - -Rush's view
  - -US bombing of North Vietnam
    - -Conditions for cessation
- -Gerald L. Warren
- -Congressional relations
- -Opinion makers
  - -Kissinger's possible role
    - -Effect
      - -North Vietnam
      - -Compared to State Department statement
        - -Demilitarized Zone [DMZ]
- -Warren's press conference
  - -The President's conversation with Warren
  - -Rumors
    - -Negotiations
    - -Cessation of bombing
  - -Tone
    - -Questions
      - -Responses
        - -Ronald L. Ziegler
        - -Exchange of messages
          - -Negotiations
        - -Negotiations
          - -Cessation of bombing
            - -Timing
        - -"No comment" instruction
        - -Cessation of bombing
          - -Negotiations
            - -Tone
        - -Resumption of bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
          - -"No comment" instruction
        - -The President's relationship with Kissinger
          - -Contacts
          - -Kissinger's effectiveness
          - -Time, Newsweek
          - -John A. Scali

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-9 (cont'd)

```
-Ziegler
                             -Contacts
                             -Media relations
                       -DMZ
                       -Negotiations
                             -Specifics
                                    -Capitulation
                             -Settlement agreement
                             -Rush
                             -Timeframe
                       -Ziegler
-Effect
     -Public relations
-Kissinger's press conference, October 26, 1972
-Negotiations
-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
     -Criticism
           -Cambridge
-Criticism of liberals
     -Harvard University
     -George S. McGovernites
           -1972 election
-Negotiations
-Press relations
     -Bombing
           -Effect
                 -Negotiations
                       -Rush
-Jerrold L. Schecter's conversation with Kissinger
     -Time cover story
           -Bombing
                 -Effect
                       -Negotiations
           -Kissinger's schedule
                 -Vacation
           -Change
-North Vietnam's position
-Congressional relations
     -"Doves"
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-9 (cont'd)

- -Reconvention
- -Negotiations

-Paris

-"Hawks"

-Bombing

-Effect

-Negotiations

- -Kissinger's telephone calls
  - -Ronald W. Reagan
  - -Barry M. Goldwater
  - -John C. Stennis
  - -F. Edward Hebert
  - -Gerald R. Ford
  - -Carl B. Albert
  - -Michael J. Mansfield
    - -Timing
    - -Announcement
  - -Timing
    - -Nelson A. Rockefeller
    - -Reagan, Goldwater, Ford, Albert, Hebert
  - -Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
    - -Col. Richard T. Kennedy's telephone call -Timing
  - -"Hawks"
    - -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
    - -Howard K. Smith
    - -William F. Buckley, Jr.
    - -Joseph W. Alsop
    - -Wilson, Smith
    - -Max Frankel
      - -New York Times
- -Press relations
  - -New York Times, Washington Post
  - -Negotiations
    - -Thomas Grey ("Tom") Wicker
    - -The President's success
- -Strategy
  - -Kissinger's view
    - -Resumption of bombing

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-9 (cont'd)

-North Vietnam
-Liberals
-Kissinger's telephone calls
-Otis Chandler
-Los Angeles Times
-Editorial
-Timing

Conversation No. 158-10

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:46 am and 11:53 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 158-15]

Request for a call to John V. ("Jack") Brennan -Cdr. Alexander R. Larzelere

Conversation No. 158-11

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:46 am and 11:53 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

Cdr. Alexander R. Larzelere on the line

Call to Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-12

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 11:53 am - 11:54 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Cdr. Alexander R. Larzelere.

[See Conversation No. 237-16]

Raymond K. Price, Jr.'s schedule
-Arrival at Camp David
-Accommodations
-Birch Lodge
-Dogwood Lodge

Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule
-Trip to the Soviet Union

Conversation No. 158-13

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 11:55 am - 11:59 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo.

[See Conversation No. 237-17]

Rebozo's schedule

-Meeting with George C. Wallace

- -The President's attempted telephone call to Rebozo
- -Location
  - -Rebozo's mother
- -Wallace's meeting with John N. Mitchell
- -Wallace's view of the President
  - -The President's visit with Wallace, May 19, 1972

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-13 (cont'd)

-Cornelia Wallace -Wallace's health -Weight

Camp David weather

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule -California

The President's schedule
-Return to Washington, DC
-Congressional relations
-Reconvention

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

- -The President's visit to Florida
- -Rebozo's possible visit to Camp David
- -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule

Rebozo's real estate operations

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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John and Martha (Beall) Mitchell's schedule
-The President's residence in Key Biscayne
-Dinner
-Pool

Conversation No. 158-14

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:59 am and 12:01 pm

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-14 (cont'd)

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-18]

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-15

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 12:01 pm - 12:08 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 237-19]

```
Vietnam War
     -US-People's Republic of China [PRC] relations
          -Chou En-Lai's statement
                -Analysis
                -Possible intent
                -(Madame) Nguyen Thi Binh's location
                      -[Peking]
                           -The President's conversation with Col. Richard T.
                            Kennedy
                -Significance
                      -Copies of notes
                      -Previous statements
                           -US bombing
          -Message
           -Chou's statement
                -Tone
                -Message
                      -Content
                           -US bombing
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-15 (cont'd)

-Delivery

-New York

-Significance

-Marilyn Berger

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Aleksei N. Kosygin

-Statement

-Expectation

-US

-Chou En-lai's statement

-PRC-North Vietnam relations

-Madame Binh

-Notification

-The President's conversation with Kennedy

-U. Alexis Johnson

-Britain

-France

-Australia

-Australia, South Korea

-Johnson

-Britain, France

-Restraint

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-US-Australia relations

-Gough Whitlam's statement

-State Department

-[National Security Council] [NSC]

-Kennedy

-Meat quotes

-Communications

-Cables to Canberra

-Clearance through NSC

-Birthday, New Year's messages

-Clearance through NSC

-Whitlam's election

-"Peaceniks"

-Effect

-Ambassador [Sir James Plimsoll]

-Avoidance

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-15 (cont'd)

-Whitlam's letter
-Lack of reply
-Kissinger's conversation with Plimsoll
-Australia's message to North Vietnam
-Whitlam's meeting with Charles H. Percy
-Kissinger's and the President's position
-Percy's position
-1976 election

Conversation No. 158-16

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 12:08 pm - 12:09 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

Col. Richard T. Kennedy talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 237-20]

Kennedy's and Gerald L. Warren's schedules
-Arrival to Camp David
-Timing
-Arrangements
-Pentagon

Conversation No. 158-17

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:09 pm and 12:13 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-21]

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-17 (cont'd)

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 158-18

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 12:13 pm - 12:37 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

## The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 237-22]

Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Announcement

-Press relations

-US bombing

-Demonstration

-Dean Francis B. Sayre

-White House

-Administration response

-Infiltration

-Demeanor

-Liberals

-Colson's viewing on television [TV]

-Establishment

-Attire

-American Association for the Advancement of Science [AAAS]

-Press conference

-Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] special, December 28, 1972

-Tone

-Charles Collingwood

-Comments on breakdown of negotiations

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Ambiguities

-Options

-Resumption of negotiations

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-18 (cont'd)

```
US bombing of North Vietnam
     -December 28, 1972
           -Plane losses
           -Sorties
           -Targets
           -Effect
           -Effect
                 -Damage
                 -Recovery
                 -Compared to World War II
                       -Japan
                       -Soviet Union
                       -Germany
                       -Britain
                       -France
                 -Damage
                       -Communists
                 -Recovery
     -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -Report from Saigon
                 -Washington Post
                 -The President's meeting with Colson
                 -Washington Star
           -Washington Post articles
                 -US bombing of North Vietnam north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
                       -Effect
                             -Damage
                                  -B-52s
                                  -Hanoi
                                        -Civilians
                 -Reports from Saigon
                       -Washington Star
           -Announcement
                 -Gerald L. Warren
                 -Tone
                 -Negotiations
                       -North Vietnam
           -Public relations [PR]
```

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-18 (cont'd)

```
-US bombing
     -Effect on negotiations
           -Liberals' view
     -Pressure on US
           -Liberals' view
     -Necessity
           -Negotiations
                 -Liberals' view
                       -Effect
                             -Public opinion
-"Nixon's done it again"
     -New Majority, "Hawks"
     -North Vietnam
-White House
-Possible op-ed article in New York Times
-Television [TV]
-Letters
-Telephone calls
-The President's May 8, 1972 decision
-Collingwood
     -Commentary
-Paper ["Things They Would Like to Forget"]
     -Distribution
           -Congress, editors, broadcasters, opinion leaders
     -Effect
-Criticism
     -Herbert G. Klein
     -"Nixon's done it again"
           -Effect
-Possible op-ed article in New York Times
     -J. Anthony Lukas [?]
-John A. Scali
     -Possible meeting with Colson
     -Kissinger's concern
           -The President's relationship with Kissinger
                 -Kissinger's conversation with journalists
-US bombing of North Vietnam north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
```

-The President's decision

-William P. Rogers's schedule

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-18 (cont'd)

```
-Melvin R. Laird's schedule
```

-Reaction of White House staff

#### -Scali

-Victory for the President

-Ability as "salesman"

-Meeting with Colson

-Timing

-Secrecy

#### -PR

-Liberals' view

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-People's Republic of China [PRC]

-"Nixon's done it again"

-Pressures on US

-Credibility

-Resumption of negotiations

-Instruction for Colson

-Scali

-Timing

#### -Announcement

-"No comment" instruction

-Warren

-Compared to Ronald L. Ziegler
-Kissinger

## -PR

-Scali

-Leaks

-Ambassadorship to United Nations [UN]

-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's view

-Ambassadorship to UN

-Daniel L. Schorr

-Judgment on announcement

-Background

-White House

-Resumption of negotiations

-North Vietnam

-Deep background

-Unknown person

-Bernard and Marvin L. Kalb

# **Tape Subject Log**

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Conversation No. 158-18 (cont'd)

- -Howard K. Smith
- -Stewart M. Hensley
- -Leaks
- -Resumption of negotiations
  - -Tone

-"Serious"

-Instruction for Colson

- -Labor leaders
- -Congressional relations
  - -William E. Timmons
    - -Telephone call to leaders
  - -Kissinger's calls to leaders
    - -Negotiations
    - -John C. Stennis
    - -F. Edward Hebert
    - -Gerald R. Ford
    - -Barry M. Goldwater
  - -Hugh Scott
- -PR
- -Labor leaders
  - -Statements
- -Negotiations
  - -Breakdown
    - -Liberals' view
      - -1972 election
      - -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
      - -Telephone calls
        - -Dan Rather
        - -Harry Reasoner
        - -Effect

-Commentators

- -Colson's call to Scali
  - -Colson's call to the President

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-19

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: 5:03 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-25]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 158-20

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: 5:06 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-26]

Col. Richard T. Kennedy's location -State Department

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-21

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:06 pm and 5:12 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-21 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 237-28]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

Conversation No. 158-22

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 5:12 pm - 5:15 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 237-29]

Harry S. Truman's memorial service

-Reception

-Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral

-Official representatives

-Gen. Charles A. J. M. de Gaulle

-Arrangements

-State Department

-Col. Richard T. Kennedy's office

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Eisenhower's funeral

-The President's schedule

-Location

-Eisenhower's funeral

-Washington National Cathedral

- -Truman's funeral
- -Heads of state
- -De Gaulle's funeral
  - -The President's attendance
  - -Reception by Georges J. R. Pompidou
- -Arrangements
- -State Department

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-23

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:15 pm and 5:20 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-52]]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 158-24

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 5:20 - 5:32 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 237-30]

Vietnam War

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Justification

-Settlement agreement

-Enforceability

-US commitments and credibility

-US allies

-Negotiations

-North Vietnam's "filibuster"

-North Vietnam's preparation to fight

-Colson's conversation with John A. Scali

-Infiltration

-Settlement agreement

-US credibility

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-24 (cont'd)

```
-Enforceability
```

- -Pause
  - -Press reports
    - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
    - -South Vietnam
      - -North Vietnam
- -Scali
  - -View
    - -Compared to Colson's view
  - -Report on public relations
  - -Role
    - -Media relations
      - -Wires
        - -United Press International [UPI]
        - -Associated Press [AP]
      - -Television [TV]
- -The President's decision
  - -Historical perspective
    - -Henry A. Kissinger
      - -Previous statements
- -Congressional relations
  - -Consultations
    - -Leaders
      - -William E. Timmons
      - -Senate, House of Representatives
      - -Republicans
  - -William B. Saxbe's statements
    - -Senate Armed Services Committee
    - -Response
      - -Ohio
        - -Donald E. Lukens
        - -Samuel L. Devine
        - -Lukens
  - -Republicans
    - -1972 election
      - -The President's victory
        - -Margin
          - -Ohio
      - -Defeats

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-24 (cont'd)

- -Margaret Chase Smith
- -J. Caleb Boggs
- -Jack Miller
- -Gordon L. Allott
- -Robert C. ("Bob") Wilson
- -House of Representatives
- -Democrats
  - -George S. McGovern
- -William A. Rusher
  - -Yale University
- -1970 campaign
  - -Contributions

-Murray M. Chotiner

- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Announcement
    - -Effect

-Scali's view

- -Liberals' view
  - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - -Killing of civilians
    - -Responsibilty
  - -Honor
- -Media relations
  - -Colson's view
    - -Killing of civilians
      - -North Vietnamese rocket attack on Hue
- -Demonstrations
  - -McGovern
  - -Dean Francis B. Sayre
    - -Response
      - -Washington National Cathedral
        - -Signs
      - -"Tell it to Hanoi"
      - -Tone
      - -Blind Vietnam veteran

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-25

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: 5:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-32]

Henry A. Kissinger's location

-Location

-Call from the President

Col. Richard T. Kennedy's location
-Call from the President

Conversation No. 158-26

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 6:28 pm - 6:44 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the President.

[See Conversation No. 237-34]

Weather

Vietnam War

-Status

-Col. Richard T. Kennedy

-Briefing of U. Alexis Johnson

-Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

-Report from Hanoi

-Resumption of negotiations

-Congressional relations

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-26 (cont'd)

- -Kissinger's telephone calls
  - -Hugh Scott
    - -The President's message
    - -Michael J. Mansfield
  - -Leslie C. Arends
  - -Gerald R. Ford
  - -Carl B. Albert
  - -F. Edward Hebert
  - -John C. Stennis
  - -Barry M .Goldwater
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Explanation
    - -The President's possible speech on television [TV]
      - -Kissinger's conversation with Ronald W. Reagan
    - -Resumption of negotiations
  - -Gerald L. Warren's press conference
    - -Consultations with Congressional leaders
    - -Explanation
  - -Explanation
    - -Resumption of negotiations
      - -Tone
      - -Stopping invasion, return of POWs
      - -Announcement
        - -Forthcoming week
  - -Congressional relations
    - -Briefing of Congressional leaders
      - -Timing
        - -The President's role
        - -Kissinger's role
          - -J. William Fulbright
          - -Edward M. Kennedy
        - -Success of negotiations
          - -Kissinger's conversation with Mansfield
      - -Kissinger's possible meeting
        - -Senate Foreign Relations Committee
        - -Senate Armed Services Committee
          - -"Hawks"
        - -Charles H. Percy, McGeorge Bundy
          - -George S. McGovern

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-26 (cont'd)

- -Explanation
  - -Kissinger's response
    - -Negotiations
      - -Breaking impasse
    - -"Doves"
      - -Cambodia
        - -South Vietnamese troops
  - -Necessity
- -Forthcoming announcement
- -The President's critics
  - -Demonstration
    - -Dean Francis B. Sayre
      - -[Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
  - -Warren's press conference
    - -Protests
  - -William B. Saxbe
    - -Briefing
- -Effect
- -Explanation
  - -Kissinger's conversation with Mansfield
- -The President's statements
  - -Press and Congressional relations
- -Explanation
  - -Negotiations
  - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
    - -Political prisoners in South Vietnam
      - -Exchanges
    - -Press relations
      - -Liberals
- -Negotiations
  - -Following round
    - -Possible failure
      - -Publication of record
- -Congressional relations
  - -Kissinger's telephone calls and meetings
    - -Stennis
    - -Goldwater
    - -Percy
    - -Fulbright

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-26 (cont'd)

- -Albert
- -Mansfield
- -Ford
- -Leaders
  - -Instruction for Warren
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Public relations [PR]
    - -Liberals' view
      - -US government's position
      - -Congressional relations
  - -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - -Notification
      - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
        - -Message
          - -Tone
  - -US-PRC relations
    - -Chou En-Lai's statement
      - -Tone
        - -Washington Star
      - -Settlement agreement
    - -Meeting with Kissinger
      - -Timing

# Harry S. Truman's memorial service

- -Reception
  - -Arrangements
    - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Edward R. G. Heath
  - -Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral
  - -Gen. Charles A. J. M de Gaulle's funeral
    - -The President's attendance
    - -Reception by Georges J. R. Pompidou
  - -The President's schedule
    - -Heath
    - -[Gough Whitlam] of Australia
    - -[Pierre E. Trudeau] of Canada
    - -Pompidou
    - -Heath
      - -[February 1-2], 1973 meetings

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-26 (cont'd)

```
US-France relations
     -National Security Council [NSC] memorandum
           -France election
                 -Socialists
                      -François M. Mitterand
                 -Pompidou
                      -The President's written instructions
                 -NSC
                      -Liberals
                      -State Department
                 -State Department
                      -Polls
                            -Pompidou
                            -Socialists
                 -Pompidou
                      -The President's written instructions
                            -Socialists
                            -Public support
     -The President's possible visit to France
           -Kissinger's meeting with Pompidou
           -French Ambassador to US [Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet]
           -Kissinger's trip to Paris
                 -Timing
                 -Message from the President
                      -The President's support for Pompidou
           -Announcement
                 -Timing
```

Conversation No. 158-27

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 6:49 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

Kissinger's schedule -NSC

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-27 (cont'd)

# The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-35]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

Conversation No. 158-28

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 6:49 pm - 6:52 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

### The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 237-36]

#### Vietnam War

- -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
- -Kennedy's conversation with U. Alexis Johnson
  - -Notification
    - -Australian ambassador [Sir James Plimsoll]
    - -Prime Minister [Gough Whitlam]
  - -US bombing of North Vietnam
    - -Johnson's view
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Press relations
    - -The President's conversation with Kennedy and Gerald L. Warren
    - -Negotiations
  - -Johnson's view
  - -[David] Kenneth Rush's view
  - -North Vietnamese reaction
    - -Timing
    - -Johnson's view
  - -Cessation
    - -Announcement
      - -Warren

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-28 (cont'd)

-Kennedy's conversation with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew -Timing

Conversation No. 158-29

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: 6:52 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-37]

Request for a call to [David] Kenneth Rush
-Rush's identity
-Deputy Secretary of Defense

Conversation No. 158-30

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: 6:52 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-38]

[David] Kenneth Rush -Return call

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-31

Date: December 29, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:52 pm and 7:02 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-39]

Request for a call to U. Alexis Johnson
-Johnson's identity
-[Under] Secretary of State

Conversation No. 158-32

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 7:02 pm - 7:04 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with U. Alexis Johnson.

[See Conversation No. 237-40]

Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-William P. Rogers

-Message

-Security

-US Navy channels

- -Notification
- -The President's conversation with Gerald L. Warren
- -Message from the President
  - -Security
  - -Johnson's initiative
  - -Announcement
  - -Security

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-32 (cont'd)

#### -Leaks

-US Navy facility

-Johnson's initiative

- -Congressional relations
  - -J. William Fulbright
- -Johnson's congratulations
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -The President's decision
    - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
    - -Breakdown in negotiations
  - -Johnson's meeting with Netherlands representative
    - -US-Netherlands relations
    - -Historical perspective
- -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Paralle
  - -Johnson's congratulations

Conversation No. 158-33

Date: December 29, 1972 Time: 7:10 pm - 7:11 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

## The President talked with [David] Kenneth Rush.

[See Conversation No. 237-41]

#### Vietnam War

- -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Announcement
  - -Rush's congratulations
  - -Media relations
  - -Outcome
  - -Pressures
    - -Settlement agreement
  - -Timing
    - -Congressional relations
      - -Reconvention

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-34

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 9:41 am and 9:53 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-43]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 158-35

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 9:53 am - 10:02 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 237-44]

Vietnam War

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Demonstration

-Dean Francis B. Sayre

-Response

-Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Notification of Congress

-William E. Timmons

-Conversations with Colson and Col. Richard T. Kennedy

-Call to Henry A. Kissinger

-Kissinger's telephone call

-Telephone calls

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-35 (cont'd)

-Hugh Scott

-Kissinger's telephone calls

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-Kennedy

-Congressional relations

-Possible hearings

-William Fulbright

-Dr. Thomas E. ("Doc") Morgan

-Kissinger, William P. Rogers

-Negotiations

-Colson's conversation with Timmons

-Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-John A. Scali

-Telephone calls

-Announcement

-Scali

-Colson

-Gerald L. Warren

-Public relations [PR]

-Colson's possible call to the President

-The President's possible call to Colson

-Timing

-Scali

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Congressional relations

-Media relations

-William B. Saxbe's statements

-Response

-Timmon's possible call to Saxbe

-Thomas C. Korologos

-Donald E. Lukens

-Compared to Samuel L. Devine

-Hubert H. Humphrey

-Statement

-PR

-Albert E. Sindlinger's poll

-Intensity

-Congressional relations

-Reconvention

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-35 (cont'd)

```
-Timing
```

- -1972 election
- -Humphrey
- -Saxbe's statements
  - -Previous statements and actions
    - -G. Harrold Carswell vote

-Letter

-Response

-Hugh Scott

-Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Notification of Congress

-Scott

-Possible call from Kissinger

-Kissinger's telephone calls

- -The President's instructions
- -Timmons's telephone calls

-Timmons's telephone calls

-Scott

-Kissinger's telephone calls

-Colson's conversation with Timmons

-John C. Stennis

-Stennis

-Liberals

- -Scott
- -Gerald R. Ford
- -Michael J. Mansfield
- -Stennis
- -F. Edward Hebert
- -Carl B. Albert
- -Leaders
- -The President's decision
  - -Explanation
    - -Scali
    - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
      - -Bombing and mining north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
        - -Suspension

-Negotiations

-Tone

-Resumption

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-35 (cont'd)

-Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
-Announcement
-Press relations
-Scali's view
-Wires
-Saigon
-United Press International [UPI] article
-Reaction
-Tone

Conversation No. 158-36

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:02 am and 10:04 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-45]

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-37

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 10:04 am - 10:12 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 237-46]

Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel -Notification of Congress

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-37 (cont'd)

```
-Kissinger's conversation with Michael J. Mansfield
                 -Hearings
                      -J. William Fulbright
                      -Dr. Thomas E. ("Dee") Morgan
                            -Negotiations
                            -Morgan
                                  -House Foreign Affairs Committee
                 -Explanation
                 -Briefings
                      -Timing
                            -The President
                            -Negotiations
                                  -Paris
-US bombing of North Vietnam
     -Congressional relations
           -Hubert H. Humphrey
           -William B. Saxbe
           -Humphrey's statement
           -Saxbe's statement
     -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -Notification of Congress
                 -Kissinger's telephone calls
                      -Humphrey
                      -Carl B. Albert
                      -Mansfield
                      -Hugh Scott
                      -F. Edward Hebert
                      -John C. Stennis
                      -Barry M. Goldwater
                      -Nelson A. Rockefeller
                      -Ronald W. Reagan
                      -Rockefeller's reaction
                      -Mansfield
                            -Timmons's telephone calls
                                  -Timing
                                        -Announcement
                            -Kissinger's telephone calls
     -The President's decision
```

-Gerald L. Warren

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-37 (cont'd)

- -Meeting with the President
- -Conversation with the President
- -Press relations
  - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
  - -Bombing and mining north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - -Suspension
      - -Negotiations
        - -Tone
        - -October 1972

#### -Resumption

- -Press relations
  - -Los Angeles Times editorial
- -Public relations [PR]
  - -Saxbe, Humphrey
  - -Kissinger's location
    - -Palm Springs, California
  - -The President's television [TV] appearance
    - -Condition
      - -Continuation of bombing
  - -Emotion
  - -Liberals
    - -Kissinger's attendance at dinner party
      - -Michael Wallace
        - -View
  - -The President's TV appearance
    - -Timing
  - -Debate
    - -Announcement
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Statement
    - -Avoiding "gloating" about victory
      - -Congressmen and Senators
      - -Negotiations
        - -North Vietnam
      - -Kissinger's telephone calls
        - -Necessity
          - -Notification
      - -William P. Rogers's schedule
      - -Melvin R. Laird's schedule

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-37 (cont'd)

-[David] Kenneth Rush
-Warren
-Congressmen and Senators
-Notification
-Announcement
-Kissinger's telephone calls
-The President's call to Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-38

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 10:12 am and 10:54 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-49]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

Conversation No. 158-39

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 10:54 am - 10:56 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Stephen B. Bull.

[See Conversation No. 237-50]

Harry S. Truman's memorial service
-Guests
-Rank
-Low level delegations
-Head of state

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-39 (cont'd)

-Edward R. G. Heath
-Reception
-Guests
-Attendance
-Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral
-Comparisons
-State Department
-Reception
-Guests

-Heads of state, prime ministers

Conversation No. 158-40

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 11:06 am - 11:42 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

## The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 237-51/238-1]

```
Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Announcement

-Gerald L. Warren's press conference

-Henry A. Kissinger

-Preparation

-The President's meeting with Warren and Col. Richard T.

Kennedy

-Questions
```

-Press relations

- -Reaction
- -Number of reporters

-Review

- -Reaction
- -Resumption of negotiations
  - -Kissinger, Le Duc Tho

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

```
-Timing
```

-Technical talks

-Timing

### -Questions

-William B. Saxbe's statement

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Halt

-Resumption of negotiations

-Tone

-Responsibility for initiative

-John A. Scali's view

-"No comment" response

-US military operations

-"No comment" response

-Kissinger's view

-Kissinger's conversation with Colson

-Scali

-Resumption of negotiations

-Responsibility for initiative

-Message

-Kissinger and Le Duc Tho

-Kissinger's press conference, December

16, 1972

-Kissinger's "peace is at hand" comment, October 26, 1972

-Warren

-Ronald L. Ziegler

-Warren's performance

### -Statement

-Kissinger's concern

-Avoiding "crowing" about victory

-The President's conversation with Kissinger

-Warren

-William P. Rogers's schedule

-Melvin R. Laird's schedule

-Congressmen and Senators

-Kissinger's conversation with Colson

-Negotiations

-Statements

-Effect

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

- -Resumption of negotiations
  - -Kissinger's press conference, December 16, 1972
    - -Exchange of messages
      - -Warren's statement
        - -Kennedy
        - -Scali
- -Announcement
  - -Scali
    - -Knowledge, conversations with reporters
      - -Kissinger's concerns
- -Kissinger's press relations
  - -John F. Osborne
  - -Palm Springs, California article
    - -Kissinger's telephone calls from the President
- -Announcement
  - -Wire reports
  - -Warren audio report
    - -Ziegler
    - -Scali
    - -Radio stories
    - -Resumption of negotiations
      - -Kissinger, Le Duc Tho
      - -Ziegler
  - -H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
  - -John D. Ehrlichman
  - -Ziegler
    - -Kissinger's role
      - -Warren
  - -Warren's performance
  - -Scali's conversation with Stewart M Hensley
    - -Hensley's article
  - -Scali's conversation with Robert Pierpoint
  - -The President's demeanor
    - -Confidence in settlement agreement
      - -Decisiveness
      - -Kissinger
  - -Wire reports
    - -Resumption of negotiations
      - -Kissinger

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

-Timing

-Warren

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-US policy

-Scali

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Bombing and mining north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Suspension

-Negotiations

-Tone

-Resumption

-Possible Hensley article

-Scali

-Announcement

-Colson's conversation with Scali

-Hensley, Pierpoint

-The President's possible conversation with Scali

-Scali's view

-Warren's performance

-Tone

-Congressional relations

-William E. Timmons

-Colson's conversation with Kissinger

-Kissinger's telephone calls

-Michael J. Mansfield

-Gerald R. Ford

-Barry M. Goldwater

-Carl B. Albert

-Ronald W. Reagan

-F. Edward Hebert

-Thomas C. Korologos

-Kennedy

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-William B. Saxbe's statements

-Response

-Request for apology

-[Donald E. Lukens]

-Hugh Scott

-Colson's conversation with Korologos

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

## -Appointments

-Keith McNamara

-Effect

-Ohio

-"Doves"

-New York Times

-Washington Post

-New York Times

-Reaction to US bombing of North

Vietnam

-Sweden, Australia

-Britain, France, Italy

-Democrats

-Study group

-Wilbur D. Mills's

statement

-Hubert H. Humphrey

-The President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Criticism

-Public relations [PR]

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-PR

-Negotiations

-Build up

-Demonstrations

-Press relations

-The President's November 3, 1969 speech

-Congressional relations

-Colson's possible call to an unknown person

-Colson's conversation with Timmons, Korologos

-Kissinger

-Korologos

-Telephone calls

-Dr. Thomas E. ("Doc") Morgan

-Robert J. Dole

-Republican National Committee [RNC]

-William S. Mailliard

-George D. Aiken

-Korologos

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

```
-Announcement
```

- -Press relations
  - -Scali's note
  - -Hensley
- -Gaylord Shaw, Associated Press [AP]
- -William Gill, American Broadcasting Company [ABC]
- -Pierpoint
- -Richard G. Valeriani

#### Scali

- -Conversation with the President
- -Appointment
  - -Ambassadorship to United Nations [UN]

## Vietnam negotiations

- -Congressional relations
  - -Mansfield
    - -The President's conversation with Kissinger
      - -Briefing
        - -Timing
      - -J. William Fulbright

## The President talked with Scali at an unknown time between 11:06 am and 11:42 am.

### Vietnam War

- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Reaction
    - -Appointments
      - -Letters
        - -Scali
        - -Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
  - -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
    - -Announcement
      - -Warren's press conference
        - -Kissinger
        - -Preparation
          - -The President's meeting with Warren, Kennedy
        - -Warren's performance
          - -Scali's conversation with Kissinger

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

- -Press relations
  - -Exchange of messages
    - -Kissinger's press conference, December 16,

1972

-Christmas 1972

- -Press relations
  - -Hensley
  - -Shaw of AP
    - -The President's demeanor

-Gill

- -Resumption of negotiations
  - -North Vietnam
  - -Liberals
- -Pierpoint
  - -Attribution to Scali
  - -Kissinger's press conference, December 16, 1972
  - -Prisoners of War [POWs]
  - -North Vietnam's signal
  - -The President's demeanor
- -Valeriani
  - -National Broadcasting Company [NBC]
  - -Meeting with Scali

-Critics

- -Statements
  - -Kissinger's concern
    - -Avoiding "crowing" about victory
      - -The President's conversation with Kissinger
        - -Congressional relations
        - -Commentators
      - -Negotiations
        - -North Vietnam

-Power

- -The President's demeanor
- -Realism
- -Announcement
  - -Press relations
    - -Warren's press conference
      - -Scali's conversation with Valeriani
      - -Surprise

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

```
-Congressional relations
```

- -The President's decision
  - -Kissinger
  - -Necessity
  - -Negotiations
    - -North Vietnam's delays
      - -Duration
      - -Effect
        - -Return of POWs
        - -Military build up
          - -Surface to air missiles [SAMs]
        - -Infiltration rates
          - -Forthcoming US bombing
            - -Trucks
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Announcement
    - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
      - -Consistancy
- -Explanation
  - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
    - -Bombing and mining north of  $20^{\mathrm{th}}$  Parallel
      - -Suspension
        - -Negotiations
      - -Resumption
    - -Ziegler
    - -Possible Hensley article
- -North Vietnam's delays
  - -Congressional relations
    - -Cut off of funds
- -Cessation north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Warren's press conference
    - -Kissinger's schedule
      - -Consultation with the President
        - -Telephone calls
- -Telephone calls
  - -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
  - -William S. White
  - -Crosby S. Noyes
    - -Washington Star

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

- -Moynihan
  - -State Department briefing
  - -Meeting with scientists
    - -Washington Post
  - -Harvard University
- -Korologos
  - -Compared to Timmons
  - -Morgan, Mailliard, Aiken
- -Media relations
  - -Scali
    - -The President's demeanor
      - -Determination, decisiveness
  - -Announcement
    - -Effect
  - -Walter L. Cronkite, Jr.
  - -John Chancellor
  - -David Brinkley
  - -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
  - -New York Times op-ed article
- -Demonstration
  - -Dean Francis Sayre
    - -Reaction
      - -Telephone calls
      - -Washington National Cathedral
    - -Possible appearance
      - -Likelihood
    - -Reaction
      - -Charles P. Collins, III
      - -Blind veteran
      - -John M. O'Neill
    - -Possible appearance
      - -Likelihood
- -Colson's possible call to John B. Connally
- -Explanation
  - -The President's television [TV] appearance
    - -Advisability
      - -Press and media relations
        - -Washington, DC
      - -North Vietnam

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-40 (cont'd)

-Kissinger's view -Self-interest

The President's schedule -Call to Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-41

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:42 am and 11:51 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-3]

Request for a call to Cdr. Alexander R. Larzelere
-Larzelere's identity
-Military aide

Conversation No. 158-42

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 11:51 am - 11:52 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Cdr Alexander R. Larzelere.

[See Conversation No. 238-4]

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
-Return to White House
-Timing
-Helicopter

-Weather

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-42 (cont'd)

-Helicopter -Automobile -Timing

Conversation No. 158-43

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: 11:52 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-5]

Request for a call to Nellie L. Yates

Conversation No. 158-44

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 11:52 am - 11:53 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Nellie L. Yates.

[See Conversation No. 238-6]

Yates's location

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule
-Return to Washington, DC

New Year's celebration -Chinese wine

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-45

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:53 am and 11:54 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-7]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 158-46

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 11:54 am - 11:56 am

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 238-8]

Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Announcement

-The President's call to Henry A. Kissinger

-Colson's call to Kissinger

-Reaction

-Colson's conversation with John B. Connally

-Colson's conversation with Col. Richard T. Kennedy

-Gerald L. Warren's press conference

-Kissinger's press conference, December 16, 1972

-Reference to transcript

-Kissinger's view

-Public relations [PR]

-Colson's call to Kissinger -Congressional relations

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-47

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 12:06 pm - 12:15 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

### The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 238-9]

```
Vietnam War
```

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Announcement

-Henry A. Kissinger's view

-John A. Scali

-Kissinger's telephone calls

-John C. Stennis

-Hugh Scott

-Negotiations

-Gerald R. Ford

-Congressional relations

-Telephone calls

-William E. Timmons and Thomas C. Korologos

-Colson

-Scali

-Charles H. Percy

-Robert A. Taft, Jr.

-The President's 1952 "secret fund" controversy

-Robert A. Taft, Sr.

-William B. Saxbe

-Saxbe's statements

-Response

-Clark MacGregor

-Ohio

-Request for apology

-Columbus Dispatch

-Preston Wolfe

-Editor, Carl DeBlum

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-47 (cont'd)

- -Editorials
- -Possible call from Herbert G. Klein
- -Possible call from Kenneth W. Clawson
- -Expression of regret
- -Newsman
- -Samuel L. Devine

-Compared to Donald E. Lukens

- -Clarence J. ("Bud") Brown, Jr.
- -Robert Taft, Sr.
- -Timing
- -Telephone calls
  - -Korologos
  - -Democrats
- -The President's call to Kissinger
  - -Timing
- -Announcement
  - -Kissinger's view
- -Telephone calls
  - -Opinion makers
    - -Howard K. Smith
      - -Scali
  - -The President's conversation with Scali
- -Press relations
  - -Criticism of US bombing of North Vietnam
    - -Washington Star editorial page
      - -Crosby S. Noyes
      - -Blacks
      - -Washington Post
      - -The President's interview with Garnett D. ("Jack")

Horner, November 5, 1972

- -Smith Hempstone
- -Noyes's conversation with Scali
- -Timing
- -Saxbe's statements
- -Harvard University
  - -Kissinger
- -Colson's call to Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- -The President's call to Colson
  - -Timing

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-48

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:15 pm and 12:27 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-10]

Request for a call to Gerald L. Warren

Conversation No. 158-49

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 12:27 pm - 12:29 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

## The President talked with Gerald L. Warren.

[See Conversation No. 238-11]

Vietnam War

-Warren's press conference

-The President's view

-The President's meeting with Warren

-Henry A. Kissinger

-John A. Scali

-Press relations

-Scali's view

-Questions

-Tone

-Patriotism

-Norman Kempster

-Helen Thomas

-Comment about 1973

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-49 (cont'd)

- -The President's demeanor
- -Gaylord Shaw of Associated Press [AP]
- -Scali
- -Wire stories

Conversation No. 158-50

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: 12:29 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-12]

Request for a call to Adm. Thomas H. Moorer

Conversation No. 158-51

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 12:35 pm - 12:37 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer.

[See Conversation No. 238-13]

Vietnam War

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-The President's message to military commanders

-The President's appreciation for courage and sacrifice

-Criticism

-The President's letter

-Effect on North Vietnamese

-Military equipment

-Missiles

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-51 (cont'd)

- -Costs
- -The President's message to military commanders
  - -Avoiding "gloating" about victory
- -North Vietnamese reaction
  - -Significance
    - -Resumption of negotiations
      - -"Peaceniks" view
- -The President's role
  - -Courage
  - -Air Force
- -Air Force
  - -View of the President
- -The President's message to military commanders

Conversation No. 158-52

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:37 pm and 12:38 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

# The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-14]

Request for a call to U. Alexis Johnson
-Johnson's identity
-Under Secretary of State

Conversation No. 158-53

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: 12:38 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-53 (cont'd)

[See Conversation No. 238-15]

U. Alexis Johnson's location-Golf course [Burning Tree Country Club]

Request for a call to [David] Kenneth Rush
-Rush's identity
-Deputy Secretary of Defense

Conversation No. 158-54

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: 12:40 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-17]

[David] Kenneth Rush's location
-Golf course [Burning Tree Country Club]
-Return call

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

Conversation No. 158-55

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 12:45 pm - 12:59 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Henry A. Kissinger.

[See Conversation No. 238-18]

Weather

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-55 (cont'd)

```
Vietnam War
     -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
           -Kissinger's telephone calls
                  -Congressional relations
                        -Barry M. Goldwater
                        -Carl B. Albert
                              -Liberals
                                    -"Doves"
                        -Hugh Scott
Vietnam negotiations
     -The President's possible report
            -Advisability
                  -Scott's view
           -Timing
                  -Kissinger's meetings [with Le Duc Tho]
                  -Scott's view
                  -1973 Inauguration
                  -Prospects
                  -Anticipation
                        -Delay
                  -Ronald L. Ziegler
                 -Kissinger's return from Paris
                        -Timing
                  -Announcement
            -Advisability
                  -Scott's view
Vietnam War
     -Cessation of US bombing north of the 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
            -Kissinger's telephone calls
                  -Congressional relations
                        -Scott
                        -John C. Stennis
                        -Albert
                  -Media relations
                        -Secret Service
                        -Jerrold L. Schecter
                        -Charles W. Colson
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-55 (cont'd)

```
-Howard K. Smith
                -Richard ("Dick") Wilson
                -US bombing of North Vietnam
                      -Media relations
                            -Smith
                                  -The President's schedule
                                        -Dinner, December 18, 1972
                                  -Commentary on television [TV]
                                        -Public reaction
                                        -Telegrams
                                               -Number
                                               -Tone
           -Critics of the President
                -McGeorge Bundy
                      -Relationship with Kissinger
                            -Telephone calls
           -Congressional relations
                -Scott
                -Michael J. Mansfield
                      -Negotiations
     -US bombing of North Vietnam
           -Explanation
                -Congressional relations
                      -J. William Fulbright
                            -"Doves"
                -Necessity
                -Timing
                -Effect on North Vietnam
                -Negotiations
                      -Kissinger's meetings [with Le Duc Tho]
     -Nguyen Van Thieu
           -Notification
                -Timing
-Negotiations
     -Thieu
           -Ellsworth F. Bunker's view
                -Settlement agreement
                      -Fait accompli
           -Settlement agreement
                -Paris
```

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-55 (cont'd)

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s possible trip [to Saigon]

-Tone

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew

-Briefing by Col. Richard T. Kennedy

-Statements

-Inconsistency

-Lack of criticism or support

- -Agnew
  - -Character
  - -Possible trip to Saigon
    - -Advisability
  - -Contributions
  - -The President's May 8, 1972 decision
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Media relations
    - -Smith story
      - -Telegrams
        - -Tone
  - -Press relations
    - -Washington, DC newspapers
    - -Kissinger's conversation with Otis Chandler
- -Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel
  - -Kissinger's telephone calls
    - -Stennis
      - -Kissinger's call from Key Biscayne
    - -F. Edward Hebert
    - -Goldwater
    - -George D. Aiken
    - -John Chancellor
    - -Washington, DC reporters
      - -Compared to New York reporters
    - -Walter E. Cronkite, Jr.
    - -David Brinkely
    - -Chancellor
    - -Cronkite
    - -[Arnold] Eric Sevareid

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-56

Date: December 30, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:59 pm and 1:04 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 238-19]

Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

Conversation No. 158-57

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 1:04 pm - 1:16 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Charles W. Colson.

[See Conversation No. 238-20]

Vietnam War

-Cessation of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel -Colson's telephone calls

-Schedules

-Football games

-Robert A. Taft, Jr.'s location

-Nassau

-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Support for the President

-The President's burden

-Note for the President

-Location

-Cambridge, Massachusetts

-John B. Connally

-US bombing of North Vietnam

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-57 (cont'd)

- -Apprehension
- -World reaction
- -Concern, skepticism
- -Support for the President

-Connally's schedule

- -John A. Scali's telephone calls
  - -Press relations
    - -William L. White
    - -Crosby S. Noyes
    - -Stewart T. O. Alsop
    - -Time
    - -Newsweek
    - -Alsop
    - -Frank Cormier
    - -Wire services
    - -Networks
    - -Noyes, White
- -US bombing of North Vietnam
  - -Washington Star editorial
    - -Criticism of the President's policies
      - -Resumption of negotiations
    - -Retraction
      - -Scali's conversation with Noyes
    - -Newbold ("Newby") Noyes, Jr.
- -Congressional relations
  - -Thomas C. Korologos's report
  - -William B. Saxbe's statement
    - -Response
      - -Clark MacGregor
        - -George Sherman
      - -Scali
      - -Columbus Dispatch
        - -Carl DeBlum
      - -Kenneth W. Clawson
- -Media relations
  - -Henry A. Kissinger's conversation with Howard K. Smith
    - -Smith's commentary on television [TV]
      - -Public reaction
        - -Telegrams
  - -Public relations [PR]

## **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-57 (cont'd)

-Michael P. Balzano, Jr.

-Calls from Pittsburgh

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Washington Star

-1972 election

-Management

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-Washington Post

-New York Times

-Possible articles

-US bombing of Norht Vietnam

-The President's decision

-Difficulty

-Compared to the President's May 8, 1972 decision

-Scali's view

-1972 election

-1973 Inauguartion

-Press relations

-Scali's view

-Kissinger

-Demonstrations

-Media relations

-Kissinger

-Scali

-Resumption of US bombing north of 20<sup>th</sup> Parallel

-Colson's conversation with Moynihan

-US bombing of North Vietnam

-William B. Saxbe's statements

-Response from Ohio

-Samuel L. Devine

Conversation No. 158-58

Date: December 30, 1972 Time: 1:18 pm - 1:20 pm

Location: Camp David Study Table

# **Tape Subject Log**

(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 158-58 (cont'd)

## The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.

[See Conversation No. 238-22]

Tricia Nixon Cox's schedule

-Trip to the Soviet Union

- -Forthcoming plans
- -Recent dinner
  - -Jacob D. and Margaret (Glassford) Beam
  - -Robert A. D. and Maria Thereza (Gomes) Ford [?]
    - -Boston
- -US embassy in Moscow
- -Forthcoming luncheon
  - -Minister of culture
  - -Guests
    - -Bolshoi Theater
- -Party for Andrei A. Gromyko
- -Mayors of Leningrad and Moscow
- -Edward R. F. Cox

New Year's greetings

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon