

Tape Subject Log

(rev. Nov-03)

Conversation No. 789-1

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: Unknown between 8:58 am and 9:42 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman, Manolo Sanchez, and Stephen B. Bull.

White House grounds -Flowers -Trees

Haldeman, Sanchez, and Bull left at an unknown time before 9:42 am.

Conversation No. 789-2

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: 9:42 am - 10:06 am Location: Oval Office

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

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>5m 33s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

US–Soviet grain deal -John D. Ehrlichman 1

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-Midwest drought -Administration public relations -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] report -Big company issues -Ehrlichman -Cargill, Inc. -Cargill -Losses -The President's former law firm, Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander -John N. Mitchell, the President -Ehrlichman

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

[Personal returnable] [Duration: 9m 36s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Magazine publishing -The President's meeting with Burt SerVaas and Cory Jane SerVaas, September, 29, 1972 -Indianapolis -Haldeman's schedule -Indianapolis -Background -Saturday Evening Post -Profitability -Holiday magazine -Profitability -Jack and Jill magazine -Profitability -Steel plants -Richard G. Lugar

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-Circulation -Costs -Newsstand, mailing -Advertising agencies -J. Walter Thompson -Media buyers -Left orientation -Congress -Postal rates -Post-1972 election plans -J. Walter Thompson -E.I. Lilly -Indianapolis -Advertising in Saturday Evening Post -New York advertising agency [Geer DuBois] -Circulation argument -Rates -Readers' Digest -Building the Saturday Evening Post -Advertising investment -Holiday Inn -Kenneth Wilson -William F. ("Billy") Graham -Saturday Evening Post -New York -Networks -Post-1972 election action Press and media relations -Catherine Mackin -Charles W. Colson -Advertisers -Post-1972 election action -Agencies -Congress -The President -Saturday Evening Post -William Randolph Hearst newspapers -New York Daily News -George Putnam -List of conservative media -"New Establishment"

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-New commentators -Herbert G. Klein -R. Sargent Shriver -John Pierson [of Wall Street Journal] -Los Angeles Times -Vermont C. Royster -Conversation with Haldeman -Access to White House staff -Ehrlichman -Henry A. Kissinger -U.S. News & World Report -Howard Morton -John P. ("Jack") Sutherland -View of administration -Kissinger's previous lunch with Time-Life -Effectiveness

Kissinger entered at 10:00 am.

-William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at Washington Post dedication
-Katharine L. Graham

-Invitation to Haldeman
-Walter E. Washington
-White House staff participation
-Ehrlichman invitation
-Kissinger invitation
-Haldeman invitation
-Washington Post treatment of Rogers, administration foreign policy
-Rogers's previous job as lawyer for Washington Post
-Cabinet attendance
-Note on attendance

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:00 am.

The President's schedule -Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] signing ceremony for Joint Resolution

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:06 am.

Vietnam negotiations -Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV] [North Vietnam]

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-Message -Forthcoming meeting -Duration -Orientation -Possible settlement -Timing -Prolongation of war -US responsibility -Concessions -Tone -Lack of precedent

Forthcoming SALT signing ceremony

The President, Kissinger and Haldeman left at 10:06 am.

Conversation No. 789-3

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:06 am and 10:16 am Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:06 am and 10:47 am.

[Conversation No. 789-3A]

[Unintelligible]

[End of telephone conversation]

[Unintelligible]

The President's schedule

Unknown agents left at an unknown time before 10:17 am.

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Conversation No. 789-4

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:17 am and 10:34 am Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson. This recording began while the meeting was in progress.

National Defense policy -The President's meeting with Sir Alexander F. ("Alec") Douglas-Home -Nuclear weapons -Bilateral reduction -Soviet Union -Multilateral reduction -Europe -Netherlands -Belgium -Denmark -Conventional forces -The President's San Francisco speech, September 27, 1972 -Massive retaliation -Naval, air forces, army -Small nations

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [National security] [Duration: 3s]

-MIDDLE EAST

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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-Jordan crisis -Mobilization -Sixth Fleet -Airplanes -West Germany -Soviets -Syria -Soviet Union -Israel -Credibility -Europe

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [National Security] [Duration: 14 s]

-NATIONAL DEFENSE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

-Israel -Europe -Soviet Naval Buildup -Forward Bases -Conventional forces -US public opinion -Soviet buildup -Pace -Navy, air power -Yugoslavia -Troops cuts -Defense appropriations subcommittee -Europe -Forthcoming talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR] -Congressional awareness -Defense supporters -John L. McClellan

Tape Subject Log

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-European responsibility -Previous resolution for pullback, 1967

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 10:17 am.

Refreshments

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 10:34 am.

National Defense -Resolution for force pullback 1967 -Michael J. Mansfield -Consequences of vote -Strategic Arms limitation Treaty [SALT] debate -Nuclear warheads -Number -Equality, deliverability -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] -William Proxmire -Tactical nuclear weapons compared to strategic nuclear weapons -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] involvement -J. William Fulbright -Gerard L. Smith -Jackson Amendment -Hugh Scott -Plans -Appropriations -Transfers -Soviet Union -Raymond L. Garthoff -Helsinki cable -Soviets -Arms control jargon -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin -Conversation with Kissinger -Position -Foreign Service -Uganda -Possible firing -Timing -1972 election -Leaks

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-John Finney -New York Times -Discussions with Soviets -Garthoff's background -Russian language skills -Wife -US fallback position -Smith -Secor D. Browne -Possible involvement in administration -Civil Aeronautical Board [CAB] chairman -Previous position at Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT] -Aeronautical engineering -Soviet negotiations -Russian language skills -Weapons system expert -ACDA -State Department -Soviet negotiations -Consultant to industry -Commercial aviation expertise -Conventional weapons knowledge -MBFR -ACDA -Negotiations -Role of administrator -MBFR -SALT II -Unilateral Disarmament -Mutual disarmament -SALT -Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] -Knowledge -Jackson's questioning -Air Force Chief of Staff -Gen. John D. Ryan -Antiballistic missiles [ABM] -Capitals defense plan -State Department -ACDA -JCS -Interests

Tape Subject Log

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-Weapons system

Personnel management -Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny -Alexander M. Haig, Jr. -Background -Army -Supreme Headquarters, Allied Power Europe [SHAPE] -Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster -Replacement [for Ryan] -Promotion -Johns Hopkins University -US Military Academy at West Point -Development of air mobile concept -Yale University -Engineering -Political science -Doctorate [Ph.D.] -Haig -Scholar -Corps commander -JCS -Views -Compared to the President's -State Department -ACDA -Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] -JCS -ABM -Capitals defense plan -The President's view -Rowny -Haig -ACDA -Garthoff -Plans -Loyalty -Ideology

Jackson's forthcoming work with Kissinger

US-Soviet Union trade deal

Tape Subject Log

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-Jackson Amendment on Soviet Jewry -Exit visas -Amendment to bill -Timing -Forthcoming congressional session -Co-sponsors -Signal to Soviets -Senate resolution -Hubert H. Humphrey -Jacob A. Javits -George S. McGovern -Opposition by Jewish community -Impact on the President -Compared to Jackson Amendment -Timing -Soviet Reaction -Exit visas -Kissinger's forthcoming conversation with Hugh Scott -Scott -Administrative assistant, William J. Hildebrand -McGovern -Political implications -Jackson's conversation with Scott -Compared to Jackson Amendment -Voting -Signal to Soviets -Toughness -Co-sponsors -Withholding

Kissinger's schedule

Kissinger and Jackson left at 10:34 am.

Conversation No. 789-5

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: Unknown between 10:35 am and 10:56 am Location: Oval Office

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The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule -Recent meeting with Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson -Interruptions

Bull left and Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 10:35 am.

[Signing documents]

Marjorie P. Acker entered at 10:36 am.

Edward C. Nixon's schedule -The President's forthcoming trip to Camp David

Acker left at 10:37 am.

The President's schedule -Forthcoming telephone call to Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen -Bohlen's health -Avis Howard (Thayer) Bohlen -Timing

Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:37 am.

-Camp David -Weather

Butterfield left at 10:39 am.

-H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's schedule -Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's schedule -Lunch -Manolo Sanchez

Bull left at an unknown time before 10:56 am.

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Conversation No. 789-6

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: 10:56 am - 12:00 pm Location: Oval Office

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

The President's schedule -Recent Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] signing ceremony for Joint

Resolution

-[Treaty] Room

1972 election

-Los Angeles demonstration, September 27, 1972 -Photographs -Size of demonstration -Physical appearance -Signs

-Anti-war group

-George S. McGovern, R. Sargent Shriver

-Vietnam casualties

-Alleged Communist affiliation

-Jews

-Vietcong [VC] flags

-Hard hat action

-Plans

-International Brotherhood of Teamsters

-Charles W. Colson

-Donald Kalish

-University of California, Los Angeles [UCLA]

-Alleged Communism

-Vietnam casualties

-Killed in Action [KIA]

-Possible publication

-U.S. News and World Report

-Film

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

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[Personal returnable] [Duration: 4m 20s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Defense contracts -McDonnell-Douglas -Press interviews of aerospace industry workers -St. Louis -Thomas Victor Jones -Union -1972 campaign strategy -Leaflets -Timing -F-15 -B-1 -McGovern Campaign spending law -New York Times or Washington Post story -Constitutionality -Lawyers for the Committee for the Reelection of the President [CRP] argument -Common Cause suit -Federal Corrupt Practices Act -Attempted stay -Supreme Court -Appeals -Timing -1972 election -[Malcolm Richard Wilkey] -Reappointment -Compared to [Murray I. Gurfein] of New York -Background -Jewish identity -Thomas E. Dewey

Appointments

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-Rita E. Hauser -John N. Mitchell -United Nations [UN] Ambassadorship -Background -Jewish identity -Woman -New York Times report -Unknown editorialist -Positions -Reelection of the President -The President compared to McGovern -Compared to the President -Human rights -Civil rights -Vietnam -Views on women -The President's possible victory margin -Mitchell -Jews -Herbert Stein -Henry A. Kissinger -Leonard Garment -Character -Garment Return of three Prisoners of War [POWs] -News summary -Cora Weiss and David Dellinger -Barry M. Goldwater -McGovern -Maj. Edward K. Elias -Wife -Quote about reincarnation claim -Weiss -Manner -Compared to Bella S. Abzug -Lt. Norris A. Charles -Lt. Markham L. Gartley -Parents -Elias -Administration handling -Elias

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-Military hospital -Wife -Defense Department Handling -Brig. Gen. Daniel ("Chappie") James, Jr. -Skill as a spokesman -North Vietnam propaganda -Value -Elias -POW wives -Point about tour -Treatment by captors -Quality -Compared to unreleased pre-1067 POWs -Value

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal returnable] [Duration:_9m 8s___]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Public relations -Polls -Timing -US-Soviet Union trade deal -Wheat deal -Announcement -Kissinger -Press briefings -The President's recent talk with Kissinger -Ronald L. Ziegler -SALT II -Kissinger's schedule -Vietnam -Focus on one subject at a time

Tape Subject Log

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-Previous Vietnam briefing -Impact on Soviet Union briefing -Ziegler -Kissinger -Kissinger's Soviet Union briefing -News impact -Compared to Vietnam briefing

-Use of Kissinger

William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at *Washington Post* dedication *Washington Post's* treatment of the President
The President
Rogers
Mitchell
White House staff
Watergate

-Attention by other newspapers -Orders to Cabinet -Handling -Possible phone calls from Alexander P. Butterfield

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 10:56 am.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>47s</u>]

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 11:13 am.

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

Kissinger entered at 11:13 am.

The President's meeting with Andrei A. Gromyko, October 2, 1972

Tape Subject Log

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-Talking points -Rogers -Vietnam peace plans -Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II] -Duration -Statements -Nuclear missile treaty [SALT II] -Vietnam War -Tone -Vietnam War -Concessions -1972 election -Military solution -Restraints Gromyko's schedule -Camp David -Rogers -Return to the White House -Kissinger's schedule -Breakfast -SALT signing ceremony -Weather -Rogers -Breakfast -The President's schedule -Kissinger's schedule -Camp David dinner -Rogers's schedule -The President's schedule -Escort for Gromyko -Rogers -The President's schedule -Helicopter -Dinner group -Helicopter -The President's schedule -Rogers's schedule -Administration group -Soviet Group -Breakfast -Breakfast

Tape Subject Log

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-Nuclear weapons, Vietnam -The President's schedule -Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Kissinger -Map room -Ceremony -Map Room -Embassy -Ceremony -Arrival -Camp David -Rogers -The President's schedule -Oval Office meeting -Camp David -Kissinger and Soviet group -Rogers and State Department group -Dinner -Helicopter -Aspen Lodge -Return to White House -Rogers -Gromyko -Dobrynin -Kissinger -Second helicopter Maritime agreement -Signing -Timing -Colson -Conversation with Kissinger -White House setting -Commerce Department -SALT -Jobs -The President's schedule -Camp David -Political leadership meeting -John B. Connally's broadcast -[Camp David] -SALT

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The President's schedule -Wholesale Price Index [WPI] -[Camp David] -Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] -Executive prerogative -Purpose -The President's appearance at retirement ceremony [for Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., September 1, 1972] -Foreign policy -Kissinger's schedule -Paris -Alexander M. Haig, Jr. -Camp David -Vietnam Vietnam Negotiations -The press -Settlement -Prospects -Deadline -North Vietnamese -North Vietnamese Proposal -Nguyen Van Thieu's acceptance -North Vietnamese expectations -Maurice Schumann -Bombing Halt The President's forthcoming meeting with Gromyko -Rogers -Vietnam -US stance -Military solution -The President's previous talk with Shumann -Diplomatic solution Vietnam War -Settlement -North Vietnamese -10-year involvement -Losses -Prospects -Progress

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-Current document -Thieu's tenure -Thieu's tenure -Administration image -History's verdict -Public -1972 election -History's verdict -US allies -South Vietnam government's status -North Vietnamese strategy -Thieu's tenure -Possibility of agreement -Military solution -US civilian and military leadership -Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson -Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA] [Raymond L. Garthoff] [sic] -Gen Andrew J. Goodpaster's Deputy [Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny] -Hard liners -Defense Department -JCS -Paul H. Nitze -Vietnamization -Ground war -South Vietnam's Air Force -Compared to North Vietnam -Navy Operations -Carriers -Air Cover -Korea -US Aircraft -Plans -Negotiations -Prospects -North Vietnamese leadership -Leonid I. Brezhnev -Chou En-Lai -US Strategy -Record -Thieu's tenure -Imposition of communist government

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-Military action -Attrition -Duration -February 1973 -Dry season -Effectiveness -Bombing -North Vietnamese position -Offer -Negotiation progress -Previous position of North Vietnamese -North Vietnamese control of army, police -Government of Vietnam [GVN] status -Present position of North Vietnamese -North Vietnamese government advisory committee role -GVN status -The President's January 1972 peace proposal -Concessions -Le Duc Tho -US stance -Kissinger's speeches -Committee of National Reconciliation -Thieu's reaction -Previous offer in Electoral Commission -Changes in North Vietnamese position -July 1972 -Prospects US foreign policy -Negotiations with the Soviet Union -Press reaction -Joseph C. Kraft -Recent Washington Post story -The People's Republic of China [PRC]-Japan accord -Impact on US -Soviet Union -McGovern -Edward M. Kennedy -Milton Viorst -Washington Star article -US policy towards Soviet Union, PRC -Liberals

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-Press -Contact with Kissinger -New York Times

1972 election -McGovern -Press and media support -The President's victory margin

The President's schedule -Kissinger's schedule -Gromyko -Rogers's schedule -Camp David -Swimming

Kissinger left at 11:36 am.

Funding for the President's previous Texas trip -Publicity -Melvin R. Laird's travels

Vietnam War -Kissinger -History's verdict -Foreign policy -Allies -Pre-1972 election -Settlement -Timing -1972 election -Polls

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BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8 [Personal returnable] [Duration:_11m 16s__]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 8

The President's forthcoming radio speeches -Raymond K. Price's, Jr. -Schedule -John D. Ehrlichman -Domestic themes -Kissinger -Price -Foreign policy speech -Issues -Environment -Youth -Future -Foreign policy and national defense -The President's September 27, 1972 speech in San Francisco -National security -Economy -Reform -Price's schedule -[Camp David] -Ehrlichman's schedule -Camp David -Family -Jeanne (Fisher) Ehrlichman's schedule -Campaigning

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:46 am and 11:52 am.

[Conversation No. 789-6A]

[See Conversation No. 30-35]

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[End of telephone conversation]

The President's speeches -Price's schedule -Camp David -Work -Image with staff -Companion

The President's schedule] -Camp David -Edward C. Nixon -Birch Lodge -Julie Nixon Eisenhower's schedule -Aspen Lodge

Polls

Administration activities -Media coverage -Tone -Daily analysis

Haldeman talked with Price between 11:52 am and 11:54 am.

[Conversation No. 789-6B]

[See Conversation No. 30-36]

[End of telephone conversation]

Price's schedule -Staff -Helicopter -Edward Nixon

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1972 election -Radio speeches -The President's forthcoming conversation with Price -Importance -Supporters, record -John Foster Dulles

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

Colson's schedule

Weather -Timing of Camp David trip -Helicopter

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

Haldeman's schedule -Kenneth W. Clawson -Ft. Wayne report

The President left at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

The President entered at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

Ft. Wayne report -Kenneth W. Clawson -Record

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9 [Privacy] [Duration: <u>52s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

-Use

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Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:54 am.

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

Helicopter

Colson's schedule

Haldeman's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:00 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>1m 6s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 10

Request for follow-up

Haldeman left at 12:00 pm.

Conversation No. 789-7

Date: September 30, 1972 Time: 12:00 pm - 12:20 pm Location: Oval Office

The President met with Charles W. Colson.

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The President's schedule -Camp David -Radio speeches -Raymond K. Price, Jr.

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:00 pm and 12:05 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-7A]

[See Conversation No. 30-37]

[End of telephone conversation]

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1 [Personal returnable] [Duration: <u>8m 57s</u>]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

The President talked with Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen between 12:05 pm and 12:11 pm.

[Conversation No. 789-7B]

[See Conversation No. 30-38]

[End of telephone conversation]

Bohlen -Relationship with the President -George S. McGovern -Eastern Establishment -Liberalism -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] assistance to the President

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-The President's recent telephone call -Publicity -State Department

William P. Rogers's forthcoming attendance at Washington Post building dedication -H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman's invitation -White House staff attendance -Possible firings -Cabinet attendance -Alexander P. Butterfield's forthcoming telephone calls -Rogers -Former representation of the Washington Post -Washington Post -Treatment -John N. Mitchell -Watergate -The President -New York Times -White House staff cooperation -Possible firings -Invitations -Colson -Haldeman -Building demolition

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2 [Personal returnable] [Duration: 59s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 2

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 12:11 pm.

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The President's schedule -Republican Congressional leadership meeting, October 2, 1972 -Frank T. Bow -John W. Byrnes

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:20 pm.

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3 [Personal returnable] [Duration:_4m 29s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

Issues

-Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT] agreement -Trade agreement -Maritime agreement -US-Soviet trade deal -Timing -Jewish reaction -Jobs

The President and Colson left at 12:20 pm.