Conversation No. 234-1

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:54 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 157-17]

Conversation No. 234-2

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:54 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

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

Henry A. Kissinger’s cable

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

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

Cable
- Haldeman’s reading
  - Kennedy’s call to the President
    - Timing
Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:31 pm and 5:54 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation 157-18]

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: 5:54 pm – 5:59 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with Col. Richard T. Kennedy.

[See Conversation No. 157-17]

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:59 pm and 8:16 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Vietnam negotiations
   - Henry A. Kissinger’s cable
   - Option Two
      - Breakdown in talks
      - Kissinger’s frame of mind
   - Option One
      - Prisoners of War [POWs]
   - Return of Option Two
Six month period
-POW's

Effects
-Soviet Union
-People's Republic of China [PRC]
-Congressional relations
-Republicans
-Second term
-Failure to end war
-South Vietnam
-Honorable peace
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-POW's

Option One
-South Vietnam
-North Vietnam
-Cessation of US bombing and mining, US withdrawal
-POW's

Poll
-Cessation of US bombing and mining of North Vietnam, US withdrawal
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Settlement agreement

Kissinger’s cable
-Settlement agreement
-POW's
-US aid to South Vietnam
-Vietnamization
-Cessation of US bombing and mining of North and South Vietnam, US withdrawal
-South Vietnamese self-determination
-Separation of military and political issues
-North Vietnam’s intransigence
-Minimum position
-US withdrawal
-POW's
-Political issues

Kissinger’s view
-Option Two
-Publicity
-US bombing of North Vietnam
Conversation No. 234-5 (cont’d)

-Kissinger’s frame of mind
-Option One
-Option Two
  -The President’s message, December 5, 1972
-Kissinger’s return
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Resumption of talks
-Leverage
-Instructions for Kissinger
  -Minimum position
    -North Vietnamese intransigence
      -Breakdown in talks
        -US bombing of North Vietnam
        -Pace
  -Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
    -Record
      -Publicity
        -Final offer
-Kissinger’s recent actions
  -October 8, 1972 agreement
    -Publicity
      -“Peace is at hand”
-Continuation
-Kissinger’s cable
  -Option Two
    -Compared to Option One
      -Recess
      -Nguyen Van Thieu
      -POWs
        -Continuation of war
          -“Hawks”
      -Settlement agreement
        -Honorable peace
        -Government of Vietnam [GVN] survival
          -Congressional relations
            -US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
              -Cut off
              -Thieu
-Kissinger’s forthcoming meeting with the President
Tape Subject Log
(rev. May-08)

Conversation No. 234-5 (cont’d)

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

Haldeman’s schedule

Conversation No. 234-6

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm. and 8:16 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President dictated a memorandum to Henry A. Kissinger.

Draft message to Henry A. Kissinger
-Typing instructions
-Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger’s performance
-Forthcoming meeting
-Kissinger’s meeting with the President
-The President’s reading of messages and transcripts
-North Vietnamese
-October 26, 1972 commitments

-Minimum positions
-Issues
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-North Vietnam’s response
-Record
-Historians
-Final offer
-Report to the President
-Forthcoming meetings

-Breakdown
-[Option Two]
-Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam
-Effect
-Responsibility
-Ultimatums
-Forthcoming meetings
-Kissinger’s cable
-Option One
-Approval
-US military action

-Kissinger’s cable
-Option One
-North Vietnam’s acceptance

-Breakdown
-Responsibility
-US domestic situation

-Presidential statement on television [TV]
-Continuation of war
-Prisoners of War [POWs]
-Advisability
-“Propaganda organs” of North Vietnam and US
-[October 1972] deal
-South Vietnamese intransigence

-Option Two
-Kissinger’s meeting with the President
-US bombing of North Vietnam
Conversation No. 234-6 (cont’d)

-Pace
-Duration
-POWs
  -George S. McGovern
-South Vietnam’s survival
  -Congressional relations
    -US military and economic aid to South Vietnam
    -Cut off
      -South Vietnam’s intransigence

-Option One
  -Settlement agreement
    -POWs
      -South Vietnam’s survival

-Option Two
  -US bombing of North Vietnam
    -POWs
    -Effect
      -Congressional relations
      -US domestic situation
      -People’s Republic of China [PRC]
      -Soviet Union

-Forthcoming meeting
  -Settlement agreement
    -Breakthrough
      -Possibility
-US bombing of North Vietnam
  -Pace
  -Presidential statement on TV
    -Draft
    -Casualties
    -Public relations [PR]
      -“Washington establishment”
    -Duration of bombing

Conversation No. 234-7

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:30 pm and 8:17 pm
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

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

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Date: December 6, 1972
Time: 8:16 – 8:17 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

[See Conversation No. 157-21]

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Date: December 6, 1972
Time: Unknown between 8:17 pm and 8:24 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

The President’s schedule
- Meeting
- Location
John D. Ehrlichman met with George D. Webster.

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

Common Cause
   -Lawsuit against Committee to Reelect the President [CRP]
     -The President
     -Defense
       -Ultra Vires
         -Political activity
           -Tax exempt status
     -Settlement
       -Maurice H. Stans
         -Defense waiver
     -Tax exempt status challenge
     -Settlement
       -Timing
         -1972 election
   -Governing or litigation committee
   -Democrats
     -John W. Dean, III
Conversation No. 234-10 (cont’d)

-Mitchell Rogovin

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

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

Second term reorganization
- Webster’s confirmation
- Opposition
  - [Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan]
Webster’s background
- Washington, DC
  - Justice Department
  - Marriage
- Rogersville, Tennessee
  - Knoxville
- Webster’s conversation with the President
  - Tennessee
  - Ivy League
    - Harvard University
- Education
  - Harvard University
    - The President’s view
      - Yale University
      - Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
    - James T. Lynn
      - Adelbert College of Western Reserve University
      - Ohio
    - Weinberger
      - Elliot L. Richardson
    - Maryville College
      - Presbyterian affiliation
- Navy
- Ehrlichman’s background
  - GI Bill
    - Stanford University
    - Harvard University
    - Stanford
- Navy
  - West Coast
- Stanford
- Harvard
- Ehrlichman’s background
Conversation No. 234-10 (cont’d)

- Compared to Webster’s
  - Graduation dates
- Undergraduate career
- Law school
- Law firm
  - Length of practice
  - Income
- Counsel to the President

Ehrlichman and Webster left at 1:20 pm.

Conversation No. 234-11

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:20 pm and 9:04 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Fire

The President’s movie selection
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - Arrival
  - List
  - Old movie

The President’s glasses

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
******************************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:04 pm.
Conversation No. 234-12

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: 9:04 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 157-22]

Conversation No. 234-13

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*******************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

  The President’s movie selection
    -Comedies [?]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*******************************************************************************

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:12 pm.
Date: December 7, 1972  
Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm  
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

The President’s movie selection  
-Julie Nixon Eisenhower

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1  
[Personal returnable]  
[Duration: 27s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]  
*****************************************************************

Movies  
Invitations to secretaries  
-Jana Hruska  
-John D. Ehrlichman  
-Patricia B. McKee  
-[Diane Sawyer]  
-Ronald L. Ziegler  
-Timing

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:12 pm.
Conversation No. 234-15

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: Unknown between 9:04 pm and 9:12 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

The President dictated a memorandum for the file.

************************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Dictation
-Date
-Location
-Time

Vietnam negotiations
-Henry A. Kissinger’s message
-Progress of talks
-The President’s conversation with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Options
-John D. Ehrlichman
-Breakdown
-Kissinger’s state of mind
-Responsibility
-The President’s television [TV] appearance
-Risk
-Hope of settlement
-Cambodia and Laos
-May 8, 1972 decision
-Meeting with [David] Kenneth Rush

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
************************************************************************

The President talked with the Camp David operator at an unknown time between 9:12 pm and 10:00 pm.
[Conversation No. 234-15A]

[See Conversation No. 157-23]

[End of telephone conversation]

*****************************************************************

[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Raymond K. Price, Jr.
-Location
-Letter
-Quality
-The President’s appreciation

Vietnam negotiations
-Kissinger
-Settlement track
-Breakdown
-People’s Republic of China [PRC]
-Relations
-Options
-Breakdown
-Rush and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer recommendations
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Kissinger’s recommendation
-Prisoners of War [POWs]
-Risk
-Congressional reaction
-Cut off of funds for South Vietnam

Cost of Living Council
-George P. Shultz
-John D. Ehrlichman’s conversation with the President
-Personnel recommendations
-Labor people
-Arthur F. Burns
-Floyd E. (“Red”) Smith
-Loyalty
Naïveté

Bureaucracy

Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
-George D. Webster appointment
-Loyal personnel
-Investigations
-Foundations

Vietnam negotiations
-The President’s discussion with Ehrlichman and Haldeman
-Opinions

The President’s telephone conversation with Julie Nixon Eisenhower

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 14s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Manolo Sanchez
-The President’s conversation with Haldeman
-Personality
-George E. Allen

Julie Nixon Eisenhower
-Effect on the President

The President’s conversation with Charls E. Walker
-Appointment as Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
-Tax law changes
-Congress
-The President’s call to Colson

Meeting on budget
-Caspar W. (“Cap”) Weinberger
-Appointment of deputies
Conversation No. 234-15 (cont’d)

Justice Department
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
  - The President’s conversation with Haldeman and Ehrlichman
- Appointments
  - Deputy Attorney General
  - Dean of Duke Law School
  - Robert H. Bork
  - Haldeman’s role

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

*****************************************************************

Conversation No. 234-16

Date: December 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 1:12 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

George P. Shultz talked with the Camp David operator.

[Wrong line]

[See Conversation No. 157-24]

Conversation No. 234-17

Date: December 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:05 pm and 1:12 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

John D. Ehrlichman talked with George P. Shultz.

[See Conversation No. 157-24]
Date: December 8, 1972
Time: Unknown between 1:12 pm and 4:00 pm
Location: Camp David Hard Wire

Manolo Sanchez met with an unknown woman.

- Aspen Lodge tour
  - Study
  - Bedroom
  - Guest room
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower
  - The President’s family

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

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

The President met with Julie Nixon Eisenhower.

**************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
**************************************************************

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
[Unintelligible]
[Duration: 5m 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1
**************************************************************
The President and Julie left at an unknown time before 4:00 pm.