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

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 television [TV]
      -Return
         -White House
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
Conversation No.157-2 (cont’d)

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

Vietnam negotiations

Best wishes
   -Apollo XVII
     -Return
       -White House

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

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]

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Colson’s location
-1972 election

The President’s schedule
-Receipt 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
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
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
  - 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
  - Colson’s conversations
    - Frank E. Fitzsimmons
    - Louis P. Harris
- Stock market
- Retail sales
  - Christmas
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
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
Conversation No.157-4 (cont’d)

-Kalb
-Public opinion
  -Samuel Lubell’s
-Antiwar movement
  -November demonstration
    -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
  -POW's
    -Wives
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

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

Date: December 6, 1972
Time: 3:25 pm - 3:31 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with Tricia Nixon Cox.
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.

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
     - Mrs. Nixon’s conversation with Rose Mary Woods
     - Church service
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

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Cox
- Bar examination
- Trip

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]

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Conversation No. 157-8

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. 233-14]

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

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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

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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.
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
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

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[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
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
Conversation No. 157-14 (cont’d)

-Bush
-Brown
-The President
-Brock
-Youth
-John Kyle
-Assistant to Ford
-Leslie C. Arends

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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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
-Italian-American
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

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

RNC
- Bush
- Brock
- Brown
- Kuykendall
  - Assistant to Ford
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]
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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]
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
        - North Vietnamese prisoners in South Vietnam
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
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
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
-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 Vietnam
  -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
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
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
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
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

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

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: 9:04 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

The President talked with the Camp David operator.

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: 9:12 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

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

Date: December 7, 1972
Time: 9:12 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

The Camp David operator talked with the President.

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

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]

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[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]
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  
  -Cleavage

New Majority  
  -Republican Party  
  -Support for the President

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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
-Media and press relations
  -Networks
    -New York Times and Washington Post
      -1972 election
  -[Bureau of Labor Statistics] [BLS]
    -1972 election
    -Unemployment statistics
        -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”
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]
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

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[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
-Welfare
-Voter recollection
-Clark MacGregor
-Negative advertisements
-California
-Michigan
-Impact
-Massachusetts
-Haldeman
-Robert J. Dole

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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
Conversation No. 157-26 (cont’d)

-Malek
- Claude S. Brinegar
- Error
- Catholicism
- Catholics
- Scalia
- Brinegar
- Italian-Americans
- Scalia
- Roy L. Ash
- Brennan
- Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
- Polish-Americans
- Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]
- Mitchell Kapelevski [sp?]
- John A. Stasny, 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
- Scalia
- Brennan
- Publicity
- Compared to other Cabinet members
- News summaries
- Conservatives
- Hardhats
- Scalia
- 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
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
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]

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[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]

Democratic National Committee [DNC]
  - Impeachment vote
    - Failed
  - Jean Westwood
    - Resignation
  - Robert S. Strauss
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
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]
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

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[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
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]

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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
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

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[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]
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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 p.m
Location: Camp David Study Table
The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

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

[See Conversation No. 235-12]

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

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.

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]

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

[See Conversation No. 235-13]

[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.
Conversation No. 157-33

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]
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Conversation No. 157-34

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.
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. 235-16]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

Julie Eisenhower left at an unknown time before 6:50 pm.

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.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
[See Conversation No. 235-17]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
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Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.

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.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
[See Conversation No. 235-18]
[End segment reviewed under deed of gift]
*****************************************************************

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

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.

*****************************************************************
[Begin segment reviewed under deed of gift]
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.

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.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower left at an unknown time before 7:46 pm.

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

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

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
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