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
The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-6]

Request for a call to Henry A. Kissinger

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 20th 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
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
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Tape Subject Log
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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
-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
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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

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.
Conversation No. 158-5 (cont’d)

[See Conversation No. 237-9]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

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
Conversation No. 158-6 (cont’d)

- The President’s trip to PRC
  - PRC-North Vietnam relations
- Cessation north of 20th 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
Conversation No. 158-6 (cont’d)

Thailand
- Hijacking
- Resolution
  - Airplane’s location
- Thai officials [Dawee Chullaspaya, Chartchai 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 20th Parallel
  - Negotiations
- Warren’s press conference
- Cessation north of 20th Parallel
- Warren’s press conference
  - Kennedy’s conversation with Warren
    - “No comment” instruction
  - Questions
    - Demonstrations
  - Details
  - Rumors
    - Warren’s press conference
      - “No comment” instruction
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 20th 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 Season
       - Petroleum, Oil, Lubricants [POL]
     - SAMs
       - Moorer’s view
       - B-52s’ performance
         - Moorer’s view
         - Damage
   - Reconstruction
-Cessation north of 20th Parallel
   - Warren’s press conference
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
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 20th 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
-13-

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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 20th Parallel
            -“No comment” instruction
-The President’s relationship with Kissinger
  -Contacts
  -Kissinger’s effectiveness
    -Time, Newsweek
    -John A. Scali
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Tape Subject Log
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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”
Conversations No. 158-9 (cont’d)

- Reconversion
- 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
- Negotiations
  - Thomas Grey (“Tom”) Wicker
    - The President’s success

- Strategy
  - Kissinger’s view
    - Resumption of bombing
Conversation No. 158-9 (cont’d)

-North Vietnam
-Generals
-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
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
-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
      -Reconversion

*********************************************************
[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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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

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
Conversation No. 158-15 (cont’d)

-Delivery
   -New York
-Significance
   -Marilyn Berger
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th 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
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]
Request for a call to Charles W. Colson

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 20th 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
              - Tone
              - Charles Collingwood
                - Comments on breakdown of negotiations
                  - Henry A. Kissinger
                  - Ambiguities
                  - Options
                  - Resumption of negotiations
US bombing of North Vietnam
-December 28, 1972
-Plane losses
-Sorties
-Targets
-Effect
-Effect
  -Damage
-Recuperation
-Compared to World War II
  -Japan
  -Soviet Union
  -Germany
  -Britain
  -France
-Effect
-Communists
-Recuperation
-Cessation north of 20th Parallel
-Report from Saigon
  -Washington Post
  -The President’s meeting with Colson
  -Washington Star
-Washington Post articles
  -US bombing of North Vietnam north of 20th Parallel
  -Effect
  -Damage
  -B-52s
  -Hanoi
  -Civilians
-Reports from Saigon
  -Washington Star
-Announcement
  -Gerald L. Warren
  -Tone
  -Negotiations
  -North Vietnam
-Public relations [PR]
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 20th Parallel
  - The President’s decision
    - William P. Rogers’s schedule
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
      -Ambassador to United Nations [UN]
      -H. R. (‘Bob’) Haldeman’s view
      -Ambassador 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
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Conversation No. 158-18 (cont’d)

-Howard K. Smith
-William E. Timmons
-Leaks
-Resumption of negotiations
-“Serious”
-Instruction for Colson

-Labor leaders
-Congressional relations
-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
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.
Conversation No. 158-21 (cont’d)

[See Conversation No. 237-28]

Request for a call to Stephen B. Bull

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
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

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
-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
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 20th Parallel
-Announcement
-Effect
-Scali’s view

-Liberals’ view
-Prisoners of War [POWs]
-Killing of civilians
-Responsibility
-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
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
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
    -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
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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 20th 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
Conversation No. 158-26 (cont’d)

US-France relations
- National Security Council [NSC] memorandum
  - France election
    - Socialists
      - Francois 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

Kissinger’s schedule
- NSC

Date: December 29, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:44 pm and 6:49 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

Conversation No. 158-27
The President talked with the Camp David operator.

[See Conversation No. 237-35]

Request for a call to Col. Richard T. Kennedy

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 20th 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
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
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 20th 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
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 20th Parallel
- 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 20th Parallel
  - Announcement
  - Rush’s congratulations
  - Media relations
  - Outcome
  - Pressures
    - Settlement agreement
  - Timing
    - Congressional relations
    - Reconversion
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

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 20th 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
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Tape Subject Log
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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 20th 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
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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 20th 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 20th Parallel
-Suspension
-Negotiations
-Tone
-Resumption
Conversation No. 158-35 (cont’d)

-Cessation north of 20th Parallel
-Announcement
-Press relations
-Scali’s view
-Wires
-Saigon
-United Press International [UPI] article
-Reaction
-Tone

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. 158-36

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 20th Parallel
-Notification of Congress
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 20th 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
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 20th 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 20th 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
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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

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

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
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 20th Parallel
-Announcement
-Gerald L. Warren’s press conference
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Preparation
-The President’s meeting with Warren and Col. Richard T. Kennedy
-Questions
-Review
-Press relations
-Reaction
-Number of reporters
-Reaction
-Resumption of negotiations
-Kissinger, Le Duc Tho
Conversation No. 158-40 (cont’d)

-Timing
-T-Timing
-Technical talks

-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 “crowding” 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
-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
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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 20th 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
Constitution 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
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 20th Parallel
    - Announcement
      - Warren’s press conference
        - Kissinger
        - Preparation
          - The President’s meeting with Warren, Kennedy
      - Warren’s performance
        - Scali’s conversation with Kissinger
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
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 20th Parallel
     -Announcement
       -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
       -Consistancy
   -Explanation
     -The President’s May 8, 1972 decision
       -Bombing and mining north of 20th Parallel
       -Suspension
         -Negotiations
       -Resumption
       -Ziegler
       -Possible Hensley article
   -North Vietnam’s delays
     -Congressional relations
     -Cut off of funds
   -Cessation north of 20th 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
-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
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
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
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 20th 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
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 20th 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
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
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
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
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.
[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

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

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
Vietnam War
- Cessation of US bombing north of 20th 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 20th Parallel
  - Kissinger’s telephone calls
    - Congressional relations
      - Scott
      - John C. Stennis
      - Albert
    - Media relations
      - Secret Service
      - Jerrold L. Schecter
      - Charles W. Colson
Conversation No. 158-55 (cont’d)

-Howard K. Smith
-Richard (“Dick”) Wilson
-US bombing of North Vietnam
-Media relations
-Smith
-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
Conversation No. 158-55 (cont’d)

-Alexander M. Haig, Jr.’s possible trip [to Saigon]
-Tone
-Cessation of US bombing north of 20th 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 20th 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 Brinkley
-Chancellor
-Cronkite
-[Arnold] Eric Sevareid
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 20th 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
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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 North Vietnam
  - The President’s decision
    - Difficulty
      - Compared to the President’s May 8, 1972 decision
        - Scalia’s view
          - 1972 election
          - 1973 Inauguration
    - Press relations
      - Scalia’s view
        - Kissinger
    - Demonstrations
  - Media relations
    - Kissinger
    - Scalia
      - Resumption of US bombing north of 20th Parallel
- Colson’s conversation with Moynihan
- US bombing of North Vietnam
  - William B. Saxbe’s statements
    - Response from Ohio
      - Samuel L. Devine

Date: December 30, 1972
Time: 1:18 pm - 1:20 pm
Location: Camp David Study Table

Conversation No. 158-58
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